

## Urdu as a sideline: the poetry of Khwāja Ghulām Farīd

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بے وقت جنوں پر مرے کیوں ہنستی ہے زنجیر  
ہوں پیر ولے عشق کا جولان جواں ہے

Too quick to mock my madness, these rustling fetters cackled;  
A sprightly Pir am I, to youthful love still shackled! (134)<sup>1</sup>

No apology is offered for the freedom of this translation. Once the English rhyme had suggested itself, it proved impossible to resist the temptation to produce an oblique rendering of Khwāja Farīd's Urdu, in small token of my debt to Ralph Russell's keen insights into the ghazal's intrinsic ambiguities, not least for the sheer fun to be had from the word-plays which these so freely generate.

It is however to Ralph Russell that I, like so many others in Britain and the West, also owe far more for an understanding of the central and serious place of the Urdu ghazal in the post-Mughal high culture of Muslim South Asia. Since this paper is based upon the description of a short Urdu *dīvān* rather casually produced by a nineteenth century Sufi poet from Bahawalpur, an area lying about as far to the west of Delhi as Varanasi does to its east, it may appear somewhat peripheral in character. But rather wider themes are necessarily touched upon, notably the marked neglect of the sub-genre of the overtly Sufi ghazal in most accounts of Urdu poetry, and the way in which this particular *dīvān* is given special interest by the fact that its author is chiefly famous for the poetry composed in his native Siraiki.<sup>2</sup>

Khwāja Ghulām Farīd (1845-1901) belonged to one of the great Sufi dynasties which stemmed from the transplantation in the mid eighteenth century from Delhi to the western Panjab of the vitally renewed Chishtī Nizāmī *tariqa*.<sup>3</sup> This influential revivalist movement combined a strict emphasis on Sunni norms with an equal devotion to the traditional Chishtī emphasis on the importance of listening to the musical performance of Sufi poetry in *samā'*. This double emphasis is equally reflected throughout the Persian *malfūzāt* compiled by Khwāja Farīd's disciple Rukn ud Dīn.<sup>4</sup> On the one hand, the Khwāja is depicted as upholding the minutest letter of the Law in his personal practice and in his criticisms of deviations therefrom by Shi'as or others. But numerous episodes are located in a *mahfil-e samā'*, and describe how the holy Shaikh was moved to tears by the *qavvālī* performance of Persian or Urdu ghazals, or of Sufi

songs in local languages in the genre known as *kāfi*. Repeated references in the Khwāja's discourses underline the awe instilled in all Chishtī devotees by the archetypal example of the death in ecstasy of Khwāja Qutb ud Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 1232) when listening to the sung performance of the Persian ghazal by Ahmad-e Jām beginning:<sup>5</sup>

کشتگانِ خنجرِ تسلیم را  
هر زمان از غیب جانِ دیگر است

Those murdered by submission's blade  
By life unseen anew are made.

The whole tenor of Khwāja Farīd's poetry, in whatever language, is very much in keeping with the picture of his personality drawn by the pious compiler of the *malfūzāt*. It is, however, also relevant to say something about his outer life. Close ties had been formed between Khwāja Farīd's forebears and the Navvāb-Amīrs of Bahawalpur, whose vast desert dominions had been casually incorporated into the British Raj as the Panjab's largest princely state, and he was himself educated alongside the royal princes. After the premature death of his father, he was brought up by his elder brother and *pīr*, Khwāja Fakhr-e Jahān, the author of a Persian *dīvān* under the pen-name 'Auhādī'. In 1871, Khwāja Farīd succeeded him in turn as *sajjāda-niṣhīn* for the following three decades. As such he became the target for extraordinary devotion from Navvāb Sādiq Muhammad Khān IV (1866-1899), who became his *murīd* at the end of his minority in 1881 and thereafter played the role of Ludwig to the Khwāja's Wagner. Khwāja Hasan Nizāmī, for instance, was much struck on a visit to Bahawalpur by the sight of the Navvāb pulling the Khwāja along in a small carriage: and his generosity is still to be seen in the existence of the implausible branch railway which runs from Khanpur to Khwāja Farīd's seat at Chacharan, opposite the family *dargāh* at Mithankot across the Indus.

