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PAÑJĀBĪ ŚŪFĪ POETS

A.D. 1460—1900

By

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With a Foreword

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FOREWORD

PAÑJĀBĪ poetry has its own charm. Its language is more archaic than Hindī or Urdū, its imagery is drawn from country life and simple crafts. One might make a comparison with the Provençal poetry of Southern France. Provençal also is more old-fashioned than French; its poetry belongs to the countryside, to the farm, and tiny market town, and is instinct with a simplicity and sincerity that is rare in the more classical language. Pañjābī poetry sings mainly of Love and God. By the Ṣūfīs these two themes are interwoven, as is explained in the Introduction.

This book presents us with studies of a series of Ṣūfī poets of the Pañjāb who wrote in the Pañjābī language. They begin with the second half of the fifteenth century and end with the nineteenth. In this period of some four centuries we find half a dozen famous saints beginning with Farid, twelfth in spiritual succession from Shakar Ganj of Pāk Paṭan, and leading on to several others not so well known. The greatest of them all was Bullhe Shāh (1650–1758).

For these studies Miss L. Rama Krishna has ransacked a great mass of material,—manuscripts, printed poems, oral traditions, and such few essays as have been published on any of these poets.

The historical evidence she has handled cautiously and she arrives at very reasonable conclusions.

By a judicious selection of extracts, carefully transliterated and rendered in a literal but pleasing translation, the author brings out the main characteristics of each poet in turn, both as regards verse and style and as regards the doctrine or mystery he teaches. They vary from the orthodox, with a strong spiritual urge towards mysticism, to the

less orthodox and to those who so far transcend the barriers between sects and creeds that they can hardly be designated by the conventional man-made labels.

The history of the Pañjāb during these four centuries has seen many storms and also peaceful interludes. These vicissitudes are reflected in the Ṣūfī poets though faintly. Yet for the comprehension of the period an understanding of this religious development is of great importance.

In Pañjābī poetry the Beloved is a man and the Lover who seeks him is a woman. So in the Ṣūfī sense Hīr is the soul that seeks and Rājā represents the Divine Beloved.

In this book Truth is the ideal pursued along the dusty tracks of research by a Pañjābī woman.

A. C. WOOLNER

PREFACE

THIS thesis is a humble attempt to discuss in a brief but comprehensive manner the Ṣūfī poets who wrote in the Pañjābī language. The evidence on which I have based my research was of four kinds :

1. Manuscripts found in public and private libraries.
2. Printed and lithographed books in English, Pañjābī, Urdū, and Persian.
3. Accounts furnished by the *gaddī-nishāns*.
4. Recitals of the *kavālis*¹ and oral traditions.

The last-mentioned source, though very rich, is full of accretions and abounds in legendary narratives. I have utilized the information furnished by it with great care. It has served rather to verify facts than otherwise.

This is the first work on Pañjābī Ṣūfī poets in English or in any other language. Though, as I have mentioned below, a few articles and booklets have been written on some of the poets treated in this thesis, yet no book or article has been written on the Ṣūfī poets collectively. My attempt has been to appreciate Ṣūfī beliefs and interpret Ṣūfī poetry as they are understood by the Ṣūfis and the Pañjabīs. I have tried to discuss them as methodically as possible.

The sources for the life-history and poetry of each writer have been given at the end of each chapter. In the case of those poets for whose life and poetry the sources are meagre, the information has been given in the footnotes.

Pañjābī is a language written in three different scripts, i.e. Persian, Hindī and Gurmukkhī. The Muhammadans who employ the Persian script give a Persian or Arabic

¹ Hereditary singers or musicians often attached to the tombs of the Ṣūfī saints, who recite compositions of the mystics and their own poems in praise of the saints.

character to the language, and the Hindus who employ Hindī somewhat sanskritize it. The Sikhs, though they sometimes insert Sanskrit words and phrases, on the whole try to write the language as it is spoken by the masses.

• In the midst of this diversity, the work of transliteration has not been easy. The originals from which I have quoted were written in different scripts, often full of mis-spellings, and it has been extremely difficult to decide on the appropriate roman spelling. The same word has frequently occurred in different connexions ; therefore it has not been possible to keep always to the same spelling.

For technical non-Pañjābī Ṣūfī terms and names I have generally followed the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and for old Ṣūfī and Islāmic names the Urdū system of transliteration. These names, after all, are not Pañjābī and are written as in Urdū.

The names of living people I have spelt as they do when writing in English, believing that every person has the right to spell his name as he likes.

The names of books in Indian languages have been spelt according to the system of transliteration of the language in which each book is written.

For geographical names I have followed the current English system in India with a few rare exceptions. For example ' Pañjāb ' has three different forms and in order to maintain a uniform character I have throughout this work spelt it as ' Pañjāb '.

For the transliteration of the Pañjābī verse I have employed Dr T. Grahame Bailey's dictionary, except for a few regional words.

For oriental words in the English translations of the original text, I have mostly followed the Pañjābī pronunciation of the educated classes.

• Before I close, I should say that I am highly indebted to my teacher, Dr T. Grahame Bailey, for his very kind

suggestions and valuable advice throughout the work, but specially in the translation of the quotations from Pañjābī poetry.

The following is the complete list of the order followed in rendering the vowels and consonants for transliteration of the Pañjābī poems :

| | | |
|---------|---------|------------------|
| a for ਅ | c for ਚ | ph for ਫ |
| ā „ ਆ | ch „ ਛ | b „ ਬ |
| i „ ਇ | j „ ਜ | bh „ ਭ |
| ī „ ਈ | jh „ ਝ | m „ ਮ |
| u „ ਉ | ñ „ ਣ | y „ ਯ |
| ū „ ਊ | ṭ „ ਟ | r „ ਰ |
| e „ ਏ | ṭh „ ਠ | l „ ਲ |
| ai „ ਏ | ḍ „ ਡ | v „ ਵ |
| o „ ਓ | ḍh „ ਢ | ṛ „ ਰ |
| au „ ਔ | ṇ „ ਣ | ṛh „ ਰਹ |
| k „ ਕ | t „ ਤ | sh „ ਸ਼ |
| kh „ ਖ | th „ ਥ | f „ ਫ |
| g „ ਗ | d „ ਦ | z „ ਜ |
| gh „ ਘ | dh „ ਧ | ! „ ਲ਼ |
| n „ ਨ | n „ ਨ | ~ „ nasal vowel. |
| | p „ ਪ | |

G for ਙ

Kh for ਙ

L. R. K.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ŞŪFĪSM OUTSIDE INDIA

No account of Pañjābī Şūfiism, its poets and poetry, will be complete without a short sketch of the origin and development of Şūfiism outside India. Pañjābī Şūfiism, evidently, is a branch of the great Şūfī movement which originated in Arabia, during the second century A.H. (A.D. 800).¹ It differs a good deal, however, in details, from the original, being subjected to many modifications under the influence of Hindu religious and philosophic thought. Before following up the evolution and the final trend of Şūfī thought in the Pañjāb, it is necessary to review briefly the outstanding features of this Islāmic sect as it developed outside India.

Şūfiism was born soon after the death of the Prophet and 'proceeded on orthodox lines'.² Its adepts had ascetic tendencies, led hard lives, practising the tenets of the *Qur'ān* to the very letter. But this asceticism soon passed into mysticism, and before the end of the second century A.H. (A.D. 815), these ascetics began to be known to the people as Şūfis.³ The name Şūfī was given to them because they wore woollen garments. The term, *labisa'l-şūf*, which formerly meant 'he clad himself in wool', and was applied to a person who renounced the world and became an ascetic,⁴ henceforward signified that he became a Şūfī.⁵

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 10.

² Nicholson in *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1906.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1906, p. 305.

⁴ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 10. E. B. Havell, however, is of opinion that the word *urna*, which in Buddhist images was the symbol of 'eye divine', literally meant 'wool'. His symbolic explanation may underlie the symbol of Şūfiism, *şūf* meaning wool. See *Ideals of Indian Art*, pp. 50-1.

⁵ *ibid.*

The early mysticism was essentially a product of Islām,¹ and originated as a consequence of the Islāmic conception of God which failed to satisfy many persons possessing spiritual tendencies. The two striking factors in the early mysticism, as Goldziher has stated,² were an exaggerated consciousness of sin and an overwhelming dread of divine retribution. They feared God more than they loved Him, and submitted unreservedly to His Will.³ But in the beginning of the second century A.H. (A.D. 815) the Ṣūfī thought began to develop under the influence of Greek philosophy of Ashrākiān⁴ and Dionysius.⁵ Christianity, itself enveloped by Neoplatonic speculations, exercised a great influence in monastic organizations and discipline.⁶ Hebrew philology,⁷ to a certain extent, helped the progress of the technical vocabulary. But the Greek influence seems to have been the most powerful, because, besides philosophical ideas, the Ṣūfīs borrowed from the Greeks the medical science which they named *yunānī* or the Greek system.⁸ Neoplatonism developed intellectual tendencies. The civil wars and dry dogmas of the '*ulamā* soon drove the intellectual Ṣūfīs to scepticism.⁹ They searched elsewhere for truth and knowledge. The search was not in vain, and soon a new school was established, different from the one already existing. It was greatly influenced by Persian religion and Indian thought, both Buddhist and Hindu.¹⁰

¹ Its roots according to Macdonald run far back to heathen Arabia. See *Muslim Theology*, pp. 124, 125.

² As quoted by Nicholson in his article (*J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1906). The original can be seen in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 35.

³ As ordained in the *Qur'ān*.

⁴ Munshi Fani, *Dabistān*, Vol. III, p. 281. Shea and Troyler translated it as 'Platonists'.

⁵ Nicholson in *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1906, p. 318.

⁶ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 11.

⁷ Massignon, *Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane*, pp. 51, 52, 53, 54.

⁸ Rama Krishna, *Les Sikhs*, ch. i, p. 18.

⁹ These sceptics were mostly of non-Arabic origin, the majority being Persians and Kurds.

¹⁰ Professor Massignon is vehemently hostile to any Hindu influence and ignores traces of Buddhism. The admirable way in which the learned

The adherents of the new school were almost all of non-Semitic origin, their national characters were formed by the climatic and geographical position of their countries,¹ and so, in spite of Semitic masters, the psychology of their own race affected their new faith. To them the doctrines of Islām seemed unphilosophic and non-gnostic, and so they felt compelled to interpret them in the light of their old faiths with which they had been in touch and which appealed to them deeply. Thus later, Şūfīism was also a psychological reaction of different peoples, especially the Persians, against the dogmas of Islām.

The latest school of Şūfīism which felt Persian and Indian influences and incorporated different glosses of Buddhism with its creed came in the forefront under Bāyazīd of Bisṭām, who was not attached to any old Şūfī school.² Bisṭāmī's system was based on *fanā* or absolute annihilation in the Divine.³ Bāyazīd was so captivated by the Vedantic conception of God that he used to say: 'Glory to me, how my glory is great.'⁴

This school developed still further under Manşūr al-Ḥallāj, who invented the formula *Anā'l-Ḥaqq*.⁵ This Şūfīism transformed the Buddhist legends and panegyrics and introduced them into Islām. In Central Asia, where Buddhist legends were congealed around the saints, Şūfīism evolved a cult of saints. Pilgrimage, another Buddhist practice, was also introduced. Besides this, Şūfīism professor attempts to interpret Şūfīism, i.e. only on a philological basis, is one-sided. His knowledge of Hinduism is not very deep and so his mind is prejudiced against Hindu thought. For Buddhist influence, see *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, and Nicholson's works.

¹ Climate and geographical position, according to Nöldeke, the German scholar, are two very important factors in the formation of national character. See *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 2.

² *Lexique Technique*, p. 243.

³ He learnt *Fanā bi'l tawhīd* from his teacher Abū 'Alī Sindī (or of Sind) to whom, in exchange, he taught the Hanefite canonical law (see *Lexique Technique*, pp. 263-4). Nicholson also mentions this fact (see *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 17).

⁴ *Lexique Technique*, p. 246.

⁵ This is the equivalent of *Aham Brahm*.

borrowed the *Ṭarīqa* or *Ṭarīqat* from the same source. Before being *fanā*, the Ṣūfī seeker must tread by slow stages the *Ṭarīqat* or the path to reach *Ḥaqīqa* or *Ḥaqīqat*, Reality, or the goal of Union. The path comprised seven stages: repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God, and satisfaction.¹

The Ṣūfīs of the Bāyazīd school were tolerant towards all and attached little importance to Islāmic dogmas. They were, therefore, considered heretics and were often hanged or exiled.² This alarmed the adherents of the new Ṣūfī thought and induced them to retrace their steps and re-enter the fold of the old Ṣūfī school. The Ṣūfīs, in general were not popular with the powerful orthodox. To avoid the fury of the orthodox and to save their lives, all the Ṣūfīs thenceforward recognized Muḥammad as their ideal and tried to deduce their thought from the allegorical sayings of the *Qur'ān*.³

II. THE ṢUFĪS IN INDIA

After the Muslim conquest of northern India, the Ṣūfīs began to pour into the country. This was the only peaceful, friendly and tolerant element of Islām. The Islām promulgated by the sword⁴ and by aggressive '*ulamā* and *qāzīs* could not impress the Hindus who abhorred it. But the Islām represented by the Ṣūfīs appealed to them. Almost all the willing conversions were no doubt the result of Ṣūfī preaching.

¹ Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 29. The Ṣūfī teachers do not agree as to the number of the stages. Most of them enumerate more than seven.

² Bistāmī was exiled many times from his native town (see *Lexique Technique*, p. 247) and Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj was crucified (Massignon, *La Passion*, I, pp. 9-10).

³ Bāyazīd openly declared himself the equal of the Prophet and ridiculed the Day of Resurrection, the Judgement, and the Qur'ānic paradise. See *Lexique Technique*, pp. 252-3.

⁴ The bold assertion of Professor Massignon that 'ce n'est pas par les guerres que l'Islām a diffusé dans l'Inde, c'est par les mystiques et par les grands ordres, Tshishtiyah Kobrawiyah, Shaṭṭāriyah et Naqsh-bandiyah' (*Lexique Technique*, p. 68) shows his scanty knowledge of Indian history.

*Development of Śūfism in the Pañjāb**

In the beginning, the Śūfis in northern India were preachers and often joined hands with the rulers to establish their power and to convert the people to Islām.¹ Their patience, tolerance and friendly spirit brought them followers from the lower grades of the Hindus, unfortunately neglected by the higher classes. To this class of Śūfis belonged Farīdu'ddīn Ganj-i-Shakar, 'Alī Makhdūm Hujwīrī, and many others. But, later on, many Śūfis gave up missionary work² and devoted themselves to the study of different religious systems and philosophies of the country. Miā Mir, Prince Dārā Śhikoh and Abu'l-Fazl and Fayzī belonged to this category of Śūfis; they began to question the superiority of their own religion or to deny its authority.³ Miā Mir is said to have helped Gurū Har Govind many a time and to have sent him a woman, related to the Qāzī of Lahore, who liked the Gurū's doctrines and had wanted to become a Sikh.⁴

Śūfiism underwent another considerable change towards the end of the seventeenth century. The intolerance of Aurangzeb and of his adherents had so much affected the spiritually and the intellectually minded amongst the Śūfis that they were driven towards Hinduism more than before.⁵

¹ Shaikh 'Alī Makhdūm Hujwīrī, generally known as Dātā Ganj Baksh, followed the arms of Masa'ud, son and successor of Mahmud. (Ikhaznavī, to Lahore, where he settled down to preach. (See Latif, *History of Lahore*, pp. 179-82.) There are many such examples.

² Mr Zuhūrud-Dīn Ahmad, in his *Mystic Tendencies in Islam*, p. 142, writes: 'Out of the later Śūfis very few appear to have given any thought to this practical aspect (conversion) of the doctrine of Islāmic Śūfiism.'

³ Emperor Akbar is another example; his faith in the superiority of Islām was so much shattered that he founded a new religion, *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*.

⁴ See Latif, *History of the Pañjāb*, p. 256.

⁵ No doubt the Śūfis during the reign of Shāh Jahān, under the patronage of Prince Dārā Śhikoh, had absorbed a good deal of Hindu Vedāntic thought, but they remained, save for a few rare exceptions, within the limits of their own religion. The intolerance of the orthodox people and of the Emperor Aurangzeb, however, later on compelled them to speak freely against Islāmic dogmas, etc., and to turn more towards Hindu religion with real feeling than they had done before. Both Ināyat and Bullhe Shāh were born during this period.

Hindu Vedāntic thought overpowered their beliefs. Bhāgavatism influenced their ideas, and it was a surprising fact that in the Pañjāb, the stronghold of Islām, Mussulman mystics held the view that save God there was no reality; all else, therefore, became illusion or the Hindu *māyā*.¹

The doctrine of transmigration and reincarnation was soon adopted and was afterwards supplemented by the theory of *karma*.² Again Muḥammad, who remained the perfect model of Man for the Ṣūfīs of other countries, was not necessarily the ideal of the Pañjābī Ṣūfī. The philosophically-minded sometimes ignored him, at other times allotted to him the same place as they gave to the prophets of other religions.³ For the orthodox and popular Ṣūfīs he nevertheless remained somewhat higher than the other prophets, but not in the same way as before. He became the hero of their poetry as Krishna is the hero of the Bhāgavata-lore.⁴ The condemnation of idols, which had not been very vehement even in the sixteenth century, ceased altogether now. Muhammadan mystics accepted them as another way of adoring the Universal Lord.⁵ The Ṣūfīs often abstained from eating meat and practised the doctrine of *ahimsā* by loving all life, animal and human.⁶

The *Qur'ān*, which could not be dispensed with and was held in great veneration by the early Ṣūfīs, was now placed on the same level with the Vedas and the Puranas.⁷

Last but not the least, it should be mentioned here that the principle of religious tolerance was advocated by many

¹ *Dabistān*, Vol. III, p 281.

² *Qānūn-i-'Ishq*, Vol. I, 1āfī, 2 and 37. 'The doctrine of *karma* which is alien to Ṣūfī-ism' (*The Mystics of Islam*, p. 19) became now one of its doctrines.

³ See the poetry of Bullhe Shāh, specially 1āfī 90 of *Sāz Bullhe Shāh*.

⁴ See the *Bārāmūh* of Kaṣīm Bakhsh, ch. ix.

⁵ Sālūbjūnī, a celebrated Ṣūfī of the seventeenth century, performed the *pūjā* in the house of idols (*Dabistān*, Vol. III, p 302). The Pañjābī Ṣūfī fortunately did not go to that extreme but considered both temple and mosque the same. When he had attained the stage of understanding he even ceased to go to the mosque. His temple and mosque were everywhere. See Bullhe Shāh, *Qānūn-i-'Ishq*, kāfī 58.

⁶ *Dabistān*, Vol. III, p. 302.

⁷ *Qānūn-i-'Ishq*, kāfī 76.

in series who denounced fanaticism and admitted freedom of religious beliefs.¹

The above were the new developments in Śūfīsm on the Pāñjābī soil. They were, however, not the chief characteristics of every Śūfī's teachings. These new developments, on the other hand, helped in the classification of the Śūfīs. The Śūfīs of the Pāñjāb may be classed into three schools of thought :

1. *The Orthodox School*—The Śūfīs of this school believed in conversion from one religion to another. They held that the *Qur'ān* was the best book revealed and that Muḥammad was God's greatest prophet on earth. Though they tolerated different religions, yet they believed Islām to be the only true creed. To this class of Śūfīs belonged Fa'īd Ṣānī and 'Alī Ḥaidar.

2. *The Philosophic School*—The Śūfīs of the philosophic school were speculators and thinkers. They had absorbed the essence of Vedānta so well that to them differences of religion, country, and sect were immaterial. They abhorred regulations and the dry dogmas of all religions. They displayed best the essence of pantheistic Śūfīsm. They ignored conversion and were chiefly responsible for establishing unity between the faithful of various religions. Bullhe Shāh belonged to this school.

3. *The Popular School*—The adherents of this school were men of little or no education. These people collected the beliefs and superstitions of various creeds, and preached and practised them. Muḥammad remained their only prophet and the *Qur'ān* their best book, but they provided a place for all other prophets and teachers in their long list of saints and angels. They were popular with the lower classes of both Hindus and Muslims. To the Hindus they preached the *Qur'ān* and the superstitions of Islām, while to the Muhammadans they preached the popular beliefs and

¹ See the work of Bāhū and Bullhe Shāh.

superstitions of both. As they were apt to change with the times and conditions, they were dangerous equally to Islām and to Hinduism. To this class belonged Fard Faqīr and many others.

