
**HALI'S MUSADDAS**

**THE FLOW AND EBB OF ISLAM**

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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 Ghali (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 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 Sperli 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.

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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 á i í u á e (izafat -e) ai o (copula -o) au

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

b t t t (Arabic th) j ch h kh (Arabic kh) d d d (Arabic dh)

r r z zh s sh s š (Arabic d) t t t š (Arabic gh) f q

k g l m n (nasalization n) w (w for Arabic and after kh) h 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.
1 Hali

1:1 Summary biography

Khwaja 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 Bock 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 mushâ‘ras 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 Seyyid 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, Yâdâgîr-e Ghâlib (1897), and of Sir Seyyid, Hayât-e Jâved (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 Divân in 1890, he prefixed to it a long prose introduction, known as the Muqaddama shi‘r-o shâ‘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.

2 This section is taken virtually verbatim from Matthews and Shackle 1972:216-6.
Hali's poetic persona and his mentors

Hali could be described as the poet of the Aligarh movement. His cultural background was the shārfi 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. Shackleton 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, Nawab Mustafa Khan Shehta, with whom he was closely associated for about eight years as tutor to his son. Shehta's influence on the younger poet has been discussed by scholars; Hali himself testified to being influenced not just by Shehta'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, Ta'azhib ilā akhlaq.

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 Hajī-t-e Javed, has been described as 'the most important single book that has been written on the Aligarh movement' (Lelyveld 1978:55). Hali's journey from Ghalib through Shehta 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 shir-o shatir 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 takhallaus of Khaṭa '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 takhallaus of 'Khaṭa' 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.

2 C.W. Troll has described this work as 'the outstanding biography of Sayyid Ahmad Khan' (Troll 1978/1913).
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 continuous education'. This dissatisfaction led him to running away from his family home and his young wife—whom he was married at the age of seventeen—to Delhi in 1854, then still a 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. 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 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 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 was 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 Hayât-e Sa'dî (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, the 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. The ease 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 fulfillment of historical potential. 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.

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2 The fullest account in this context of 1857 and its aftermath is to be found in Pritiephet 1994:16-30.
3 Cf. Hali 1964:285, also Saksewa 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'.
4 These images are elucidated in detail below, in 5:2 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. 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 Musaddas, 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 Musaddas 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 poetry. Elsewhere, Hali mentioned how translations from English into Urdu, especially under the aegis of the Allaghar Scientific Institute and Tadhig ul ilm, 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 poetry 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.

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 masnavīs for these gatherings—Barkhārut 'The rainy season',


7 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 Majed 1995.
2 The Musaddas

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; Prickett 1994) tend naturally enough to focus upon the ghazal, the short monohymned 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 qastila (Shackle 1996a), a monohymned 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 Imam (manqabat), or else to a royal or aristocratic patron (madh), the recognized master of the genre in Urdu being Mirza Muhammad Rabi Sauda (1722-80). A more widely cultivated form was the technically less exacting masnavi, 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 qastila nor a masnavi—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 mazhab, the distinctively Indian type of strophic elegy lamenting the epic suffering of Imam Husain and his companions at the battle of Kerbelah (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 Kerbelah in Muharram, the Urdu musaddas 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 (rub'i) which sets the tone for what follows.

It is precisely this formal sequence of the musaddas 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 by a less traditional way by its title Madd-o jazz-e Islaam '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 memoir 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 (zaminda) 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 *gastida* of 63 monorhymed verses headed ‘Ari-e hal ‘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 *gastida* which is nowadays largely reserved for conventional religious poetry.
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 reciters now I quail...

This theme is developed at length, with a wealth of imagery to underline the false exaggerations of which he self-loathing 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 margiya, 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:

> Pāsti kā koi had se guzarnā dekhe  
> Islām kā gīr-kar na uharānā dekhe  
> Māne na kahī ki mad hai har jāzr ke ba’d  
> Dāryā kā hamāre jo utarnā dekhe1

1. 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 nabyon men rahmat laqab pāne vālā
Muraden gharibon ki bar læne vālā
Musbat men gharōn ke kām āne vālā
Vo apne paran'ē kā gham khāne vālā
Fagirōn kā maḷā za'fōn kā māvā
Yadmon kā vāllī gūlāmōn kā maudā.2

This abstract tone is continued throughout the passage devoted to the Prophet's mission (M27-M54), which includes many verses indicated in Hai's notes as versifications of Hadith, naturally selected to reinforce Sir Sayid's reformist interpretation of Islam. Thus the Hadith Man talaba 'l-dārūya hadalān istījāf
'an 'l-mas'ala'ta wa-ta'yān 'āla ahlīh wa-ālamīh akhīr
alā jārīh lāqīhā ilāhā tā'ālā
yaumma 'l-qiyāmat wa wajhibhā muhālī qamārī lailā l-badrī '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):

Gharibon ko mihāt kī rāghbat dālā'ī
Ki bāzū se apne karo tum kama'tī
Khābar tā ki lo is se apni parā'tī
Na karnī parā tum ko dar dar gada'tī
Talab se hai dārūya kī gar yān ye nīyat
To chhamko gān māh-e kāmil kī surā.3

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 reawakening, 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 Hai'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 gūlār yakṣar
Jahān un ke āgār bāqī hālī aksar
Jo chāhē koṭ' dekh le áj jā-kār
Ye hai Bait-e Hamrā kī goyā zabān par
Kī the Āl-e 'Adnān se mere bānt
'Arab kī hān mātī is zamān par nīshānā.4

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 gues-gāh which links the two main parts of a formal gusāfā. 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 din-e Hijāz kā be-bāk bārā
Nīshān jīs kā aşqā-e ašām mēn pahunchā
Muzāhim huā kō't khatrā na jīs kā
Na 'Umāmān mēn shīkā na Qulūm mēn jhīkā
Kī' pai sipār jīs ne sāton samandār
Vo dāhā dāhāne mēn Gāngā ke ā-kār.5

2 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.

3 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.'

4 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.'

5 That fearless fleet of the religion of the Hijāz, 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—sink 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-M135), 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):

Moṣgar māt chukā jīn kā nām-o nishān hai
Parānā hu't jīn kī ab dāstān hai
Fasānān mēn gisān mēn jīn kā bayañ hai
Bahut nasi par tang un kī ḍāḥān hai
Naḥīn un kā qadr aur pūrisā khāḥ ab
Unheñ bhī ḍak ko'ī deṭā naṭīñ ab

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 enshrined 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, Ṭabāl was to reiterate—notably in Panjāb ke pīrzādōn se (Matthews 1993:124-5)—such unfavourable contrasts of the Pers of the present with the saints of old as those expressed here by Hali (M185):

Bahut log pīrōn kā aḍād bān-ka
Naḥīn zīt-e vāla mēn lākch jīn ke jauha
Barā jāinf hān kī ko le de-kē is par
Ki the un kē alūf maṇphaul-e ādaw
Kirīhme hāiñ jā jā-ke ḍhāṭhe dāvāte

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 strained. / They are nowhere valued or asked after now. None gives them so much as alms now.

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- dinu yusun). 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, malice, cunning, and the like. A particularly common target of Hali’s moral and aesthetic disapproval, what he calls ‘lies and exaggeration’ (kīṣā-muṣabālād), is duly satirized here (M224):

Rāvīyāt par hāṣhiya ik chāṛhānā
Qasam āḍāte va’don pai sau bār khānā
Agar madh karmā to had se baṭhānā
Maṇzilat pai ānā to tāfān uṭhānā
Ye hai rozmarr kā yān un kē ‘unuñ
Fasāhāt mēn be-miṣī hāiñ jo musalmanān

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-M239).

The last spurts 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):

7 Many people make themselves out to be the descendants of Pers, 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.
8 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 cursure. / These things here make up the daily practice of those Muslims who are unsurpassed in eloquence.
The Munsaddas

Munsaddas 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 Munsaddas. 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 dwelling about with arms and legs after jumping into the sea.

Slight modifications have also been made to the old Munsaddas. 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 Munsaddas, and it was therefore decided to confine our presentation and discussion of the Supplement in this book to the summons 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 Munsaddas (S2):

Safina pa-e Nūh tosfān men tā thī
Sukān-boksh-e Ya’qūb Kīānān men tā thī
Zulikāhā kī gham-akhwār hijrān men tā thī
Dil-āmir Yūsuf kī zindān men tā thī
Māsā’īb ne jāb ān-krā’n ko gherā
Sahārā vān sab ko thā ek terā

9. 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.

10. 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.

11. You were the ark for Noah in the Flood, the one who gave ease to Jacob in Canaan. / Who gave sympathy to Zulikāh 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):

Navāz bāhut bīn navā'īn kō tu ne
Tavanga bāndāy gāda'īn kō tu ne
Dīyā dāst-ras nā-rasā'īn kō tu tu ne
Kāyā bādshah nakhudā'īn kō tu ne
Sikandar ko shān-e Kara tu ne bāghshī
culsumas ko dunyā na'ī tu ne bāghshī 12

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):

Nahiin qaum men garchi kuchh jān bāgī
Na us meh vo īslām kī shān bāgī
da jāh-o hashmat ke sāmān bāgī
dhīn men bāh hai iā ān bāgī
digant kā go ur ke vaqi thā gayā hai
dugār kī digant men bāh hai iā ādā hai 13

The community is compared to a sick youth with some energy in spite of illness, or to a lamp that still burns, however flickering. 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 sah hai kī hai'ī bashtar harn men nādān
Nahiin jīn ke dār-e ta'āsas kā dārmān
Jahān men hai'ī jo ur kī 'izaa ke khwāhān
Unhiin se vo ruhe hai'ī dāst-girēbān
Pai aise bāh kuchh hote jāte hai'ī pātādā
Kī jō khair-khwāhān pai hai'ī apne shadaā 14

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

12 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.

13 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.

14 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.

The Musaddas

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):

Aga'ā bā-khābar hain īhaqīq se āparī
Talāf kā ha'ī āgī 'izamāt se āparī
Bulandī-ī pastī kī nīlāī se āparī
Gīsāshā aur ā'īnā hālāt se āparī
To samjho kī hai'ī pār kheva hamārā
Nahiin dār manjīdār se kuchh kinārā 15

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 (kūshāh-o mīnaat). 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):

Gulstān men jōban gul-o yāman kā
Samān zulf-e sumbul kī rāb-o shībān kā
Qad-e dīl-rūbā sārv aur nārvān kā
Rukh-e jān-fazā tāla-o nīstārān kā
Gharbōn kī mīhānāt kī hai'ī rang-o bā śab
Kamerōn ke khanā se hai'ī ye izāta-nī śab 16

There follows an extended attack in familiar vein upon the vices of the lazy (S56-S72), how they beg instead of working, how they perceive 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
emphasis is laid upon the unceasing demands the industrious make of themselves in all circumstances (S77):

Mashaqat men 'umr un kā kaštī hai zāri
Nāhālā ārāmā kā un ke bāri
Sadā bhāg dāur un kā rāhā hai jāri
Na āndhī men 'ājīz na mnān men hain 'ārī
Na lā jēhā kā dām wujūtī hai un kā
Na thir māgh kā jī chūgūtī hai un kā.

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 (shārif nāujān), 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):

Yēth jo ki phirā hain be-'ilm-o jāhīl
Bahaht in mnē hain jin ke jauhar hain gāhīl
Rāzīl men phīḥān hain in ke faːzā'īl
Inhīh nāqīsān men hain peshāda kāmil
Na hale agar mā'ī ke lahū-o bāt
Hazārōn inhi men the Tist-o Rāzī18

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 forebears 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):

17 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.

18 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.

The following verses deal with self-help (S123-124, headed Apni 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):

Sārsar ho go sālianat fāiz-gustar
Rā'iyyat kā khud tarbiyāt men ho yāvar
Magār ko't hāliat nāhiin is se baddar
Kī har bōjh ho gaum kā sālianat par
Ho is tarh hāliat men kā kī rī'iyāt
Kī qābīze men ghassāl kā jāise majāy21

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

19 In the lands of Iraq and Syria, in Khwarazm 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.

20 The Nizāmīyya, Nāriyya, Mustansīrīyya, Nasīrīyya, Sittīyya and Sahībīyya. / The Rahāvīyya, Izāyā and Qāhilīyya, the Azāzīyya, Zainīyya and Nasīrīyya. / These colleges were centres for people from all over the world, for Arabs from the Hijāz, for Kurds and for Qipchaq Turks.

21 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.
Hali's Musaddas

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

Sunt hai gharrnih kā faryād ust ne
Kīyā hai ghulāmī ko bārbād ust ne
Rāpābik kī gārī hai bānyād ust ne
Banāyā hai pāblik ko āzād ust ne
Muqayyad bht kart hai ye aur rihā bht
Banāt hai āzād bht bā-māfā bht

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 pahinne ko āpī banā'ēn
To kapāng vo ik aur ārūsā se ātā'ēn
Jo sīne ko vo ek sā'āt maṅga'ēn
To māshīq se māshīq men ātā'ēn
Har ik shai ni ārīrūn ke mīrītā bāīn vo
Mākainīs kī rau men tārāj bāīn vo

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):

Zakharā hai jāb chūuyā ko'ī pātā
To bhāgā jamā'āt men hai āpī ātā
Unhān sā'āt le ātā ke hai ārūsā se jāā
Futūh āpī ek ke ātā dūkūtā
Sādā un ke ārīn is tārāj kām chaite
Kāmāt se ek ik kī lākhon ārīn pālte

The Musaddas

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 khāsā-ē khāsā-ē ārūsā vaqtē ātā'ēn
Ummat pai tarī ā-te āfā vaqtē ātā'ēn

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 kīshī-ē ummat ki nīkāhān
Be ātā'ē nīkāhān ātā'ē ārūsā ātā'ēn

In keeping with this poem's devotional nature, however, the Petition suggests that the ultimate solution 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):

I'mān jīse kahte ārīn 'aqīde mēh hamāre
Vo terī mukhabbat tin ātā'ē ārīn

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 transfiguration may also have conveyed some idea of the nature of its medium. But since it is by definition dependent upon both the

22 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.
23 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 unction of 'mechanics'.
24 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.
25 O most noble of the noble messengers, it is the time for entreaty. Upon your community a strange time has come.
26 The cry goes up, O guardian of the ship of the community, 'This fleet has begun its approach to destruction.'
27 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 style 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' (nechural shā'īrī) 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' (nechari).