By education and status Khwāja Farīd was thus very much a member of that late nineteenth century elite whose traditional way of life was so comfortably preserved in the surviving Muslim states of British India. His library was of legendary size (though it is now sadly lost), and he repeatedly refers to Arabic and Persian books on all manner of subjects in the *malfūzāt*. Besides Urdu and his native Siraiki, he also knew Sindhi and Braj: and his fascination with languages emerges from the descriptions of him writing Persian verses in Roman or Gurmukhi. He had an equal interest in music, and would carefully work on the settings of his poems with his favourite *qavvāl*, Barkat 'Alī. A final ingredient in his complex personality is provided by his love of nature, above all of the great desert of the Thar, whose western region is known locally in Bahawalpur as the *rohī*. On the one hand associated for Khwāja Farīd with the holy deserts of Arabia, perhaps especially after his deeply felt

experience of the Haj in 1876,<sup>6</sup> the *rohī* in which he spent so much time was also the scene of his romantic association with a girl from one of the tribes of desert-nomads, who became his second wife and was known as Haram Māi Hotāh.<sup>7</sup>

All these features of his spiritual, intellectual and emotional life find rich poetic expression in the great Siraiki *divān* he rightly regarded as his masterpiece and over whose compilation he took such evident care.<sup>8</sup> Khwāja Farīd was, for instance, properly proud of the logical method he had devised for the arrangement of its 271 *kāfis*, which are ordered alphabetically by the first word of the poem within each *radif*. No such attention was paid to the smaller Urdu *divān*, containing 95 ghazals and a few minor poems, which was first published from private copies only in 1972.

As anyone who has been faced with the task will know, it is far from easy to characterize any poet's *divān* in individual terms, since so many of the verses will be drawn from the standard ghazal repertoire. In Khwāja Farīd's case, however, the dominance of the *haqīqī* element is usually unambiguous. This emerges at its baldest in straightforward teachings:

ارے حارص عجب ہے حرص اس دنیا سے فانی کا  
فنا جس کو نہیں ہے وہ توکل کا خزانہ ہے

What vanity it is to crave this passing world!  
Security is drawn from Him who does not pass. (121)

Or, in the archaic tone of so much medieval Indian religious poetry, with its fondness for very simple images:

پکڑ کے درد کا جھاڑو اٹھا دے گردِ غیریت  
تصویر بانڈھ کر سب صورتوں میں اک تو پایا رہ

With suffering's broom sweep the dust of duality,  
And realize the One in external appearances. (82)

Such simple verses hardly support the extravagant boasts so often used by Farīd as a closing device in the *maqta'*. Interestingly, these often involve claims to have outdone Saudā (d. 1781) or Nāsikh (d. 1838):

سودا کہے جی دیکھی عنزل تیری اسے فرید  
سورمز نہاں ہے ترے اک اک سخن کے بیچ

Now Saudā says he's seen your ghazals, and  
He has discovered mysteries in every verse. (50)

جل جاتا آگ رشک سے ناسخ اسے فرید  
سُننا کسی سے جو تیرے شعر آبدار کو

The lushly polished verses of Farīd  
Set even Nāsikh's envious heart ablaze. (84)

Just why these two poets only should be so often mentioned is something of a puzzle, unless they simply stand for Delhi and Lucknow respectively. At all events, both might have enjoyed the untranslatable word-plays (34) of:

کیوں سر میں رہے سودا تر سودا نہیں آتا  
ناسخ کو بھی یہ درد کا نسخہ نہیں آتا

Saudā, at least, might also have enjoyed the half-Persian macaronic ghazal beginning:

دروں جانم نگار کر دی خدنگ غمزہ چلا کے ہم کو  
بہ بستر ناز خفته بودم وہاں سے ناگہ اٹھا کے ہم کو

