The 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):

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

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

Agar ik pahinne ko topi banā'en To kaprā vo ik aur dunyā se lā'en Jo sīne ko vo ek sū'ī mangā'en To mashriq se maghrib men lene ko jā'en Har ik shai men ghairon ke muḥtāj hain vo Makainiks kī rau men tārāj hain vo<sup>23</sup>

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

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

The Supplement ends with a prayer to God to look after the Prophet's community before it is too late (\$159-\$162).

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

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

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

Faryād hai ai kishtī-e ummat kī nigahbān Berā ye tabāhī ke qarīb ān lagā hai<sup>26</sup>

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

Īmān jise kahte hain 'aqīde men hamāre Vo terī muhabbat tirī 'itrat kī vilā hai<sup>27</sup>

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

## 2:4 The style of the Musaddas

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These conflicting contemporary reactions are vividly illustrated in the various imitations of the *Musaddas* discussed in section 2:5 below. To understand how its style was able to arouse such passions, it is first useful to take note of the established poetic standards against which its divergences were judged. For present purposes it is hardly necessary to go into detail about the historical evolution of these norms, whose function in the Urdu art-poetry of the mid-nineteenth century has been described elsewhere (e.g. Pritchett 1994:77-122; Shackle 1996a). From the critical perspective Hali later elaborated in his *Muqaddama*, which advocated the subordination of poetic structures to higher moral purposes, the trouble with contemporary Urdu poetry was that any message had become quite overlaid by layers of medium, as true art had come almost entirely to be replaced by mere artifice.

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

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

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

Dhur kā tarsā-bacha hai barq liye jal men āg
Abr chotī kā birahman hai liye āg men jal<sup>28</sup>

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

Abr Panjāb talātum men hai a'lā nāzim Barq Bangāla-e zulmat men gavarnar janral<sup>29</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

'Ishrat-kade ābād' the jis qaum' ke har sū

Us qaum' kā ek ek' ghar ab bazm-e 'azā hai<sup>30</sup>

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

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

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

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

Ba-daryā marau gufiam-at zīn°hār

- - / - - / - - - / - - / - Vagar mīravī tan ba-tūfān sipār³i

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

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

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

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

<sup>31 &#</sup>x27;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 kishtī below. Two-syllable rhymes are the commonest, like the opening -ā hai which is exactly the same as the undemanding monorhyme of the Petition:

Yihī hāl° dunyā men us qaum° kā hai

Bhanvar men jahāz ā-ke jis kā ghirā hai

Kināra hai dūr aur° tūfān ba-pā hai

Gumān hai ye har-dam ki ab dūb° tā hai

Nahīn lete karvat magar ahl-e kishtī

Pare sote hain be-khabar ahl-e kishtī

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

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

While this is of course wildly unfair, the unvarying beat of Hali's *mutaqārib* certainly lacks the rhythmic flexibility offered by metres like *mužāri* 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-Buhturi (812-97), this device is rather a favourite of Hali's, as is to be seen in his deeply felt—if rhythmically rather awkward—lament for the glories of Muslim Spain (M83):

Huvaidā hai <u>Gh</u>arnāṭa se shaukat un kī 'Ayān hai Bilansiyya se qudrat un kī Batalyūs ko yād hai 'azmat un kī <u>T</u>apaktī hai Qādis men sar hasrat un kī Nasīb un kā Ishbīliya men hai sotā Shab-o roz hai Qurtaba un ko rotā<sup>33</sup>

Just as such lists of exotic names help to tilt the new Urdu poetry's whole frame of reference away from its Persianate past, so too does Hali's choice of vocabulary crucially define the 'natural' style by largely stripping it of the Persian phraseology which for many centuries suffused and defined all the poetic literatures of the Persianate tradition. This represents a quite radical break with the past, quite different from the 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 effeteness 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

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

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

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

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

The effect of the verse is entirely dependent upon its plethora of Arabic words, which would be spelt for Urdu as ahkām-e 'asr 'laws of the age', munharif 'turned', sidq-o salāmat 'honesty and decency', 'izzat-o iqbāl 'glory and fortune', bāb-e hukāmat 'gate of government'.

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

<u>Gh</u>a'nīmat hai 'sihhat 'a' lālat se 'pahle Fa'rāghat ma' shāghil kī 'kasrat se 'pahle Ja'vānī bu' rhāpe kī 'zahmat se 'pahle l' qāmat mu' sāfir kī 'rahlat se 'pahle Fa' qīrī se 'pahle gha' nīmat hai 'daulat Jo 'karnā hai 'kar lo ki 'thorī hai 'muhlat<sup>35</sup>

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

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

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

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

The first preaching of the Apostleship (M27-M30)

The preaching of the Law (M31)

How the Muslims were in error (M32-M33)

The teaching of monotheism (M34-M39)

Instructions on how to live (M40)

Time (M41-M43)

Compassion (M44-M45)

Fanaticism (M46, etc.)

The effect of his teaching (M53)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Havā har taraf mauj-zan thī balā kī Galon par chhurī chal rahī thī jafā kā 'Uqūbat kī had thī na pursish <u>kh</u>atā kī Parī lut rahī thī vadī'at <u>kh</u>udā kī Zamīn par thā abr-e sitam kā darerā Tabāhī men thā nau'-e insān kā be<u>r</u>ā<sup>36</sup>

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

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