Pañjābī Ṣūfī Poetry

The Ṣūfis of the Pañjāb, like the Ṣūfis of other parts of India, wrote for centuries together in the Persian language.¹ They copied the phraseology, the similes, and, in fact, the whole system of Persian prosody and rhetoric in its entirety. Later on, the Ṣūfis began to write in Urdū. But this Urdū looked for guidance to Persia and was so much overlaid by Persian vocabulary, phraseology, and *jeux de mots*,² that it was really Persian diluted by an Indian language. The national culture was thus paralysed, and national sentiments and thoughts were allotted a secondary place in their compositions. It was only in the middle of the fifteenth century that the initiative to write in the language of the people, i.e. Pañjābī, was taken by a saint of the Cishtī order of the Ṣūfis.³ This initiator was Shaikh Ibrāhīm Farīd, a descendant of Farīdu'ddīn Ganj-i-Shakar of Pāk Paṭān. His example was followed by many, of whom Lāl Ḥusain, Sultān Bāhū, Bullhe Shāh, 'Alī Ḥaidar, and Hāshim are the outstanding and well-known figures. A considerable amount of fragmentary Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry, of various authorship, has also been found.⁴ A few of these poems contain the names of the writers, but not much more. We will speak of this poetry elsewhere.

¹ Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 387.

² The grammatical system, however, was Indian.

³ With the exception of a few poems ascribed to Shakar Ganj, no trace of Ṣūfī poetry is found before Ibrāhīm Farīd. The poems said to be of Shakar Ganj are, as we shall see later on, not his.

⁴ From some neglected and worm-eaten and torn manuscripts in private libraries, and from some lithographed books not very much read by the public.

The Idea of the Ṣūfī Poet

The ideal of the Pañjābī mystic poet was to find God in all His creation and thus attain union with Him. This union or annihilation in God was to be fully achieved after death, but in some cases it was gained while living.¹ The Pañjābī Ṣūfī, like any other mystic in the world, called God his Beloved. But the Beloved, who in Islāmic countries was both masculine and feminine,² here became masculine.

In Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry, therefore, God is the Beloved and the Ṣūfī, or the human soul, the woman separated from her lover by illusion or *māyā*. The Ṣūfī soul at times wails, then cries and yearns for union with the Beloved. The Ṣūfī poet in the Pañjāb generally refers to three stories of perfect love in his poetry. They are the love tales of Hīr Rājāhā, Sassī Punnū, and Sohṇī Mahivāl.³ These tales of perfect love which end tragically are popular with all Pañjābīs.

In all the three, the heroines, Hīr, Sassī and Sohṇī who spent their lives in sorrow, always yearning to meet their respective lovers, were united with them in death. For a Ṣūfī these tales⁴ have a spiritual significance. The heroines stand for the Ṣūfī (the soul) and the heroes for God (the Beloved sought). After the Ṣūfī has attained union with God he is no more Hīr⁵ but becomes Rājāhā, because for him all differences vanish away and he sees Rājāhā (God)

¹ Union gained while living was of two natures, partial and complete. A partial union was possible when the Ṣūfī was in a state of supreme ecstasy. The complete union was attained (in very rare cases) when all consciousness of self was lost and the mystic lived ever after in and with the Universal Self.

² In Persian poetry, for example, the Beloved is both Laila and Majnū.

³ Of these Hīr and Rājāhā and Sassī and Punnū in all probability were of Indo-Scythian origin, but the poets have overlaid them with Muslim colours and superstitions.

⁴ Of the three, the Hīr and Rājāhā tale is the most important, and has been written by many poets, the best written up to date being *Hīr* of Vāre Shāh or Wāris Shāh.

⁵ Hīr has almost the same position in Pañjābī literature as Rūdhā has in Hindī literature.

as much in his own self as in the external world. The Şūfī poetry consequently is full of poems, songs, and hymns praising the Beloved, describing the pain and sorrow inflicted by separation, and ultimately the joy, peace and knowledge attained in the union.

III. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PAÑJĀBĪ ŞŪFĪ POETRY

We now proceed to examine the chief characteristics of Pañjābī Şūfī poetry. Foreign invasions and political changes retarded its growth in towns and cities.¹ Its torch consequently was kept burning in the villages. Having been evolved in the villages, it lacks that point of extreme elaboration to which Şūfī poets carried other languages, such as Persian and Urdū. Mysticism being more predominant than materialism in Pañjābī Şūfī poets' temperaments, all complexity of expression, the artificial and ornate style, the jingle of words and bombastic language is missing from it. The chief effort of the poets was to give direct expression to their pious feelings in as brief a manner as possible. The vocabulary, similes and technical terms were confined to home trades, cottage industries, and the prevalent mythological ideas² and social customs. This should not, however, indicate that the language is crude and vulgar. No, the great anxiety to convey the devotional emotions correctly often imparted a sort of beauty and sweetness rare to the artificial Urdū poetry. Similes were taken from everyday life and were used with skilful restraint and proceeded in order. The result was that though this poetry lacked dazzling brilliancy and poetic conceit, it always maintained dignity, order, and sincerity. To sum up, it

¹ Aurangzeb considered the Şūfis as heretics and was extremely harsh to them. Provincial governors and princes of the royal blood often followed his example during his reign, and afterwards foreign invasions by Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh were also responsible, in great measure, for inflicting cruelties on them.

² This in no way signifies that the poets believed in them. They made use of them to bring home to the people their deeply mystic thought in a simple manner.

can be stated here that, as the guiding principle of Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry was the subordination of the parts to the whole, its chief merit lies exclusively in its beauty of fundamentals and not in its details.

Verse-forms

The principal forms of Pañjābī Ṣūfī verse are the following :

Kāfī. This name is borrowed from the Persian *kafīya* (meaning rhyme), and is applied to Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry generally. Usually it is a poem on the divine attributes and sometimes on different Ṣūfī beliefs. *Kāfīā* are found in different *chandās*, mostly *prākṛit*, and in the *rāgas* of the Pañjābī musical system.¹

Bārā māh is an account of the twelve months of the Pañjābī year. The poet describes the pangs of divine separation in each of these months. At the end of the twelfth month he relates the ultimate union with the Almighty. Almost all Ṣūfī poets have composed a *bārā māh*.

Athvārā or a description of eight days. For seven days the seeker waits anxiously for God. Then when the last hope is fading he finds himself in the divine embrace on the eighth day.

Sīharfī is an acrostic on the alphabet. It is not found in any other Indian language. As it is not of Persian or Arabic origin we conclude that it is a Pañjābī form. The oldest verse of this kind is found in the *Ādi Granth* of the Sikhs and was composed by Arjuna Dev.² Later on it appears to have become a popular verse-form of the Ṣūfīs. Some of them wrote more than two or three *sīharfīs*.³ *Sīharfī*, precisely, is not a short poem but is a collection

¹ Though the basic principles of the Pañjābī musical system are the same as those of the Indian system, yet it differs a good deal in details.

² It is known as *Bāvan Akharī* on account of the 52 letters of the *Nāgrī* alphabet

³ Hāshim and 'Alī Ḥaidar each wrote about half a dozen *sīharfīs*.

of short poems. The letters of the alphabet are taken consecutively, and words whose initials they form are employed to give metrical expression to the poet's ideas.

Here is an example :

- *Alif* allāh cambe di būṭi murshid man mere vice lāi hū
Nafī asbāt dā pānī māli sī rahe rage har jāi hū
Andar būṭi mushk macāyā jā phullan pai āi hū
Jivē murshid kāmīl bāhū jāi eh būṭi lāi hū ¹

Alif: Allāh is like the plant of *cambā* ² which the preceptor planted in my heart, O He, by water and gardener of negative and positive (respectively) it remained near the *rag* ³ and everywhere, O He, it spread fragrance inside when it approached blossoming, O He, may the efficient preceptor live (long) says Bāhū, who planted this plant, O He.

There do not seem to have been any hard and fast rules about *sīharfī*. Generally a letter has four lines, each consisting of two *tukks*, but sometimes a letter may have five, six or more such lines. ⁴ Some poets wrote a number of such poems for each letter. For example, if the letter is *alif*, the first line of each such poem will begin with *alif*.

As a rule a *sīharfī* is written in praise of the Beloved (God) and his attributes, but sometimes it is written to relate some legend, historical or imaginary. ⁵ In Śūfī literature, however, we have found only one such *sīharfī*. ⁶

• The *sīharfīs* of the Muhammadans are on Arabic or Persian alphabets. They did not compose any on the *nāgri* or Pañjābī alphabets, though Hindus of different sects have written *sīharfīs* on the Arabic and Persian alphabets. ⁷

¹ *Majmū'a Abyāt Sultān Bāhū*.

² Jasmine.

³ *Shāh rag* or *rag* is the great vein found in the neck and considered by the Pañjābī Śūfī to be nearest his mind.

⁴ Haidar's *sīharfīs* are noted for this.

⁵ Pañjābī poets other than Śūfīs, both Hindus and Muhammadans, have written many such *sīharfīs*.

⁶ This *sīharfī*, written at Gujrat by Muhammad Dīn, describes the life of a Śūfī Murīd. It cannot be more than fifty years old.

⁷ See *sīharfīs* of Gaṅgā Rām and that of Sāī Dās, both on the Arabic alphabet.

Qissā is another form of *Ṣūfī* verse. It is generally a tragic story of two young people who love each other madly. They are separated by parents and cruel social conventions to which they pay little attention, and disregarding them try to meet each other. This disregard brings misfortune and so they die, ultimately to be united in death for eternity. Some *qissās* are composed on the *sīharfī* principle, others are composed of *baiṭs*, sometimes called *ṣlokas*.

Baiṭ is the corrupted form of the Arabic word *bait*.¹ It is a sort of couplet poem, has very few rules and therefore has a good deal of variety. It is very popular with the *Pañjābīs* of all classes.

Dohrā is another form of *Ṣūfī* verse. It is not the Hindī *dohā* but resembles closely the *chand*. It has four *tukks*, all rhyming in the same manner. This was the favourite verse-form of *Hāshim*.

There is another form of verse common to all *Pañjābī* religious poetry, called *vār*. Originally *vār* meant a dirge (*vār*) for the brave slain in battle. But then it began to be employed in songs composed in praise of the Almighty God or some great religious personage.² It is composed of various stanzas called *paṇṛīs*, literally 'steps', which are sung by minstrels at religious shrines.

IV. THE PLACE OF PAÑJĀBĪ ṢUFĪ POETRY IN PAÑJĀBĪ LITERATURE

A good number of *Pañjābī* *Ṣūfī* poets made attempts to create friendly feelings between the different communities by harmonizing the opposing systems. For this reason their poetry became clear to all sections of the *Pañjābī* people. Besides, from the literary point of view also it deserved and was allotted a very high place. It retains the

¹ Maṅgā Singh's *Pañjābī Dictionary*.

² For example, the famous *Vārs of Bhāī Gurdās* in praise of the Sikh *Gurūs*.

favour of both Hindus and Mussulmans and circulates among the masses in the form of songs, proverbs, and hymns even to this day.¹ In short, without this strain, Pañjābī literature would be poor and devoid of a good deal of its beauty and literary charm.

Here we shall give explanations of those few words that are used in their original forms in our discussion of the Šūfī poets.

Gaddī-nishān :² one who occupies the spiritual seat of a saint ; a spiritual successor.

Mūlād : a disciple.

Murshīd : a preceptor or a teacher.

Pīr : *murshīd*.

Khalīfā : chosen successor of a teacher ; a successor.

Urs : nuptial festivals held at Šūfī shrines. '*Urs*' or nuptials signifies the union of the Šūfī with God.

Mūhāw : chorus ; refrain or the first verse of a song indicating the musical tune to which the remainder is to be sung.

Anurā : a poem or song excepting the refrain.

It has been mentioned above that the Pañjābī Šūfīs in their compositions employed, except for a few technical terms and words concerning *taṣawwuf* borrowed from Arabic and Persian, the vocabulary and terms of local trades and cottage industries. In the Pañjāb as elsewhere the villages and towns were self-supporting units.³ All the necessities of life in those times were produced by the people themselves. The Šūfī poetry which was nursed in the towns and villages therefore bore strong impressions of

¹ Nānak is the only non-Šūfī whose verse is esteemed in a like manner by the Pañjābī people.

² The office of *gaddī-nishān*, which formerly was bestowed on one of the disciples, later on became hereditary in the families of the saints. Almost all *gaddī-nishāns* now inherit the seats as their birthright.

³ We mean the period when machine-made things were not imported from abroad, and during which the Šūfī poetry was composed.

its surroundings. The most important industry of the Pañjāb, which flourished more or less in every village, town, and city, was the cotton industry.¹ This cotton manufacture comprised three processes :

1. Cleaning and carding of cotton and making small rolls ready for spinning. This was done by both men and women.
2. Spinning, turning cotton into yarn, done entirely by women.
3. Weaving, done by men, though often feminine aid was procured.

The Sūfīs made ample use of the vocabulary of this industry and took similes from it. We give below the vocabulary relative to cotton manufacture, which may be of help to those who are interested in Pañjābī Sūfī poetry.

The first process, cleaning of cotton :

Tumbñā : to open the cocoons by hand. This operation was generally performed by the womenfolk.

Velñā : the instrument used for separating the seeds.

Velavī : one who works on the *velñā*.

Jhambhñā or *Piñjñā* : to card cotton.

Peñjāh or *Piñjāh* : cotton carder.

Punñī : a small roll of carded cotton prepared for spinning.

The second process, spinning : To the Pañjābī Sūfī the world was a spinning-wheel and his own self or soul the young girl who was supposed to spin and prepare her dowry. His good actions were like spinning, and the yarn thus spun was his dowry which, like the young girl, he would take to the husband (God). As a husband loved and lived happily with the wife who brought him a dowry and was qualified

¹ Mr Baden Powell, writing as late as the end of the nineteenth century, said that 'it is impossible to exclude any city or town from the list of cotton manufacturing localities in the Pañjāb'. Quoted by C. M. Birdwood in *The Industrial Arts of India*, p. 244.

in spinning,¹ so did God love the Şūfi who died with a good account (*karma* or actions) and possessed qualities that would befit a soul striving for good. But like that obstinate and short-sighted girl who, ignoring the future consequences, spent her time in games and replied to her mother's remonstrances by stating that one part or the other of the spinning-wheel was out of order, the ignorant Şūfi made excuses for his indulgence in worldly pleasures. In the end, like the idle young girl, he was ignored by the Beloved and union was denied him. Thereupon he bewailed his sorrow and described the pangs of Divine separation. Here is the vocabulary :

Carkhā : a spinning-wheel.

Carkkharī : the wheel of the spinning-wheel on which the thread turns.

Barī : the network of cord which bridges the two sides of the *carkkharī* and on which the thread turns.

Māhl or *Māhal* : thread that connects the *carkkharī* with the spindle.

Ḥatthī or *Ḥatthā* : the handle that turns the wheel.

Maḥlā : circular beads used as pivots for the spindle.

Camarī : a small object made either of leather or of dry grass, which fits in the two pillars of the spinning-wheel and through which the spindle passes.

Munnā : a pillar of the spinning-wheel which holds the spindle.

Takkā or *traklā* : spindle of the spinning-wheel.

Tand : thread spun on the spinning-wheel.

Challī or *Muḍḍā* : a hank of spun yarn.

¹ In those days spinning was the greatest accomplishment of a young girl. Anyone not qualified in the art was looked down upon by her husband and members of his household.

Triṇaṇ or *Triṇjhaṇ* : a party of young girls or women for spinning in competition ; a spinning-bee.

Kattṇā : to spin.

Bharoṭā or *Chikkū* : a small basket to hold the hanks.

The third process, weaving :

Naṛā : a weaver's shuttle.

Nalī : the quill or bobbin of a weaver's shuttle.

Khaḍḍī : a loom.

Tānā or *Tāṇī* : warp.

Petā : woof.

Māṇḍ or *Pāṇ* : paste of wheat flour used to stiffen the cotton thread for weaving.

Kaṅghī : a heavy comb by which the threads of the woof are pressed home.

Gaṇḍh or *Ghuṇḍī* : a knot to unite the two ends of a broken thread.

Aṭṭī : a skein of spun cotton.

Aṭṭernā : coiling of spun thread on a small frame to make skeins.

Aṭṭeran : the frame used for coiling cotton thread.

Julāhā : a weaver.

Unṇā or *Buṇṇā* : to weave.

Raṅṅā : to dye.

Dāj : dowry chiefly consisting of dresses, the major part of which was prepared by the bride herself ; a trousseau.

esides the vocabulary of the cotton industry the Śūfīs so employed the names of things in everyday use in the agricultural areas, as :

Goṭī :¹ a small hut of mud and grass, built on pasture land for the cowherd, or made in fields for the person who keeps watch.

¹ The world to the Śūfī was like a *goṭī* for temporary stay.

Chajj : a tray of thin reeds, used for winnowing agricultural products.

Chajjī :¹ a tray larger than a *chajj* and used to winnow the threshing floor.

Jhārū ² or *bauhkar* : a broom used for sweeping the floor or to collect together grain spread in the sun.

Angūthī :³ a small object made of iron or earth to hold fire.

Bhāmbay :⁴ a flame or a big fire.

Ghunḍ :⁵ that part of a woman's veil which she throws over her face to conceal it from men.

The Influence of Sūfī Thought and Poetry on Pañjābī Literature

The influence of mystic thought and verse on Pañjābī literature was tremendous. There was hardly any poet of renown who remained free from this influence. The writers of romance like Vāre Shāh or Wārīs Shāh absorbed so much of Sūfī ideas that people often wrongly thought them to be mystics.

Here, for example, Vāre Shāh speaks like a Sūfī :

Paḥ paḥ ilam kazā paye karṇ muftī
 Bajh ishk de rahn majhūl mīā
 Paḥiā ilam nā rabb dī tūm hundi
 Ikko ishk dā haraf mākul mīā.⁶

Reading and studying knowledge, the *muftīs* give judgement, but without love they have remained ignorant, Sir; by

¹ A Sūfī in all humility calls himself a sweeper, and he calls the beliefs of different people the threshing floor, which he winnows to separate the right from the wrong.

² Sūfī *jhārū* i. wisdom.

³ The Pañjāb is extremely cold in winter and so people use *angūthīs* to warm themselves. The Sūfī's heart is an eternal *angūthī* full of fire, i.e. separation's pangs.

⁴ In Sūfī language it is also love's flame which consumes the body.

⁵ Ignorance is a Sūfī's *ghunḍ*.

⁶ *Hīr Vāre Shāh*, p. 1.

studying knowledge the secret of God is not known, only one word of love is efficient, Sir.¹

The Sūfī idea that love was supreme and beyond all religious and social barriers has also passed on into the entire Pañjābī literature. An example here will not be out of place :

Kahindā ishik dī zāt safāt nāhī
 Nāhī āshkā dā mazhab dīn rānī
 Ishik zāt kuzāt nā puchhdāi
 Es ishik dī bāt acarj rānī.
 Ishik pāk palit nā samjh dāi
 Nahī jān dā kufr islām rānī
 Amām bakḥsh nā khauf hai āshkā nū
 Khāh maut hoai khāh jindgānī.²

(He) says for love exist no race and qualities, nor have lovers religion and creed, Queen. Love asks not high or low caste, the tale of this love is wonderful, Queen. The Lover understands not pure and impure, nor recognizes heathenism and Islām, Queen. Amām Bakḥsh, the lovers have no fear whether death occurs or life remains.

The mystic belief in the instability of creation and the deception played by the illusion of this world also took deep root in Pañjābī literature. It blossomed out in one form or another. Here is an example :

Etho āyā nū duniyā moh laīdī daghe bāzī dā dhār ke bhes
 miyā,
 Sadā nahī javānī te aish māpe sadā nahī je bāl vares miyā,

¹ How closely the above resembles the following of Bulhe Shāh (*Qānūn-i-'Ishq, kāfī* 76) :

Ishk dī navīṭ navī bahār,
 Voh Kurān parḥ parḥ thakko, sījade kardā ghas gaye mathe,
 Nā rabb tīrath nā rabb makko, jis pāiā tis nūr jānāl.

Love ever has a new season (glory). Reading and studying the Vedas and *Qur'ān* (they) are tired. By bowing in obeisance the forehead is worn out. God is neither at a sanctuary nor in Mecca. One who has found (love), his light is powerful.

Bāhū has said the same :

Pe parḥ parḥ ilam hazār katābā ālam hoye sāre hū.
 Hīkko haraf ishik dā nā parḥ jān bhule phirḥ vicāre hū.

(*Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 6). *Pe* : reading and studying a thousand books, all have become knowers ; one word of love they do not know to read, (hence) lost the poor ones walk astray.

² *Candar Badan*, p. 7.

Sakā nahī je daultā fil ghore sadā nahī je rājiā des miyā,
 Shāh Muḥammadā sadā nā rūp duniyā sadā rahṇ nā kālare
 ves miyā.¹

Here come, human beings are deluded by the world, wearing the guise of a deceiver, Sir. For ever are not youth, pleasures and parents, nor for ever stays childhood, Sir. For ever are not treasures, elephants and horses, nor for ever kings kingdoms possessed, Sir. Shāh Muḥammad, for ever in the world is not beauty, nor for ever stays the hair black, Sir.