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. Pitchett 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 Baksh 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 gusida 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 tārā-bachha hai barq lye jai men āg
Abr choq kā birahman hai lye āg men jai28

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

Abr Panjab tālātim men hai a'la nazim
Barq Bangāla-e zulmat men gawnaar jannā29

These are verses which demand a sophisticated audience, able without commentary to appreciate the subtle aptness of choq kā, both 'supreme' and 'with a Brahmin's lock', or of tālātim, 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 gusida 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 gusida addressed to the Prophet, albeit in supplication rather than in praise. The 'ground' (zamrī) of Muhsin's poem—the formal scheme of its rhyme and

28 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.
29 The cloud is Governor in the Punjab of turbulence, the lightning is Governor-General in the Bengal of darkness.
Hali's *Musaddas*

metre—is precisely based on one cultivated by Saida, the great master of Urdu *qasida*, and be in turn derived it from the twelfth-century Persian master Anvari's ode beginning *jimm-e khurshid chu az hât dar ûyad 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 *qasida*. 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 *maftalu maftalu* *maftalu fa'âlun*. The scansion may be illustrated with the aid of the symbol *'* to indicate an overlong syllable (P23):

- - ' - - / - - / - - / - - |

'ishrat-kade abâd' the *jis qaum* ke har sâ

- - ' - - / - - / - - |

Us qaum' kâ ek ek' ghar ab bazm-e 'azâ hai

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') chiastically designed to contrast with the expression which forms the rhyme at its close (bazm-e 'azâ '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 Muhсин's *qasida*, 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 *mutaqârîb* selected by Hali for the *Musaddas* is similar to that used in Persian in the great *Skhnâmâ* (1010) by Firduusi, whose epic overtones he may have wished to suggest, although a likelier analogue would be another famous Persian poem in Firduusi's metre by the Persian poet whom Hali admired above all others, the highly instructional

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

The *Musaddas*

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

- - / - - / - - / - - |

Ba-daryâ maruq gaftam-at zin'hâr

- - / - - / - - / - - |

Vagar mhrvî tan ba-tabâtîn sipâr

31 '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 kishthi below. Two-syllable rhymes are the commonest, like the opening -ā hai which is exactly the same as the undemanding monorhyme of the Petition:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yūhi kāl' dūnyā men wu qawmī' kā hai} \\
\text{Bhānvar men jahāz ā-ke jīs kā ghīrā hai} \\
\text{Kīnār hai dār asrī tāsān ha-pā hai} \\
\text{Gumān hai ye har-dam kā bā bā'īā hai} \\
\text{Nāhīn lete karvāh magar ahl-e kishthī} \\
\text{Pās sote haiṁ be-khabar ahl-e kishthī}^{31}
\end{align*}
\]

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 Sandilav 1960:288) as:

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

While this is of course wildly unfair, the unvarying heat of Hali’s mutaqārib certainly lacks the rhythmic flexibility offered by metres like mutārī’ 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 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-Buhuri (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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Huvādā hai Ghoriyātā se shaukat un kā} \\
\text{Ayān hai Bilansiyā se qudrat un kā} \\
\text{Batalār ko yād hai ‘azmat un kā} \\
\text{Taqākāt hai Qādis men sar hasrat un kā} \\
\text{Nasīr un kā Ishbāliya men hai soīā} \\
\text{Shab-o roz hai Qorshā un kā rotaī}^{33}
\end{align*}
\]

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 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 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 effeminacy 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 Kalpakli 1996) could identify neither with the highly

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31 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.

33 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 Halî'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 1996: no.26,1):

Görüp ahkâm-i 'asrî mührarîf sıdık u selametden
Çekildik 'izzet ü ikbâl ile bûb-i hükûmeteden' 34

The effect of the verse is entirely dependent upon its plethora of Arabic words, which would be spelt for Urdu as 'akhâm-e 'asr 'laws of the age', mührarîf 'turned', sıdık o selâm 'honesty and decency', 'izzat o iqbâl 'glory and fortune', bûb-i hükûmet 'gate of government'.

Halî does exactly the same sort of thing in the Muṣaddas. 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 muṣârâbîh rhythm, just as—with the addition of Turkish suffixes—they do with the equally regular hazât 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'înimat hai sîhât 'aîlât se 'pâhle
Fâ'âhge ma'shâhâl kî kâsât se 'pâhle
Ja'ânt ëcâhâpe kî zhâmat se 'pâhle
Fâ'âhge ma'shâfîr kî râhât se 'pâhle
Pa'âhge se 'pâhle gha'înimat hai 'daulât
Jo 'karnâ hai 'kar lo ki 'torqh hai 'muhâl' 35

Neither Namik Kemal nor Halî 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 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 Halî worked with Muhammad Hasain 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.

Halî'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 1990:105-5). It might also be very plausibly argued that the organization of the Muṣaddas 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 muṣaddas rhyme-pattern, the intrinsically freer relationship of the stanzas to one another is carefully disciplined by Halî'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 flout, which are confined to 'nation' (M62), 'liberal' and 'liberty' (M97), 'office' (M135), and 'chemistry' (M247). Together with a few more included 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. jahāt 'agriculture' and stūthāt 'travel' (both M75), besides those formed on other patterns like tamaddun 'civilization' and tarāqq 'progress' (both M8), and such compound phrases as āzād-e tā'ī '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. Shackel 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 was in the Avadh Parch of 1904 described 'natural propaganda' as containing 'torrents of pure Hindi (bhēth hindi) and heaps of unfamiliar words' (Sandilievi 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' (id) vocabulary of actual or fabricated Turkish or Turkish 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 Hindi 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 kī munājāt in Ayodyha 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 Nasik 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), khībānī 'confusion' (M71), kaun aajā 'indebted' (M104), gaun 'opportunity' (M125). Nor is such recondite vocabulary, with its strongly rustic overtones, always very happily integrated into the poem's predominantly Arabizing diction. In the following verse, for instance, the oppressively 'Hindi' item daṇā 'hard rain' blends very awkwardly with the blandly Persianate ab-e siām 'cloud of tyranny' (M65):

Hava har taraf maaj-zan thi hali kī
Gaun pari chhurt chal rahi thi jafā kī
'Uqāḥā kī had thi na purish khaātā kī
Parī lī rahi thi vadi'at khudā kī
Zamān pari thā ab-e siām kā daṇā
dėtāthi men thā nau-e insān kā bekā36

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. barha 'to progress' and barhān '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 beghī 'fleet', besides dī'sānī 'sink' and gubhān 'drove', or gūzā 'raincloud', khet 'field', and gañjār '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.

36 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.
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 Halî 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 Naïm 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 Halî write the *Musaddas*.

The opening paragraph of Halî'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 Halî'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 *Safarnâma-e Pânjâb* of 1884 (Sandilivi 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.

The *Musaddas* 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 *Musaddar* 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.\(^{37}\)

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—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 Halî 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 (Sandilivi 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 Halî's poem, one Mauâlî Salîm ud Din Jaipûr 'Tâshim' completed his own *Musaddas*, with the chronogrammatic titles *Hâdiqat ul maghâb* 'The Garden of religion', 'Urij un naazm '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.:279):

\begin{center}
Tasâmûh ke lafzon men hai jā ha-jā hai Ma'âní men hai phîko-pan kî lágî kal Ada bad-tavâra hai tarkîb mulkhâl Tayaqqûn nakhîn hai tu suze mu'afâsl\end{center}

Halil’s Musaddas

Ki har lafe-o misra’ na’e rang par hai
Har’ ik shir-o band jude dhang par hai

A similar stance is adopted in the anti-Musaddas published in 1901 by another cleric, Qazi Muhammad Farooq Chiyakoti. Entitled Musaddas-e ‘Avail, 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 Halil’s understanding of both poetry and religion (ibid:279):

The shir’s áp ke peshvar silk-e gauhar
Hu’e aj sandas se kyoon vo badar
Jab un’ tash us men bad-ba-e nehar
Hu’e ek dam men vo garde sarzur
Vo ash’ar ta’vez-e dit hirz-e jain hain
Jo islam ke vaṣṣ-o madh-khwān hain

The Musaddas-e Hāqiq of 1906 by a Professor Ghulam Hazrat Khan is on ampler scale than either of these. Indeed, its 360 stanzas make it longer than Halil’s Musaddas itself, and allow the poet to launch his attacks on ‘nature’ and all its exegeted 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):

Dimaghon men padha hu ya kehal hai
Kai kahat har ik nechon mutaṣaqa hai
Tamaskhur ke gabil namaz aj kal hai
Muḥazzab ko’t us pa karā ‘aman hai
Rukā’on men do ḥaṭh ghuṭpan pa dharnā
Surī jāmb-e charkha sijdon men karnā

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

Words of uncertain meaning are awkwardly used everywhere, and the meanings are insipidly confused. The expression is clumsy and the construction confused. If you don’t believe this, listen to it in detail. Every word and phrase is in a new style, every verse and stanza is in a manner apart.

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 taint of the heart and an anathema of the soul.

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.’

Nor does the specific content of Halil’s Musaddas escape attack. Haziq uses Halil’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, with a few choice ‘Hindhi’-isms (ibid:282):

Sanbhalo garā chohan yarān-e nehar
Na ja’o nikāl pā’-ī-jāme se bāhar
Faltaan kā hikmaat men thā kaun kham-sar
Aristā se thā falsafa kaun baqā-kar
Unhe sārā Yorap bhi māne hu’e hai
Jāhān un ke nube ko jāre hu’e hai

Not all Halil’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 magnificently entitled Subah-e umid ‘The Dawn of hope’ (1884). At a public performance by Aligarh students in 1890, he followed this up with a short Quami musaddas delivered in the passionate and affecting style for which he was famous. This substitutes the rather longer lines of the familiar ramal metre (fa’lataan fa’lataan fa’lataan j’ā’ūn) for Halil’s mutaqābr. Its conclusion fills a conspicuous gap in Halil’s catalogues of the far-flung scenes of past Muslim glories with a mention of Delhi (Shibli 1892:18):

Mar-o Shhr-zā-ṣe Sājihān ke vo zēbā māṇgar
Bait-e Hamrā ke vo avān vo dīvār vo dār
Miro-o Ghornāṭa-o Bagdādd kā ek ik patthar
Aur vo Dīhlī mehrmā ke bostā khāndār

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

39 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 taint of the heart and an anathema of the soul.

40 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.’
Hali's Musaddas

Un ke zarron men chamakte hai'n vo jauhar ab tak
Đất nằm where sub yād hai'n az-bar ab tak43

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

Un se sun ke ko't aśāna-e yārān-e va'an
Ye dikhā deht hai'n ankhon ko vahi khwāb-e kahan
Terta kā nām kā at qaum ye gīte hai'n bhajan
Tere hi naghma-e pur-dard ke argān
Pūchhā hai jō ko't un se nishānti ter
Ye sunā deht hai'n sab rām-kahāni irt44

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 ruins with references to the rivers of his native Punjab and to the recent British victories in Egypt and Sudan (Khasta 1895:16):

Na Ganga na Jarnā na Satiuj na Jhālam
Na Danyāb Tagas kē mātik rahe ham
Judda ho ga' ham se sab yār-o hamdam
Huā Mir-o Sūdām meht kī kā ye chihlām
Va kam-bakht ham ī musalmān hai'n yāro
Ham apne kī' pe par phashmān hai'n yāro45

Even more provincial is the Musaddas-e 'Ulvā, published by Munshi Tahavvar Ali, a police inspector from Budhan. 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 (Ulvā 1899:9):

Pate phir naazar tum pai jinn-o bashar ki
'Indyā ho har ān khair ul bashar ki

43 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.
44 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 of me a trace of you, they recite the whole of 'your endless tale'.
45 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.
Hali's Musaddas

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 Nisbat, a sustained anti-Shia polemic by Maulavi Naimullah Anrohi of the Muradabad Anjuman-e Ishaat-e Islam. This subverts Hali's rhetoric to narrowly sectarian ends (Nimat 1920:29-30):

Agar mazhab-e rafta ba-haq hai to hazrat
Sivā chand shī'oon ke nārt hai unnat
Na mufīta qu'ān na kāmil risālat
Na kuchh farz ham par na vājhi na sunnat
Imām aur qu'ān hai donon gā'īb
To bās dīn-o imām hai donon gā'īb'19

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 (Kausari 1903). This is not a true imitation at all, but a straightforward Shiite masgīya—though written in Hali's mutaqārīb—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 Latif by Maulana Abdul Latif from Sonepat, 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 Yūrab pai dī d se shaidā
Toq-e hudā chho bātīhe sarāpā
Libās aur sārat ko badā lauchh aśā
Nazar sab laje āne hii-kul naśārā
Kamis aur paṭān-o sūt ab āhī hai
Bāre jākīr se sar pai hait ik rakhā hai'20

The Musaddas

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):

Yo Akbar vo Shāh-e Jahān ki hukmān
'Adālat se jīn ki thi kushti dī rā'īyat
Na ghairon pāi sakht na qaumī rī'īyat
Barābar thi qāranīt sab par riyāsāt
Vazīr un ke hindū musalām the donon
Mushir un ke hindū musalām the donon'21

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 Hindu 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 Shiblī's performance in Aligarh, Lala Kidara Lal 'Nirbhai Ram' recited to great applause a 100-stanza poem composed in the same hazāj metre as Hali's Petition. Later published as the Musaddas-e Nirbhāi prakāsh, this offers the assembly a diagnosis of the ills of the Hindu community couched in thoroughly familiar terms (Nirbhāi Ram 1890:3):

Jalsa to khusht kā hai par aśa sātī hai
Jo dharm ki hātān hai yo pashmura hii hai
Socho to satt kaunst vo bāt na'ī hai
Jī vājī se ye hār hii sāhk gā'ī hai
Ai bā'ī ho ghairon kī kā kāb khoj naśīn hai
Ape bhi kalejīn pāi chaṛē khoj naśīn hai'22

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

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

50 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.

51 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.

52 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):

Jo rāje yahān ke the dharmātmā the
Na zāltim the vo garchi jang-dāmā the
Jahān-dār sath much vo zill-e khuḍā the
Khalā'iq ki bhi thād par vo fiddā the
Bahut the yahān Bikram aur Ikshvvākā
Na thā ko'ti Zāhlēkā yān aur Hulākā.

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):

Brahman na mūhmān brahman ke ghar ho
Na chhārā ki chhārā se shīr-o shakar ho
Na do vaisāh kā mel bāh-ham-dīgar ho
Ho chakā ko dhar ek to ek udhar ho
To phir gauṁyāt kaiś aur gauṁ kis ki
Bhaṭṭagā vo kyā kīkā yē gat ho jis ki kā.