You planted in my heart the arrow of your glance,  
And from my lovely bed did suddenly arouse me. (86)

Nāsikh, however, would hardly have failed to criticize Khwāja Farīd's occasional transgressions of correct usage,<sup>9</sup> although he too might have been charmed by the exuberant juxtapositions of languages in more than one Siraiki *kāfi*, as in the following example (where French and Latin stand for Persian and Arabic):

مخس برتتی رُلدی ہے کیوں  
 سدھ واٹ توں بھلدی ہے کیوں  
 یار است ہمد ہم نشیں  
 ہذا جنون العاشقتیں

Why wander through the burning sand?  
 Direct the way lies near at hand.  
*Ton Ami est toujours près:*  
*Sic est furor amittiae.* (K94)

By far the greatest number of verses in Khwāja's Farīd's Urdu *dīvān* are naturally devoted to those familiar descriptions of the pains of love. The language is usually quite simple, but at its best also quite effective:

مجھ کو ہے نوک جو رستم گر لگی ہوئی  
 خنجر ہے جاں پہ تیغ ہے دل پر لگی ہوئی  
 جس دن سے تیرے کوچے میں سویا ہوں خاک پر  
 ہے سیج میری عرش کے اد پر لگی ہوئی

With piercing cruelty, my harsh beloved's laid  
 A dagger at my soul, and at my heart a blade.

When in your street I lay to sleep upon the dust,  
 It seemed to me my bed in heaven had been laid. (130)

This simple style is of course as suited to the demands of the *mahfil-e samā'* as are those elaborate complexities of the late style of classical Urdu poetry to the leisurely programme of the courtly *musha'ira*.<sup>10</sup> This style is often given added point by the short synonymous phrases so favoured in *qavvālī*:

ہم کو پسند یار کی بانگی ادا لگی  
 دل میں لگی جگ میں لگی جان پہ لگی  
 وہ کس طرح سے پائے مزا زندگانی کا  
 جس کو ازل سے عشق کی دل میں بلا لگی

I love that graceful way of moving,  
 In heart, in soul, in all my being.

For life is hardly sweet for those, who  
From First Day's passion find no freeing. (103)

The almost infinite Persian heritage guaranteed the existence of many other simple formal devices to the Urdu poet. The possibilities afforded by the long *radif* are, for example, illustrated in this fine ghazal, whose second verse is equally notable for the ecstatically coined compounds of its second verse:

عاشقِ روئے خدا ہوں غیر سے مطلب نہیں  
سالکِ راہِ ہدیٰ ہوں غیر سے مطلب نہیں  
ایک داں ہوں ایک خواں ہوں ایک جوہوں ایک گو  
سب میں اس کو دیکھتا ہوں غیر سے مطلب نہیں  
طوف کرتا ہوں میں اپنے خانہٴ دل کو مدام  
اپنا خود عابد ہوا ہوں غیر سے مطلب نہیں

I love the face of God – for nothing else I care.  
I tread the mystic path – for nothing else I care.

One-knower and One-teller, One-seeker and One-sayer,  
Beholding Him in all – for nothing else I care.

Revolving ever round the Ka'ba of my heart,  
Become my own adorer – for nothing else I care. (79)

Khwāja Farīd's own passionate devotion to the real Ka'ba gives added point to this repeated proclamation of having abandoned it in favour of the idol-temple:

میں نے کعبہ کو بھی بُت خانہ کا نقشا سمجھا  
اپنے لَبَّیْکَ کو ناقوسِ کلیسا سمجھا

To me the Ka'ba now an idol-temple seems,  
And this my cry of faith a Christian church's bell. (38)

The *maqta'* plays rather nicely on the Hindu theme:

عشق بازی میں مرا مرتبہ ایسا ہے فرید  
قیس بھی مجھ کو گرو، آپ کو چیلہ سمجھا

So high I've come to rank in passion's deadly game,  
They're chelas to my guru, as Qais himself knows well. (39)