These few examples, we hope, will be enough to show the extent of Šūfi influence on Pañjābī literature in general.

¹ *Qissā Larāi Singhā*, p. 1.

CHAPTER I

SHAIKH IBRĀHĪM FARĪD ṢĀNĪ

(c. A.D. 1450-1575)

THE first Pañjābī Ṣūfī poet known to us is Shaikh Ibrāhīm, a famous *pīr* of the Pañjāb. All authorities agree in saying that he belonged to the Cishtī order of the Ṣūfīs and lived between A.D. 1450 and 1575.

The Cishtīs of the Pañjāb

This order was originally founded by Abū izḥāk Ṣhāmī of Cisht,¹ but in the Pañjāb it was revived in the thirteenth century² by Farīdu'ddīn, generally known as Shakar Ganj.³

The grandfather of Farīdu'ddīn migrated to India from Persia early in the twelfth century. Farīd was born fifty years later in the village Khotwās⁴ near Multān, in the year A.H. 565 (A.D. 1171-2).⁵ He became a disciple of Qutbu'ddīn of Delhi. On his master's death he inherited his patched mantle and other personal belongings. He came to settle down at Ajodhan afterwards known as Pāk Paṭan.⁶ From here he began his missionary work in the Pañjāb.

¹ *Am-i-Akbarī*, Vol. III, p. 367.

² Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab*, Vol. III, p. 432.

³ This title originated from a miracle performed by him. It has many versions, one of which is that he was told by his mother that the reward of prayer was sugar. She used to hide some under his prayer-carpet, which the boy Farīd got after the prayer. One day his mother went out and he had to pray alone. After his prayer he lifted the carpet and found a great supply of sugar—a miraculous gift of God. His mother was surprised on her return home and named him Shakar Ganj or Treasury of Sugar.

⁴ *Am-i-Akbarī* (English translation), Vol. III, p. 363. Garçin de Tassy translates it Ghanewāl.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Macauliffe states (*Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 367) that the name was changed on account of a canal in which it was usual for all who visited Farīd to wash their hands. This canal came to be known as *Bābā Ṣāhīb kī Pāk Paṭan* or Farīd's cleansing ferry. This is not a satisfactory explanation. Ajodhan being the seat of Farīd was therefore known as Pāk Paṭan—holy town or city.

On his death, his work was carried on by his descendants from Pāk Paṭan, and his disciples scattered all over northern India to carry his message, always looking to Pāk Paṭan as their spiritual centre.¹ Shaikh Ibrāhīm was the eleventh descendant of Farīdu'ddīn. The following is the genealogical order:²

Hazrat Bābā Farīdu'ddīn Ganj-i-shakar
 Diwān Badr-ud-Dīn Sulaiman
 Diwān 'Alā-uddīn Mauj-i-Daryā
 Diwān Mu'izzuddīn
 Pīr Fazl-ud-dīn
 Khwāja Diwān Munāwar Shāh
 Pīr Diwān Bahā-uddīn Harūn
 Pīr Shaikh Aḥmad Shāh
 Pīr Aṭā-ullāh
 Khwāja Shaikh Muḥammad
 Shaikh Ibrāhīm Farīd Šānī

Not much is known about the birth and childhood of Ibrāhīm. There is complete silence with regard even to the date of his birth. The *Khulāṣat-ul-Tawārīkh* states that he died in A.H. 960 or A.D. 1554 at Sirhind where he was buried after a spiritual reign of forty-two years.³ But both the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* and the *Gulzār-i-Farīdī* relate that he died at Pāk Paṭan in the year A.H. 959 or A.D. 1553-4.⁴

In Pāk Paṭan there is still a tomb known as that of Ibrāhīm. We therefore believe that he died at Ajodhan as the two above-mentioned biographies state.⁵ He is said to have reigned as the *pīr* for forty-two years, and therefore his birth must have taken place some time in the middle or the end of the fifteenth century.

¹ The sect maintained its integrity till very late, when it was split into two sub-orders, the Nizāmīās and the Šabīrīās, the former from Nizāmu'ddīn Awliyā, a disciple of Farīdu'ddīn, and the latter from Šabīr, cousin and son-in-law of the founder (see Rose's *Glossary*, Vol. III, p. 432).

² See *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*.

³ As quoted by Macauliffe in his *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 348.

⁴ *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, p. 294 and *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*, p. 81.

⁵ We have been unable to find any trace of his tomb in Sirhind. In none of the old biographies of saints do we find that he died at Sirhind.

After having pursued the ordinary curriculum of secular studies he was initiated into the Cishtī order and went through the spiritual training of a Šūfī. In course of time he succeeded his father Khwāja Shaikh Mubammad in A. H. 916-17 and became the *gaddī-niṣhān*.¹ He seems to have resembled Farīd closely in person and in sanctity, and therefore was named Farīd Šānī or Farīd the Second. He had frequent interviews with Hindu saints and reformers, and with dervishes of Islām.² The titles and appellations which Ibrāhīm bore³ show the great influence he wielded over the masses. He was called

Farīd Šānī or the Second,
 Šāliḡ Farīd or Farīd the Arbitrator,
 Shaikh Ibrāhīm Kalān or Ibrāhīm the Elder,
 Bal Rājā or the mighty king.

This last named is a Hindu appellation applied only to a person who holds great spiritual power. To the Hindus and the masses he was also Shaikh Brāhm. Brāhm is a corrupt form of Ibrāhīm.⁴ Ibrāhīm's popularity amongst the Hindus of his time is rather amazing.

A long residence in India, a sincere study of her religions and philosophies, and the political environment had weakened the proselytizing zeal which animated the soul of Farīd the First.⁵ The Šūfīs were not very popular with the rulers, and so they could befriend the cause of the people, and ensure their own safety against the tyranny of a fanatical ruler only by their influence over people belonging

¹ *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, p. 202.

² He had two meetings with Nūnak (see *Janam Sākhī Bālā* and the *Purāṇ*). The *Gulzār-i-Farīdī* is full of accounts of such interviews.

³ The titles and appellations we have collected from the *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*'s pages. Macauliffe also mentions them in his book, see *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 102.

⁴ The *Gulzār-i-Farīdī* (p. 79) also calls him Brāhm or Baram. The *Janam Sākhīs* all call him Brāhm, see *Bālā-Janam Sākhī*, p. 543.

⁵ Even Farīd the First was not altogether engaged in the work of conversion. His efforts were often supplemented by two factors:

(1) The political domination left the Hindus helpless, especially economically. Economic difficulties therefore compelled them to embrace Islām, which at once raised their status.

to different creeds. This moral support the emperor was not strong enough to uproot.

Thus the Ġishtīs of Pāk Paṭan were the *pīrs* or saints of the Pañjāb more than anything else.¹ At their shrines flourished that Islāmic philosophy which had been coloured by Hindu thought and the cult rituals.² Such was the state of the Ġishtī order when Ibrāhīm ascended the seat of Farīdu'ddīn at Pāk Paṭan. The *Gulzār-i-Farāīdī* and other Ṣūfī books praise Ibrāhīm for his faculty of *karāmāt* or miracles.

Though 'reliance on miracles is one of the "veils" which hinder the elect from penetrating to the inmost shrine of the Truth',³ yet no Ṣūfī in the world could be termed a saint unless he performed miracles. The marvellous incidents and fabulous legends relating to Ṣūfī saints are often odious and fantastic. Shaikh Ibrāhīm was no exception to this rule and had his miracles. We will quote here two miracles which will illustrate the belief of the people in his power and his control over matter and spirit, and pass over the remainder in silence.

A thief entered his house with the intention of stealing, but God, being unwilling to see his devotee suffer, struck

- (2) The social disintegrity of the Hindus supplied him with converts. If a man of high caste ate or drank at Farīd's or at any Mussulman's house he was excommunicated, and in the absence of 'repentance' was forced to become a Ṣūfī, hence a Mussulman. The members of the neglected lower classes also professed the Islāmic creed.

¹ An interesting example of this is given in *Tarīkh-i-Dawīdī* (E. & D. ed., Vol. IV, pp. 439-40). Miā Abdullāh of Ajoḍhan forbade Sultān Sikandar Lodi to carry out his resolve to massacre the Hindus assembled at Kurūkshetra. The Sultan was thereupon enraged and, putting his hand on his dagger, exclaimed: 'You side with the infidels, I will first put an end to you and then massacre the infidels.' But the popularity and the popularity of Abdullāh soon appeased his wrath and he gave up both his resolves, i.e. to massacre the saint and the infidels. Later on, inspired by the policy of Aurangzeb, the hereditary incumbents of Pāk Paṭan changed the creed of tolerance advocated by their predecessors, and became the supporters of fanaticism of which Farīd the First had disapproved. See Rama Krishna, *Les Sikhs*, p. 191.

² Garqin de Tassy finds Hindu influence even at the end of the nineteenth century: see *La Religion Musulmane dans l'Inde*.

³ Junayd as quoted by Nicholson in *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 131.

him blind. Early in the morning the Shaikh ordered his servant to fetch water for his ablutions. The servant saw the blind thief and informed his master. The thief confessed his guilt and begged the *pīr's* pardon. Thereupon the saint prayed and the sight of the thief was restored. He then gave up thieving and became a *murīd* of the *pīr*.¹

Another legend is that in a season of drought the *pīr* was besought to save the people from disaster. Pitying the sufferers, he took off his turban and whirled it round, upon which rain fell in torrents.²

The Shaikh was held in esteem amongst the distinguished holy men of those days. He had various disciples, the most famous of them being Shaikh Salīm Cishtī of Fatehpur.³

The Literary Work of Farīd

Ibrāhīm's literary works in Pāñjābī consist of a set of *kāfīā* and a hundred and thirty *shaloks*. Besides these, we have been able to trace a *Nasīhat-Nāmū* among the Pāñjāb University manuscripts.⁴ The style of this is akin to that of Farīd and so is the language. It is a book on religious injunctions tinged with Ṣūfī beliefs. It clearly indicates that he belonged to the orthodox school. The remainder of Farīd's verse is all found in the *Ādī Granth*. The *Gulzār-i-Farīdī* says that this verse was inserted in the *Granth* by Gurū Nānak with the permission of the Pīr Shaikh Brāhm. The same authority states that only after having seen the book which Nānak submitted to his inspection did the Shaikh give permission to add his sayings.⁵

Historically, the *Granth* was compiled by Gurū Arjun and not by Nānak, and if the permission was obtained it would have been the fifth Gurū who procured it from the

¹ *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*, p. 80.

² *Jawāhīr-i-Farīdī*, p. 294.

³ Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 358.

⁴ MS. 374, Folios 2-14. 743.

⁵ *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*, p. 80.

reigning *pīr*.¹ In their correspondence the Gurūs addressed each other as Nānak² and this may have led the author of the *Gulzār-i-Farīdī* to make the mistake.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm's Pañjābī poems, though they had won him the love of the people, failed to procure him the praise of the learned, who looked disdainfully at the poets of the living languages and refused to recognize them as such. The Pañjābīs therefore should thank Gurū Arjun for having written down a major part of the verse of this first Pañjābī Śūfī poet.

As has been mentioned above, Farīd Śānī was the name conferred on Shaikh Ibrāhīm for his high sanctity. He, however, employed it as his *nom de plume*.³ The common belief, therefore, is that the verse of Farīd in the *Ādi Granth* was composed by Farīd the First. Macauliffe is certain that it was Shaikh Brāhm who composed the *shaloks* bearing the name Farīd in the *Granth*.⁴ But Bābā Buddh Singh is of opinion that they are mixed compositions of the Farīds, the First and the Second. The argument of Macauliffe that Farīd the First did not live in the time of Nānak and, since Nānak had interviews with Ibrāhīm, the *shaloks* must be the Shaikh's, is not very strong or logical. In the *Granth* we find the hymns of those saints who lived long before Nānak and also of those with whom he never had any personal relations. Bābā Buddh Singh⁵ bases his argument on two facts: that since Amīr Khusro who came to India could write in Hindī, why could not Farīdu'ddīn who was born and brought up in the Pañjāb write in Pañjābī? And some of the *shaloks*, such as

Farīdā rotī meri kāth dī lāvan merī bhukkh,
Jinhā khādhīā copriā soi sahangē dukkh.

¹ Farīd Śānī died in A.H. 959 (A.D. 1553-4) early in the reign of Akbar, while Gurū Arjun compiled the *Granth* much later (A.D. 1581-1606).

² Munshī Fānī says that Gurū Har Gobind when he wrote to him signed his name as Nānak. See *Dabīstān*, Vol. II, p. 236

³ *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 357.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ *Hans Cog.* p. 69

My bread is of wood and satisfies my hunger; those who eat bittered bread will undergo suffering,

cannot indicate the incidents which took place in the life of Farīd the First and so must be his. Thus he makes Farīd and Ibrāhīm the conjoint authors. The first of these two arguments is not at all convincing, and the second can be regarded futile by the fact that the incidents of the founder's life were versified by his descendant and successor.

Though his argument is equally weak we agree with Macauliffe, as his conclusion has the support of one of the *shaloks* of Farīd found in the *Granth*. It says,

Sekh hayāti jag nā koī thiru rahiā
Jisn āsanī ham baithe kete bas gaiā.¹

(1) Shaikh no life in the world is stationary. The seat on which I am seated has been occupied by many.

From the above poem we understand that the author was not Farīdu'ddīn but a descendant, who was occupying his spiritual seat, hence Farīd the Second.

Language and Style

Shaikh Ibrāhīm preached in Pañjābī to the congregations assembled at Pāk Paṭan.² His language was, therefore, a Pañjābī comprising various dialects, and was simple and natural. The one dialect which is strikingly prominent in his language is Multānī. The influence of Lahndī is also visible. A few words of Hindī and Persian are found in his verse, but they were rarely words which the Pañjābī people could not understand. He composed a few poems in Hindī which fact proves that he had a good command over that language. But we cannot help stating that his verse is at its best in Pañjābī. Though his poetry is natural, forceful, and impressive, it lacks that intense feeling which

¹ See *Granth, Āsī Sekh Farīd, shalok 5.*

² The custom prevails even at present but in a very degenerate manner.

characterizes the poetry of Husain. Except for this want of feeling, it is expressive and intelligible, and demonstrates the restlessness of the author's soul for the Divine Union. His verse, though it does not conform to the Persian rules of prosody, is overlaid with similes, very human, and sometimes incoherent and unsuitable for the Divine Beloved, as in Persian poetry. Considering that he was the first Šufī who replaced Persian by his mother-tongue this defect can be ignored. His highest merit lies in the fact that he was the first Mussulman saint who composed verses in Pañjābī and was the pioneer of Pañjābī Šufī poetry.

Religious Tenets

Unity of the Godhead and Muḥammad's religion being the only true way to attain salvation was the creed of the orthodox Šufī missionaries, like the pioneers of the Qādirī and the Cishtī orders in India.

But as tolerance was their motto they soon became the friends of the people. They influenced the people's thought and were themselves influenced in turn, and began to doubt the asserted monopoly of the Muslim path to God. Such appears to have been the state of Shaikh Ibrāhīm's mind when he became the *pīr* of Pāk Paṭan. He could not openly criticize the established beliefs of his order as he was the hereditary incumbent and derived his power and prestige therefrom, but this could not prevent his holding some personal views. The uncertainty as to whether Islām or Hinduism was the true path perplexed him greatly. During one of his interviews with Nānak he says :

Ikḱ Khudāi dui hādī kehrā sevī kehrā haddā raddī.¹

There is one Lord and two teachers :² which shall be served (adopted) and which censuring rejected ?

¹ *Janam Sālihī* (Bālā), p. 544.

² Muḥammad and the Hindu *avataaras*.

Nānak replied

Nāhib ikko rāh ikk, ikko sevīe aur radīi
dūjā kāhe simarīe jammē te mar jāi.
ikko smarō Nānakā jal thal rahiā samāi.¹

There is but one Lord, and one way. Adopt the one and reject the other.² Why should one worship a second, who is born and then dies? Remember Him alone, Nānak, who is present in water (seas) and on land.

The Shaikh was very pleased with the Gurū's reply, but convinced like all Ṣūfīs that a patched coat and mean appearance humbled the heart and obtained salvation, he advised :

Pār paṭolā dhaj karī kambalī Pahiroi
Jiñī vesi Sahu milai soi ves karoi.³

Tear your clothes into tatters and wear a blanket instead. Adopt the dress by which the Lord may be obtained.

The Gurū, who had great respect for the Shaikh, agreed with him that faith and devotion were the only means to reach the ideal but could not listen to this advice of Ibrāhīm. He was a staunch believer in *karma-yoga* and an enemy of outward signs and symbols. He told the Shaikh that while wearing secular costume one could find the Lord, if one loved Him.⁴

Ibrāhīm could not support Nānak's view. But he was extremely happy to find someone who like himself thought that there was only one way, a belief so dear to his heart. So, while bidding farewell, he remarked : ' O Nānak, thou hast found God, there is no difference between thee and Him.'⁵ This compliment illustrates faithfully how far the Ṣūfi beliefs of Ibrāhīm had changed under the later Bhāgvat influence.

¹ *Janam Sākhī*, p. 544.

² By one, Nānak means the way of faith and devotion.

³ *Janam Sākhī*, p. 545.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ How closely this resembles the Vaisṇava belief : Hari hari jan doṭ ek hai, bumb vicār koī nāi, jal te uṭhō taraṅg jiau jal hī bikke samāi ; i.e. God and his saints are one and the same. The idea that the saints are His mere reflection exists no more, for as a tide rises from deep waters and in deep waters it ebbs, similarly the saints emerge from God and in Him they merge.

Towards the end of his career Ibrāhīm appears to have set aside the remaining fanatical side of Islām. His faith in the prescribed Ṣufī code and Qur'ānic beliefs seems to have fallen into the background. The following will confirm our view by showing the change in the Shaikh's ideas :

Farīd, men carry prayer-carpets on their shoulders, wear a Ṣufī's robe and speak sweetly, but there are knives in their hearts.¹

His belief with regard to God and His grace is very vividly shown here :

In the lake (world) there is one Swan (good soul) while there are fifty snares (bad souls); O True One, my hope is in Thee.

In Farīd's verse there is no formal exposition of any Ṣufī doctrines. It comprises short love poems and couplets on religious subjects in general. Some of his poems show a strong colour of Hindu thought, specially the doctrine of *ahimsā*.

He says :

Farīd, if men beat thee with their fists, beat them not in return, kiss their feet and go back.²

And again :

All men's hearts are gems, to distress them is by no means good; if thou desire the Beloved, distress no one's heart.

Humility is also a great quality with the Shaikh :

Farīd, revile not dust, there is nothing like it. When we are alive it is beneath our feet, when we are dead it is above us.³

The fame of Shaikh Ibrāhīm has surpassed that of the sect of which he was the spiritual head. For centuries

¹ *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 398.

² *ibid.*, p. 394. This reminds one of the Vaisnava legend in which Bhṛigu kicks Viṣṇu while he is asleep. Viṣṇu wakes up and begins to massage Bhṛigu's foot saying that his hard body must have hurt his foot.

³ *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 394.

together and even to the present day, the poet has been looked upon as a saint by thousands of his countrymen who never heard the name Cīshī. Many of his couplets are household words, and hundreds of completely uneducated men and women make frequent use of them. We have given above those *shūloke* which are repeated in Hindu and Musulman homes every day. They will serve as specimens of his literary genius and also of his popularity.

CHAPTER II

MĀDHO LĀL ḤUSAIN

(A.D. 1539-1593-4)

ḤUSAIN was born in A.H. 945 (A.D. 1539) in Lahore.¹ His ancestors, says the author of *Tazkirā*, were originally Kāyastha Hindus who embraced Islām in the time of Feroz Shāh.² But Bābā Buddh Singh is of opinion that his great-grandfather or grandfather, who became a Mussulman, belonged to the *dhatā* clan of the Rājput̄s.³ Under what circumstances Ḥusain's family confessed the Muhammadan creed is not known. All that we know is that at the birth of Ḥusain, the family was sunk deep in poverty. His father, who was called *nau shaikh* 'Uṣmān,⁴ was a weaver. Ḥusain never learned this trade, but on account of his father being engaged in the industry, Fard Faqīr in his *Kasab-Nāmā Bāfīnd-gān*⁵ says :

Par is kasabe de vice bahute ālam phāzal hoai
Par shāh husain kabir jo āye dargāh jā khaloai.

Though in this profession many learned ones had been, yet Shah Ḥusain and Kabir who came (in the profession) went and stood at the door (of God).

Ḥusain was put under the charge of Abū-Bakr at a very tender age and became a *hāfiẓ* when he was ten years old.⁶ Then Shaikh Bahlol of Ciniot (Chiniot, Jhang district), who learnt the doctrine of *fanā* from a Ṣūfī of Koh-Pañj-Shīr, came to Lahore and made Ḥusain his own disciple.⁷ After a few years Shaikh Bahlol returned from Lahore and left

¹ *Tazkirā Awliyā-i-Hind*, Vol. III, p. 33.