Fairly soon after Kaifi's poem, the equally long and heavily annotated Musaddas-e Shafaq by Munshi Lalita Prashad '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 Mād-o jazr-e Aryan. 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):

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-bhāṣā, the word of God. / Truth and peace are their alpha and omega, and creation is in essence inspired by them.
composed in the native baiht metre, using three lines—divided by the caesura—per stanza, so that the rhyme scheme is now -a-a-a. It is also purit 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 qaun dā vich dunyā
Bēgh vich ghumman jādē gheriā aī
Koṅhā dīrt te qahr tūfān jnāīle
Hūne jāpād pār ngeriā aī
Sute ḡāṭ kahānān sanē sāre
Pāīā ik ne vē ṣāī na pherīā aī36

No literary translation into English appears to have been undertaken. In the preparation of our 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 Hakīm Mahmūd 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'ālūn fā'ālūn fā'ālūn fā'ālūn), whose stateliness is here put to fine effect (Divān, pp.218-9):

Daur-e ḍāhīr meh kī ʾerā tel thā sab jal chūkā
Būhē būhē ṣāī kuchh ik tā te sanhālā sā liyā
Khāk ne yān terī phir agile vo la'ī-e be-baḥā
Jin se roshān ho gyyā kuchh din ko nām atśāf kā
'Āhā-dē mātt kā samāh āṅkkhān meh sab kī chaḥ gyyā
Khābā ḫālā hūa muddat kā thā yād ā gyyāā37

As this elegy develops that aspect of the Musaddas which looks to the past with sadness, so too does the earlier Nangi-e khādmat '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 (Sandilav 1960:70):

Hāq ne ʾshā′īsā-e har bāb būyā thā hāmen
Ek ki dām meh phānān na sikkāyā thā hāmen
Rasta har kāchā-o manzil kā bāyāyā thā hāmen
Zina har bām pa chāṅṅe kā dīkāyā thā hāmen
Aṣā kuchh bāda-e ḡhaṅṅat ne kiyā maṭāmā
Taṅ ḍhādmat kā liyā aur gole mere dālāā38

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 Shīkā '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 Shīkā-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, and is addressed not to India but to God (Matthews 1993:36-7):

Kyōr musalmān mēn hai daulā-e dūnā nā-yāb
Terī gudrat to hāi vo jā kī na had hāi na ḍhāb
Tā jo chāḥē to utro ʾṣīna-e šahrā se hubāb
Rah-ṇav-e dasht ho ʿulī-zāda-e māqī-e sarāb
Tā-ne ʿagābār hai rūsāvā-i hāi nā-dārī hāi
Kī yā tē pān pāi marne kā 'wās khwārī hāi'

36 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 transliterations of the original stanzas on p. 31 above.)

37 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.

38 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 stairs 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.

39 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 marsh. / We suffer the insults of strangers, injuries, impoliteness. 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 Themes

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.¹ 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 interweaving 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

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, 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 considering 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):

Vukt ek hai jis ko dā'īn haag hai
Jahān kā virāga uṣi ko suzā hai
Sīvī us ke anžām sab kā fana hai
Na ko'ī ruhegā na ko'ī ruha hai
Masāfīr yahān haīn faqīr aur ghani sab
Ghulām aur āzād haīn rafragā sab

In other words, the re-introduction 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 Halli'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 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 (M69), or the Arabs and the Indian Muslims (M113, M119, M202, M212, M225, M227). 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 (akhlaq) from the historical decline of a government, and by implication, the decline of a queen (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 1985:55-7, 74-8, Shacklee 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 Persian-Urdu poetic past (Shacklee 1996a:233).

In this regard, it is perhaps interesting that Abdul Haq calls upon a stereotype of early Arab poets, itself evident in Halli's Mugaadama (Halli:136-8). Abdul Haq likens Halli 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

\[\text{Footnote 2: The life of God alone will never wane, this world's uniquely worthy Sazerian. / For life eternal others hope in vain: not one has yet, nor ever will, remain. / See, here are rich and poor but travellers all, departure is the rule for free and thrall.}\]
period in Islamic history where inner piety is perfectly mirrored in external polity (Hodgson 1974:360, 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Adā kar chukā jah haq apnā hukāmat} \\
\text{Rahā ab na islam ko us ki hājāt} \\
\text{Magus haif ki jahāri-e ādam ki ummat} \\
\text{Hu'n ādambyat bhi sāth us ke ruḍhāt} \\
\text{Hukāmat thi goyā ki ik jhāl tum par} \\
\text{Ki tere hā us ke nikał a'ē jaubār.}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

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 needs 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 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).

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 couples of M105, which typify the rhetoric of this section as a whole:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rahā mail se shahd-e saft musafī} \\
\text{Rahā kheṭ se sīm-e khāliā mubārā} \\
\text{Na thā ko' islam kā mard-e mādān} \\
\text{'Alam ek thā shish-jhāt men daraftān.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

---

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

4 Gustav von Grunebaum's later view of Islam (summarized in Turner 1994:72) as a fixed cultural form erecting defences around its sacred 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'.


6 So long as the clear honey remained unpolished 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 Hall’s own poem on the rainy season, Bara Awa arti.

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 men havâm a chukh hai khwâq kî
Pîrî hai nazar der se bâghhân kî
Saḍa aur hai bulbul-e naqshna-qhvâq kî
Ko’t dam men rîlî hai ab guîsan kî
Tabâhî ke khwâq a rahe hain nazâr sab
Mîstbât kî hai âne vâlî sahar ab

The image of such a garden lying in ruins is particularly suggestive given Hall’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 Hall so explicitly strove. This is entirely in keeping with his strategy of making the necessary adjustments in the entire gamut 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 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 (maulâ-q-e kâmîyâ), 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 (dur-î makhâbî M87) of Aesop and Socrates, while the buried treasure of the tongue and pen (Kâstâna’dha maddâ‘în zabân aur qaum kâ 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 kî ab tak jahân the wâli hain
Jamâdat kî târîh bûr-e sâmîn hain

The fact that the word bûr ‘burden’ can also be translated as ‘fruit’, and jamâdat 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 Hall’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

1 For the remark of the great eighteenth century Urdu poet Mir Taqi Mir on the superiority of inner gardens to external sources, see Pritchett 1994:50-1, 59. Cf. ibid.:127 on the vision of classical poetry and its striving for timelessness. For Hall’s natural poetry, see Saleeas 1940:219.
2 The wind of autumn has already come into the garden, the direction of the garden’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.

9 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 pānja ki hai aṣṭ daulat
Vo ḍhāista logon kā gari-e saādaat
Vo āsīda gaumon kā nās ul bīzā'at
Vo daulat ki hai vaqi jis se 'bārat
Naḥīn us ki vaq'ti nazar men hamārī
Yuḥīn mauf jāt hai bahābd sārī.

The decline of Muslims in India is in part measured by their indulgent 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 din 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 'bārat' 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 hemistic description '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.

The 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 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 sāns din rāt ke sab gīn hain
To nīdenge anfās āše bahūt kam
Kī hī jin men kāl ke liye kuchh jārāhām
Yuḥīn āgare jāte hain din rāt pātham
Naḥīn ko li yā hyā kābdarā hain men
Kī yē sāns āgīr hain ab ko jāt dam men!

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 1996: no. 36, verse 17):

Tarkār faqat agūr ne 'alam ko kīyā thā
Aur tu ne kīyā hai dī-e 'alam ko musabkhāer!

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

10 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 disputed uselessly and for nothing.
11 See also M158-M152, where habits of decadent profligacy in the Muslim community are described.
12 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.
13 The former ones only subdue 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 desiccating 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 khiton men ghalla na jangal men kheti
Abur aur kul kainat us ki ye teh44

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

Na sabaa thal sahara men paad na pani
Paqat a-e baran pai thi zindaghi5

This picture of barrenness is transformed by the impact of Islam. The Arabs became unmatched and unique in agriculture (Falahat meh be-misal-e yukh hui vo M75) and they made every desolate land flourish (Kya ja-ke aab kr malak-e virat 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):

Bahar ab jo dunya meh a-l hui hai
Ye sab paad unhi ki lagat hui hai56

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

44 There was no grain in the granaries, no cultivation in the wilderness. This was Arabia, and its whole world.
45 No greenery grew in the desert. There was no water. Life was dependent solely upon rain water.
46 The spring season which has now come into the world had its seedlings planted by them.
Hal’s Musaddas

Rahe us se mahrum abt na khaki
Hari ko ga’i sari kheti khuda ki\textsuperscript{17}

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

Ye thit maaj pahl w azadag k\textsuperscript{18}
Hor\textsuperscript{2} jis se hone ko th\textsuperscript{3} b\textsuperscript{4}gh-e gat\textsuperscript{5}

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 (Har\textsubscript{24} kar gaya sab ko bhran ‘arab k\textsuperscript{2} M104). The Prophet himself is described as a gardener who had laid out a harmonious, egalitarian garden (M58):

Laqiy\textsuperscript{2} th\textsuperscript{1} mali ne ik b\textsuperscript{1}gh aisi
Na th\textsuperscript{2} jis men chho\textsuperscript{2} bh\textsuperscript{3} bh ko’i pauda\textsuperscript{19}

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 Hal’s Muslim reader. 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’ (janna ‘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 Hal with a contemporary example of imperial power and its command over water for agricultural purposes. It was in

\textsuperscript{17} No creatures of water or of earth remained in want of it. God’s whole plantation became green.
\textsuperscript{18} This was the first wave of the liberation by which the garden of the world was to become green.
\textsuperscript{19} The Gardener had laid out a garden which did not contain any very large or small plant.

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Themes of the Musaddas

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.\textsuperscript{20} 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 Hal’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 Hal 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 1900:71-75). Furthermore, the Shalamar gardens in Lahore had themselves been constructed on the basis of Mughal feats of canal engineering (Wescourt 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 Hal’s own highly ambivalent attempt to distance himself from the ornate legacy of Indian Persianate Islam.

\textsuperscript{20} Fully discussed in Ali 1968, the standard work.
Hali's Musaddas

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 exotics 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 wān muqadda
Kartal jis se khīl jā'ēn dīl ke sārāsē.21

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 gūtār yaktar
Jahān un ke āgar baṅg haim aksar.22

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 gūtār hai jangaloon men M285). At the same time, similar images of exotics are used to characterize the disolute life of the rich in contemporary India (M168):

Kamar-basta hain log kūmat men un kā
Gul-o lāla rahte hain shubat men un kā
Nātāsāt bhart hai tabī'at men un kā
Nāzātāt so dāktāl hai 'adat men un kā
Dāvā'ōn men mushk un kā uftāā hain dhoren
Voh poshāk men 'îlr matte hain serōn.23

In this context, then, images of exotics are suggestive of precious over-refinement, which is one of the symptoms of decline. Here exotics 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.

21 Nor were there obtainable there the requisite materials necessary for the lotus-flowers of the heart to open fully.
22 Through them Spain was entirely turned into a rose-garden, where many of their memorials remain.
23 People stand in attendance to serve them. The rose and the tulip remain in their company. Their heads are adorned with refinement, their habits are permeated with delicacy. In their draughts masses of musk arise, their garments are steeped in pots of rose perfume.

Themes of the Musaddas

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 dīmad 'spontaneous inspiration' over dávā'ōn 'affected artifice' (Muqaddama:120-2). In European terms Hali's poetics might even be labelled 'neo-classical', given its aggressive doctrine of a return to natural simplicity.24 The vagueness of Hali's use of the word 'nature' has been noted elsewhere (Steele 1981:19, Pritchett 1994:165-6).25 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 1955:47, 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 toward one's self. It is possible to place the imagery of exotica and cultivation in the Musadsas 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.26

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

24 For a discussion of the neo-classical in these terms, see Rosen 1976:171.
25 For a similar vagueness in Sir Sayyid's use of the word, see Troll 1978:91:175-7.
26 For which see Hardy 1972:175-6, Rodinson 1988. For popular cultural uses of such an image in Britain, see Mackenzie 1995:176-204.
nintheteenth 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 1992:123-46). 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 (Shahid 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 (Mugaddama:94). 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 Mugaddama, he singles out the marjya generally, and particularly Mir Anis's work, for praise (Mugaddama:264-75). The main reason he gives to justify this praise is that the marjya is an image of characters who serve as moral emblems, and so the genre is as amenable to the kind of moral instruction Hali felt should influence and uplift Urdu poetry (Mugaddama:271-3). But Hali's affinity with the marjya might also lie on a deeper level. Mir Anis's famous murgya beginning lab qat' k mawafat-e shab asbab ne ("When the sun had completed its nightly journey") abounds with images of exotic gardens in the desert (Mugaddama:264-75). 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 marjya is also a uniquely Indian genre in Islamic literature, and at the same time, since it is so obviously associated with the Persianate Sufi strands of Islam, 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

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 poetry'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 (M85):

Hart-e Khulafat men umroh pai lad-kar Chale ate the Mitr-o Yathun ke dafar

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

Navishon se haith jin ke ab tak muayyan Kutub-khana-e Pairs-o Rumi LAN.

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 (Khat tin gunan gun kada yah se der h 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 yaksun vatan aur safar ko M78).

28 Load on camels, the archives of Egypt and Greece used to come into the precincts of the Caliphate.

29 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):

Bhōsh taur Iram Salsabil aur Kauzar
Pahār aur jangal jāzāre samandar
Ist tārk ke aur bhi nām akgar
Kiūkūn meh partīe nūrē hāīn barābar
Ye hash tāk na dekhe kisē kisē yaqīn par
Kī ye āsmān par hāīn yā hāīn zamīn par

There is thus also an implied link between the disinclination to travel and the Muslim community's inquietude 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. 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 homogeneous 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 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.32 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 adjectival images. The first occurs in 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 geometries of the age gathered together and used their apparatuses to survey the globe (Kare ki masahat ke phalādē sūmān M90). The

30 Paradise and Iram, Salsabil and Kauzar, 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?

31 For such notions in the context of India, see Washbrook 1982 and Omisis 1991.
poet adds that thereby the value of the whole became evident from the part (Hu't juv se gadr kul ki numayih 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 sarasar
Unht ki rasad-gahen thin jaba-gustar

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 economies. 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):

Pahuchchait hain mulkok meh dam-dam ki khabren
Chari ati hain shadi-o-glam ki khabren
'Apain hain har ik barr-e-a'zam ki khabren
Khuli hain zamane pairs 'alam ki khabren
Nakht vaqta ko'i pinnain kalain ka
Hai k'ina ahl-ul ra-e zamain ka

33 Right from Samarkand to Spain, it was their observatories that diffused their splendour.
34 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.