This generalized tone gives way to more identifiably personal emotion in the frequent references to the poet's revered and beloved elder brother, Khwāja Fakhr-e Jahān, whose 'urs on 5 Jumada I regularly recalled Khwāja Farīd to Mithankot:

بیاں کس طرح ہوگا مجھ سے رتبہ فخر عالم کا  
کہ بعد از انبیاء وہ فخر ہے اولادِ آدم کا  
مری آنکھوں سے وہ نور نبی جب چھپ گیا اس میں  
جس اولادِ اول اب مجھ پر بنا ماہِ محترم کا

How can I magnify Fakhr-e Jahān,  
After the prophets, the greatest of men?

Now that his glory is lost to my eyes,  
I mourn in Jumada as once in Muharram. (44)

Khwāja Farīd's extreme devotion often causes his *pīr*'s name to conjure up ecstatic visions of the presence of the Universal Beloved in all things, as in the ghazal beginning:

فخر جہاں کا نور ہر اشیا میں ہے عیاں

The light of the Pride of the World is everywhere seen... (78)

This in fact a poem almost more like a *kafī* than a ghazal, with its tumbling lists of nouns. Even the tired natural imagery of the Persian garden achieves a certain life when thus juxtaposed with Indian musical terms:

غنچے میں گل میں سرو میں لالہ میں داغ میں  
 سنبل میں اور نرگس شہلا میں ہے عیاں  
 ڈھولک میں سر میں تال میں تانوں میں راگ میں  
 خوابان ماہ رخ قسب طوبیٰ میں ہے عیاں

In roses and cypresses, sable-scarred tulips,  
 In hyacinths, tinted narcissi it's seen.

In drums and in beats and in phrases and tunes,  
 In faces as fair as the moon it is seen. (78)

Elsewhere the same formal pattern is used to embrace the natural phenomena of which Farīd was so fond, as in this particularly effective *maqta'*:

دخاں ہو یا چکر ہو یا بھنور ہو یا بگولا ہو  
 فرید آسا کوئی زیر وزبر ہو پے تو میں جانوں

No smoke, tornado, eddy, whirlwind  
 Can match this turmoil in Farīd. (68)

His dual love of music and the desert is memorably suggested in:

پھرتا ہوں مثل ریگِ رواں کوہ و دشت میں  
 آوارہ اس کے رقص کی ٹھوکر بنا دیا

Through mountain and desert I wander like rippling dunes,  
 Set moving by thrusts of those feet as they danced. (32)

Such delights are admittedly rare in this *dīvān*: but even the naturally preponderant conventional imagery of the ghazal is not infrequently employed by Khwāja Farīd in such a way as to establish at least a half-carved poetic individuality. In the following final quotation from his Urdu poetry, for instance, the idōls have escaped from their temple, just as the poet has escaped into his own vision of spiritual reality, fortified by his confidence that the classic literary exemplars have nothing to teach him about the effects of the sands upon the soul:

بندۂ زلف بتوں کا میں دل و جان سے ہوں  
 لوگ ہیں کفر سے آزاد میں ایمان سے ہوں  
 قیس و فرہاد نصیحت کے لئے آتے ہیں  
 عجب آشفۂ میں وحشت کے بیابان سے ہوں

These idols' tresses hold my heart, so I  
 Shun faith as others do impiety.

This desert of insanity has led  
 Farhād and Qais to come and learn from me. (73)

Nevertheless, while I hope to have shown that Khwāja Farīd's Urdu *divān* is far from being devoid of interest, it would be equally far from the truth to claim that it contains very much in the way of memorably great poetry. The dismissive label of '*nīm-šā'ir*' so unjustly applied by Mīr Taqī Mīr to Khwāja Mīr Dard, that lovely poet who is perhaps the only true master of the Sufi ghazal in Urdu, might here find a more appropriate target a century later. But such a dismissal cannot be quite straightforwardly executed: for while Khwāja Farīd may be at best interesting in the Urdu ghazal, he was also the last and greatest master of the *kāfī*, to whose intrinsic directness as a genre with short lines in strongly rhythmic metres and with an abundance of emphatic rhymes,<sup>11</sup> perfectly designed for singing in *qavvālī*, he brought the sophistication of a uniquely distilled blend of learning and poetic genius.