² *ibid*

³ *Hans Cog*, p. 106. We do not think there is any such clan among the Rājput̄s.

⁴ The word *nau* is a sarcastic prefix which was added to the names of new converts by Muhammadans.

⁵ See *Daryā-i-Ma'rifat* containing the *Kasab Nāmā*.

⁶ *Tahqiqāt-i-'Ushīrī*, p. 43.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 42-3.

Ḥusain to continue his study of the Ṣūfī practices at the shrine of Dātā Ganj Bakhsh¹ in Lahore.² For twelve years he served the ashes of the *pīr* and followed the strict Qur'ānic discipline.³ He is said to have spent many a night in a standing posture in the river Rāvī, repeating the *Qur'ān*.⁴ At twenty-six he left that *pīr* and became a student of Sa'īd-ullāh, with whom he read many a book on Ṣūfīism. Some time after this, as he was coming out of the house of his teacher with his fellow-students, he thought he had found the secret of God. Happy at his success he threw in the well the *Qur'ān* which he had in his hand, but his companions were enraged at this act of heresy. He thereupon ordered the book to come out. It came, and to the surprise of his companions it was as dry as before.⁵ Hereafter Ḥusain, discarding all rules and regulations, began to dance, sing, and drink. He became a mystic. The excesses of Ḥusain became scandalous and reached the ear of Shāh Bahlol at Ciniot. The Shaikh was so much upset that he journeyed to Lahore to see things for himself. His talks with his disciple convinced him of his saintliness and he went back satisfied to his native town.⁶ Ḥusain wore a red dress and came to be known as Lāl Ḥusain or Ḥusain the Red.⁷ Ḥusain was very fond of dancing and singing and mixed freely in the company of dancers and musicians. The Qādirīs, to whose sect Ḥusain belonged, generally loved music and dancing which, they thought, helped them in their divine contemplations, but they never went to the extreme which Ḥusain reached. Ḥusain shaved clean his moustache and beard and refused, according to the author of *Ḥasanāt-ul-ʿarīfīn*, to accept those persons as disciples who were unwilling to shave their faces.⁸ This idea of Ḥusain and

¹ See Introduction, p. xvii, n. 1.

² *Tahqīqāt-i-Cishī*, p. 46.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ *History of Lahore*, p. 145.

⁵ This story of conversion is related in *Tahqīqāt-i-Cishī*, pp. 48-9.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷ *Tazkirā Awliyā-i-Hind*, Vol. III, p. 34, and *Yād-rufta-gān*, p. 58.

⁸ *Ḥasanāt-ul-ʿarīfīn*, p. 46.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 47.

his neglect of the religious duties of a Mussulman aroused suspicion, and some officials thought of punishing him; but by pointing out to them their own neglect of religious duties, Ḥusain escaped punishment.¹ Lāl Ḥusain was fortunate to have been born, to live, and to die during the reign of Emperor Akbar whose fondness for religious men and especially the Šūfīs was proverbial. Akbar, it appears from the writings of Dārā Šaikoh, knew Ḥusain. Prince Dārā writes: 'Prince Salīm and the ladies of Emperor Akbar's harem believed in his supernatural powers and entertained respect for him.'² The *Tahqīqāt-i-Cishtī* states that Prince (later Emperor) Salīm was greatly attached to the saint and appointed Bahār Khān, an officer, to record his daily doings. These records, which were regularly submitted for the perusal of the Prince, were later on compiled together with the sayings of the saint and were named *Bahāriā*.⁴ The *Bahāriā* is said to be replete with incidents relating to the supernatural power of the saint.

His Attachment to Mādho

Having become a Šūfī, Ḥusain began preaching in public. A Brahman boy of Shāhdara, a village across the Rāwī, frequented these religious séances and showed keen interest in his teachings.⁵ This attracted the attention of the saint, who soon became attached to the handsome youth. This attachment developed so much and so rapidly that if on any day Mādho failed to come, Ḥusain would walk down to his house. This sort of friendship was not liked by the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

² Prince Dārā, as quoted by Latif. See *History of Lahore*, p. 145.

³ p. 52

⁴ We have not been successful in tracing this book in the libraries of London or of the Pañjāb.

⁵ Some say that he saw him while he was drinking at a bar. But Mādho being a young Hindu lad could not have gone to the wine-house. The account given above, therefore, seems to be the true version. The author of *Tahqīqāt-i-Cishtī* relates (pp. 50-1) that Ḥusain met Mādho while the lad went riding through the bazār in a fashionable manner. He tried in vain to possess the lad for 16 years, at the end of which period he succeeded.

parents, who tried to dissuade their son from meeting Ḥusain, but to no effect. Desirous of separating their child from the Ṣūfī they proposed to take him to the Ganges on a certain festival day. When Mādho informed the saint of his impending departure, he was much distressed and begged the boy not to go with his parents. However, he promised Mādho a bath in the company of his parents on the appointed day. Mādho thereupon refused to accompany his parents, who proceeded alone to Hardvār. After a few days the saint asked the boy to close his eyes, and when he did so, Mādho found himself on the banks of the Ganges along with his parents who had reached there by that time. After the bath he discovered that he was back in his house at Shāhīdara. On their return the parents confirmed their son's statement that he bathed with them on the appointed day. This miracle, says tradition, so much impressed Mādho that he confessed the Muhammadan faith and became a Mussulman.¹ Another story about Mādho's conversion is that the attachment of Ḥusain for Mādho was disagreeable to the parents and created suspicion in the people's mind.² But Ḥusain, unmindful of all, would go to the boy's house when he was prevented from visiting him. Very often the parents would tell him that Mādho was absent and Ḥusain would return disappointed. One day when he had been refused permission to see the boy, he walked down to his house for the second time. On reaching the place he saw people weeping and wailing. On inquiry, he was told that Mādho was dead. The Faqir laughed aloud and walking to the dead body exclaimed: 'Get up, Mādho, why do you sleep at this hour? Get up and see I am waiting for you.' Upon this, continues the story, Mādho jumped on his feet and followed Ḥusain out of

¹ Latif on the authority of *Buhārī*, see *History of Lahore*, p. 145.

² *Tahqīqāt-i-Cishtī* says (pp. 50-1) that his relatives seeing him sleeping in the same bed with Lāl Ḥusain came to murder them both, but the power of Ḥusain made them blind and as they could not find the door, they returned.

his parental house, never to return there again. and became a Mussulman.

Both these versions of Mādho's conversion are legendary and most probably untrue and of later origin, because how could a Ṣufī of Ḥusain's type who disregarded traditional precepts convert his beloved friend to Islām ? ¹

Secondly, since Mādho did not change his Hindu name, it is certain that he was not converted to Islām.

To our mind the truth appears to have been as follows : that Mādho, convinced of Ḥusain's saintliness, was attached to him in the same manner as the saint was to him, and consequently, ignoring the rules of his own society, became his disciple and ate and drank with his spiritual guide. Such behaviour would surely have offended the conservative Hindus who, on this account, excommunicated him and turned him out of their social fold. Thus secluded, the unfortunate Mādho had no choice but to go and live with his master as his friend and disciple. Thousands of such adherents were unhesitatingly given by the Hindus to Islām and Mādho no doubt had been one of these forced converts.

Mādho later on was known as Shaikh Mādho and his name came to be prefixed to that of the saint,² who to this day is known as Mādho Lāl Ḥusain.

The love of Ḥusain for Mādho was unique, and he did all that lay in his power to please the boy. Once, seeing his co-religionists celebrating *holī* ³ and being desirous of doing the same, he brought some *gulāl* (pinkish-red powder) and threw it on Ḥusain. Ḥusain at once joined him in

¹ According to *Hasanāt-ul-ʿarīfīn* (p. 46) Husain is credited with having been above all religions. 'He said he was neither a Muslim nor a pagan', i.e. Hindu.

² Latif on the authority of *Haqīqat-ul-Fuqarā : History of Lahore*, p. 146.

³ A Hindu carnival during which people amuse themselves by throwing colour on each other.

the fun.¹ *Basant* or the spring festival, like *holā*, was also celebrated each year by Lāl Ḥusain to please Mādho.²

Mādho Lāl Ḥusain was held in great respect by the people, and the Hindus, though they seem to have turned Mādho out of their fold, could not master their credulous beliefs in the supernatural miracle-performing power of the saint and esteemed him just as much as their Muslim brethren. The author of *Tazkirā* fixes the number of his followers as 90,000; but other people, he says, believed the number of his faithful to reach 1,000,000.³ The same authority is responsible for the statement that Ḥusain's *gaddīs*, sixteen in number, are scattered all over India.⁴ Four of these sixteen seats are called *Garībs* or the poor, the other four are named *Dīwāns* or the ministers.⁵ Three are known as *Khākīs* or the ash-smearers, and another four as *Bahlāvāls*, i.e. entertainers. Nothing is said about the sixteenth⁶

Ḥusain indulged in wine, and probably it is due to alcohol that he died at the age of 53, a comparatively early age for a saint. His death occurred in A.H. 1008 (A.D. 1593) at Shāhdara, where he was duly buried.⁷ A few years later, as predicted by the saint,⁸ the grave was swept away by an overflow of the Rāvī. Thereupon Mādho exhumed the corpse and carried it to Bāghbānpurā, where it was buried with pompous formalities. After his death Mādho was buried by his side. Latif describes the tomb as follows :

¹ *Tahqiqāt-i-Cishti*, pp. 51-2.

² These festivals are still celebrated at the shrine where he lies buried along with his dear Mādho.

³ Vol III, p. 36.

⁴ The *gaddī nushīn* of the Lahore shrine and his relatives are uneducated and ignorant men. They said that they possessed the biography and other books of the saint but refused to show them to us. We, however, collected some *kāfīs* from the books, and verified them from the *Lavvālīs*.

⁵ The *gaddī nushīn* of the Lahore shrine is the head *dīwān* and is the spiritual descendant of Mādho.

⁶ *Tazkirā, Auliyyā-i-Hind*, p. 36.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 62.

⁸ *History of Lahore*, p. 146.

The tomb is situated north of the village of Bāghbānpurā. There are signs of two tombs on a high platform, one of Mādho and the other of Lāl Ḥusain, the actual tombs being in an underground chamber. The platform is surrounded by a wall with a gateway to the south. Between the platform and the surrounding wall is a space left for the devotees to go round,—the platform being lined on all sides with lattice-work of red stone. North of the enclosure is a tower in which is reverentially kept the impression of the prophet's feet (*Qadam-i-Rasūl*) and to the west is a mosque. This mosque was constructed by Morā, a Muhammadan wife of Ranjit Singh.¹

Lāl Ḥusain appears to have had friendships among the holy men of his time. He was an intimate friend of Chajju Bhagat who, the tradition says, called him Shāh Ḥusain for the first time.² He met Gurū Arjun whenever he came to Lahore. We, however, cannot find any historical evidence to support the assertion of Bābā Buddh Singh, who states that when Arjun was compiling the *Ādi Granth*, Ḥusain submitted his verses to him for inspection, but the Gurū, disapproving them, refused to insert them in the *Granth*.³ Ḥusain's poetry, if we may be permitted to say so, is in no way inferior to that of many others found in the body of the *Granth*, nor would a free Śūfī like Ḥusain care to have his verses inserted in the book of a sect then not so popular as it was to be after a few years.

His Mysticism

Ḥusain's Śūfīism was of a peculiar type and presented a curious medley of Persian and Indian Śūfīism. In his

¹ *ibid.*, p. 146.

² It relates that after Husain had brought dead Mādho to life, Chajju Bhagat addressed him as Shāh (a bestower of gifts) Ḥusain, instead of Lāl Ḥusain.

³ *Hans Cog*, p. 107.

mystic ideas and beliefs he was more Indian than anything else, but in his daily life he followed the style of the Persian Şūfī.

Foreign Influence

The following two traits of his character affirm the influence of Persianism.

The first trait was his addiction to liquor. Needless to say, wine-drinking and dancing in the wine-house became a part of his saintly profession. And when drunk, he would dance, sing his own poems, and preach to the crowds who gathered round him. The Indian mystic in general and the Pañjābī Şūfī in particular avoided wine and led simple lives, but the Şūfīs of Persia were often pleasure-loving people. It does not mean that they all indulged in drinking, but some of them did taste the material wine which had a symbolic meaning in their poetry.

The second obviously Persian trait was his love of a youth. As stated above, he was enamoured of Mādho. This idea of loving a youth is opposed to the Indian concept of divine love. An Indian requires no semblance to attain the Divine Beloved, and renouncing all attachment depends either on his own efforts of spiritual discipline, or, keeping faith, relies entirely on divine grace. The idea of loving a youth, originally Greek,¹ was borrowed by the Muslims of Islāmic countries, especially of Persia. Some Şūfīs and some orthodox Muhammadans tell us that 'youth-love' was practised for the following reasons :

1. A young man is physically more beautiful than a woman and so he inspires the Şūfī better in the description of his Beloved.²

¹ The Greeks held that 'youth-love' was the only form of love worthy of a noble soul. For detailed historical development of 'youth-love' philosophy see *Antimachus of Colophon and the Position of Woman in Greek Poetry*, by E. F. M. Benecke.

² This is like an artist who wants a beautiful model to paint some divine subject.

2. Man is a weak being and cannot altogether give up his natural desire to have a companion in life. If he chooses a woman companion he indulges his lust. Therefore not to incur the sexual sin, he takes a pleasing youth on whom he showers his love and kindness and in whom he confides.
3. God has no feminine attributes. He is a male and therefore to describe him and to constantly think of him, a perfect youth is desirable as a constant companion.¹

As far as poetry can help us, we find no immoral flaw in Lāl Ḥusain's love for Mādho. It had more moral than religious or philosophic significance. For him, this sort of love, being absolutely free from selfish desire, was in no way detrimental to the attainment of the Beloved, and was consequently elevating.

His Works

Ḥusain has left no poetic works. His only work is a number of *kāfīs* of a highly mystic type.

His Language and Style

His verse is written in simple Pañjābī, slightly overlaid with Persian and Arabic words. It excels in expression of thought and has a clear flow. In its simplicity and effectiveness it is superior to Ibrāhīm Farīd's Pañjābī. It lacks the brilliancy of Urdū poetry but is remarkable for its just proportion of words and powerful sense of rhyme. His versification is smoother, his similes more relevant, and his words simpler but more effective than those of Ibrāhīm. His poetry is of a less orthodox type but is not as saturated with Indian thought as would be the poetry of Bullhe

¹ The opponents of Šūfīsm are of opinion that, psychologically, this love for a youth could not be possible and a Šūfī kept a youth only to satisfy his animal nature.

Shāh. Like his character, his poetry is a curious mixture of Ṣūfī, Indian, and foreign thought. The essential feature of his poetry which strikes the reader is that it is highly pathetic and, piercing the heart, creates a mystic feeling.

Peculiarity of his Doctrines

Ḥusain's peculiarity of character is also reflected in his poetry. He believes in *fanā* but does not seem to accept the doctrine of *ana'l-Ḥaqq* without which *fanā* is not comprehensible. As we shall see presently, he spent his life in search of the Beloved whom he knew to be present everywhere but whom he could not see. His excessive love for Mādho also proves that he did not reach those heights which Bullhā attained.

Ḥusain believed in the theory of *karma*, but on a rational Pañjābī basis, as :

Duniā tō mar jāvaṇā vatt nā āvaṇā
Jo kich kittā burī bhalā te kittā apanā pāvaṇā.¹

From the world one parts as dead not to return again ; whatever actions wrought (be) right or wrong, according to them he shall obtain.

Ḥusain insists on good *karmas* so much that several of his poems are composed to express that belief. For example :

Tārī sāī rabbā ve maī augaṇ hārī
sabh saiyā gunvantiā, tārī sāī rabbā ve maī augaṇ hārī
bheji si jis bāt nū piārī rī soi maī bāt bisārī
raī mil saiyā dāj raṅgayā piārī rī maī rahi kūārī
maī sūī te parbat dar de, piārī rī maī kaun vicārī
kahe husain sahelio nī amalā bājh khuārī.²

Save, O master God, me full of faults ; all friends possess qualities (good *karmas*), save me, full of faults. The object for which (I) was sent, O dear that alone I ignored ; gathering together (for spinning) my friends, O dear, have had their trousseaux dyed (for marriage) ; I am left unmarried (for not possessing a dowry). Of my master (God) the mountains are

¹ From a *kanvālī* of the Lahore shrine. It is also given in *Hans Cog*, p. 115.

² Pañjāb Univ. MS., p. 374, *kāfī* 1.

afraid, poor creature, what am I? Ḥusain says, O friends, without qualities there is but disaster.

Ḥusain believed in *samsāra*. This belief he appears to have borrowed from the Sikhs, a rational Bhāgvat order founded at the end of the fifteenth century by Nānak Dev. The founder of this sect had endeavoured to bring *samsāra* to the state of a science and, like the *Ājivikas*, professed that the wheel of *samsāra* contained eighty-four thousand species of life, each of which in its turn possessed millions and millions of others.¹ But Ḥusain fails to have a clear grasp when he enters the details. His idea is vague, as :

Vatt nahī āvaṇā bholiai māai
eh varī veḷā eh vāri dā
is caupaṭ de caurāsī khānne
jug vichare mil cotā khāde
kī jāṇā kī pausī dā.²

(Soul) has not to come again (as human being), O innocent mother, this turn of time (human birth) is only for this turn (life)³; this chess board (*samsāra*) comprises eighty-four squares (species); once separated after sufferings (of 84 species) is union (in God); what do I know that which (soul) obtains (after death in present life)?

Below is an exquisite example in pathetic, soul-stirring words of the sufferings of Shāh Ḥusain's soul separated from the Universal Soul :

Dard vichare dā hāl nī maī kehnū ākkhā
sulā mār divānī kittī birahū piā kḥiāl, nī maī kehnū ākkhā
jaṅgal jaṅgal phirā dhūḍēdī aje nā āyā mahivāl,
nī maī kehnū ākkhā
Dhukhan dhūc shāhā vāle jāpholā tā lāl,
nī maī kehnū ākkhā
kahe husain faqīr rabbānā, vekh nimāniā dā hāl,
nī maī kehnū ākkhā.⁴

¹ *Les Sikhs*, p. 34.

² *Hans Cog*, p. 112.

³ According to the Hindu thought a soul can come back into the same life if his *karmas* allow that. A man can be born again as man, or go higher or lower in the scale as his actions permit. Ḥusain does not seem to believe in this.

⁴ This *kāfī* is found in the Pañjāb University MS. No. 374 (*kāfī* 9) but is slightly different from what the *kavālis* sing. We give it according to the *kavālis*.

The story of the pain of separation, O to whom shall I narrate, these pangs have made me mad, this separation is in my thought; from *janḡal* to *janḡal* I roam searching, yet my Mahīvāl¹ has not come. The smouldering fire has black flame, whenever I stir (it), I see the Lāl²; says Shāh Husain, God's faqir, behold the lot of the humble ones.

Husain explained the reason of his ecstatic dancing which was against the precepts of the established Mussulman beliefs and perhaps against the injunctions of the *Qur'ān* also :

Shak giā beshakī hoī tā maī augan nacci hā
je shāhu nāl maī jhumar pāvā sadā suhāgan sacci hā
jhuthe dā mūh kālā hoyā āshak dī gall sacci hai
shak giā beshakī hoī tā maī augan nacci hā.³

The doubt⁴ has vanished and doubtlessness is established, therefore I, devoid of qualities, dance. If I play (thus) with the Beloved I am ever a happy woman.⁵ The liar's face (he who accused) has been blackened and the lover's statement has been proved true; because the doubt has vanished and doubtlessness is established, therefore I, devoid of qualities, dance.

Here is a *kāfī* in which Shāh Husain describes, in a short but forceful manner, the sarcasm of the public about his unique ways, and expresses his determination to continue his search for the divine Beloved :

Rabbā mere augan cīt nā dhari
augan hāri ko gun nāi andarō fazaḷ karī
duniā vāliā nū duniā dā mānā naṅḡā nū naṅḡ loī
nā sī naṅḡ nā duniā vāle sānū hass dī janī kanī
kahe Husain fakīr sī dā saḷi dāḍhe nāl banī.⁶

O God do not mind my faults; full of faults (I) without quality;—from within show compassion (enlightenment).

¹ The story of Sohni Mahīvāl, generally known to the public through the *Qissa Sohni Mahīvāl* by Fazal Shāh and other poets. The tragedy is said to have taken place in the time of Shāh Jahān, but from the above *kāfī* seems to have been much older and is, perhaps, of ancient origin.

² Lāl here has two meanings, 'red consuming fire hidden under black smoke' and 'the Beloved hidden from us by *māyā* or our ignorance'.