Themes

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. 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 perform be 'true'. Also, the fast transmission of news (khabar) which the poet refers to might have something to do with the way in which the khabariyya or 'informative' mode was being privileged over the inslahiyya 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. 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 privilege 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
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).37 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 masha'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 disdaining and immodest aesthetic and performing habits which he felt characterized aspects of Urdu literary culture. It is interesting that in his letter to 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 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 kafir-o haal se bekar sare
Nasthe men ma-e haq ke sarshar sare.38

Thus, the Musaddas associates Urdu poetry with conventional imagery of wine and intoxication, but places this in a moral context of disapproval, 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. 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

37 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.

38 All were disgusted with the way of unbelief and falsehood. All were drunk with the intoxicating wine of truth.
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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 Halli’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. Halli’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 Halli 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. 39 At one poignant moment of the poem, another historical possibility is faced, namely the extinction, or at least superseding, of the Muslim community (M230):

\begin{verbatim}
Nabuwat na ga khait hot ‘arab par
Koi ham pai mab’ut hota payambar
To hai jaise maqzar Qur’an ke andar
Zalalat yahd aur nasara ki aksar
Yunikh jo kitab is payambar pai at
Vo gumhriyath sab hamari jatada
\end{verbatim}

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 Halli himself was witness to, and which were quite central to the changing self-perceptions which the poet was working through in the *Musaddas*.

40 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.
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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):

Kisi vaqt jī bhar-ke sote nahīn vo
Kabhi ser mūnats se hote nahīn vo
Bitā'ā ko apni dūbote nahīn vo
Ko'ī lamha be-kār khote nahīn vo
Na chalne se thakte na ukāte hain vo
Bahut bāhī ga'e aur bāhīte jāte hain vo

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

Zamāne se kuchh aisc sārīth-nishīn hain
Ki goyā jārī thā jo kām hain
Vo sab kar chuke ek bāqī hai marnā

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 was 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 begging 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 Yirap ki hamdarā). Here the poet posits another historical irony, namely that the people of Europe

41 They never sleep their fill, they are never satiated 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.
42 We sit so careless of the world / That it is as if all necessary tasks had already been accomplished, and only death remains.

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

Shart'ā'ī ke jo ham ne paimān toge
Vo lo jā-ke sab ahī-ī māqāhib ne jore

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 chahīne ubal-kar
Bahut bāhī chhārīte ga'e phāl phal-kar

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

Musāfīr yahān hain faqīr aur ghant sab
Chhalam aur azād hain rifānt sab

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 wouched 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

43 Those covenants of the Holy Law which we have broken, have all been firmly upheld by the people of the West.
44 Many springs have welled up here only to run dry, many gardens have bloomed and blossomed only to be cut back.
45 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 it 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.46 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 these 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 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.47

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 redployed and disguised form.

The idiom 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 1970:227). 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 analogy may be subsumed under the liberal conception of duty.’ The Prophet of these biographies is a ‘liberal Muhammad within a capitalist society’ (Smith

46 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.

47 For a powerful indictment of such stereotyping, see Said 1978, but for some differing perspectives on this, see Majeed 1992 and Mackenzie 1995.
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1985:74, 76). 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):

\[
\text{Jā u m kārē tāt kā dīl lāy tāt} \\
\text{Shārīb u m kā ghasīf mēn gūjā pōm tē} \\
\text{Tā’āyūsh thā ghasīf tē dīvānāgī thē}^{46}
\]

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 Hall, 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.\(^50\)

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 (Sperel and Shackle 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

\(^{46}\) Commentators have discussed the increase in the number of biographies of Muhammad in nineteenth and twentieth century India (cf. Fares 1982, Smith 1985:52-4, 71-4). It is clear that these biographies were in part a response to the poetics of Christian missionaries, who sought to represent the life of Jesus as exemplary (Troll 1978:79-39).

\(^{49}\) 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 obliqueness, there was madness.

\(^{50}\) For this assumption in other works of Hall, see Steele 1981:19, Pritchett 1994:179.

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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 fertile 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 fructious 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 sapped by the poem’s anti-hedonistic polemic. Some of their favourite pastimes have been referred to above; the description of their affectionates 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 moral benefits of pleasures 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 Hall’s Muqaddama is reminiscent of a ghasal (Steele 1981:18).

Equally ironically, the opposition between tight—moral—control and loose—in-moral—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 ghasal 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 Hall 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 Harfīs 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.

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1 Haliyat

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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 bush 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 storms 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 laments, 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
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...
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.
Wearied and exhausted as I was by the fatigue of twenty years, I embarked upon
that harsh journey, unaware of where I was going, not knowing why I was
moving, with no genuine motive or resolute step, lacking determination,
perseverance, faith or purpose, simply dragged along in the grasp of a powerful
hand:

That heart, which used to flee the young and fair,
Was captured by the elder’s single glance.

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 fevers raging within myself, racking my heart and
brain, while seeking their outlet. Then I was approached by a true well-wisher
of our people—regarded as such not only by his own people but by the entire
country, who not only serves his brethren with his own mighty hand and
powerful arm, but also wishes to involve every useless cripple in the same
activity. He put me on my mettle and upbraided me, saying that it was a
shameful thing to claim the status of a talking creature and not to make use of
the tongue one had been given by God:

Go move your lips, and as a human speak.
If you’re a stone, boast not, ‘I am a man.’

The condition of our people is ruined. Its nobles have been abused, and
its upper class reduced to dust. Learning is long since finished, and only the
name of faith is left. Loud complaints of poverty are heard from every home,
and the belly grumbles for food in every quarter. Morality has been completely
ruined, and is being still further corrupted. The black cloud of bigotry
overshadows the whole people. All have their feet shackled by tradition and
convention, while their heads are weighed down by ignorance and slavish
imitation of the past. Their political leaders, who are capable of greatly
benefiting their people, are careless and oblivious, while their religious leaders,
who have a great part to play in its reformation, are lacking in awareness of
what is suited to the needs of the age. At such a time it is necessary that each
man should do what he can, for we are all embarked upon the same ship, and
our welfare depends upon that of the whole craft. 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. Although the likely result of this undertaking may be judged from
the outcome of other schemes, yet the human heart is always overwhelmed in
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,
or an exactly accurate picture of the present state of the community. Flights of fancy or elegance of style are nowhere to be found in it, and it lacks both 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. It lacks any wondrous power of the kind 'unseen by any eye, unheard by any ear, unfelt by the heart of any man.' It is as if the people of Delhi and Lucknow had been invited to a meal in which nothing was laid before them but boiled rice and dal and curry without peppers. This poem has not, however, 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. It will be a sufficient kindness on their part if they will look at it, read it, and understand it. I shall then be left with no occasion for complaint:

Hafiz, your task is just to offer prayers.
So worry not if they are heard or not!
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
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).
In praise and invocation

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!

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

1 Hippocrates died in Homer, 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' ( nasb) means that which starts the illness, while 'symptom' (ul'amat) is that from which it is recognized.
5* But the obliviousness of that heedless community is still the same.
Their contemptment 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.
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 Naala. 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 Naala 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 33:3); 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.'
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' (and do'a'u shi Ibrahimu wa-bashtratu shi 'Isa). For Abraham prayed for the
Mecceans to be sent a prophet from amongst themselves: cf. Rabbanā wa S'ātī nisā'īn minhum
(Quara 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. Innt nasīla Ilahi... mishkhtiran bi-nasīla ya'īn min hu'lli (Quara 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).
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 fulfills 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 another—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 Quraysh, especially the Hashimites (Bani Hashim) and the Umayyads (Bani Umayya).
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 Sāfā in ambush, waiting to plunder you?'

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!'

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

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

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.

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:

\[\text{The word 'al' means 'grazer of sheep or goats'. It is often used to refer to the prophets.}\]
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.
'If 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 'Intelligent 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 enthralled 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-glorying 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.

36 The word siddiq means ‘those who are the first believers in the prophets and who spend their whole lives in truthfulness’; ribāb ‘the ascetics among the Christians’; akhīr ‘those learned in religion among the Christians’; alaw ‘virtuous men’; alaw ‘those who are free and independent of all things other than God’.

37 The words of the Hadith are: لَا تَنْصَبْ لِأَنَا مَعَ السَّيِّدَةَ مُلْكَةَ بَنَتِي مَرْيَمَ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنِّي وَأَنتُمْ وَأَثْنَاءَ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَحْمَةُ اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَبُعُودٍ لَّهُ مَرْكَزًا ‘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.’

38 Cf. Qul innānā unāḥ hadhār man mithlakum yāḥyā ilāya (Quran 41:6) ‘Say thou: I am but a man like you. It is revealed to me by inspiration.’
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.'

45 Cf. the Hadith: *Ila ana l-awla min jaridun wad tun man mā fihi ilū dhikur '*Allāh wad twālibī wad 'alāma min al-ummir.'
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.'
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.'

Cf. the Hadith: Dhabiru najahan 'inda rasul fi 'i-adhathin wa-jahidin wa-dhabiru akhbaru bi-'a'ain fa-qiita 'Ubayyin la ta'dalu bi 'i-r:ad' yu'n 'I-wud'ad'a 'A man was mentioned to the Apostle of God for his devotion and zealfulness, and another man for his observance, and the Prophet said 'Never consider observance—that is, piety—to be equal.'

Cf. the Hadith: Man talaba 'l-dunyuh haladan istifsan 'an al-maw'suri wa-s-say 'alaa al-hiwi wa-ph'atina 'alai jari' la'laja 'llahu ta'alay yu'suma 'I-qanunul wa-wajihnu mithaa qamari la'ti la'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.'

45 This is a translation of two Hadith: La ya'hamnu 'illahu man la ya'hamnu 'illaha 'God is not merciful to anyone who is not merciful to people'; and Irhamu man fi 'an-zi yarhamtum man fi 'I-amadi' 'If you are merciful to whoever is on earth, then who is in heaven will be merciful to you.'

Cf. the Hadith: La'a minna man do'ti la ilah bayyana wa-la'iisa minna man qula 'l-bayyanin wa-la'iisa minna man mut 'ala 'l-bayyanin 'None of us support him who cleaves to fanaticism, or who fights in the name of fanaticism or who dies in fanaticism.'
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 shrunk 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.

Cf. the Hadith: Idhā kāna umaraʾ uṣumā maʾkulātum uṣumā uṣumā wuṣumā uṣumā sīrah batinātum ṣamālā tānilī khairah lekum min banīnāh, wo-idhā kāna umaraʾ uṣumā ashihuʾ uṣumā wo-ṣamālā tānilī khairah lekum min banīnāh '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.'

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.
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, then 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.
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.

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

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.

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.

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 gyanis no longer meditated upon Bhagvan, nor was there any worship of Yazdan by his people.

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.
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 The 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-hell. 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.

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 'illiterate' 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.
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.
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

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.

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

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.

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.

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 (Soh-e Bādūr) in Spain the Sierra Albeda. Because its peak is always white with snow,
the Arabs called it the White Peak (Qūla Bādūr); and its ancient name is Sierra.
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 throns 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.

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 Mutasim ibn Umar Aftash had most magnificent buildings constructed. Ibn Falas wrote some very moving verses in memory of it.

Cadic (the English name for Qandis) is a smallish island twelve miles long attached to the Gulf of Zaqun, 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 Caliph. Nasir Amru 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 1656, situated on both banks of the Tigris in Iraq. The settlement on the western bank is called Karth and that on the east Askar Mahdi and Rusafa.

Arab Iraq is the country bordered on the west by the land of the Jazirs, between the Tigris and Euphrates, on the east by the mountainous territory of Persian Iraq. Its best known cities are Qadiya, Kufa, Baghdad, Mada'in, Nahrawan, Wasit, Basra, etc.
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 lawmakers of Greece.

90 Sanjar is an ancient and famous city in the area of the Jazir (between the Tigris and the Euphrates) known as Dijar Rabia. There is a very large level plain here, called Barriya by the Arabs. Once in this plain and another time in the plain of Kufa geometers were gathered on the orders of Mansur 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 Hijāl bin Miṣṣi is well known, were sent on this task.
The ruins of the observatories of Samarkand and Spain are still in existence. Maragha is a city in Azerbaijan founded by Marwaan 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 in 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 Aadam ud Daula had an observatory built in Baghdad by Dujan ibn Dastam.

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.

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.

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.

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.

By 'this group' is meant the Muslim specialists in Hadith, the Muhaddithin. In the technical language of the Muhaddithin, 'invalidation' (jarr) is to prove some transmitter of tradition to be guilty of carelessness, imperfect memory, untruthfulness or fabrication, while 'justification' (wa'dil) is to establish a transmitter to be accepted, having a good memory, truthful or trustworthy.

Testimony and Evidence (khulah aur agar) are types of Hadith.
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.

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

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.

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.

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.

Elegance 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 (nadjik al-dawlah) 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.

96 'Virtue' (manāqib) and 'vices' (majālīb): in describing the circumstances of the transmitters, the Muḥaddithun 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 'ṣūrāt al-rijāl, in which the circumstances of the learned and the transmitters of traditions are recorded with great accuracy. By aswād is meant the science of Hadīth, in which the name of each transmitter is mentioned together with the text of the Hadīth. Dr Spranger has written: The Muslims are entitled to be proud of the 'ṣūrāt al-rijāl. No people of the past or present has, like the Muslims, written for two/thousand 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.
101. It was thanks to them that medicine spread throughout the world, by which every people and community benefitted. 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 Husain 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.

101. Salerno is a famous Italian city in the province of Naples. There the Muslims had a famous university (madrasa), in which theoretical and practical training in medicine was given, and where people came from all over Europe to learn medicine (Risala Rossant by Hanbari [?], 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 Qanun 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 Kitaab bi-tul wa mahall in 20 volumes, the Shifa in 18 volumes, the Qanun in 14 volumes, the Kitaab al-israf in 20 volumes and the Lijdin al-'arab in 10 volumes. He died in AH 428 at the age of 58, and is buried in Hamadan.

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

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.

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

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

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

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. *Qultum* is a name of the Red Sea.
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.

These nations include the Parth, Jew, Hindu, etc., while 'falcon' stands for the rulers.
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 paisa, 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.
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

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.

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.

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

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.

Thiers 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.
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 professions or crafts, nor ashamed of hard

work and toll.

Those who fall later recover themselves. When they suffer a blow, they

escape and get out. They do not let themselves be pinned into every mould. Where things have

changed, they change too. They know the expressions of the age.