It is therefore worth pausing to reflect as to just why it should have been that the supreme master of Siraiki poetry should have proved relatively so undistinguished in Urdu, even after account has been taken of his own personal predilection for the former. The contrast does, after all, have quite important contemporary implications in Pakistan, where the growing consciousness of separate identity amongst Siraiki-speakers<sup>12</sup> has the greater *divān* of Khwāja Farīd as one of its proudest symbols, but also where the prior sophistication of the Urdu-speaking *muhājir* community settled since 1947 in such large numbers of Bahawalpur is readily able to point to the weaknesses of his lesser vehicle.<sup>13</sup>

The easy answer as to why Khwāja Farīd's art is so much more finely displayed in the Siraiki *kāfī* than in the Urdu ghazal is the one which occurs so readily to latter-day 'sons of the soil', namely that he was writing in his native language. Both the introductory description of Khwāja Farīd's linguistic sophistication and the macaronic quotation from the 'Siraiki' *divān* cited above should, however, serve to show that this can only be a partial explanation. It therefore seems more profitable to look at the internal literary constraints which may be presumed to have

underlain Khwāja Farīd's selection of his prime poetic medium, since enough will have been indicated of his status as the privileged spiritual adviser of a ruling prince to indicate his freedom from external constraints.

The numerous descriptions in the *malfūzāt* of the Khwāja sitting in a *mahfil-e samā'* (e.g. MM 341, 462, 573) make the catholicity of his taste clear: the piously recorded programmes range from classic Chishtī Persian ghazals, naturally including compositions by Khwāja Fakhr-e Jahān 'Auhādī', through various Urdu ghazals, to masters of the *kāfi* in local languages, whether Panjabi in the case of Bullhe Shāh (d. 1758)<sup>14</sup> or Siraiki and Sindhi in the case of Sachchal Sarmast (d. 1827).<sup>15</sup> Khwāja Farīd was thus privileged to live precisely at that period of time when Persian was gradually retreating westwards in favour of Urdu (in Bahawalpur as well as in British Panjab), but also when the dominant Sufi tradition of the local literatures was still enjoying its final flowering.

For a poet of the Khwāja's temperament and linguistic facility, the choice of medium within the immense range to which he was exposed was therefore perhaps not all that difficult to decide upon. The intrinsic structure of the ghazal, however determined in its initial Persian formation by Sufi master-poets,<sup>16</sup> had come to assume such a conscious awareness of the available play-spectrum along the famous *haqīqī/majāzī* axis that it was very difficult for Indian poets to express a genuinely Sufi inspiration within its tired norms. The examples quoted from Khwāja Farīd's Urdu *divān* may have served to show that the overt expression of Sufi ideas, so magically achieved in the thirteenth century, could so easily seem boring or awkward in terms of the more sophisticated norms of the late nineteenth. Those classic Urdu poets so attractively presented by Ralph Russell, such as Mīr or Ghālib (sharply conscious of imperial decline in a way which seems hardly to have touched Khwāja Farīd)<sup>17</sup> were able to draw upon real experiences, whether of human love or that surely forgiveable love of humans for the fruit of the grape, to express a much wider message in great poetry. But the ghazal had become so 'Sufi-ized' in tone that it was much harder for a real Sufi to express his actual devotion to the Ka'ba or his immediate apprehension of the beauties and horrors of a real desert in this endlessly elaborated genre than in the simpler conventions of the *kāfi*.