³ From *kanvālis*. *Hans Cog* contains it too.

⁴ About God.

⁵ *Suhāḡin* or *suhāḡan* is a woman who has her husband living, hence happy.

⁶ *Kāfīā Shāh Husain*, No. 1.

To the worldly the pride of the world, to the recluse¹ renunciation is a cover.² Neither a recluse I nor worldly (therefore) whosoever³ laughs at me ; says Shāh Ḥusain, God's faqīr, my friendship is made with the Terrible One (God).

It appears that Ḥusain never attained the stage of Union. He ever longed to meet God and merge himself in Him. The sentiment that his Beloved was separated from him by his own illusion or ignorance so much overpowered his soul that he sang of his pains of separation in a wonderfully touching manner. This pathos has a very lasting effect on the mind of the reader. No other Śufī can beat Ḥusain in this respect. Here we give one such poem :

Sajjan bin rātā hoīā vaddiā
mās jhaṛe jhaṛ piñjar hoyā kankaṇ geīā haḍḍiā
ishk chapāyā chappdā nāhī birhō tanāvā gaḍḍiā
rājhā jogī māi jogiānī, māi ke karchaḍḍiā
kahe shāh husain fakir sāi dā tere dāmaṇ laggeiā.⁴

Without the friend the nights have become longer, my flesh has fallen, my body has become a skeleton and (then) my bones rattle against each other ; love can never be kept hidden, when separation has pitched its camp ; Rājhā is a Yogī and I his Yogin, what has he done unto me ? Says Shāh Ḥusain, God's faqīr, I have held Your skirt.

The following is a true example of Shāh Ḥusain's love for intoxicating things. He prays to God to grant him these along with wisdom and contemplation. It clearly shows that he was a pleasure-loving Śufī :

Jetī jetī duniā rām jī tere kolaū maṅḍī
kundā deī sotā deī kotthī deī bhaṅḍ dī
sāfi deī mirca deī be mintī deī raṅḍ dī
posat deī bātī deī cātī deī khaṅḍ dī
giān deī dhiān deī mahima sādhu saṅḍ dī
shāh husain fakir sāi dā ehi duāi malaṅḍ dī.⁵

¹ *Nanḡā* are opposite of the worldly, therefore, recluses.

² *Loī* here means 'cover' and not a blanket. It signifies that their renunciation stands guarantee for them and so nobody questions them or makes fun of them.

³ *Janī kanī* is a Pañjābī expression, very difficult to render in English. It means, even a person of ordinary importance, to say nothing of others.

⁴ Pañjāb University MS. No. 374, *kāfi* 5 and *kāfiā* 2.

⁵ *ibid*, *kāfi* 42.

All the world (people), O Rāma,¹ begs from you. Give the *kundā*² and *soṭī*³ and a chamber (full) of *bhaṅg*⁴; give the cloth⁵ and black pepper and measureless colour,⁶ give poppy⁷ and the cup and a *cālī*⁸ of sugar; give wisdom and contemplation and the honour of *sādhus*' company (says) Shāh Ḥusain, the *faqīr* of God, this is the request of a *faqīr*.

Such was Ḥusain, the unusual Ṣūfī, who lived in the hopes of meeting his departed Beloved, but who utilized the period of waiting in drinking wine and *bhaṅg*.

Sources of Information

Pañjāb University MS. No. 374, Folios 2-14, 743. This MS. in Gurmukkhī characters contains about forty-five *kāfīs* of Ḥusain. They are not correctly given. The compiler has mixed most of them. Some, however, are correct.

Kāfīā Shāh Ḥusain, a small brochure containing 28 *kāfīs*, published at Lahore.⁹

The *kāfīs* collected from *kavvālīs*, elders and *mirāsīs* at Lahore.

On the life of Ḥusain the following books exist :

Bahāriā, by Bahār Khān. We have not succeeded in tracing the book.

Ḥuqīqat-ul-Fuqarā contains an account of Shāh Ḥusain. It is out of print.

Tahqīqāt-i-Cishī by Nūr Aḥmad Cishī. This Urdū book speaks of Ḥusain at length.¹⁰

*Tazkirā-Awliyā-i-Hind*¹¹ by Mirza Muḥammad. of Delhi. 3 volumes. The third volume deals with Ḥusain and Mādhō.

¹ *Rām jī* here does not mean Rāma, the hero of the epic but God, the omnipresent.

² *Kundā* is a stone vessel in which *bhaṅg* is rubbed.

³ *Soṭā* is a long piece of wood about two inches in diameter with which *bhaṅg* is pressed and rubbed.

⁴ *Cannabis Indica*.

⁵ A thin cloth for the liquid *bhaṅg* to filter through.

⁶ Some colour, generally saffron, to give a pleasing colour to the preparation.

⁷ Poppy seeds which are added to the preparation.

⁸ *Cālī* is a big earthen vessel used for storing things.

⁹ Sant Singh & Sons, Lohari Gate, Lahore.

¹⁰ Koh-i-Noor Press, Lahore.

¹¹ Muir Press, Delhi, 1928.

*Ḥasanāt-ul-‘arīfīn*¹ by Maulvī Muḥammad ‘Umar Khān, an Urdū rendering of the Persian work *Ḥasanāt-ul-‘arīfīn* of Prince Dārā Shikoh, gives an account of Shāh Ḥusain.

History of Lahore by Syed Muhammad Latif in English. Deals with Ḥusain also.

Hans Cog by Buddh Singh contains some secondhand information about Ḥusain.

Yād-raftagān,² another biography of saints, contains a few pages on Ḥusain’s life.

¹ Kapur Art Printing Works, Lahore.

² Islama Steam Press, Lahore.

CHAPTER III

SULTĀN BĀHŪ

(A.D. 1631-91)

IN Sultān Bāhū we have a poet who is universally admitted to have been among the greatest mystics of India. All accounts are silent with regard to the date of his birth, but they agree about the time of his death. He died on Friday night at dawn in the first *jumādī alsānī* month in the year A.H. 1102¹ (A.D. 1691). He was sixty-three lunar years of age at the time of his death.² From this we conclude that his birth took place in the year A.D. 1630 at Āvān, Shorkoḡ in Jhaṅg district. Being born at Āvān he is also known as Āvān.³

According to *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, his ancestors migrated to India from Arabia after the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusain.⁴ Having fought and defeated the Hindus of Pind Dadan Khān, Ahmadabad, and the districts around them, they forced them and their chiefs to embrace Islām.⁵ Whatever his ancestors may have been, the father of Bāhū was a resident of Jhaṅg district. He is said to have been a person of quiet disposition and so was his wife, the mother of Bāhū.⁶ Legends relating to his childhood are numerous and of a varied nature. One of them is so interesting that we cannot help relating it here. It runs thus: When Bāhū was a boy, he was such a devout Mussulman that a sort of radiance spread round his face, and whenever a Hindu witnessed it, he was so impressed by it, that forgetting all, he renounced his own religion and became a Mussulman. This miracle wrought exclusively by his radiance frightened

¹ *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, p. 125. ² *ibid.* ³ *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴ Sons of 'Alī and grandsons of the Prophet

⁵ *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, p. 7.

⁶ She was known as Bibī Rūstī Quds Sarā, cf. *ibid.*, p. 8.

the Hindus, who sent a delegation to wait upon his father and request him to keep his son Bāhū indoors, except at certain hours. This request was complied with, and the young boy thereafter had to remain indoors.¹

His family was held in great regard by the Emperor Shāh Jahān who conferred on his father, Sulṭān Bāzīd, Kahar Jānan in jāgīr.²

Bāhū received his education at home, and his mother was mostly responsible for it. It is said that after he had married and had begotten children he wanted his mother to become his *murshid* or *pīr*. But she declined, stating that women in Islām were not permitted to be spiritual teachers and that he had better go and find a male teacher.³ Thereupon he left his wives and family and went to Ḥaḏrat Habīb-ullāh Qādirī⁴ at Baḡhdād⁵ on the banks of the river Rāwī.

After a short period of discipleship Sulṭān Bāhū defeated his master in his power of *karāmāt* or miracles.⁶ Thereupon Habīb-ullāh frankly informed him of his inability to teach any further and directed him to go to his master Ḥaḏrat Pīr Saiyid Abdul Raḥmān of Delhi. This Abdul Raḥmān, as Habīb-ullāh describes him, 'was apparently a *manṣabdār* of the Emperor but possessed great spiritual knowledge'.⁷ Sulṭān Bāhū then went to Delhi and learnt from Abdul Raḥmān⁸ what he desired.

¹ *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, p. 40.

² *ibid.*, p. 126.

³ *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, p. 34.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 35. Who this Habīb-ullāh was we do not know. There were so many of this name at the time. Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* mentions two, one a celebrated poet of Agra, and another 'the author of an Arabic work called *Bahr-ul-Mantiq* or the Sea of Logic'.

⁵ This Baḡhdād is different from the famous city of Irāq. Most probably it was a village on the banks of the Rāwī.

⁶ *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, pp. 36-7.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 37. This Abdul Raḥmān could not be any other than the son of Abdul 'Azīz Naqshbandī. Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Dārā Shikoh, married his daughter in A.H. 1062 (A.D. 1651). See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 13.

Bāhū, says Sultān Bakhsh Qādirī, was held in great esteem by Emperor Aurangzeb, who paid him all possible attention, but for some unknown reason the saint never seems to have cared for the Emperor.¹ Bāhū had four married wives and seventeen mistresses. Of the former, three were Muslim and the fourth a Hindu. He had eight sons from his wives.² This sort of life, though sanctioned by the Muslim law, did not besit a saint and a teacher. But it is not for us to judge his private life, and so we proceed.

On his death, Sultān Bāhū was buried at Kahar Jānan. In A.H. 1180 (A.D. 1767) Jhaṇḍā Singh and Gaṇḍā Singh³ raided the district. The relatives and *murīds*, though they were very anxious to protect the tomb, ran away in fear. One *murīd* of the saint nevertheless refused to prove faithless to his ashes. The Sikh chiefs, however, did not despoil the tomb and left the faithful disciple unmolested.⁴ What the Bhangī chiefs spared, nature, however, did not.⁵ Some time after, the Chenab having changed its course, its waters covered the graveyard, and many tombs were swept away. The *murīds* and *khalīfās* thereupon began to weep and wail, but a voice comforted them by telling them that next morning an unknown person would come and bring from under the water the coffin containing the dead body of Sultān Bāhū. As stated by the voice, a strange person brought the coffin out of the river⁶ and having ordered its burial under a pipal tree, in a deserted building,

¹ *Tawārīkh Sultān Bāhū*, pp. 8-9. We see no other reason for Bāhū's indifference towards Aurangzeb except that either he doubted his attentions or that he disapproved of his treatment of the Šūfī saints and friends of the late prince Dārā Shikoh whom the Šūfīs, and especially the Qādirīs, loved and counted as one of themselves.

² *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, pp. 41-2.

³ These Sikh chiefs made this raid in 1766, and it surely must have lasted for at least a year. See Griffith's *Panjab Chiefs*, Vol. I, p. 478.

⁴ *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, p. 130.

⁵ It must be stated to the credit of the Sikh Sardārs that they never hurt the religious feelings of the Mussulmans by despoiling or by pulling down their sacred buildings and other places of worship.

⁶ *Manāqab-i-Sultānī*, p. 130.

disappeared.¹ The coffin accordingly was taken to the said building, put under the tree, and a brick platform raised on it. The grave was not dug, as was the usual custom.² This event occurred ten years after the Sikh raid on the district, i.e. in A.H. 1190 (A.D. 1775).³

His Works

Bāhū, says the author of *Tawārīkh Sulṭān Bāhū*, wrote in all a hundred and forty books in Persian and Arabic.⁴ Nothing is recorded about his works in Pañjābī except that he wrote poetry in Pañjābī also.⁵ What happened to this latter poetry is not known. Most probably, as Pañjābī was considered vulgar and unscholarly, his works in this language were ignored and ultimately lost.⁶ In spite of all this indifference, some of Bāhū's Pañjābī verse was preserved by the *gaddī-nishīns*, though not because they loved it. The followers and admirers of Sulṭān Bāhū are mostly villagers and uneducated people who know no language except their own mother-tongue, Pañjābī. So the descendants, to maintain their own prestige and influence over these credulous people, have preserved some of Bāhū's verse.⁷ It is sung by the *kavvālīs* on the 'urs days.

Bāhū, relates the author of *Manāqab-i-Sulṭānī*, wrote in his *'Ain-ul-Fuqar* that he thanked his mother for having given him the name Bāhū, which by the alteration of one *nuktā* or point becomes *yāhū*.⁸

¹ This unknown person, according to tradition, was Sulṭān Bāhū himself.

² With due respect to the sentiment of the faithful, we rather doubt if the present tomb contains the ashes of the saint.

³ *Manāqab-i-Sulṭānī*, p. 131.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 239.

⁶ This opinion is confirmed by the place allotted and the indifference shown to valuable Pañjābī manuscripts in the private MS. collections in the Pañjāb.

⁷ As mentioned below, some of it has been published by Miā Fazal Din of Lahore.

⁸ p. 8. *Yāhū*, it is said in the Pañjāb, is as important and efficacious a name of God as *Om* in Sanckrit.

published *sharfī* of Bāhū is very lengthy. of the alphabet has one, two, or four short consisting of eight *tukks*. But some letters han twenty such poems. The most striking Bāhū's poetry is that every second *tukk* ends s regarded as a name of Allāh, and it is cony meritorious to repeat it as often as possible. in *hū* are an innovation in Pañjābī poetry. o a great help in establishing the authenticity ūjābī verse.

s judged from his poetry, belonged to the school of the Ṣūfīs, but for some reason or other ilosophy under the veil of orthodoxy. It may asure his safety ¹ he disguised his philosophic en there was another reason, namely his saint- did not permit him that liberty and happiness e would enjoy. He had become a *pīr*, not in a preceptor but as a religious head and object d worship. This demanded a certain amount d prudence on his part. So he had to present ic ideas slightly tinged with orthodox thought, s personal convictions. Yet it is worth stating hū's ideas, though philosophic, were different f Bullhe Shāh, his younger contemporary. He m to have believed in *karma* and reincarna- he did, they had not become convictions with was a great lack of balance and equilibrium eistic philosophy, and it is this lack which his indulgence in sexual pleasures and princely private life was a natural consequence of his insteadness.

verse is composed in simple and unpretentious as a well-marked character of its own and med above, Aurangzeb, the emperor, watched his move- ly. For this very reason, as we have said below, Ināyat Qādirī saint, turned away his beloved disciple Bullhe Shāh.

rests entirely on the resources of the poet's thought and knowledge of the language. There is an absolute lack of artificiality. Another thing which is creditable about him, is that his verse is pious and bereft of all human love and its ideals.

Bāhū's language is Pañjābī, as it is spoken in Jhang and the districts around it. It has sweetness and simplicity but is not rustic or vulgar.

The poetry of Bāhū is not much known, and if it has attained popularity anywhere it is in the circle of his adherents, though it deservedly demands a better consideration from the general public of the Pañjāb.

The following poems are extracted from Bāhū's *sīharfī*. This is Bāhū's ideal of a *faqīr* :

Jim jīdīā mar rahnā hove, tā ves fakīrā kariye hū
je koī sutte guddaṛ kūrā vāṅg arūhī sahiye hū
je koī kaḍḍe gālā mehnā us nū jī jī kahiye hū
gilā-ulāhmbhā bhañḍī kḥavāri yārde pārō sahiye hū.¹

Jim : if dead while living we want to remain, then the robe of faqirs we should wear, O He ; if any one throws at us worn-out rags and rubbish,² like a dunghill we should bear them, O He ; he who abuses and taunts, to him, we should say sir, sir, O He ; complaint and taunts, scandal and troubles we should bear for the Beloved's sake, O He.

In the following he relates the condition of him who has attained Union :

Jim jinhā shau alif thī pāyā, oh fer kur'an na paḥ de hū
oh māran dam muhabbat vālā, dūr hoyo ne parde hū
Dozakḥ bihisht Gulām tinhāde, ca kitto ne barde hū
maī kurbān tinhā to bāhū, jehre vāhdat de vice vaḍe hū.³

Jim : those who have found the Lord *alif*,⁴ they again do not read the *Qur'ān*, O He ; they respire the breath of love and their veils⁵ have gone afar, O He ; hell and heaven their slaves become, their faults they have forsaken, O He ; I am a sacrifice for those, Bāhū, who in the unity enter, O He.

¹ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 9.

² *Guddaṛ* is worn-out cloth.

³ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 9.

⁴ *Alif* here means God.

⁵ Meaning, their ignorance has vanished and they have seen the truth.

Bāhū speaks of his beloved :

De caḥn caunū tū kar roshanāi to jikkar karēde tāre hū
 jo jaho cann kai caḥide, sūnū sajjanā bājā hanerā hū
 ji the can hū sādā caḥdā, kadar nahī kujh terī hū
 ji de kāran asā janam gavāyā bāhū yār milsi likk veri hū.¹

rise moon, spread your light and the stars will talk of it,²
 He ; many hundred moons like you might rise, without
 the Friend for me is dark, O He ; where that moon of mine
 is, there no regard for you is felt, O He ; for whom,
 Bāhū, I have lost my life, once that Friend will meet me,
 O He

Here is Bāhū's definition of real lover (seeker) :

Nūn nā oh hindu nā oh momān nā sijdā den masitī hū
 m dam de vice vekhaṅ mauḷā, jinhā jān kazā nā kittī nū
 ac dāne te hane divāne jinhā zāt sahī vañjh kittī hū
 mōi kurbān tinhā ō bāhū jinhā ishik bāzī cuṅ littī hū.³

Neither Hindus are they, nor are they Muslims nor in the
 mosques they in obeisance bow, O He ; in each and every
 breath they behold God, who have not distorted their
 lives, O He ; they came wise, and became mad, who traded
 in the real substance, O He ; I am a sacrifice for them,
 Bāhū, who have selected their profession, love, O He.

The following expresses the philosophic concept of
 Sūfī thought. Here he forgets his orthodoxy :

He hū dā jāmā pah ghar āyā, ism kamāvanzātī hū
 nā otthe kufar dī manzil nā otthe maṭ hayātī hū
 shāh rag thī nozdik laṅghesī pa andūre jhātī hū
 oh asā vice asī uhuā vice dūr huī kuḥbātī hū.⁴

He : dressed in God I come home, to earn the Name is my
 profession, O He ; neither are there stages of paganism and
 Islām, nor is there death and life, O He ; He will pass
 nearer than the jugular vein ; do throw a glance inside you,
 O He ; He is in us and we in Him, falsity has gone
 away,⁵ O He.

¹ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 10.

² Will discuss of its light being so strong as compared to their own
 light.

³ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 22.

⁴ In each creature or in the breath of each creature that breathes.

⁵ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 24.

⁶ Has disappeared or has left the soul.

Again :

Nūn nāhi jogī nāhi jattgam nā maī cilā kamāyā hū
nū maī bhajj masīti varīyā nā tasbā kharkāyā hū
jo dam gāfil so dam kāfir sānū murshid ch pharmāyā hū
murshid sānū sohñi kitti bāhū ikko pal vice cā bakḥshāyā hū.¹

Nūn : neither a *yogī* nor a *jattgam*,² nor have I observed the forty days' fast, O He ; neither have I rushed into a mosque nor with rosary³ noise have I made, O He ; 'That breath when one is forgetful, that breath is false' to me (this) the teacher has ordained, O He ; teacher has treated me handsomely,⁴ Bāhū, in one moment he procured me grace, O He.

Mim mazhabā vāle darvāze uce. rāh rabbāni morī hū
paṇḍtā te mulvāniā kolō chap chap laṅge de corī hū
aḍḍiā māran karn bakheṛe dardmandā dīa ghoṛī hū
bāhū cal utthāi vasiāi jittho dāvā nā kisse horī hū.⁵

Mim : religion's⁶ gates are high and the path of God is like a hole,⁷ O He ; from the *paṇḍits* and the *maulvis*, it passes hidden and concealed,⁸ O He ; they kick with their heels and create trouble (but this) for the sufferers is a *ghoṛī*,⁹ O He ; Bāhū, let us go there and live where no one else's claims exist,¹⁰ O He.

The following may account for Bāhū's indifference towards the Emperor. How could a man with such ideas appear in the king's presence without running a great risk of being put to death ?

Ain āshik hove te ishk kamāve dil rakkhe vāṅg pahaṛā hū
lakh lakh badiā hazar ulāhme, kar jāne bāg bahārā hū
mansūr jahe cukk sūli ditte vākif kul asrārā hū
sijjdiyā sār dil nā cāhe bāhū tore kāfir kahn hazārā hū.¹¹

¹ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 23.

² *Sādhus* and dervishes with long, braided hair.

³ By fervently counting the beads.

⁴ Meaning, has done me a great favour by teaching me the secret, i.e. 'the breath when one is forgetful of God, that breath is false'.