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The wind of autumn has already come into the garden, the direction of

the gardener’s gate has shifted. The wailing 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. The ship does not sail forever in a single direction. Still where the wind

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Poverty, which is called the Mother of Crimes, on account of which

hearts cease to remain firm in faith. Which makes men bend, because of which

they pray not he was the mark of a Muslin.
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 loams 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 alms now.
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.

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 Daiam and Isfahan,
They who acted as shepherds of the realm, in their households that the conjunction of benefits occurred.

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.

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.

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.

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.
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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.
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.
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 paisas do no good to anyone here. They are as inauspicious for them as its wings are to an ant.

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.

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.

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?

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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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

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

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.
Text and translation

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 hours 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 fulfill 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.

172 *Hawān is the hot water which will be given to those in hell to drink, while zaqīm is a kind
of food which will be given to them to eat.

173 Cf. the Hadith: *Hubba y-waqiyyi min al-imām 'The love of country is a part of faith.'
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 jurists, no
mystic or theologian.
183 Where are 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 Junaidis, 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, murid is a person who has chosen the Way after absorption into the divine, while murid 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.
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 mockery in Islam; [verse 189] 'There is no hurt and no causing of hurt in Islam'; [verse 2:286] 'On no soul doth Allah place a burden greater than it can bear'; [verse 3:169] 'alainam 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. [verse 2:286] 'La tahlima fi l-islam
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.

The Holy Prophet said Bu’ishu la-ustamima makárina ‘l-akhiríqi, 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 (nakhláq kit tablígh).
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.
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 Shafi, 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.
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.
Text and translation

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.
Text and translation

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 of 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.
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,
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 went 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.

227 When Umar was Caliph, he addressed an assembly of Muhajirun and Ansar, asking them three times how they would behave if they 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 excused this verse: In aitam adhāhām inām tura fa-ātā te khudōa wina bu shal'an (Qur'an 4:20) 'Even if ye had given the latter a whole treasure for dowry, 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.
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 Shifa and the Almagest,
Who prostrate themselves at Aristotle’s threshold, and who blindly follow Plato,
Are just like the proverbial ointman’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 nigh, they will leave the world only after getting it all to agree with them.

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The Shifa is a book by Bu Ali Sina, and the Almagest is by Ptolemy.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.
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 handed 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 Qurān, 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.
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.
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.

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

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.

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 every 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.

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.

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.
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 rovings take them to wrestling arenas and taverns.

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.

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.

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?

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.

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.'
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.
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.

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.

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.

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

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.

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.'
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.
Journeys that took months are accomplished in seconds. One rests more comfortably at breaks in one’s journey than in one’s home. In the jungles, every corner is a rose garden. There is a sense of security in caravans by night and day. Travel, which was once a foretaste of hell, has now been totally changed into the means of profit.

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.

Value this peace and freedom, for the way of progress lies clear in every direction. Every traveller is moving with the times. From every direction this cry is continually heard: ‘There is no need to worry about enemies or to fear robbers. Out you go! The route is free from danger.’

Many caravans have long been moving. Many are loading up with burdens and baggage. Many are agitated in the bustling preparations for departure. Many are sorry that they are not moving. But there you are, all by yourselves, heedlessly asleep. In your heedlessness, may your goal not turn out to be a false one!

Enough! Do not think your friends wish you ill now. Do not make out your guides to be robbers. Blame those who give you counsel later. First carefully examine your own houses, and see whether your store rooms are empty or full of goods, and whether your ways are evil or good.

Conclusion

You have now heard the whole story of the rich. The ways of the learned have all been described. The nobles’ condition has been completely revealed to you. All are sitting prepared for their own ruin here. This crumbling house is now completely dilapidated. Its pillar has shifted from its centre of gravity.
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 (munayesa-nam chaupal minar) 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 Kustam. The Peshdadians were descendants of Hosang, the eleventh king of Fars. The Kayanians were the four kings Kass, Khusrav, Qubad and Lurasp. Chaldeans means the people of Chaldea (Kaiduśa), 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 types in the transcribed verses. Besides comments on the significance of the revisions, full translations of the First Edition version are supplied wherever appropriate.

M5:2

I Magzillat pai apra qan'al at uhi hai

The strong magzillat 'ignominous' 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 apra qan'al at uhi hai

M8:1-4

I 'Arab kuchh na thā i jazira-nunā thā
   Ki paivand mulon se jis kā judā thā
   Na vo ghair qaumn pa chagh-kar gayā thā
   Na us par ko'ī ghafr farnān-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 charchh hai ye kuchh vo kyā thā
   Jahān se alag i jazira-nunā thā
   Zamān se paivand jis kā judā thā
   Na kishwar-sirān thā na kishwar-kushā thā

M13:5-6

I Vo ik bux-paraston kā fīrath bānā thā
   Jahān tān sau sāgh 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 fīrath thā ik bux-paraston kā geyā
   Jahān nām-e haq kā na thā ko'ī jeyā

M17:1

I Vo Bakr aur Taghlib kī nāmī laqā'ī

Perhaps expecting too much knowledge of pre-Islamic history, nāmī 'famous' is altered to bā-ham 'internece', an adjective better emphasizing the perpetual state of civil war amongst the pre-Islamic Arabs:

II Vo Bakr aur Taghlib kī bā-ham laqā'ī

M17A

This stanza, along with M136A and M250A, is one of the three which were dropped in the Second Edition:

I Ist tarh ek aqr khān-rez bāidā
   'Arab meh laqab harb-e Dāhis hai jis kā
   Rahā ek mūdāt tak apān meh bar-pā
   Bāhā khān kā har zaraf jis meh daryā
   Sabab us kā likhā hai yā, Asma'ī ne
   Ki ghor-daur meh chendā kī thī kātī ne

In the same way, another bloody conflict—in Arabia given the title of the War of Dāhis—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. Dāhis 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 bāidā 'conflict' and chendā 'cheating' are 'Hindi' words of the type regularly employed by Hali in his search for 'natural' effects.

M37:1-5

I Nasārā ne jis ārth khāyā hai dhokā
   Ki samjhe vo 'īsā ko beṛ khudā kā
   Majhe su samajhāna na zihār asā
   Mūr hadd se rathā bādhāna na merā
   Sab insān haīr jis ārth van sar-fīgāndā

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 'Isā, only as Masīḥa '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 auron ki māndind dhokā na khānā
cisi ko khuddā kā na betā banānā
Mīrā had se ruba na mēra bāghānā
Bāghā-kār bahut tum na mujh ko ghatānā
Sab insān hain wān jīs āraāh sīr-fāgānā

M41:4
I Hon jayānd-o zal us men yā māl-o daulat
The plural verb goes less well with the alternative copular phrases than the singular:
II Ho jayānd-o zal us men 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 Samāiate the zimmi-o muslim ko yaksān

M63:1-2
I Na hangāma thā garm 'Ībrāniyān kā
Na iqbāl yāvar thā Nasrāniyān 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 dāur dāura thā 'Ībrāniyān kā
Na ye bakhā-i iqbāl Nasrāniyān kā

M67:3
I Jahān 'ilm-o hikmat kī bhārmār 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 Fālātān ko phir zinda kar-ke dikhāyā
The rhythm is slightly improved:
II Fālātān ko zinda phir kar dikhāyā

Appendix

M75:4
I Zirā'at men mashkār-e duniyā hu-e vo
The word zirā'at 'cultivation' overlaps very closely with the preceding falāḥat
'agriculture', hence its replacement by siyāḥat 'travelling':
II Siyāḥat men mashkār-e duniyā hu-e vo

M78:3-4
I Khangālā huā un kā sab bahr-o bar thā
Jo Lankā men the un kā Bābar men ghar thā
Every ocean and continent had been thoroughly explored by
them. Those who were in Lanka had their home in Babary.
One of Hali's more strained uses of 'Hindi' vocabulary, the opening khangālā
'washed' is toned down to the more familiar chāhānā 'sifted'. The alteration of
the rhythmically awkward sequence men 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 rhythmical expression around
the exotic geographical names which are so prominent a feature of this part of
the poem:
II Tamām un kā chāhānā huā bahr-o bar thā
Jo Lankā men āra to Bābar men ghar thā

M79:3
I Hāín Sallātun men un ke āṣār 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 men hātūn un ke āṣār ab tak

M80:5-6
I Tumhen Koh-e Ādām se tā Koh-e Baizā
Milegā jahān jā'oge khoj un kā
The familiar second person pronoun tumhen is dropped, and the rhythm is
adjusted around the geographical names, thus maintaining a rather grander style:
II Sar-e Koh-e Ādām se tā Koh-e Baizā
Jahān jā'oge khoj pa'oge un kā

M82:6
I Main hain is zamīn par 'Arab ki nāshānī
The same elements are rhythmically re-ordered:
II 'Arab ki hāh main is zamīn par nāshānī

M84:4
I Vo ughā huā karr-o far jā-ke dekke
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 zar-o zabar jā-ke dekke
M85:1-6

Vo mashhur pā-takhk ႳABBĀSIYON kā
Lab-e Dîila urdā thā jis kā pharēra
Tār-o ḍushk par jis kā pargā thā sāya
‘Irāq-e ‘Arab jis pāi thā ḍaxkār kartā
Ha’t sar-nigān jis kī muddat se ḍhaddī
Hai jo āj kal ik tijrāt kī māndī

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 pharēra, ḍhaddī, māndī) 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 bādā kī ḍakhr-e bīlād-e jahān thā
Tar-o ḍushk par jis kā sikka ravanā thā
Gārā jis men ႳABBĀSIYON kā nishān thā
‘Irāq-e ‘Arab jis se raskh-e jinān thā
Urđ le gā’ bād-e pindār jis ko
Bāhā le gā’ saइ-e Tūtdūr jis ko

M114:5-6

Ki kā lākhr thā jin se Hindostān kā
Hu’re 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 kā lākhr thā jin se ahi-e jahān kā
Lagā un se ‘āib āj Hindostān kā

M118:5

Khouros aur shahbāz sab aur par hain

It is explained in a note that ‘cock’ and ‘falcon’ mean the ruled and the rulers.
Although a Persian word, Khouros ‘cock’ lacks the poetic connotations of the
chakor:

II Chakor aur shahbāz sab aur par hain

M133:3

Hain dunyā men aise kī gosā nāhīn hain

The wording is rhythmically superior:

II Jahanān men hain aise kī gosā nāhīn hain

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M134:5-6

I Na fārīgh hain ta’lim-e aulād se vo
Na ḍhafīl hain sust-e būnyād 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 sust-e būnyād is replaced by a familiar Muslim
perception of the determined progress of the Hindus under British rule:

II Na fārīgh hain aulād kī tarkhīyat se
Na be-fikr hain qaum kī taqviyat se

M135:6

I Unḥīn ke hain aifs unḥīn ke hain daftar

The carefully pointed ‘English’ pronunciation is replaced by the usual Urdu
spelling of the loanword:

II Unḥīn ke hain āifs unḥīn ke hain 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 Taḥrāt men ek ik kī hai khākzār
Burā sun-ke karte hain vo bur-dār
Tavāsū’ hai jis kī rag-o pāi men sār
Dimāgh un ke hain kib-ro nakhyat se ār̃t
Na bāton men un kī haqārāt kī kī
Na jaloṣ men un kī maẓāmmat kī 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 Dilōn kī umangēn unīdōn kī khushyān

There is a minor adjustment:

II Dilōn kī unīdēn umangōn kī khushyān

M178:6

I Ye hain un kī armān ye hain un kī khushyān
A similar minor adjustment:

II Ye hain un kī khushyān ye hain un kī armān
Appendix

M214:3
I  Hai bāzār un kā khārā yā kī khojā
A rhythmic re-ordering of the type noted under M78:3-4 above, the revision avoids too great a parallelism with the following...jñātā kī sachchā:
II  Kharā un kā bāzār hai yā kī khojā

M217:6
I  Khaṭākā hai kāntā sā ānkhon men sab kā
A minor alteration to:
II  Khaṭākā hai kāntā sā naṣṭon men sab kā

M227:6
I  Khallfīn se latij thī ek ek burhāyā
The quarrel was, strictly speaking, only with the one Caliph Umar, and the inflection of the word khallfa is also rather colloquial, hence:
II  Khallīfa se latij thī ek ek burhāyā

M228:1
I  Nabī ne kahā thā jinnīn faḫry-e ummat
An unduly long sequence of relative clauses is avoided with:
II  Nabī ne kahā thā unhein faḫry-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
252-245 on learning
249-256 on poetry
This is Hali's most substantial revision to his first version.

M234:5
I  Jamī hain dilon meh Aristūk kī rā'ēn
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  Dilōn meh hain naqsh ahl-e Yūnān kī rā'ēn

M235:2-4
I  Shīfā ke hain sab jin ko az-bar maqāle
Jinhi ko Majistā pa gare hain ādā
Havāhi hain Tajfrīd ke sab khaṅgālā
Those who have all the treatises of the Shīfā by heart, Who have pitched their tents upon the Almagest, who have gone minutely through the margins of the Tajfrīd.
Hali's note explains that the Tajfrīd 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

M201:5
I  Na ṭhik us kī hargiz koi bāt samjho
Never think anything he says is right.
This very flat expression is given more force:
II  Makhtīf kī utī har ik bāt samjho

M209:4
I  Har ik qaum ke dil se vaḥshat nikālī
Perhaps the word vaḥshat 'craziness' was felt to be inappropriate, even though naḥquat has already been used earlier in the stanza:
II  Har ik qaum ke dil se nafrat nikālī

M210:5
I  Naḥīn dast-yāb aise ab do musalmaṁ
Slightly softened in the revised version:
II  Naḥīn dast-yāb aise ab das musalmaṁ

M211:4
I  Ghum-e qaum men sina-aṛgār hote
In grief for the nation our breasts should be wounded.
The word qaum is less affectively suggestive of closeness than 'aẓīmān 'dear ones':
II  'Aẓīmān ke ghum men dīl-aṛgār hote
used to develop a more symmetrical treatment, while dropping the ‘Hindi’ verb khanãlnã (also dropped from M78:3, although retained in M92:3):

II
Shiã sur Majãsur ke dam ðhare ðale
Aristã kì chaukhãt par sar ðharrne ðale
Faltãn ðì ìqãlã ðarne ðale

M241:4
I ìst rãh par par ìyã ðalla sãrã
The rhyme is slightly strengthened by reversing the last two words:
II ìst rãh par par ìyã sãrã ðalla

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 Sukhã sur ho yahã aj ìsã ðamãrã
Nahã ðaun ko zãhãra jis se ñãra
Har iã kãzã ðhãtaã se jis ðenã ñãvaraã
Majãsãm ho us kã ñãgar ñãhã sãrã
Bane Hind menã us se aur iã Himãlã
Himãlã se jis kì choãi ðubãla
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.