These conventions, which imply a powerful refrain reiterated between short rhyming verses, were — perhaps accordingly — employed by Khwāja Farīd to achieve the sort of direct impact derived from rhythm and assonance in such lines as the following, where he would surely have been equally conscious of the additional elegance of the absence of dotted letters in the script:

ہک ہے ہک ہے ہک ہے  
ہک ہے دم دم دی سک ہے

The One, the One, the One, the One,  
It's after Him my yearnings run. (K268)

While reminiscent of those coined *ek*-compounds cited in an earlier quotation from the Urdu *dīvān*, the impact is both far more direct and far more natural. A similar qualitative contrast may be drawn between the previously quoted pilings-up of nouns in the Urdu *dīvān* with such ecstatic litanies as furnish the basis for such popular Siraiki poems as:

میڈا عشق دی توں میڈا یاروی توں  
میڈا دین وی توں ایمان وی توں  
میڈا کعبہ قبلہ مسجد منبر  
مصحف تے قرآن دی توں  
میڈا آس امید تے کھٹیا وٹیا  
تکیہ ماٹ تے تران وی توں

You are my Love and my Beloved,  
Religion and my faith You are.

My Ka'ba, Qibla, mosque and pulpit,  
Quran and sacred text You are.

And all my hopes and what I've earned,  
My pride and joy and strength You are. (K132)

Such hymns, now described on cassette-labels as being sung in the heart-jerkingly melancholy modes of *Rāg Multānī* by such magical singers as Pathāne Khān or Suraiyā Multānikār, attract a vast public both in Pakistan and in the diaspora.

Equally popular are Khwāja Farīd's exploitations of the intrinsic resources of the *kāfī* to celebrate his love of the *rohī*-desert, especially when so simply expressed as in the famous poem beginning:

دوچ روہی دے رہندیاں نازک نازو چٹیاں  
راتیں کرن شکار دلیں دے ڈینہاں ولورن مٹیاں

Those sweet and slender nomad-maids  
Out in the desert stay.

By night they churn for lovers' hearts,  
But churn their pots by day. (K47)<sup>18</sup>

Such popular favourites are, however, no better a guide to the sheer poetic range of Khwāja Farīd in Siraiki than are such endlessly quoted lines as the hackneyed *dil-e nādān tujhe huā kyā hai* to the complex poetic genius of Ghālib in Urdu. In an earlier paper<sup>19</sup> I have tried to suggest that the largely Sufi-inspired classic literatures of the local languages of Pakistan are best approached under three headings, embracing respective debts to the learned terminology of Islam, to the ambiguous mix of the Perso-Urdu ghazal, and to the local poetic traditions with their inbuilt Indic bias. The earlier quotations here should have served to show that the long-established aesthetic criteria of the ghazal made the incorporation of these varied elements immensely difficult to achieve: the first are clumsy, the second tired, and the third impossible.

Three counter-examples from the liberated Siraiki *divān* may serve to indicate the alternative possibilities then available to a great poet, and to suggest the reasons for his choice of linguistic medium. On the learned front, there is nothing in the Urdu *divān* which prepares one for this magic blend of music with orthodoxy, where for instance, not to speak of the association through musical tradition of a Hindu god with the legendary Panjabi flute-playing hero Rānjhā, we are also reminded of the difficulty the Prophet's favourite *habšī* muezzin had with the pronunciation of sibilants:

ڈینہاں راتیں سنجھ صیامیں کنٹریں کانٹ سجاوم بین  
قدسی بنی انہد ازوں رانجن مچوک شاوم فضلوں  
رکھ رکھ وحدت دی آیین  
اشنیت دی گئی ملت عوج مکتی سبھ حنفی ملت  
سین بلال دا بے شک شین

By day and night, at morn and eve,  
Lord Krishna sounds his lute to me.

How graciously has Rānjhā's flute  
Played its celestial melody,  
All in the mode of Unity.