⁵ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 22.

⁶ Religion here stands for any established church.

⁷ Hole signifies humility.

⁸ It passes low and concealed, i.e. the mystic lover being afraid of the clergy keeps himself hidden from them and is humble.

⁹ They try to crush the mystics underfoot and create trouble for them, but to the lover these kicks and troubles appear like that auspicious song which is sung at marriage celebrations indicating the approaching union.

¹⁰ Where no one professes anything, i.e. where there are seekers but no professors of paths.

¹¹ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 16.

Ain : if one is a lover and professes love he should keep his heart like a mountain, O He ; many millions of bad turns and thousands of taunts he should feel as pleasures of garden, O He ; one like Mansūr was ranged on the cross, who was acquainted with all the secrets, O He , to bow head in obeisance¹ heart wants not, Bāhū, though thousand might proclaim me heathen, O He.

Bāhū expresses his sentiments for his *murshid* in the following :

Mīm murshid makkā tālib hāji kābā ishik banāyā
vice hazūr sadā har voḷe koriai hajj sāvīyā hū
hikk dam maithō judā jo hove dil milno te āyā hū
murshid ain hayāti bāhū mere lū lū vice samāyā hū.

Mīm : the *murshid* is Makkā, seeker the pilgrim, and love is the Ka'aba, O He ; in his presence ever and at all times² let us do that better *hajj*, O He ; if for one moment he parts from me, the heart craves to meet, O He ; Bāhū, the *murshid* is the life, he is present in my every pore, O He.

Bāhū, like the orthodox Qādirīs, composed a few poems in praise of Abdul-Qādir Jilānī, the founder of the Qādirīyā sect. Here is one of this kind :

Sin suṇ faryād pīrā diyā pīrā, mai ākkh suṇava kehnu hu
tere jehā mainū hor nā koī, mai jehe lakh tainū hū
phol nā kāgaz badiā vāle dar tō dhak nā mainū hū
mai vice aiḍ gunāh nā honde bāhū tū baḡshāidō kāhnū hū.³

Sin : listen to (my) complaint O *Pir* of the *pīrs*,⁴ to whom else should I tell it ? O He : like you there is no one else for me, but like me you have millions, O He ; do not open the papers of bad deeds,⁵ do not push me away from the door, O He ; if I were not filled with such great sins then, says Bāhū, why would you have pardoned me ?

¹ This obeisance is made during the five daily prayers of the Muhammadans.

² *Majmū'a Sulṭān Bāhū*, p. 21.

³ Waiting upon him at each minute of the day and night is like pilgrimage to the *Ka'aba*.

⁴ *Majmū'a Sulṭān Bāhū*, p. 14.

⁵ A name of Abdul Qādir Jilānī.

⁶ The papers containing the account of my bad deeds.

This is the condition of a real lover :

Ain ishk dī bhāh haḍḍā dā bālan āshak baih sakēde hū
 g'at ke jān jigar vice ārā, vekkh kabāb talēde hū
 ... gardān phiran har veḷe *khūn* jigar dā pīde hū
 hōge hezārā āshak bāhū par ishk nasīb kīde hū.¹

Ain : love is fire, bones² the fuel and sitting in front the lovers warm themselves,³ O He ; putting the saw in the heart behold like the *kabāb* they are being fried, O He ; the mad ones (lovers) ever roam about drinking their (own) heart's blood, O He ; thousands have become lovers, Bāhū, but in whose destiny is love ?⁴ O He.

What the Beloved expects of the lover is a white (pure) heart and not a white (beautiful) face. This idea is very finely expressed in the lines given below :

'āī dil kāle kolō mūh kālā caṅgā, je koi us nūjāne hū
 mūh kālā dil acchā hove tā dil yār pachāne hū
 eh dil yār de picche hove, matā yār vi kade sanjhāne hū
 bāhū sai ālam choṛ masitā naṭthe, jab lage ne dil tīkāne hū.⁵

Dāl : then a black heart a black face is better, each one is aware of that, O He ; if face is black and heart is white then the Beloved recognizes that, O He ; such heart should ever follow⁶ the beloved, might be that He recognizes⁷ him, O He ; Bāhū, hundreds of learned men have left the mosques and run (to their *pīrs*) when their heart has attained its mark,⁸ O He.

The pure and the elect are described in this couplet :

Jim jo pākī bin pāk māhī de, so pākī jān palitī hū
 hikk butt-khāne jā vāsāl hoai ijk khalī rabe masitī hū.⁹

¹ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 16.

² The different parts of the lover's body burn in the fire of love, hence they are fuel.

³ The warmth or suffering is experienced by the lovers, i.e. their souls.

⁴ Meaning, those who attain love (i.e. the Beloved's love) are rare though thousands try to have it.

⁵ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 11.

⁶ Should constantly seek the Beloved.

⁷ So that he, recognizing the search, will accept the lover.

⁸ When the lovers' hearts have become pure and follow the Beloved (i.e. when they see Him in all and love Him in all) then they have attained light, and so they leave the church.

⁹ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 8.

Jim . those who are pure, without the purity of the Beloved,¹ consider their purity to be impurity, O He ; some in the idol-house have reached Union, others have failed in mosques, O He.²

Bāhū disapproves of *faqīrī* without knowledge. He says :

Ain ilam bājhe koī fukar kamāve kāfir more divānā nū
-ai variā dī kare ibādat rāh allāh kannu begānā hū
gafalat kannu nā khulsan purde dil zāhīl butt khānā nū
maī kurbān tinhā de bāhū jinhā mīlyā yār yagīnā hū.³

Ain : he who without knowledge professes renunciation let that false one (*kāfir*) die insane, O He ; he might worship for a hundred years, yet to God's path will he be a stranger, O He ; because of carelessness his curtains of ignorance will not be removed and his foolish heart will be an idol-house, O He ; I am a sacrifice, Bāhū, for them who have met the Beloved Unique, O He.

Now we shall quote a few examples expressing Bāhū's orthodox ideas. The following is in praise of the Love of Ḥasan, Ḥusain, and their father, 'Alī :

Ain āshak soī hakikī jehrā katal mā-shūk de manne hū
ishk nā chore mūh nā more tore sai talvarā khamne hū
jitt val dekkhe rāz māhī dā laḡī ud'īī vañjhe hū
saccā ishk hasnain ⁴ Alī dā bāhū sar deve rāz nā bhanne hū.⁵

Ain : he is a real lover who considers himself a victim, of the Beloved, O He ; who does not renounce love and turns not away his face, even if a hundred swords cut him, O He . in whatever direction he sees the rule of his Beloved, there he continues to walk, O He ; Bāhū, the true love is of Ḥasan, Ḥusain and 'Alī who gave their heads but did not break the rule, O He.

¹ Purity without God is uncleanness. It is not by professing the so-called pure religions that one attains salvation, but by loving God.

² 'Some', says Bāhū, 'attained Union remaining in the idol-house or in a religion that prescribes idolatry and is therefore considered to be impure by Islām, while many mosque-going people believed to be pure could not attain it, because they were attached to the letter and not to the Spirit.

³ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 16.

⁴ Ḥassain stands for both Ḥasan and Ḥusain.

⁵ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 16.

The following describes the horrors of the grave and suggests that they could be avoided if the corpse bowed to the Divine Will :

Jim jūde kī jānōṅ sār moyā di so jāne jo mardā hū
 kabārī de vicc ann nā pānī utthe kharc turēdā ghardā lū
 ikk vichorā mā pvo bhāiyā dūjā azāb kabardā hū
 imān salāmat tis dā bāhū jehrā rabb agge sir dhardā hū.¹

Jim : what do the living know of the condition of the dead, he alone knows who dies, O He ; in graves there is neither food nor water and spending is of one's own house, O He² ; first there is the separation of parents and brothers,³ second is the trouble of the grave, O He ; Bāhū, his faith alone there rests safe, who surrenders his head before God, O He.

This extract illustrates well his regard for the *kalmā* ⁴ :

He hor dāvā nā dil di kāri, kalmā dil di kāri hū
 kalmā dūr jaṅgāl karēdā kalmē mail uttārī hū
 kalmō hūre lāl jawāhar, kalme hatt pasārī hū
 utthe utthe doṅī jahānī bāhū kalmā daulat sārī hū.⁵

He : other profession for heart is not efficient, the *kalmā* of the heart is efficient, O He ; the *kalmā* takes the rust away and the *kalmā* scrapes off the dirt, O He ; the *kalmā* is diamond, ruby and precious stones, the *kalmā* has extended its shop,⁶ O He ; Bāhū, here and there in both the worlds the *kalmā* is all the wealth,⁷ O He.

Islām is the only true path, says our poet :

eh dil hijar firākō sardā eh dam mare nā jivē hū
 saccā rāh Muḥammad vālā bāhū jāi vicc rabb labhīve hū.⁸

This heart is burning with separation, it neither dies nor lives, O He ; the true path is the path of Muḥammad, along which God is found, O He.

¹ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 9.

² That is, the time is spent according to one's own actions, good or bad.

³ Brother here means relatives and friends.

⁴ The *kalmā* is the profession of the Muhammadan faith.

⁵ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 24.

⁶ 'Extending its shop' means that the *kalmā* is spreading or that Islām is progressing.

⁷ That is, the *kalmā* is the greatest wealth as its repetition wins the pleasures of the world and heaven.

⁸ *Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū*, p. 4.

Sources of Information

*Manāqaw-i-Sultānī*¹ (in Urdū). This is a translation of the Persian work of the same name. The author of this work was Sultān Hāmid, a relative and descendant of the poet Sultān Bāhū. The work, though it gives much real information, contains legends of a fabulous character.

*Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Pañjāb*² by Ghulām Sarvar, in Urdū, also contains some important information about the saint.

Tawārīkh Sultān Bāhū in Persian. This MS. pamphlet on the life of Sultān Bāhū was written by Sultān Bakhsh Qādirī in 1920 and is the property of the Pañjāb Public Library, Oriental Section.

Many other biographies of saints contain brief descriptions of the life of Bāhū, but they are mere extracts from the above-mentioned books.

Of the Pañjābī works of Bāhū only one book has been published. This is a collection of his verses, the authenticity of which has been well established. The title is *Majmū'a Abyāt Sultān Bāhū Pañjābī*.³ It is in Urdū characters and contains a very lengthy *siharfī*.

Another source of information, both on the life-history and the poetry of Bāhū, are the *kuvvālīs*. Though we have not depended on this source for the account of Bāhū, yet we cannot help stating that if someone collected material from this source it would be of great value.

¹ Husain Steam Press, Lahore.

² Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1877.

³ Compiled by Miā Fazal Din of Lahore in 1915. Can be had from Allāh vāle kī Kaumī Dukān, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, or Inkilab Press, Lahore.

CHAPTER IV

BULLHE SHĀH

(A.D. 1680-1758)

BULLHE SHĀH is universally admitted to have been the greatest of the Pañjābī mystics. No Pañjābī mystic poet enjoys a wider celebrity and a greater reputation. His *kāfi*, have gained unique popularity. In truth he is one of the greatest Ṣūfīs of the world and his thought equals that of Jalāl-ud-dīn Rūmī and Shamsi Tabrīz of Persia. As a poet Bullhe Shāh is different from the other Ṣūfī poets of the Pañjāb, and represents that strong and living pious nature of Pañjābī character which is more reasonable than emotional or passionate.¹ As he was an outcome of the traditional mystic thought we can trace some amount of mystic phraseology and sentiment in his poetry but, in the main, intellectual Vedantic thought is its chief characteristic.

He was born in a Saiyid family residing at the village Paṇḍokī of Kasur in the Lahore district, in the year A.D. 1680.² This was during the twenty-first year of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign.³ According to C. F. Usborne ' he died in A.H. 1171 or A.D. 1755 (i.e. in the short reign of 'Ālamgīr the Second) at the ripe old age of 78. The *kavvālīs* say that he was brought up and educated on strictly Muhammadan lines, as was the wont of Saiyid families in those days. C. F. Usborne says that his father was a man of dervishic ideas.⁵ It is difficult to decide between

¹ The Pañjābī, though he has his superstitions and dogmas, is ever ready to shake them off, if he is convinced of their futility. This desire often puts him to inconvenience but he does not mind it. It is on account of this phase of the Pañjābī character that reforming sects have always gained ground in the Pañjāb.

² See C. F. Usborne, *Sāī Bullhe Shāh*, p. 5, and *Bullhe Shāh*, p. 4.

³ Aurangzeb ascended the Mughal throne in May, 1659.

⁴ *Bullhe Shāh*, p. 4.

⁵ See p. 4 of his pamphlet.

these two contradictory statements. But taking into consideration the political situation of the times and the various legends that have gathered round the saint's life, we can safely say that the *kavvālīs* are right. The Saiyids of Kasur were said to be well known for their bigotry and were much enraged when Bullhe Shāh became a Šūfi and a disciple of the Arāī Ināyat Shāh. We conclude therefore that Bullhe Shāh's father could not have been a man of theosophic disposition and what C. F. Usborne meant by dervishic ideas was that he was a religious man.

After completing his education, it is said that Bullhā went to Lahore. Of the two traditions, one says that, as was customary in those days, he came to Lahore in search of a spiritual teacher, while the other relates that he went there on a visit. Each of these two contradictory traditions has a legend to support it. The first relates that while he was busy searching the intellectual circles of Lahore to find out a competent master he heard of Shāh Ināyat's greatness and decided to make him his *murshid*. He turned his steps towards the house of the Shāh, and found him engrossed in his work in the garden.¹ Having introduced himself, Bullhā requested that he might be accepted as a disciple and taught the secret of God. Thereupon Ināyat said :

Bullhiā rabb dā pāp ai
edharō puṭṭan odharō lān hai.

O Bullhā the secret of God is this ; on this side He uproots, on the other side He creates.

'This', says the tradition, 'so impressed Bullhā that, forgetting his family and its status, he became Ināyat Shāh's disciple.'

¹ Ināyat Shāh was an *arāī* or gardener. He remained in his profession even after he had become a famous teacher and saint.

² The *kavvālīs* sing it, but it is found in almost all the printed books mentioned below.

³ *Sāī Bullhe Shāh* and *Bullhe Shāh* (Pañjāb University) both give this tradition : see pp. 8 and 13 respectively.

The second tradition says that Shāh Ināyat was the head gardener of the Shālimār gardens of Lahore. When in Lahore, Bullhe Shāh visited them, and as it was summer, he roamed in the mango-groves. Desirous of tasting the fruit he looked round for the guardian but, not finding him there, he decided to help himself. To avoid the sin of stealing, he looked at the ripe fruit and said : ‘*allāh ghanī*’.¹ On the utterance of these magic words a mango fell into his hands. He repeated them several times, and thus collected a few mangoes. Tying them up in his scarf² he moved on to find a comfortable place where he could eat them. At this time he met the head gardener, who accused him of stealing the fruit from the royal gardens. Considering him to be a man of low origin and desirous of demonstrating to him his occult powers, Bullhā said ironically : ‘I have not stolen the mangoes but they have fallen into my hands as you will presently see.’ He uttered ‘*allāh ghanī*’ and the fruit came into his hand. But to his great surprise the young Saiyid found that Ināyat Shāh was not at all impressed but was smiling innocently. The great embarrassment of Bullhe Shāh inspired pity in the gardener’s heart and he said : ‘You do not know how to pronounce properly the holy words and so you reduce their power.’ So saying, he uttered ‘*allāh ghanī*’, and all the fruits in the gardens fell on the lovely lawns. Once again he repeated the same and the fruit went back on to the trees. This defeat inflicted by the guardian, whom the young Saiyid Bullhe Shāh considered ignorant and low, revolutionized his whole thought. Falling at the feet of Ināyat Shāh he asked to be classed as his disciple, and his request was immediately granted.³

¹ Some *kavvālīs* relate that the magic word was *bismillāh*. The author of *Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind* agrees with them, see p. 38.

² A long piece of cloth wound round the shoulders by Pañjābī men.

³ This tradition is as popular as the other. It was related to us at Lahore by some *kavvālīs*. The author of *Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind* (p. 38) mentions it in a slightly different manner.

ve two traditions, though different in detail, same conclusion, that Bullhā, impressed by the Ināyat, became his disciple. Bullhe Shāh in an speaks of his master Ināyat Shāh and thanks k for having met such a *murshid*.

Bullhū shauh ve nīc kamīnī
shauh ināyat tārī.¹

O God the Lord Ināyat has saved me, low and

Bullhe Shāh dī suṃo hakāit
hādī pakriā hog hadāit
merā murshid Shāh Ināyat
uh laṅghāni pār.²

story of Bullhe Shāh, he has got hold of the *pīr* ave salvation. My teacher, Shāh Ināyat, he will ross.

ccount of the Pañjābī poets it would perhaps ce to speak at great length of Shāh Ināyat who ersian.³ But the influence exerted by him teachings and writings has linked him with ature. Bullhā, the Rūmī of the Pañjāb, came y under his influence and, having learnt from ired to write his remarkable poetry. It will, o proper to give here a short account of this an.

*Ināyat and his School*⁴

Shaikh Muḥammad Ināyat-ullāh, generally hāh Ināyat Qādirī, was born at Kasur in the

¹ *Shāh*, p. 23, *kāfi* 6.

² *ibid.*, p. 7.

īyat, it is said, always preached in Pañjābī and used to āñjābī verse of his own composition. But as Pañjābī was language of the vulgar and the uncultured these composi- preserved.

indebted to Khān Sāhib Shaikh Sirāj-ud-dīn, retired naster General, the present *gadāi-nishān* of Shāh Ināyat, nformation he furnished on the life and work of his ancestor. e we will refer to this information as Sirā. Inform., i.e. formation.

Lahore district, of *arā'īs* parents. The *arā'īs* in the Pañjāb were gardeners or petty cultivators. They are known to be Hindu converts to Islām and are therefore considered inferior by Muhammadans. Rose, in his *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Pañjāb*, writes: 'The nucleus of this caste was probably a body of Hindu Saini or Kamboh cultivators who were converted to Islām at an early period' ¹ Ibbetson and Wilson are also of the same opinion, and their view is supported by traditions of some *arā'ī* subcastes, who claim descent from Hindu princes of solar and lunar races ²

The descendants of Shāh Ināyat, however, claim descent from Kulāb, an ancestor of the Prophet Muḥammad. ³ The genealogical tree which Shaikh Sirāj-ud-dīn has kindly furnished, however, cannot convince us of Ināyat Shāh's Arabian descent. Almost all names between the present descendant and Kulāb are Hindu names ⁴ The *arā'īs*, ⁵ according to all available information, appear to be Indian Muslims and Shāh Ināyat was born in one such well-to-do family. The date and year of Ināyat's birth are not known, but one of his manuscripts, containing an endorsement in his own handwriting and also his seal, bears the date A.H. 1110 ⁶ (A.D. 1699). From this we can conclude that he was a contemporary of Aurangzeb and perhaps saw a part of the reign of Shāh Jahān. The *Wazā'if-i-Kalān* gives the year of his death as A.H. 1147 (A.D. 1735) during the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh ⁷ He was educated

¹ Vol. II, p. 15. ² Vol. II, p. 15. ³ *Sira*, Inform., pp. 3 and 4.

We have no motive to doubt the statement of the Shaikh Sāhib. If we do not accept it, it is because all scientific and historical evidence is against it.

The Shaikh showed to us a Persian MS. from which he had copied the genealogical tree. This MS., from its appearance and paper, seemed to be of very recent origin.

⁵ This endorsement was, according to the Pañjābī Ṣufī custom, the permit issued by Ināyat Shāh to his grown-up son to study the book. It shows that he was already a man of advanced age because only an advanced Ṣufī had the right to give such permission.

⁷ The author of *Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind* (p. 36), however, puts it in A.H. 1141.

after the manner of his time and gained a good knowledge of Persian and Arabic. As he was born with a mystical disposition he became a disciple of the famous Ṣūfī scholar and saint Muḥammad Alī Razā Shattārī.¹ After he had finished his studies he was created a *ḥalīfa*. Later on he received the *khilāfa* of seven other sub-sects of the Ṣūfī Qādirīs.² Soon after this event he left Kasur and migrated to Lahore. The author of *Bāḥ-i-ʿAvliyā-Ḥind* says that the great enmity of the Ḥākim Ḥusain Khān compelled him to migrate,³ but his descendants assert that it was the order of his teacher that brought him to Lahore.⁴ Here, after having quelled the jealousy of his famous contemporaries, he established a college of his own. To this college came men of education for further studies in philosophy and other spiritual sciences of the time.⁵

The Doctrines of Ināyat Shāh

The Qādirīs of the Pañjāb were famous for their philosophic studies. It was their influence that had converted prince Dārā Shukoh.⁶ They were very much inclined towards Hindu philosophy. Shāh Ināyat was no exception to this rule. He was a man of scholarly disposition, and wrote several books, as well as commentaries upon the works of his predecessors. In his *Dustur-ul-Amal*⁷ he describes the different method employed for the attainment of salvation,⁸ by the Hindus of ancient times. These various methods he classes in different groups—the seventh and the last group, according to him, being efficacious to procure for the seeker the spiritual stage of *Parma-Hamsa*. This

¹ The Shattārī is a sub-sect of the Qādirī sect of Ṣūfism.