GLOSSARY

M284:6
I Na rãton men ðaazãg-o rãhãan kã khaãtkã
Perhaps felt to be too mechanical a contrast with the preceding Na ðhar men…, hence changed to:
II Na bãhar hai ðaazãg-o rãhzãn kã khaãtkã
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 Per-Sk-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 transcriptions 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
adj. adjective
adv. adverb
conj. conjunction
f. feminine noun
H ‘Hindi’
intj. interjection
m. masculine noun
num. numeral
P. Persian
pl. plural
ppn. postposition
pr. pronoun
prepn. preposition
sg. singular
vi. intransitive verb
vt. transitive verb

A ãb m. water; ãb-e bârân m. rain water; ãb-e baqâ m. water of eternal life; ãb-o havâ f. climate; ãb adj. watery; m. creature of water
abà m.pl. (sg. ab) ancestors, forefathers
abâd adj. flourishing
abâr f. honour, dignity
ãtãsh f. fire; ãtãsh-zâbânt f. fiery eloquence; ãtãsh-fân adj. fire-shedding; ãtãsh-kâda m. fire-temple
àgãr m.pl. (sg. àgar) signs, vestiges, traces; basis, foundation
àbrî f. man; àbrî-khâwârd adj. man-eating; àbrî-khâyati f. humanity
àzâd adj. free; m. free man; àzâdî f. freedom; àzâdî-ye râ’î f. freedom of thought
àzâr m. threshold (of shrine)
ãstâda m. prosperous, well-off, in easy circumstances; ãstâda-târ adj. more at ease
ãstãkî f. peace, concord
ãshkâra adv. apparent, manifest
ãshnâ m. friend
ãglâz m. beginning
ãfãq m.pl. (sg. ãfãq) horizons, ends of the world
ãfântâ f. disaster, calamity; ãfântâ-zâda adj. struck by disaster
ãgâh m. master
ãgâh adj. aware, knowing: ãgâhi f. acquaintance, knowledge
A ãl f. offspring

P. Persian
pl. plural
ppn. postposition
pr. pronoun
prepn. preposition
sg. singular
vi. intransitive verb
vt. transitive verb

p ån f. moment
wâh m. brick-kiln
ãf f. sigh; ãh-o zârî f. cries and laments, lamentation
p åndâ adj. coming, in the future
p årin f. rule
p årne m. mirror

A. Arabic
p åbr m. cloud
p åbrî f. eyebrow
H åshâlnâ vi. to well up
p åis m. the devil, Satan
H åshânmâ vt. to cause to swell; to inspire
p åpîkhâ adj. crippled
H åpaînî adj. own; åpaînî-parâyî adj. own’s own and others’
åitfâqî adj. casual, chance
åja m. monopoly
H åjâlâ m. light, radiance
åjâb m.pl. (sg. åjâb) strangers
åjâd m.pl. (sg. åjâd) forbears
H åjârîs vi. to be ruined
H åjaî f. adj. bright, clear, brilliant
åjâfî m.pl. (sg. åjâfî) lower orders, the common people
åkhâtâ adj. untouched
åkhîr m.pl. (sg. åkhîr) rabbis
åahrî m.pl. (sg. åhrî) the
free, those free from worldly attachments

A ikšāt m. obligation
A akhām m.pl. (sg. hukun) orders, commandments
A hām m. fool
A hāl m. (sg. hāl) state, condition
A abbar m.pl. (sg. khabar) traditions
A iskāla f. disagreement
A išāla f. hiding, concealment
A ikhlaṣ m. sincerity, sincere affection
A akhlāq m. (sg. khulq) morality, ethics
A ikhlaṣ m. (sg. khalq) brothers, brethren
A adā' f. charm, grace
A adā' f. fulfilment; adā' kurnā vt. to fulfill, discharge
A adab m. manners, civility; literature
A idbar m. calamity, misfortune
A idrāk m. understanding, perception
A adnā adj. mean, humble
A adā'ī m. writer
A asān f. call to prayer
A ērāda m. intention, resolve
A arba'ī m.pl. (sg. rabb) possessors; arba'ī-e himmat m.pl. men of lofty spirit
A arkan m.pl. (sg. rukn) pillars
A armān m. desire, longing
A uṣūnā vt. to cause to fly; to squander; urdū vi. to fly
A drā'ā vi. to be stubborn, obstinate
A ṣūrār f. trousers
A ērāda f. eternity without beginning
A asāmī m. person, client; asāmī bānānā to make a fool of, to dupe
A ēstifāda f. seeking gain
A ēstifāda f. strength
A ēsrār m.pl. (sg. sirr) secrets
A ēsrār m.pl. (sg. salaf) ancestors
A ēsrārī m. Muslim
A ēshūra m. sign, signal
A ēshārā f. the wicked
A ēshārā m.pl. (sg. sharif) nobles, aristocrats
A ēshārā f. a poet of the pagan poets
A ēshārā m.pl. (sg. shirīr) verses
A ēshārā m. root, basis; principle, main point; ēshā adv. not at all
A ēshā f. reform
A ēshā m.pl. (sg. ast) principles; ēshā f. fundamentalist
A ēshā f. obedience
A ēshā m.pl. (sg. tabīb) doctors
A ēshā m.pl. (sg. alaq) habit, ways, manners
A ēshā m. objection
A ēshā m. (sg. ēdā) enemies
A ēshā m. honour, esteem
A ēshā m. announcement, proclamation
A ēshā f. the Muslim community
A ēshā m.pl. (sg. maql) equals
A ēshā m. possibility
A ēshā m. peace; ēshā m. peace and security
A ēshā f. eagerness
A ēshā f. illiterate
A ēshā f. place of hope; ēshā f. place of hope; ēshā f. apprenticeship, candidate
A ēshā m. commander, emir; rich man
A ēshā adj. trustworthy, faithful
A ēshā f. quarrel, enmity
A ēshā m.pl. (sg. nāf) prophets
A ēshā f. the Gospel
A ēshā m. manner, style
A ēshā m. darkness; ēshā f. dark
A ēshā f. writing, composition
A ēshā f. justice, fairness
A ēshā m. reward
A ēshā m.pl. (sg. nafar) menials, servants
A ēshā m.pl. (sg. nafar) breaths
A ēshā f. refusal
A ēshā m. finger; ēshā f. to place the finger on, to criticize
A ēshā f. adj. priceless
A anvar adj. brilliant, resplendent
A aubāsh m. wastrel, layabout
A ajj m. zenith
A aza’ f.pl. (sg. va’a’) manner
A aulād f. (sg. valad) descendants, offspring
A uli m.pl. possessors; ulā-’ihih m.pl. learned people
A lūt m. camel
A ahrām m.pl. (sg. haram) the Pyramids
A ahī m.pl. people; used with the izafat as ahī-e to form many m.pl. compounds: ahī-e taḥqīq genuine inquirers; ahī-e jahān people of the world; ahī-e huḵmat the rulers; ahī-e dunya people of the world; ahī-e doṣād the damned; ahī-e da’ādat the wealthy; ahī-e dīn the faithful; ahī-e rāmā the Romans; ahī-e zarān people of the earth; ahī-e ‘ibārat those prepared to be warned; ahī-e qibla people of the Qibla, the Muslims; ahī-e kishīf people on a boat, crew; ahī-e magārib people of the West; ahī-e va’ra the pious, those who fear to do wrong; ahī-e va’rȧn fellow countrymen; ahī-e yāmān the Greeks; ahī-kārī f. business, service
A aham adj. most important
A a’limma m.pl. (sg. imām) Imams
A ayyān m.pl. (sg. yaum) days; ayyān-e daunārī m.pl. the times
P elch m. envoy
P ainmāf f. security
P aivān m. hall

B
A bāb m. chapter, subject
P bād f. wind
P bādāshield f. kingship, authority
P bāda m. wine
P bār m. fruit; burden
P bārādī m. rain
P bāz adv. back; (se) bāz ānā vi. to give up
P bāzī f. play, sport
P bāzīl adj. vain, foolish; m. vanity, falsehood
P bāzīn adj. inner, esoteric; m. the inside, the heart
P bā’āq m. cause
P bāghban m. gardener
P bāk m. fear
P bāgh f. rein
P bälā adj. high, exalted; surpassing
P bā’ārī adj. by general agreement
A bili-iymā’ adv. by general agreement
P bāno f. lady
P bānt m. founder, builder
P bāvā m. father
P bāvar m. belief; bāvar karnā vi. to believe
P bā-ham adv. together, with one another, amongst themselves; bā-ham ādār adv. with one another; bā-ham layā’ī f. internee warfare; bā-ham mānā vi. to be one
P ba-pā adj. afoot; ba-pā honā to rage (of a storm)
P bhiphānā vi. to become furious
P but m. idol, image
P būrā f. path, way

Glossary

Ar bāter f. quail
Ar ba-jā adj. correct
Ar bahanā vt. to play (an instrument)
Ar biṣṭi f. lightning
Ar bāhānā vt. to quench, extinguish; bāhānā vi. to be extinguished
Ar bakhpan m. childhood
Ar bīchānā vi. to be dispersed, be scattered
Ar bahr m. sea, ocean; bahr-o bar m. oceans and dry land
Ar bākti m. good fortune
Ar bakhshīshī f. pardon, forgiveness; bakhshīnā vt. to grant, to bestow
Ar būkī m. stinginess
Ar bad adj. bad, evil, ill; bā-zāri adj. ill-intentioned; bād-tar adj. worse; bād-khwāh adj. wishing ill, ill-disposed; bād-rāh adj. wicked; bād-gūrān adj. suspicious; bād-rām adj. notorious; bād-nastī f. ill-fortune; bād-nayāt f. malevolence; bādī f. vice, bad quality
Ar bādī (kt) ba-daulat ppn. thanks to
Ar bār m. bridgegroom
Ar bār m. bony, dry land; bār-e a’zmān m. continent
Ar bār prep. on, up, etc.; used as the first element in various phrases and compounds: bār ānā vi. to be fulfilled; bār-bād adj. thrown to the winds, wasted, destroyed; bār-pā adj. established, set up, standing; bār-tar adj. higher, loftier; bār-haq adj. right, true; bār-sar-e kār honā to be lustily employed; bār-taraf adj. aside, diverging; bār-taraf karnā vi. to put aside, to remove; bār lānā to fulfill; bār-mahāl adj. apt, to the point; bār-mālā adj. public, adv. publicly
Ar bāzhār adj. equal; level; unbroken, continuous, continual; adv. continually
Ar bīrādār m. brother
Ar bīrādār o m. behaviour
Ar bīr m. zodiacal sign
Ar bārī f. lightning
Ar bāzīl f. blessing, auspiciousness; prosperity, well-being; perfection
Ar bāz m. leaf
Ar būrāhān m. proof
Ar bārt adj. free (from)
Ar bāhānā vt. to increase; to magnify, exalt; to move forward; to race; bāhānā vi. to increase; to advance; bāhā-kar adj. more
Ar bāhīyā f. old woman
Ar basūrg m. ancestor; bāsūrg f. greatness, eminence
Ar bāzī m. feast, festive assembly, company
Ar bāstān m. garden
Ar bāstār m. bedding
Ar bāstī f. population
Ar bāstānī vi. to dwell; bāstānā m. roosting, lodging
Ar basūrāt f. glad tidings
Ar bāshār m. man, mankind
Ar bāzārī f. capital; goods
Ar ba’llān m. falsehood
Ar ba’īghī m. ill-feeling
Ar baqā f. endurance, survival; eternal life
Ar baqūnā vi. to babble, talk nonsense
Ar bīghāznā vi. to ruina, spoll-
bigara vi. to be ruined, be spoiled; to quarrel

bal m. twist; hostility

A balá f. disaster, calamity

A bilád m.pl. (sg. balád) cities; lands, regions: balá m. city, land, region

A balágat f. rhetoric

balúnd adj. high; balúnd vi. to fly up; balúnd f. height

bán m. forest

bin prep. without; bin-jutá adj. unloosened

biná f. foundation

bína f. conjecture, supposition

bínga m. trade, business

bína f. conjecture, supposition

bína f. conjecture, supposition

band m. slave, creature: bandáqán m.pl. creatures, people

bán m. vi. to become; to make oneself out to be; to succeed, prosper; (se) ban áná vi. to suit, befit

bán m.pl. (sg. ibn) sons; bandáqán m.pl. mankind

búndá f. foundation

bú f. smell, fragrance

búh m. burden, load

bostá m. adj. decayed

ból m. utterance, speech; bol-bálá m. prosperity, success: bôlt f. language; saying, song

ba- prep. by, with

báhár, bahárí f. spring

bág m. racing, running:

báňáná vi. to flee, run away

báñá vt. to cause to flow; to sweep away

bhánítá m. nephew

(brother's son)

bháhí m. pl. (sg. bahíma) wild beasts, brutes

bín-bád f. welfare

bhájí m. nephew

bahr-e prep. for, for the sake of

bahrí adj. deaf

bahrá, bahrá m. share, part; endowment; bahrá-var adj. sharing in, endowed with; benefitting, prospering

bhárosá m. trust

bhágáná vi. to burst into flame

bhíshínt f. paradise

bhágán m. (Hindu) God

bhalá adj. good; adv. well-

bhálí f. goodness; doing good; welfare

bhrí rídrí m. whirlpool

bhrí f. daughter-in-law

bhívrá m. trade

bhí m. evil spirit

bhrí f. welfare

bhef f. sheep: bheríyá1 chál f. following one another like sheep

bheríyá2 m. wolf

bhes m. guise, appearance

bhí f. alms

be prep. without; usually as the first member of negative compounds: be-agár adj. unfeeling; be-bák adj. fearless; be-bálí par adj. without wing or pinion; be-pár adj. wingless; poor, destitute; be-tárbaí adj. badly brought up; be-cháráí f. helplessness; be-had adj. boundless; be-humání f. dishonour; be-húdárí adj. unaware; be-kaúharí adj. without fear; be-thárikí adj. rashly; be-rámí adj. pitiless; be-zárí adj. disgusted, sick of; be-taríní adj. moistureless, unfresh; be-izzátí f. dishonour, disgrace; be-fÍmír adj. thoughtless, careless; be-kárí adj. useless; adv. uselessly; be-mísí adj. unmatched, unequalled; be-múhábíra adj. unrestrained; adv. without restraint; be-masínídí adj. without taking advice; be-mólí adj. priceless; be-sááí adj. indigent, destitute; be-váíjí adj. causeless; be-hósí adj. unconscious