Now sick duality is gone,  
All Hanafis to soar are free:  
Bilāl said 'SH' as 'S', you see. (K110)

The immensely constraining norms of the Perso-Urdu ghazal naturally make it difficult to achieve similarly original effects in verses which rely upon traditional imagery: and these norms have accordingly been suggested as a prime factor in impelling Khwāja Farīd towards his principal poetic expression in Siraiki. Even in this severely constrained mode, however, he is occasionally capable of original effect, even if with evident debt to the wilder tone of his precursor Sachchal Sarmast:

صيد کریندے مرغ دلیں دے      ناز و ادا ہن باز شکاری  
چشماں شوخ بہادر جنگی      پلکاں دھردیاں دست گناری

His airs and graces hawk-like swoop  
And from these hearts they snatch their prey.

His wanton eyes are brave for war,  
With lashes ready for the fray. (K207)

It is, however, above all in its chastely preserved refusal to take any cognizance of local reference,<sup>20</sup> that the Perso-Urdu classical tradition for so long most inhibited any natural expression from Indo-Muslim poets. And it is here, above all, that one senses the breaking-out of Khwāja Farīd from the tired *biyābān* of Qais and Farhād, at which point we left his Urdu *divān*, into a more real local 'landscape', however baroque the outrageous exploitation of the specialist local vocabulary he draws upon in such verses as:

جنتہ تھلڑا جنتہ دربوں ہے یار      اتھ ہر ویلے ادبوں ہے یار  
تڈرے چپکن گبیرے گھوکن      جرکھاں ترکھاں لومبر کوکن  
گوہیں شوکن سانہے پھوکن      نانگیں دی شوں شوں ہے یار  
سوہنیاں بھیریاں ٹہرے بھڑے      ناز و ولے کنڑے وٹڑے  
پاہیں ٹوبھے پارے گھڑے      وٹھڑیں ڈکھڑا دوں ہے یار

Where the desert-grasses twist, my love,  
Ever-shifting shapes exist, my love.

The crickets creak, the pigeons coo,  
The foxes howl, hyenas whoo,  
The geckoes puff, and lizards mew,  
The snakes and serpents hiss, my love.

In these fair mounds and hills of sand,  
In graceful stones and gravel bland,  
Ravines and banks and gullies grand,  
The rains all grief dismiss, my love. (K39)<sup>21</sup>

Such examples as these may serve to show the beguiling attraction of local poetic resources in Khwāja Farīd's locally determined time. There is, however, quite a distance between late nineteenth century Bahawalpur and late twentieth century Pakistan. If the present paper has helped point towards the intrinsic contradictions underlying the contrastive quality of Khwāja Farīd's output in Siraiki and Urdu on the one hand, or implicit in that Hāli-esque heritage, so enthusiastically taken up by Iqbāl (d. 1938) and Faiz (d. 1984) in their individual fashions<sup>22</sup> on the other, it may have served some of its purpose. As Virgil said, long before the ghazal was even a twinkle in its Sufi creators' eyes:

*Sic parvis componere magna solebam.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Bracketed numerical references after quotations are to the page-numbers of Siddiq Tāhir, ed., *Divān-e Khwāja Ghulām Farid (Urdū)* (Bahawalpur 1972).

<sup>2</sup> Subsequent numerical references prefixed by K are to the *kāfi*-numbers of the standard 'Aziz ur Rahmān, ed., *Divān-e Farid* (Bahawalpur 1944), a truly princely edition of the Siraiki poetry with extensive Urdu commentary. The language, described in my grammar *The Siraiki language of Central Pakistan* (London 1976), involves the use of modified letters in the Urdu script to distinguish the implosive consonants /ḅ j̣ ḍ g̣/ and the retroflex /ḥ/, all shared by Siraiki with Sindhi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the summary account in M. Z. Siddiqi, 'The resurgence of the Chishti silsilah in the Punjab during the eighteenth century', in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 1970* (New Delhi 1971), pp.408-412.