² Sirā. Inform., p. 5

³ p. 26.

⁴ Sirā. Inform., p. 5

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ See British Museum *Catalogue Rieu*, I, 54, and II, 828; also *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 268.

⁷ This MS. is in the possession of the present *gaddī-mshīn*.

⁸ These methods are those various *yogic* practices, used by the *yogis* of old, to control the senses and to concentrate on the Divine Lord.

knowledge, Ināyat believed, was carried by the Greek soldiers of Alexander the Great to Greece, from where it was borrowed by the mystics of Islām.¹

Shāh Ināyat, besides his enunciation of Hindu thought, wrote considerably of Ṣūfiism and its development. He is said to have written a commentary on the Holy *Qur'an*, but that is not available. The following are his Persian works, now in the possession of his *Ḥalifā* descendant, Shaikh Sirāj-ud-dīn :

Islāh-ul-Amal, a work on Ṣūfiism and Ṣūfī practices.

Latā'if Ghāibīā

*Irshād-ul-tālibīn*²

Notes on *Jawāhir Khamsā* of Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwalior.³

In addition to these, Ināyat Shāh is said to have written many other books. But the fire that broke out in the house of his descendants, during the troubled times that followed the death of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, consumed them along with the vast library left by the saint.⁴

Such was the man whom Bullhe Shāh made his *hādī* or *gurū*. This action of Bullhā, however, was highly displeasing to his family. His relatives tried to induce him to give up Ināyat and find another *murshid*. But Bullhā was firm and paid no attention to them or to their wailings. The following will sufficiently demonstrate the indignation of the family :

Bullhe nū samjhāvan āiyā bhainā te bharjāiyā
 āl nabī aulād ali dī bullhiā tū ki likā lāiyā
 mann lai bullhiā sādā kahnā chaḍḍ de pallā rāiyā.

¹ *Dastur-ul-Amal*, p. 114.

² These MSS. have never been studied or spoken of by scholars as yet. They are mostly in Persian but abound in Arabic words.

³ Spiritually, Shāh Ināyat was a descendant of Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior ; Sirā. Inform., p. 3.

⁴ How the fire broke out or who set the house on fire is not known. The descendants sometimes say it was the Sikhs, at other times that it was some unknown person. Nobody is sure of the truth of the statement.

To Bullhā sisters and sisters-in-law came to explain (advise).
Why, O Bullhā, have you blackened the family¹ of the Prophet
and the descendants of 'Alī? Listen to our advice, Bullhā,
and leave the skirt of the *arā'ī*²

To this reproach Bullhā firmly but indifferently replied :

Jehrā sānū saiyad ākkhe dozakh miln saajāyā
jehyā sānū rāī ākkhe bahishtī pigā pāiyā
je tū loṛē bāg bahārū Bullhiā Tālib hojī rāiyī

He who calls me a Saiyid, shall receive punishments in Hell, he
who calls me an *arā'ī* shall in heaven have wings; O Bullhā, if
you want pleasures of the garden become a disciple of the *arā'ī*.

Bullhā seems to have suffered at the hands of his family,
as he has once or twice mentioned in his poetry.³ In the
end, being convinced of the sincere love and regard of
their child for Ināyat Shāh, the family left him alone.
It is said that one of his sisters, who understood her brother,
gave him her support and encouraged him in his search
for truth.⁵

Having broken with the family, Bullhā came to live
with his teacher and soon mastered the secret of his teachings.
As the political situation of the times was against the Ṣūfīs
and especially against the Ṣūfīs of Ināyat Shāh's type, he
forbade Bullhā to speak freely and openly against the
established Muhammadan beliefs. But Bullhā did not pay
heed to his master's valuable advice, as is clear from
this :

Bullhe nū lok mattī dēde bullhā tū jā baih ma-ṭī
vice masītā de kih kujh hundā jo dilō namāz nā kittī
bāhrō pāk kitte kih hundā jo andarō gai nā palitī
bin murshid kāmīl bullhiā terī aivē gai ibādāt kittī

¹ In India the term *āl* is confined to descendants through a daughter.
Descendants through a son are called *awlad*.

² 'The Arains are also called Rains.' See Rose, *Glossary*, Vol. II,
p. 13.

³ This answer and the reproach were kindly given to me by Mr N. A.
Waqar, and were also recited by a few *kavvālīs*.

⁴ See *Sāī Bullhe Shāh*, p. 106, *kāfī* 82.

⁵ The same sister, Mr C. F. Osborne says, remained a spinster to keep
company with her bachelor brother. See trans., p. 5.

bhatth namāzā te cickar roze kalme te phir gai siāhi
bullhā shāh shauh andarō miliā bhulli phine lukāi.¹

To Bullhā people give advice (saying), O Bullhā, go and sit in the mosque; what avails it going to the mosque, if the heart has not said the prayer? What matters it being pure outside when from inside dirt has not gone? Without a perfect teacher, says Bullhā, your prayers are of no avail. Into the fire the prayers! in the mud the fast of *ramzan*! Over the *kalmā* black has passed. Says Bullhā Shāh, the Lord is met from within me, but the people are searching elsewhere.

Such utterances annoyed Shāh Ināyat, who practised *Haqiqat* (reality) in the garb of *Tarīqat*² to escape the fate that so many Śūfīs in Islāmic lands had met before.³ But Bullhā, with the enthusiasm of a new convert, would not listen to his good counsel. This act of disobedience made Ināyat Shāh extremely angry and so he sent him away. After some time, realizing the truth of his master's advice,⁴ Bullhā Shāh regretted his attitude and wanted to go back to him. He tried all devices but Shāh Ināyat ignored him. The only way then left open to Bullhā was to approach him personally. But how was he to do that? He, however, knew his master's love for music and dancing. So he began to learn the arts from a dancing girl. When he had learnt them sufficiently he came to Lahore and waited for an opportunity. One day when Ināyat Shāh had entered a mosque, Bullhā Shāh, dressed as a woman, began to sing and dance outside it. People gathered round him as is the custom. Attracted by the music Ināyat also came and stopped. Bullhā then was singing:

¹ *Kanun-e-Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 211.

² *Tarīqat* here means the established path, i.e. Islām, and *Haqiqat* represents the truth of Śūfīsm.

³ Like Mansūr-al-Hallāj and Shamsi Tabrīz, etc.

⁴ In those days, to speak in that strain was the greatest heresy. Aurangzeb was very keen on punishing the Śūfīs whom he considered heretics and also friends of his late brother Dārā Shikoh. He put to death Sarmad (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pp. 113-14) and saw that Mullā Shāh, who was very old, died in misery in Lahore; see von Kremer's article in *J.A.*, 1869, pp. 151-3. The Qādirīs particularly dreaded him as Dārā was an initiated Qādirī (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 298).

Vatt nā karsā mōn āh to yār dā ve arā
 1521 1111 dī zū' lokā dī mehnī kōī val karī paxar kīse
 1111' unī
 1 dā' 1' mō' rīse, ke 1111' d' am nārdā ve 1111'

Never again shall I have pride for my friend Rājāh (God),
 O comrade; love is an attribute of God but for none it
 is a burden (i.e. it becomes a thing to be taunt I about).
 When shall I call (my own burden) no one is to pay
 his conditionally; this (one who love condition the (God),
 the Rājāh) none knows, who is the one that remains dead,
 O comrade

When he was singing out, he saw his master, and so he continued

Vatt nā karsā mōn rājhete yār dā ve arā
 ajjajokarī rāt mere ghar rahī khā ve arā
 dil dī ghunḍhiā khōl asā nāl hass khā ve arā.²

Never again shall I bear pride for my beloved Rājāh (God), O
 friend; tonight do stay in my house, O friend; undo the knots
 of your heart and laugh with me, O friend.

This was sufficient for Ināyat to know who the singer
 was. (Coming near he asked, 'O Singer, are you not Bullhā?')
 'No, *ḥazrat*,' replied the singer, 'I am not Bullhā but Bhullā',
 (i.e. repentant).³ He was forgiven and once again he
 came to live with his master. He remained with him till
 the day of his death.

The Mystic Life of Bullhe Shāh

The mystic life of Bullhe Shāh has three well-marked
 periods.

First Period

His meeting with Ināyat Shāh and his conversion to
 the Šūfī doctrines mark the first of the three periods. This
 period was chiefly spent in study, but he also wrote some
 verse. These compositions were in the style of the tradi-
 tional Šūfī poetry of the Pañjāb, i.e. simple but emotional

¹ *Sā' Bullhe Shāh, kāfī* 48.

² *ibid.*, *kāfī* 48.

³ *ibid.*, p. 11, and on the authority of *kavvālīs*.

and sentimental. From the literary point of view, this poetry of Bullhā, though graceful and charming, is yet weak in thought and is, therefore, very commonplace. Here is an example : ¹

Dil loce māhī yār nū, dil loce māhī yār nū
ikk hass hass gallā kardiā, ikk rōdiā dhōdiā phirdiā
kahio phullī basant bahār nū

Dil loce, etc.

maī nhātī dhotī raihi gai, ikk gaṇḍh māhī dil baihi gū
bhāh lāte hār shiṅgār nū

Dil loce, etc.

maī dūtīā ghāil kītīā, sūlā gher cūpherō littīā
ghar āve māhī didār nū

Dil loce, etc.

bullhā huṇ sājaṇ ghar āiā, maī ghuṭ rājhaṇ gal lāiā
dekh gae samundarō pār nū.

Dil loce, etc.

Heart craves for friend beloved, heart craves for friend beloved, some (girls, i.e. lovers) laugh and laughingly converse, others crying and wailing wander, say in this blossomed season of Spring. Heart craves, etc.

I washed and bathed in vain, one knot (grudge) now has settled in my heart, O beloved (for not coming) let me put fire to (undo) my toilet. Heart craves, etc.

The taunts have wounded me, acute pains have surrounded me ; the beloved should come for self-manifestation (to show himself to the lover). Heart craves, etc.

Bullhā, now the friend has come home, I have embraced hard my Rājāhā ; Behold us crossing the ocean. Heart craves, etc.

The above, though a famous *kāfī*, fails to reach that height of thought and force of character which are so characteristic of Bullhā's poetry.

In this period Bullhā was still attached to his Islāmic theological ideas which later on he shook off entirely. He believes in the idea of heaven, hell and earth, which he will not understand later on. Witness this :

Bullhā shauh bin koī nāhī aithe utthe dohī sarāī
sambhal sambhal kadam tikāī phir āvan dūjī vār nahī
uṭṭh jāg ghurāre mār nahī.²

¹ *Kānūn-i-Ishq*, Vol. I, p. 100, *kāfī* 17.

² *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 64, *kāfī* 1.

Bullhā, without the Lord there is none here (earth) and there (heaven and hell) in both the places. Carefully, carefully let your feet fall (take the step) as for a second time you shall not come. Awake, arise and snore no more.

During this period he yet fears death and the grave, as would a pious Muhammadan

ikk roz jahānō jānā hai
jā kabre vice samānā hai
terā ghosht kīriā khānā hai
kar cettā mano visār nahī
utth jāg ghurāie mār nahī¹

One day you have to part from the world, in the grave you have to fit, your flesh the insects will eat, remember this, do not forget from your heart. Awake, arise and snore no more.

Here he is still clinging to the Islāmic belief of only one life and does not believe in transmigration which he will later accept as part of his Advaitism.

Tū os jahānō jāēgi, phir kadam nā ehtthe pāēgi
eh joban rūp vañjhāēgi
taī rahinā vice sansār nahī.²

From this world you will part, never again shall you put your feet here; you will then take leave of this youth and beauty, you are not to live in the world.

This preliminary stage of Bullhā's mystic life does not seem to have lasted long as there is very little verse in this tone. But undue importance is given to this poetry by the Ṣūfīs of the orthodox type, because this helps them to save Bullhā Shāh from being called a 'heretic'.

Second Period

The second stage of Bullhā's mystic life perhaps began very soon after the commencement of the first. During this period he assimilated more of the Indian outlook. Here he resembles both the advanced type of Ṣūfī and a Vaiṣṇava devotee in thought, in religious emotions, and in his adoration of the *pīr* or *gurū*. Like them he places the *gurū* and

¹ *Kānūn-i-Ishq*, Vol. I, p. 64

² *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 64

God on the same level and finds no difference between the two. The following resembles so closely the Vaiṣṇava lore in idea and emotion that, were it not for the name Bullhā at the end, it would be hard to distinguish it :

Ikk andherī koṭharī dujā divā nā vāṭī
bāhō phar ke lai cale shām ve koī saṅg nā sāthī.¹

There is only one dark chamber (world) without any lamp or wick (hope). Holding my wrist they (bad actions) are taking me, O *Shām*, unaccompanied and companionless.

In the above we find not only the Vaiṣṇava feeling, but even the name *Shām* given to God is Vaiṣṇava.

Again :

Bhāvē jān nā jān ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
maī tere kurbān ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
tere jhā maīnū hor nā koī dhūndā jaṅgal belī rohi
dhūndā tā sārā jahān ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
maī tere kurbān ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
lokā de bhāne cāk mahī dā rājhā lokā vicc kahidā
sādā tā dīn imān ve, vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
maī tere kurbān ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
māpe choṛ laggī laṛ tere, shāh ināyat sālī mere
lāīā dī lajj pāl ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
maī tere kurbān ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere.²

Whether you consider me (as loved one) or not, O come, enter my courtyard,³ I sacrifice myself for thee, O come, enter my courtyard. For me there is none else like you, I search the jungles and wastes for my friend, I search the whole world, O come, enter my courtyard ; I sacrifice myself for you, come, enter my courtyard. For others you are a cowherd,⁴ I call you Rājhā when in company (but) you are my religion and faith, O come, enter my courtyard ; I sacrifice myself for you, O come, enter my courtyard. Leaving parents I have held your garment,⁵ O Lord have compassion,⁶ my master save me

¹ *Saṅgīt Sāgar*, p. 289.

² *Kāfi* 49.

³ *Vehṛā* also stands for street, but generally it is a courtyard.

⁴ *Cāk* ; one who looks after the buffaloes only, but here we have translated it as cowherd, which is more comprehensible in English.

⁵ *Laṛ laṅgā* means to accept or follow the person. In a Hindu nuptial ceremony the end of the garment of the bridegroom and the veil of the bride are tied together in a knot, which means that they accept each other and shall walk together, hence this expression, *laṛ laṅgā*.

⁶ *Ināyat* here stands both for *gurū* (*Ināyat Shāh*) and God's compassion.

The shame of this long love (by coming back) O enter my courtyard; I sacrifice myself for you, come, enter my courtyard.

Bullhā's adoration and respect for his *garū* are profound. He finds no difference between God and his *garū* and sings to him in the same strain as to God :

Pahilī paurī prem dī pulsarāto derā
hājī makke hajj karn maī mukh de'ānā tarā
āī ināyat qādirī hatth pakṛī merā
maī udikā kar rahī kadī a kar derā
dhūnd shahir sabh bhālā kāsad ghallī kohṛā
caṛhī ā dolī prem dī dil dharke merā
āo ināyat qādirī jī cāhe merā.¹

The first step of love (on the ladder of love) is (like) being on the *pulsarat*.² Pilgrims may perform *hajj*, but I look to your face. Come, Ināyat Qādirī, and hold my hand (be my support). I am waiting, come some time and make a stay. I have searched the whole town, what messenger³ shall I send? Having mounted the palanquin of love my heart (now) palpitates; come, Ināyat Qādirī, my heart desires you.

At this time Bullhe Shāh also began to believe in *karmas*, which is an entirely Indian theory. Here he refers to his bad actions thus :

Ved pothī kī dosh hai hīno karan hamāre.⁴

What fault is it of the book *ved*,⁵ my *karmas* are low.

At the end of the second period Bullhe Shāh appears to have some vision of the Lord he was seeking. He had the vision which the Śūfis long to have, but he had not as yet attained that stage where differences vanish away. He got his vision in the orthodox fashion. He was not

¹ *Kānūn-i-'Ishq*, Vol. V, p. 99, *kāfi* 16.

² This is the *Ṣirātul Mustaḳīm* of the *Qur'ān*.

³ *Qāsiḍ* in Panjābī Śūfī language is both a messenger and a postman. It is employed in the same sense as *ullho* in the Vaiṣṇava language.

⁴ *Kānūn-i-'Ishq*, Vol. I, p. 125, *kāfi* 37.

⁵ By *ved* he does not mean the *Vedas* but a book of knowledge. In the Panjāb *ved-pothī* is an expression used for any book containing knowledge. For example, a book on astrology will be called *ved-pothī* because it gives knowledge with regard to one's future, and that is exactly what Bullhe Shāh means.

conscious of it every moment of his life. It was an occasional occurrence. He had that divine vision like the great Ṣūfīs and the Saḡatas, through the paths indicated by their respective religions. Like them, Bullhē Shāh's vision of the Lord was also tinged with the colours of Islām. He sings of his vision in the traditional way, exalting the Prophet and through the verses of his *Qur'ān* :

Hun maī lakkiā -olnā yār, jis de husan dā garm bazār
 jad ahad ikk ikklā, sī, nā zāhar koī tajallā sī
 nā rabb rasūl nā allāh sī nā zabār kahār
 becū va bacagūnā sī be shubhā be namūnā sī
 nā koī raṅg namūnā sī, huṅ gunāgū hazār.
 piārā pahin pushākā āiā, ādam apanā nām dharāiā
 ahad tō ban ahmad āiā, nabīā dā sardār
 kūn kahā fakūn kahāiā, becūnī se cū banāiā
 ahad de vice mīm ralāiā tā kittā aiḡ pasār.¹

Now I have seen the handsome friend whose beauty's demand is great. When the One was single and alone there was no light manifest. There was neither God and the Prophet or Allāh, nor was there the cruel tyrant. The One was without likeness and incomparable, and without doubt and without form. He had no colour or shape, (but) now a thousand varieties. The dear One wearing the costumes came, and Adam got his name fixed. From the One, *Aḡmad* was made and the chief of the Prophets. He said *kūn* and *fayakūn* was said, so out of no likeness He created likeness. In *ahad* He inserted *mīm* (i.e. produced Aḡmad) and then made the universe.²

Third Period

The third and the last period of Bullhā's mystic life was unique. Here he resembles no Ṣūfī or Vaiṣṇava of the Pañjāb or the rest of India. During this time he is a firm believer in *advaita* and sees that all-pervading spirit, God, in all and independently of all religions. Like a true Vedāntist he does not only see Him in friends and co-believers but in heathens and opponents also. Here lies his greatness. He says :

¹ *Kānūn-i-'Ishq, kāfī* 57.

² Literally, so great a spread

Kih kardā nī kih kardā
 kōī pu'cho khā dilbar ki kardā
 āp ikko kai lakkh ghardā de m'lak sabh ghar gā r'ā
 Kih kardā, etc.
 mūsā te phirūn banā ke, do noko kifū lardī
 Kih kardī, etc.
 hāzar nāz'ir tūhā hai, cucak k'is nū kardā
 Kih kardā, etc.¹

What does He, friends, what does He? Does someone ask what the Beloved does? He is one, but the houses are millions and He is lord of every house. What does He, friends, what does He? Whatever side I glance I find Him. He keeps company with each one. Creating Moses and Pharaoh (thus) becoming two, why does he fight? What does Ifo, friends, what does He? You are ever omnipresent, (then) whom does Cucak² take away? What does He, friends, what does He? Does someone ask what the Beloved does?

And again

Pāiā hai kujh pāiā hai, sattgurū ne allakh lakhāiā hai
 kahū vair parā kahū beli hai, kahū mājnu hai kahū lailī hai
 kahū āp gurū kahū celi hai, sabh apanā rāh dikhāiā hai
 kahū cor banā kahū shāh jī hai kahū mambar te bahī kāzī hai
 kahū tog bahādur gāzī hai, āp apanā panth batāiā hai
 kahū inasjad kā vartārā hai, kahū baniā thākar dvārā hai
 kahū bairāgī jap dhārā hai, kahū shekh un ban ban āiā hai
 kalū turak musallā parhde ho, kahū bhagat hindu jap karde
 ho
 kahū gor kanī vice parde ho, har ghar ghar lād laḍiā hai
 bullhā shāhu dā maī muhtāj huī, māhrāj milē merā kāj hua
 darshan piā dā ilāj hūā, laggā ishk tā eh gun gāiā hai .
 pāiā hai kujh pāiā hai.'