bhí m. desert

bhásí f. notebook

bhání m. account, description, style

bhá m. marriage, wedding; bháhí léntí vs. to give in marriage, marry off

bedár adj. awake

béí m. fleet

begá m. stranger

bálí m. bullock, ox

bání prep. between, among: bón al amráí (sg. amrá) amongest their peers

bhóchárí m. trade

parí m. adv. across

páéí m. adv. ancient, dated

pááhíí f. guarding, watching over

pákí adj. pure, holy

pá-málí adj. trampled underfoot

pááí m. trace, clue; pátá

lagááí to track down, follow up

pááí m. leaf

páágáí m. spark

páághání vt. to dash on the ground, to beat

pááí vi. to be worshipped

pachhānáí vi. to regret

pídar m. father

pír m. wing

pír adj. full; pír-gírí m. adj. full of grief

páragánda adj. scattered

pááyí adj. belonging to someone else, another's

párí m. mountain

párí f. the common people, subjects

pónda m. veil, screen

páaráí m. worshipper, slave; páaráí f. worship

puríí f. questioning, investigation; asking after

paríkhdáí vt. to test, assay

párvíí f. care, concern

párvíí m. moth

párez m. abstinence, dicting

pántaíí m. adj. disordered, ruined, undone

pasí m. prep. after; pas az márgí adv. after death; pas-o píhtí adj. behind and in front

pasíí f. downfall, degradation, abasement, lowliness

páchhíí f. prepare, behind, at the back of

páíí m. moment, second

pálí m. pan on scales
speciality
A tadbîr f. plan, scheme

A târ adj. moist, fresh; tar-o
khushk m. sea and land

A tarârâ m. rapidity; tarârâ
bhârâ vt. to rush on at full speed

A tarâshnâ vt. to cut out, to
fashion

A turbâ c. tomb

A târihiyâ f. upbringing, education

A taraddud m. anxiousness

A tarât adj. fearing

A tarâqû f. progress

A tark m. abandoning

A tâzalû m. shaking

A tâzalat f. diagnosis

A tâsharrî f. following

the Law

A tâshîrih f. anatomy

A ta'sûub m. fanaticism, bigotry, religious prejudice

A u'sâm f. education

A ta'ayyûsh m. pleasure-seeking, luxury

A taghâllub m. cheating, taking advantage

A tafazzût m. difference, distinction

A taghîshus m. investigation, inquiry

A takâfût f. the Trinity

A takâfar f. theise commerce

A takhrî f. writing

A takhîf f. acquiring

A tâhqîr f. contempt, scorn

A takîrî m. throne

A takhîsî f. special quality,

A takhâbbûr m. pride
A *ta'qur* f. honour

P *tavanger* adj. wealthy, powerful

A *tawbah* m. idle thought, fantasy

H *thāmā* vt. to seize

H *thārdūna* vi. to tremble violently, shudder

H *thūrū* vi. to run short, be lacking

H *thāmā* vi. to be restrained

H *itāra* m. place of Hindu pilgrimage

H *tīlī* m. oilman

H *šewr* m. look, expression

H *jaqalnā* vt. to search, to examine by feeling

H *gāf* f. screen

H *gānā* vi. to withdraw, give way

H *gitāmā* vi. to flatter

H *gīnā* vt. to decide, resolve

H *gihkāna* vi. to shrink, hesitate

H *gihkāna* m. place

H *gīnā* vi. to be determined, be decided

H *gahfī* adj. branch, spray

H *gīkor* f. trip, stumble; *gikhāna* to stumble

H *gikhāna* vi. to appoint, establish; to settle, prove; to make out

H *gīlā* m. ridge, hill

A *gābit* adj. fixed; *gābit-qadam* adj. steadfast

A *gānī* m. match, equal

A *gubiti* m. fixing; *gubiti honā* vi. to be fixed

A *garīt* f. wealth

A *gīf* m. weight, gravity

A *gāru* m. fruit

A *gānā* f. praise; *sanā- khwān* adj. singing the praises of

J *fā* f. place; room; *fā bahā* adv. in every place

P *jādā* m. magic; *jādā-bayān* adj. possessing a magical style

A *jādā* m. road, way; *jādā-painā* m. traveller

A *jār* adj. current, set in motion

P *jām* m. cup

P *jān, jān* f. life, heart, soul; *jānī fānā* the heart to be sacrificed (in admiration)

P *jānāā* m. animal

A *jābīl* adj. ignorant, barbarous

A *jabal* m. mountain

A *jabūt* f. forehead

H *jatā* m. to point out, demonstrate; to show, make known

A *jatā* m. adj. to be judged, be estimated; *jatā udā* adj. measured and weighed

P *jūdā* adj. separate, apart-

A *jābz* m. attraction

A *jīrāt* f. daring, courage

P *jīrga* m. band, company

P *jazā* prep. except, besides

A *jazā* f. requital, reward

A *jazā* m. ebb, falling tide

A *jazā* m. part

A *jazār* m. island; *jazār-nūna* m. peninsula

P *jastā* f. search, inquiry

A *jāfā* f. cruelty, oppression

P *jīgā* m. liver, heart

H *jūnā* f. firefly

A *jīllā* f. lustre, splendour

A *jīllā* m. glory, grandeur

A *jāla* m. assembly

P *jāla* m. manifestation, display; lustre; *jāla-gar* adj. conspicuous, manifest; lustrous, splendid; *jāla-gustar* adj. lustre-shedding

A *jamādat* m.pl. (sg. *jamād*) minerals, fossils

A *jamādat* f. society, group, community

A *jamādat* m. place

A *jamānt* vt. to fix, lay down

A *jumla* m. sentence

H *jamānt* vi. to drop, fall off

H *jamānt* vt. to cause to bow, to lower

H *jumla* vi. to bow down, to be lowered

H *jamānt* vi. to quarrel

A *jūlī* m. ignorance

H *jung* m. chump

A *jūnanim* m. hell

H *jīf* f. gilt covering

H *jīhīkāna* m. lament, grievance

H *ji* m. life, soul, self, mind; (so) *ji churā* to try to get out of, shrink from, set one's face against

CH

H *jūt* f. shoe
A hūf f. hour
A hārīf adj. alas!

KH

A khar m. horn; khar-e m. the Arabian horn, a desert plant; khar-o khas m. thorns and sticks, rubber
A khažān m. treasure
A khāk m. earth, dust; khāk adj. earthy; m. creature of the earth
A khāka m. caricature, sketch; khāka uṣūn vt. to ridicule
A khālis adj. pure
A khāliq m. the Creator
A khām adj. raw, crude; untouched, unopened
A khāmosh adj. silent
A khāndān adj. by family, hereditary; m. one of good family, aristocrat
A khānaqāh m. khanqah, Sufi monastery
A khānābād adj. ruined, depraved
A khabār f. knowledge, awareness, news, report; khabār-dān adj. aware; (ka) khabār lenā vt. to take stock of
A khuddām m.pl. (sg. khādām) servants, attendants
A khudāvānd m. master, lord; God
A khudā f. divinity; creation, the world
A khidmat f. service; khidmat-pazārī f. readiness to serve
A khirād m. intellect, intelligence; khirād-mand adj. intelligent, wise
Glossary

A rahm m. mercy - rahmat f. mercy
A rashq m. direction; rashq phirna direction to change
A rakhqat f. leave; rakhqat hona vi. to take one's leave, depart
A raksha m. gap, chink
A rad m. rejection; rad karna vi. to reject
A rida f. cloak
A rashid m. the Apostle, the Prophet Muhammad, the office of Prophet
A rasul m. the Apostle, the Prophet Muhammad,
unvoluntary
A rasha m. relationship, tie
A rashik f. envoy
A rasad m. observation, astronomy; rasad-gah f. observatory
A ra'aa adj. lovely, fair
A ra'atn f. arrogance
A rakhbat f. strong desire, urge
A rifaqat f. companionship
A rafar f. going, moving; rafunt adj. obliged to depart; rafat adj. gone; rafat adv. little by little
A rakhvan f. protection
A rag f. vein
A ramm vi. to wander
A ranj m. sorrow, grief; ranjfar adj. upset, distressed, afflicted
A pind m. wastrel
A rangin adj. brilliant; rangin-bayam f. brilliant style
A rau m. face; rau-dad f. account, proceedings; state; rau-
shinaat f. casual acquaintance; rau zamah m. face of the earth
A rava adj. permissible, allowed
A ravan adj. current; ravan f. flowing, fluency
A rivosat (pl. rivosat) f. tradition; Tradition, Hadith
A rau f. soul, spirit; rau-parvar adj. fostering the spirit; rau-haant m. idealist
A roz m. day; roz-marra m. daily practice
A roshan adj. light, brightness; roshan f. light
A rau'aa f. lustre, glory
A rash m. tree
A rau f. way; rau-bar m. guide; rau-zan m. highway robber; rau-numa m. guide; rau-numa' f. guidance; rau-numan adj. guiding
A rau'h r. deliverance
A rauhbelie m. pl. (sg. rauh) monkeys
A riyah f. hypocrisy
A riyazi f. mathematics
A rot f. sand
A rifs m. envy, rivalry
A resha m. wound; reshadavan f. inflicting wounds; power to move
A revar m. flock
A salah f. the Psalms
A zahmat f. affliction, trouble
A zad f. blow
A zar m. gold, wealth
A za'm m. presumption,
foolish idea

A zaqūm m. caesus

f. earthquake

A zamān m. time; zamāna

m. time, age; fortune; the world

P zar f. woman, wife

p zindagānī p. life; zindagī-bahsh adj. life-giving, reviving

P zahr m. poison

P zeb f. adornment, ornament; zeb-o-zīnāt f. elegance, display of finery

P zer-e prep. under; zer-o zabar adj. overturned, topsy-turvy; destroyed

A zīnāt f. elegance, beauty

P zīna m. ladder

P zevār m. ornament

S

H sātī m. company; (ka) sātī khānā m. to abandon the company, leave the side of; sātī m. companionship

P sāz m. harmony, music; musical instrument

P sāghar m. cup

A sāghī m. cupbearer

P sāmān m. material, material basis; provision, equipment, furnishing; apparatus

H sāvāchā m. mould

H sāvīs f. breath

P saya m. shadow

P sazā m. greenery

A sabqāt f. superiority

H sahīth f. society

P sipār f. shield

H sapū m. worthy son

P supēd adj. white

P sīdār m. star

P sītam m. oppression

P sūtān m. pillar

A sīfāt m. prostration

H sūhidānī vt. to show, explain, point out

A sahar f. dawn

A sīkāvāt f. generosity, lavishness; sīkāt adj. generous, lavish

H sūdān adv. always

P sār m. head; sar-afraz adj. exalted; sar ba-sar adv. completely, entirely; sar-e rāh adv. on the road; sar-fīgānī adj. hanging the head, downcast

P sarā f. serai, inn

H sītā m. top, head

A sarāb m. mirage

P sarāpādī adv. from head to foot, totally

P sarāsār adv. completely, fully, entirely

P sar-ajām m. end, conclusion

P sar-tāj f. chief, lord, master

P sar-hadd f. frontier

P surhād adj. red; surhād-rā adj. honourable

P sar-rishtā m. business, practice

P sar-sābūd adj. verdant, flourishing

P sarshār adj. intoxicated

P sārkar f. government

P sarmāyā m. capital, stock

P sazā f. punishment; adj. worthy, deserving, sazā-vār adj.

becoming, befitting

P susū f. laziness, sloth

A suradī m. suspiciousness, good fortune; happiness

A sīyātī f. calumny

A sīfāt adj. base; sīfāt-pān m. meanness, baseness

A saftīna m. notebook

A saftī adj. foolish

A saqā m. water-carrier

A saqar m. hell

A sikāt f. silence

A sikka m. coin

H sūkhī adj. happy, at ease

P sag m. dog

A salāmāt adj. unharmed, safe; salāmī m. one who salutes

H sulāfīnī vi. to be settled, be resolved

A salāf f. ancestors, ancients

H sulāgānī vt. to light; sulāgānī vi. to be lit

A salfāq m. method, knack, art, skill, taste

H sumān m. condition, state, scene, atmosphere; plenty, abundance

H sumānā vi. to fit, to be contained

A simt f. direction

H sumāfīj f. understanding; sumāfīj-bājī f. understanding

A sāmārī m. sable, fur

A sāmāni adj. poisoned

A sinārī f. spearhead

A sunnī f. Sunna, the example of the Prophet

H sanāhānī vi. to recover

SH

P shādān adj. happy, cheerful; shādī f. joy

H shī ḍ adj. uncommon, rare
habit

A 'ār f. shame, disgrace
A 'aqqād m. the world; state, condition
A 'ālam m. theologian
A 'ibādat f. worship, devotion
A 'ilābāt f. composition
A 'abs adj. vain, absurd; m. absurdity
A 'ābd m. slave
A 'ibādāt m. Jew; f. Hebrew example, moral lesson; taking heed
A 'ajam m. non-Arab land; Persia
A 'addāt f. justice, law
A 'addāvī f. hostility
A 'ad m. justice
A 'arab m. Arabia; Arab, Arabs
A 'arsh m. heaven; 'arsh-e bārīn m. the highest heaven
A 'arsh-e ascendency
A 'arzī f. (pl. 'azīzān) m. dear friend; revered person; adj. respected, honoured
A 'āsh m. love
A 'āsāf m. staff, stick
A 'ātā f. gift, present; 'ātā karn m. to bestow, confer
A 'atār m. dispenser of drugs or perfumes
A 'āt m. perfume, otto
A 'aẓmāt f. greatness
A 'aẓmān f. putridity, rottenness
A 'aqād m.pl. (sg. 'aqāda)

articles of faith, matters of belief
A 'aqādī f. the next world
A 'qiqāb f. torture
A 'aqiqat f. belief, truth
A 'alīqā f. conjunction
A 'alāfāq f. infinity, illness
A 'alāmāt f. symptom; sign, mark
A 'alām m. standard, flag
A 'ilm (pl. 'ilmān) m. learning; science, scientific knowledge; 'ilm-e tabī'ī m. natural philosophy, medical science; 'ilm-o fākhrī m. learning and art; - 'ilmī adj. learned; scientific
A 'imārat f. (pl. 'imārāt) f. building; architecture
A 'imārī f. life; 'imārī-bahrī adv. all one's life
A 'imārat f. operation, action; practice; sway, rule
A 'imārat f. heading; constituent element
A 'ahd m. covenant, time, age
A 'ażān adj. clear, apparent, manifest
A 'azīb m. fault, defect; disgrace
A 'āshīyāt m. pleasure, pleasure-seeking, enjoyment