<sup>4</sup> These *malfūzāt* have the double title *Isārāt-e Farīdī* or *Maqābīs ul majālis* (MM) 'Sparks of the assemblies'. Since the four published volumes of the Persian text, issued between 1903 and 1923, are now difficult to obtain, it is easier to refer to the somewhat abridged Urdu version, *Maqābīs ul majālis*, trans. Vahīd Bakhsh (Lahore and Bahawalpur 1979), or to the English version of the first Persian volume, *The teachings of Khwaja Farid*, trans. C. Shackle (Multan 1978), though users are warned that this is unusually full of the usual typographical errors.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a distant flute* (Tehran 1978), pp.21-3, for the immediate context, and the whole book for the broader background.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. C. Shackle, 'The Pilgrimage and the extension of sacred geography in the poetry of Khwāja Ghulām Farīd', in Attar Singh, ed., *Socio-cultural impact of Islam on India* (Chandigarh 1976), pp.159-170.

<sup>7</sup> For this delicate episode the Urdu biography by M. H. Shihāb, *Khwāja Ghulām Farīd* (Bahawalpur 1963), pp.66-77, is a particularly valuable supplement to the standard Urdu account of Khwāja Farīd by 'Allāma Tālūt, based both on the MM and other sources now lost, which prefaces the standard edition of the Siraiki *divān* (cf. n.2 above).

<sup>8</sup> The earliest standard printed edition is *Asrār-e Farīdī ma'rūf ba-Divān-e Farīdī* (Lahore: Muhammad 'Abd ūr Rashīd, 1902), of which there is a copy in the British Library.

<sup>9</sup> Besides those examples which may be noted in the quotations given here, these include e.g. errors in gender, *malhūz jo dildār kā tamkīn na hotā* (48), in the use of the ergative, *bhūlā hai jis ne mujh ko* (113), or the confusion of Siraiki *pāvañ* 'to put' with Urdu *pānā in jo ki dildār ke kūce men qadam pātā hai* (96).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the article by Regula Qureshi in this volume, to whose text and musical examples (especially no. 4) the attention of those readers is drawn who may have been disturbed here by the occasional metrical lapse (*sāqit ul vazni*), as in the following verses besides one or two earlier examples.

<sup>11</sup> Hence the widely popular derivation of *kāfi* from the Arabic broken plural *qavāfi*.

<sup>12</sup> My now-outdated impressions of the Siraiki movement are most recently recorded in 'Language, dialect, and local identity in Northern Pakistan', in W. Zingel and S. Lallemand, ed., *Pakistan in its fourth decade* (Hamburg 1983), pp.175-187.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. as witheringly expressed by Sayyid Tābīsh Alvarī (then an MPA) in his *muqaddima* to Khwāja Farīd's published Urdu *divān*, pp. 23-6.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Bulleh Shah, a selection*, trans. Taufiq Rafat (Lahore 1982).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. C. Shackle, 'Sachal Sarmast and his Siraiki poetry', *Panjab University Journal of Medieval Indian Literature*, II, 1-2 (1978), pp.87-100.

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps most illuminatingly analysed in A. Bausani, 'L'intelletto rosso', in *Persia religiosa* (Milano 1959), pp.135-354.

<sup>17</sup> Though cf. the unique *kāfi* (K240) addressed by Khwāja Farīd to the young Navvāb on his coronation. An English version is included in *Fifty poems of Khawaja Farid*, trans. C. Shackle (Multan 1983), no.17. Subsequent CS references are to the *kāfis* of this translation.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. CS 47.

<sup>19</sup> 'Styles and themes in the Siraiki mystical poetry of Sind', in Hamida Khuhro, ed., *Sind through the centuries* (Karachi 1981), pp.252-269.

<sup>20</sup> As long ago observed by Aziz Ahmad, e.g. in *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment* (Oxford 1964), especially pp.223 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. CS 39.

<sup>22</sup> No one has yet bettered the contrastive picture of these two founder-figures sketched by Victor Kiernan in the introduction to his translation of *Poems by Faiz* (London 1971). Cf. also A. Bausani, 'The position of Gālib (1796-1869) in the history of Urdu and Indo-Persian poetry: I. Gālib's Urdu poetry', *Der Islam* 34 (1959), pp.99-127.