Gh

A ghār m. cave
A ghārāt f. plunder, pillage
A ghafūl adj. heedless, thoughtless, neglectful, oblivious
A ghālib adj. prevailing, overcoming
A ghāyat f. end

Ghār m. the West
A ghārat f. selfishness, ulterior motive; concern; adv. in short
A ghazal f. ghazal; ghazal-khānād adj. ghazal-reciting
A ghul m. bathing
A ghūsh f. fainting; (pa) ghūsh honā vi. to swoon over
A ghulab m. wrath, fury
A ghulāmī m. pardon, forgiveness of sins
A ghulat f. heedlessness, obliviousness; oblivion
A ghul m. outcry, clamour, tumult; ghulīghula m. tumult, havoc, clamour
A ghulām m. slave; ghulāmān m.pl. the youths of paradise
A ghullā m. grain
A ghul m. grief, sorrow, suffering; ghul-khānād m. sympathizer, wellwisher; (ka) ghul khānā vi. to show sympathy for; ghul-guslī f. alleviation of grief; ghul-goād adj. grief-striken
A ghant adj. rich; m. rich man
A ghunīm m. plunderer, enemy
A ghunīmat f. good fortune, lucky opportunity
A ghur m. attention
A ghūbat f. backbiting, slander
A ghūrī adj. other
A ghūrat f. sense of shame, sense of honour, sense of justice; spirit

F

A fatīha f. prayers for the dead; fatīha-khānād adj. offering prayers for the dead
A farīgh adj. free; careless, neglectful; farīgh ul bād adj. free from care; farīgh-nisīf adj. sitting without care
A fāsh adj. apparent, manifest, revealed
A fāqār m. starvation
A fānt adj. transitory
A fātīq adj. superior, preeminent
A fattyāvā m.pl. (sg. fattyā) fatvas, judgments
A fittā m. disturbance; fīna usthānā vi. to create disturbance
A fakhrī f. glory
A fīdā m. sacrifice; adj. sacrificed, devoted; fīdā honā vi. to be sacrificed, devoted; to be beise oneself
A farāghat f. leisure, easy circumstances
A farāsh m. adj. forgotten
A farāhām adj. collected, gathered
A farāna f. paradise
A farzand m. child
A farāakā m. league
A farīsha m. angel
A farīf m. duty
A farīf m. branch, subsidiary point
A farqā m. sect, group
A farrūkī m. order, command; farrūkī-dīfī m. government, empire
A farādī f. lament
A qabā'at f. contentment, passive resignation
A qāt f. food
A quwwat f. power
A qād m. word, saying; qa'āt-o qād r. compact, bond, bargain
A qasam f. people, nation, community
A qiyās m. idea, opinion, theory
A qiyāmat f. the day of resurrection

P qādir m. prisoner

K
A kāzīb m. liar; adj. false
cār m. work; kār-gar adj. effective

P kāwān m. caravan
A kāfīr m. unbeliever
A kāmārī adj. successful
A kānīl adj. perfect; full (of the moon)

H kānī m. ear; kān dhānīa vt. to listen attentively
P kānī m. fine
H kānī m. thorn
A kāhin m. sorcerer, soothsayer, shaman
A kānirat f. stock, property
H kā'ī f. moss, mould
H kāyā f. body, form; kāyā palāyā vt. to transmute
A kābīr m. pride, arrogance
P kabātār m. pigeon, dove
P kāthā f. fine linen
A kāshub f.pl. (sg. kāth) books; kāshub-khāna m. library

H kātrānā vi. to move aside, go in a roundabout way

H kūviya f. female dog, bitch
H kārayā vi. to be spent, take (of time)
A kasrat f. abundance
P kāj adj. crooked
A kad m. effort, labour
A kāghī m. lying, falsehood
A kārāmat f. supernatural power
P kīrdār m. action, deeds
P kārishā m. miracle, wonder
H kīrān f. ray
H kkarāt f. side; karat lena vt. to turn over (in sleep)

H kura m. globe
H karkā f. crash (of thunder): karkā m. crash
H kārāvy adj. bitter
H kūrānī vi. to grieve, mourn, fret

A kash m. acquisition, gaining
H kasaq f. touchstone
P kash f. pulling; kashmakāsh f. struggle, difficulty
P kashkāda adj. open
A kashf m. revelation
H kashmar m. country; kashmar-stān adj. conquering territory, kashmar-kushā adj. annexing territory
A kāfīyat f. frugality, thrift
A kafīr m. paganism, unbelief
A kul adj. whole
A kalam m. word, utterance
A kulfat f. trouble, tediousness

A kam adj. little, few; adv. less; kam-tar adj. humbler; kam-o besh adv. more or less

A kamalî (pl. kamālāt) m. excellence, excellent quality; accomplishment, skill

H kamānā vt. to earn; kamā t.f. earning one's living

P kamar f. waist, loins, kamar-basta adj. with girded loins, fully prepared

P kamaïa adj. mean, base

H kandā m. side; kāndā kānā vt. to draw aside, pass by, keep aloof

H kundā m. family

H kundan m. pure gold

P kunish m. fire-temple; f. practice

H kahgāl adj. destitute

H kanval m. lotus

H kanauqādî adj. indebted, under obligation

P kanîz f. slave-girl, bondwoman

P kā f. street; kā ba-kā adv. from street to street

A kavākî m.pl. (sg. kaukâb) stars; kavākīb-purastî f. star-worshipship

H kudā m. well

H koça m. stab, thrust

P koh m. mountain, hill

A kahanā f. sorcery

H khapānā vt. to absorb, fit into

H khatā m. granary

H khātāk m. fear, worry, concern; khātākānā vi. to rankle,
M lab f. lip; lab-e jū f. edge of stream; lab hūlānā vi. to move the lips, to speak; laberī f.pl. mustaches
m lat f. bad habit, vice
m lūtanā vt. to root, strip; to squander, splurge—lūtanā vi. to be rootless—lūterā f. robber
m luchpan n. debauchery, shamelessness
m ladnā vi. to be loaded—ladnānā vi. to cause to be loaded
A lazzāt n. pleasure
A laraznā vi. to tremble
A làsān n. tongue
A làshkar n. army; soldier
A lūf n. favour, grace; pleasure
A la'nat n. curse
A luqāb n. title
A lūzanā f. desire, passion
A lālākānā n. to call out, challenge
A lāmba n. moment
A lām'ā n. brightness; lam'a-ágān adj. shining brilliantly
A lā tā f. hot wind
A lāu f. devotion, love; (se) lāu lāgānā vi. to be devoted to; to instil devotion to
A lāthlāhānā vi. to wave (of corn); to bloom, flourish
A lāhu n. play, sport
A lāhā n. blood
A lāl f. absorption, desire, urge; tune
A liyāqāt n. skill, ability
A lehānā vt. to take; le-ke adv. taken all round, altogether, in sum—levā adj. taking

Glossary

A matir adj. weighty, firm
H migānā vi. to be destroyed
A misgal f. likeness, parallel
A masalābī m.pl. (sg. maslāba) vices
p misg-e prep. like
A majbūr adj. helpless
A majgāb adj. madman
A majgārah adj. wounded
A majlās (pl. majlās) f. assembly, gathering, company
A mukhāram adj. honoured
A muhhaddīg m. expert in
Traditions
A mihrāb f. niche
A mahram m. acquaintance, familiar
A mahkām m. court
A mahāvī adj. deprived
A mahāsīr adj. beset, encompassed
A mahfil m. assembly, concert
A muhhām adj. strong, firm
A muḥkama m. court
A muḥnāt m. stock, capital
A mabaddā-ki conj. lest; may it not be that
A mabātrak adj. blessed, auspicious, happy
A mubagāl adj. contemptible, disgraced
A mubālā adj. afflicted, overtaken, caught in
A mabādā adj. beginning
A mubarrā adj. exonerated, exempt, freed
A mubāssir m. analyst, keen observer
A mabātūq adj. sent
A muddat f. long time
A madh f. praise, eulogy; madhi-khwâr adj. uttering praises
A madad f. help; madadgar m. helper
A muddâ'it m. claimant, pretender
A ma'dâ'î adj. buried
H madak m. mixture of opium and betel leaves
A ma'âqâr adj. mentioned
A maqâ'amat f. censure, blame; satire; maghâm adj. blame-worthy
G marâ'ah m.pl. (sg. marâ') stages
G marâ' f. desire; object, purpose, point
G marad m. religious leader
G mar'ah m. refuge, asylum; mar'a-e khâlîq m. asylum of the people, one to whom all turn
P marâ' m. man
P murad m. carrion; adj. impure
G murad m. adj. rejected, accused, outcast
G mard m. corpse; adj. dead, extinguished
G marā' m. disease
G marâ'îsh adj. agreeable, pleasant
G marâ' m. tomb
P marg f. death
H marâ' vi. to die; (par) marâ'î vi. to be madly in love with, swoon over
G marâ' f. m. ointment
G murad m. disciple
A mussâbat f. trouble
A mazzarr f. harm
A muzâmar adj. concealed
A matâb m. medical school
A mutâbî m. musician
A matâb m. purpose, aim, sense; matâb-nîârî f. expression of ideas
A mu'taq adj. absolute, pure
A mu't f. adj. obedient
A mu'tâm m. oppressed
A ma'âšî f.pl. (sg. ma'sîyâr) sins
G ma'bâd m. place of worship; mosque
G ma'darîyât m. mineralogy; f.pl. minerals
G ma'dâm adj. non-existent
G ma'rîf f. gnosis, divine knowledge
G mu'azzâr adj. honoured
G mu'allim m. teacher
G ma'mûr m. architect, builder
G ma'mîr adj. filled, peopled
G ma'shâfî m. way of life
G ma'in m. helper
G mağfîrî f. adj. conqueror, vanquished
G ma'sâid m. benefit
G ma'sâid m. p.l. (sg. ma'sâda) evils
G ma'fâshîr adj. glorious; taking pride
G mu'âšî f. lior, fabricator
G mu'tî f. multi. jurisconsult
plants; m. botany

moribund adj. kind, compassionate; nibrânî adj. kindness
nabîl adj. fat, fat
mahârî adj. guest
mahâyya adj. prepared, supplied
mâhi adj. mighty, great
mai f. wine; mai-kada m. tavern
naîyâr m. Mr Sweetie (pet name for a parrot)
muyassar adj. available, obtainable
maîl f. dirt, faith; mailâl adj. dirty
melâ m. meeting, assembly; fair

N

nâ adv. not; frequently used in negative compounds: nâ-pâk adj. impure, filthy; nâ-tâvâk adj. weak; nâ-khushî adj. unhappiness; nâ-dân adj. ignorant; nâ-dûda adj. unseen; nâ-rava adj. impermissible; nâ-supurda adj. uncared for; nâ-sâz adj. unbecoming, unfitness

nâch m. dancing
nâzârî adj. proud
nâzîh m. giver of advice
nâqi adj. pulling down
nâm m. name; nâm-e khuda int. in God’s name!; may God preserve; nâm dhârân m. vt. to jeer at, mock; nâm levâ adj. praising; nâmî adj. famous
nâm f. bread
nâ-o f. ship; nâ-o-bhâr whole shipload

nâbâdî f. pl. (sg. nâbât)

nasha, nazsha m. intoxication; nashâ mehûr honâ vi. to be utterly intoxicated

nâstârî m. pl. (sg. nâsrân) Christians; nâsrânî adj. Christian

nâshât f. advice, counsel; nâshât-gar m. adviser, counsellor

nâtî m. articulateness

nit adj. intj. good; nit al badâl m. change for the better; excellent substitute; nitî m. blessing, favour

nâgyâ m. song; nâgyâ-khâdan adj. singing, warbling

nâfisat f. refinement

nâfâq m. enmity, rancour

nafur m. servant, menial

nâfrat f. hatred

nâqsh m. mark, impression; nâqsh-e pâ m. footprint; nâqsh-e qadâm m. footprint

nâkalat vt. to draw out, to invent, produce

nâkbat f. adversity

nakâmâ adj. useless

nîk m. adj. good, virtuous; nîk-nâmî adj. of good repute

nâmâgî f. look; nîshâh-bân m. watchman, guardian, protector

numâdîsh f. show, display

numâya m. example; exemplar, representative

nâvâ m. shame, disgrace

nâvâ-sarjî f. musicality, musical utterance
memorial

H yah = yahūn advance, friend, helper

A yāfīr m. orphan

P yazdān m. Zoroastrian God: yazdān m. Zoroastrian

A yāghīn m. certainty, belief, faith; yāghīn horā vi. to be believed

P yak num. one; yakāk, yak ba-yak adv. suddenly; yak-tā adj. unique; yak-sān adj. similar, alike; yak-sar adv. all at once, altogether, throughout; yak-galām add. totally, absolutely

P yagūnā adj. unrivalled; m. kinsman, friend

H yā'ūn adv. thus, so; yāhūhī, yunḥūt adv. thus; for no good reason

A yūnānī m. Greece: yūnānī adj. Greek

A yahād (pl. yahād) m. Jew; adj. Jewish

V

A vāhid adj. one, unique

A varīq adj. inheriting

A vā'iz m. preacher

A vāqī'ā (pl. vāqī'āt) m. event, exploit

A vāqīf adj. acquainted

P vāla adj. noble

A vāl m. lord, guardian

P vām m. loan, credit

H vān (= vahānt) adv. there

A vātāra m. way, custom

A vahshat f. distraction, madness; wild passion: vahshiyāna adj. savage

A vahshāt m. pl. (ag. vahsh) wild animals, savage beasts

A vahy f. divine revelation

H

H hāth, hāt m. hand; hātānā, hātānā vi. to be acquired, to be got

A hadī m. leader, guide

H hayār m. weapon

H hampā vi. to shift

A hijrat f. departure, exodus

H hichhikānā vi. to draw back, shrink from

A hudā m. true guidance; (way to) salvation

A hagūn m. nonsense

H harād adj. green

P har-dam adv. all the time, ever

P harjīz adv. ever; harjīz na adv. never, not at all

Y

P yād f. memory; yād-gār f.
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:

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