I have found, I have found something. My true *gurū* has made manifest the Unmanifest. Somewhere It⁴ is an enemy, somewhere It is a friend, somewhere It is Mājnū, somewhere It is Lailā, somewhere It is the preceptor, somewhere It is the disciple, in all It has manifested Its own path. Somewhere It is a thief, somewhere a bestower of gifts, somewhere sitting in the

¹ *Kānūn-i-Ishq, kāfī* 85.

² An allusion to the story of Rājāhā and Hir. Cucak, the Siāl chief, enraged at the attachment of his daughter Hir to his cowherd Rājāhā, separated them by keeping Hir in close custody and later on by giving her in marriage to a man of his own choice.

³ *Kānūn-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 160, *kāfī* 59.

⁴ *āp* has no gender, so we have rendered it by 'It' which stands for *allakh*, the *brahm* who is beyond sex.

pulpit It is a *qāzī*, somewhere It is Tēgh Bahādur.¹ the *ghāzī* who has told of his own path (sect). Somewhere It as a mosque² is in use, somewhere It has become a temple,³ somewhere It is a *vairāgī* in meditation absorbed, somewhere It becomes clad, clad as *shāikh's*, somewhere as Muslims on the *musallā*⁴ read the prayers, somewhere as Hindu devotees repeat God's name. Somewhere You are engaged in digging graves in each house,⁵ You (God) are fondly fondled. Bullhā says, of the Master (God) I became desirous, the great king (Ināyat) met (me) and my work (wish) was done (realized). For the manifestation of the dear One (God) was my cure, for having loved (God) I have sung (i.e. have been able to sing) this attribute (of God).

This highly intellectual and clear conception of the divine was only possible to a few great mystics like Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, Al-Ḥallāj, and Jalāl-ud-dīn Rūmī. Yet we might mention here that they obtained this after having spent their lives in established dogmas, willingly or unwillingly, and after having struggled hard to become free of them.⁶ But Bullhe Shāh appears to have obtained the *advaita* conception of God soon after his initiation into Śūfīism, because his poetry abounds in this strain. Among the Indian Śūfis we hardly find another who beheld God as clearly in all creation, bad or good, as Bullhā did. If there were any possible exceptions they would be Mullā Shāh⁷

¹ Tēgh Bahādur means 'brave of the sword', but here it stands for the ninth gurū of the Sikhs who was tried by the *qāzīs* at the order of Aurangzeb and executed at Delhi in the year 1676.

²⁻³ Somewhere in the cult of the mosque is 'It' represented and somewhere in that of the temple.

⁴ A prayer carpet.

⁵ House here signifies way, path, place.

⁶ Both Al-Ḥallāj and Bisṭāmī could not break with the established beliefs. Ḥallāj went to Mekka on pilgrimage many times (see Massignon, *La Passion*, Vol. I, pp. 3, 4, 5). When they became free and realized the truth, it was towards the end of their lives.

⁷ Mullā Shāh was a disciple of Miā Mir of Lahore. He attained great fame in Kashmir and was waited upon by princes and poor alike. He was the spiritual preceptor of Dārā Shikoh. On his accession to the Mughal throne, Aurangzeb ordered Mullā Shāh, who then was old and infirm, to appear before him at Delhi, but later, on the intercession of his sister Fātimā, changed his orders. He was, however, compelled to come down to Lahore, where he died in misery. See Claud Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islām*, p. 180.

and Sarmad.¹ Mullā Shāh, though in no way inferior to Bullhā in his pantheistic philosophy and its realization in life, yet lacked the moral courage to declare it. Possibly out of fear he attached importance to such religious prescriptions as *Ramzān* and the obligatory daily prayers.² Sarmad, the cynic philosopher, who walked about naked in the streets of Delhi, though he had reached the highest state of mysticism, as is clear from the following, could not get free from the superiority of the Jewish theology :

My friend, the naked sword Thou comest
I know Thee, in whatever guise Thou comest.³

His denial of Christ as prophet on the authority of the Old Testament,⁴ and his other belief that God was material substance symbolized by a human figure,⁵ did not accord with his pantheistic thought. Were he a true pantheist he would see God in all teachers and not only in Muḥammad and deny him in Christ. This difference between the pantheistic concepts of Bullhā and of Sarmad illustrates the fact that the latter realized the Truth only partially and at moments, while the former lived with Truth and in Truth. Bullhā sees the Beloved in all and ignores the mirror in which He is reflected. If the Beloved is not seen in full grandeur in the meanest of the mean and the lowest of the low as well as in the highest and the best, then the lover has not found him. The Beloved is ever the same, and if the lover sees Him differently in different creatures, then whose is the fault? The lover's surely, who has not yet fully realized Him. Bullhā had reached that stage where proportions, differences and pairs of opposites do not exist. He saw God in Muḥammad as well as in Christ, Krishna, a poor beggar in the street, or his own self. Witness this :

¹ For accounts of Sarmad see *Indian Antiquary*, 1910, pp. 89-90 and 121-2.

² Claud Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 180. He reported those who dispensed with the prescribed fast and prayers, etc.

³ Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 113.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵ *ibid.*

Bindrāban mē gaū carāve,
 laṅkā car ke nād vajāve
 makke dā ban hājāve
 vāh vāh raṅg vatāi dā
 hun kī thī āp chapāidā.¹

In Brindaban you grazed the cattle, invading Laṅka² you made the sound (of victory), you (again) come as the pilgrim of Mekka, you have made wonderful changes of form, what are you hiding yourself from now ?

and :

Saiyo hun sājan maī pāio ī,
 har har de vic samāio ī.³

O friends, now I have found the Beloved, into each and every one He has entered.

The superiority of Bullhā's pantheistic conception of Godhead lies in the fact that he broke all shackles of country, religion, convention and sect. The integrity of the universal soul and His omnipresence so deeply convinced him that no differences existed for him. He became one with Him, the divine, and experienced that cosmopolitan joy which knows no limits and divisions. He says :

Bullhā kī jāṅā maī kaun
 nā maī moman vice masitā, nā maī vice kufar diā ritā
 nā maī pākā vice palitā, nā maī mūsā nā phiraun
 bullhā kī jāṅā maī kaun
 nā maī andar vaid katābā, nā vice bhaṅgā nā sharābā
 nā vice rindā mast kharābā, nā vice jāgaṅ nā vice saun
 bullhā kī jāṅā maī kaun
 nā vice shādī nā gamnāki, nā maī vice palitī pāki
 nā maī ābī nā maī khāki, nā maī ātish nā maī paun
 bullhā kī jāṅā maī kaun
 nā maī arbī nā lahaurī, nā maī hindī shahir nagaurī
 nā maī hindū turk pashorī, nā maī rahindā vice nadaun
 bullhā kī jāṅā maī kaun
 nā maī bhed mazhab dā pāiā, nā maī ādam havā jāiā
 nā maī aṅṅā nām dharāiā, nā vice baiṭhan nā vice bhaun
 bullhā kī jāṅā maī kaun

¹ *Kānūn-i-'Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 239, *kāfī* 90.

² Ceylon.

³ *Kānūn-i-'Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 162, *kāfī* 59.

ayval ākhar āp nū jānā, nū koī dūjā hor p'chānā
maithō hor nā koī stānā, Bullhā sh'uhū kh'arā hai kaun.
bullhā kī j'ānā marī kaun.¹

Bullhā, what do I know who I am - Neither am I a Muslim in the mosque nor am I in the ways of paganism nor among the pure or sinful, nor am I Moses or the Pharaoh; Bullhā, what do I know who I am - Neither in the books of doctors I, nor indulged I in *shāng* and wine, nor in the wine-house in the company of the bad, neither awake nor asleep. Bullhā, what do I know who I am? - Neither in happiness nor in sorrow, nor in sin or purity nor of water nor of earth, nor in fire nor in air. Bullhā, what do I know who I am? I am not of Arabia nor of Lahore, nor an Indian nor of the city of Nagaur, neither a Hindu nor a Muslim of Peshawar, nor do I live in Nadaun. Bullhā, what do I know who I am? - Neither have I found the secret of religion, nor of Adam and Eve am I born, neither have I taken a name, my life is neither settled nor unsettled. Bullhā, what do I know who I am? Myself I know as the first and the last, none else as second do I recognize, none else is wiser than I. Bullhā, who is the true master?

Such pantheism with all its grandeur, according to Mr Kremer, has also a dangerous side and tends to atheism and materialism, while the passage from it to most cynical epicureanism is also a very natural thing.⁴ True as the statement is, it does not apply to the pantheism of Bullhe Shāh. He was not an exception to the rule like Mullā Shāh and Prince Dārā Shikoh and a few others,⁵ but he was a pantheist of a different type. We have stated above, that the pantheism of Bullhe Shāh was Hindu in its entirety and therefore differed a good deal from the pantheism of the Ṣūfīs. Bullhā's pantheistic thought was accompanied

¹ *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 266-7, *kāfī* 114.

² This is a question which the lover or the Seeker who has become one with the Lord puts to himself.

³ See ch. II, p. 25.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, pp. 157-8: 'Elle (doctrine panthéiste) conduit à l'athéisme et au matérialisme; en effet qu'y avait-il de plus naturel que de passer de ce panthéisme politique à l'épicurisme le plus cynique?'

⁵ Mr Kremer says that only a small number of men including Mullā Shāh and the prince Dārā could manage to keep their characters spotless. *ibid.*, p. 159.

by its allied doctrines, reincarnation and *karma*. He disagreed with the Šūfīs who believed 'qu'il n'y pas d'existence individuelle après la mort'.¹ He was aware of the fact that complete annihilation, for which the real mystic soul craves, could not be obtained in one life, (being not so easy as it is ordinarily thought to be), but demanded many existences. And then it was not many lives or ecstatic contemplations alone that made annihilation possible. His secret of merging in the Universal Spirit was based on *karma*. When the mind and the heart had entirely purged themselves of all sin, when passion and ambition to achieve material happiness had vanished completely, when God was ever present in his thought and act, and when the only material tie was a sense of rightful duty without attachment, then alone was the seeker fit to lose his individual existence after death, and not before. This was an impossible task to accomplish, as even small steps away from the right path might cause another life or render the seeker unfit for complete *fanā*. The seeker therefore dreaded atheism and a plunge in material pleasures more than indulgence in them. This unique phase of Bullhā's conviction made his pantheism free from all danger of becoming materialism or atheism.

Another superiority of Bullhā over other Šūfīs was that he never took part in the work of conversion.² His *advaita*, which was Indian in its essence, had so overpowered him, nay had transformed him in such a way that any sort of conversion, mass or individual, was beyond his understanding. He had understood the real sense of *ana'l-Ḥaqq*, and so to think of conversion from one religion to another was to mock his own belief. All religions to him were the

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, p. 159.

² Even *Al-Hallāj*, whom Bullhā often mentions in his poetry for having told the truth, spent a good deal of his life in preaching Islām and persuading people to come to the path indicated by Muhammad. See *La Passion*, p. 4. It might be that when he had attained the state of *ana'l-Ḥaqq* he no longer believed in conversion, but we cannot say anything definitely since he was hanged soon after the event.

same, no one was more efficient than another in guiding the Beloved. It is evident from his poetry that he was a zealous and sincere seeker for the sought that was the Divine Beloved, and not a religious ascetic. We can, therefore, say that in this respect to Ṣūfī of any rank, he ventured to dispense the painful submits which Bullhā attained.

After the death of Ināyat, Bullhā Shāh returned to Kasur. He remained faithful to his Beloved and to himself by not marrying. The sister who used to food him also remained single and kept him company in his last years. He died in A.D. 1758 and was buried in Kasur, where his tomb still exists.

Bullhā, says the tradition, was not understood by his own family and people² who gave him up for lost. But he had captivated the hearts of the Pañjābīs and had the support of the masses. For the Pañjābīs he is still alive, inspiring them to sing of the eternal Beloved with whom he has become one.

The Poetry of Bullhā Shāh

Ṣūfī poetry all over the world is erotic in expression, but in meaning it is essentially symbolic. 'Almost all the Ṣūfī poets wrote about the Divine Beloved in the terms applied to their beautiful women.'³ The mystic poetry, therefore, if literally taken, seems sensuous and monotonous. In India the Ṣūfīs inherited this tradition with the difference, that while in Persia and other Islāmic countries the Beloved was described both as man and woman, in India He became a man, and the seeker or the lover became a woman. This essential change is due to Hindu, especially Vaiṣṇava,

¹ Almost all Ṣūfīs took part in conversion-work, even the avowed opponents of Ṣūfīism. Mr Zahūrū'd-Dīn Alḥmad, in his *Mystic Tendencies of Islām*, admits this (p. 142).

² He himself refers to the bigoted attitude of his relatives

³ Hadland Davis, *Jalālū'ddīn Rūmī*, p. 23.

influence.¹ Apart from this the Ṣūfīs generally borrowed from the Persians, as we have mentioned above, the terms for describing the different parts of the Beloved. Even the rose garden and the bulbul, which are characteristic of Persian verse, were unhesitatingly borrowed. In Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry, however, the influence was much less than in other literary forms. Bullhe Shāh, the king of the Pañjābī mystics, seems free from this foreign influence, and his poetry is far from being erotic. Apart from a very few poems which he wrote in the early part of his mystic life, his verse is entirely exempt from human love. No doubt he called Him the Beloved and Rāñjhā, but never went on to describe his different limbs. During the third period of his Ṣūfī life the Beloved was the all-pervading universal soul and so there was no difference between two beings belonging to different sexes. If there was some physical difference, it was immaterial to the poet. So Bullhā talked of the eternal Beloved in terms highly spiritual and pure, as behoves a real seeker. This was an innovation Bullhā brought about in the Pañjābī Ṣūfī verse.² The change was due to the following causes. Firstly, there was the natural growth of his own character. He never sought the shelter of a woman's love. He fell in love with the universal Lord and, therefore, found worldly love entirely superfluous. This was the first and the chief cause why his poetry was essentially non-erotic. Secondly, it was due to the growth of his spirituality. Once he had cast off the veil of ignorance and had found the Lord, he had found his own self. He therefore could not write poetry in the material sense, following tradition and poetic convention. Nowhere in his *lāfīs* do we find fabulous descriptions of the eyes, nose, neck, cheeks, etc. of the Beloved. So we can safely

¹ In Vaisnava poetry, God is Kṛishṇa the cowherd and the seeker, Rādhā, is a milkmaid.

² Bāhū's poetry is also devoid of human love, but so very little of his verse is found that it is hard to come to any definite conclusions.

say that his poetry represents truly what is naturally felt in loving the divine. His verse is suffused with the love divine. This is the greatness of Bullhe Shāh the poet.

The second reason for his greatness is that his verse is most simple, yet very beautiful in form. If it is pathetic it is full of vivacity, if it is intellectual it is full of feeling. It has no ornamental beauty. Its beauty lies in thought and in the facility and simplicity with which that thought is expressed. Who could express with greater facility his union with God ?

Rājḥā rājḥā kardī nī maī āpe rājḥā hoī
 saddo nī mainū dhīdo rājḥā, hir nā ākko koī
 rājḥā maī vice maī rājḥe vice hor kḥiāl nā koī
 maī nahī uh āpe hai, appṇī āp kare dil joī
 rājḥā rājḥā kardī nī maī āpe rājḥā hoī
 saddo nī mainū dhīdo rājḥā hir nā ākko koī
 hatth khūṇḍī mere agge maṅgū, modhe bhūrā loī
 Bullhā hir saletī dekho, kitthe jā khaloī
 rājḥā rājḥā kardī nī maī āpe rājḥā hoī
 saddo nī maīnū dhīdo rājḥā, hir nā ākko koī ¹

Repeating Rājḥā Rājḥā, friends, myself I have become Rājḥā. Call me (now) Dhīdo ² Rājḥā, none should call me Hir. Rājḥā is in me and I am in Rājḥā, no other thought there is, I do not exist, He himself exists, He amuses himself. Repeating Rājḥā Rājḥā, etc. In my hand the staff, before me the wealth,³ and round my shoulders the rough blanket ; Bullhā, behold Hir of Siāl, where she has gone and stood. Repeating Rājḥā Rājḥā, friends, etc.

Bullhā also did not follow the conventions regarding the similes, verse-forms and *alaṅkāric* beauties. Here lies his poetic originality in which he excels most of his Indian and almost all of his Pañjābī Ṣūfī contemporaries, predecessors and successors.

¹ *Kānūn-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 262, *kāfī* 109.

² Dhīdo is a cowherd who looks after buffaloes. That was the name of Rājḥā when he became a cowherd of the Siāl chief.

³ Cattle in those days were the wealth of the tribal chiefs. When he drove the cattle to the fields, the cowherd Rājḥā walked behind them with a staff in his hand, and a rough blanket over his shoulders.

and they were heard at the throne¹ of Lahore ; Shāh Ināyat tied the knots and now He (God), hidden behind, pulls the strings.

Here Bullhe Shāh stands for the unity, so essential for human welfare, of the followers of different religions and sects. He bases his argument on the fact that he sees God installed in the heart of each individual, no matter to what religion he belongs. The expression of the sentiment is simple, impressive, and beautiful.

Hindū nā nahī musalmān, behīe trinḥaṇ taj abhamān
 sunnī nā nahī ham shīā, sulh kul kā mārag līā
 bhūkkhe nā nahī ham rajje, naṅge nā nahī ham kajje
 rōde nā nahī ham hassde, ujaṛe nā nahī ham vassde
 pāpī nā sudharmī nā, pāp puṇ kī rāh nā jā
 bullhā shahū har citlāge hindū turk do jan tiāge.²

Neither Hindu nor Mussulman, let us sit to spin, abandoning pride (of religion). Neither a *sunni* nor a *shī'a*, I have taken the path of complete peace and unity. Neither am I hungry (poor) nor satisfied (rich), nor naked I nor covered. Neither am I weeping nor laughing nor deserted nor settled. Neither a sinner, I, nor a pure one, I am not walking in the way of either sin or virtue. Bullhā, in all hearts I feel the Lord, (therefore) Hindu and Mussulmans both have I abandoned.

Bullhe Shāh was an impartial critic of bigotry and those set rules and regulations of a church which forbid free expression of the divine love. Not finding any difference between the spiritual codes of Islām and Hinduism he allotted them both a place inferior to that which he assigned to the divine love. In the following *kāfī* he gives a dialogue between the clerical code and love, in which love comes out victorious :

Ishk sharā dā jhagarā paigiā dil dā bharm maṭāvā māī
 savāl sharā de javāb ishk de hazrat ākh sunāvā māī
 sharā kahe cal pās mullā de sikkh lai adab adābā nū
 ishk kahe ikke harf baterā ṭhapp rakkh hor katābā nū
 sharā kahe kar pafij asnāṇā, alag mandir kī puṛā re
 ishk kahe terī puṛā jhūṭhī je baṇ baithō dūjā re

¹ Seat of Ināyat Shāh at Lahore.

² *Kānūn-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, *kāfī* 73.

sharā kahe kujh sharm hayā kar band kar is camkāre nū
 ishk kahe eh ghuṅgat kaisā khullan de nazāre nū
 sharā kahe cal masjid andar hak namāz adā kar lai
 ishk kahe cal maikhāne vice pike sharāb naphal paṛh lai
 sharā kahe cal bihishtī caliye, bihishtā de meve khāvā ge
 ishk kahe otthe paihrā sādā āp hatthī vartāvāge
 sharā kahe cal hajj kar moman pulsarāt laṅgaṇā re
 ishk kahe buā yār da kābbā utthō mūl nā halnā re
 sharā kahe shāh mansur nū sūlī utte cāriā si
 ishk kahe tusū chāngā kittā buai yār de vāriā si
 ishk dā darzā arsh mūallā sirtāz laulāki re
 ishk viceō paīdā kittā bullhā ājiṛ khāki re.¹

Love and Law² are struggling (in the human heart); the doubt of the heart will I settle (by relating) the questions of Law, and the answers of Love I will describe, holy Sir; Law says: Go to the *mullā*³ and learn the rules and regulations. Love says (answers): One letter is enough, shut up and put away other books. Law says: Perform the five baths⁴ and worship alone in the temple. Love says: Your worship is false if you consider yourself separate.⁵ Law says: Have shame and hide the illumination (enlightenment). Love says: What is this veil for? Let the vision be open. Law says: Go inside the mosque and perform the duty of prayer. Love says: Go to the wine-house and drinking wine read the *naphal*.⁶ Law says: Let us go to heaven, we will eat the fruits of heaven. Love says: There we are custodians or rulers and we ourselves will distribute the fruits of heaven. Law says: O faithful one, come perform the *hajj*, you have to cross the bridge.⁷ Love says: The door of the Beloved is *ka'aba*, from there I will not stir. Law says: On the cross⁸ we placed Shāh Mansūr. Love says: You did well, you made him enter the door of the Beloved. The rank of Love is the highest heaven, the crown of creation.⁹ Out of Love He has created Bullhā, humble, and from dust.

The following were the true feelings of Bullhe Shāh which he was not supposed to express. But being unable to

¹ This *kāfi* was kindly given to me by the late Mirāsī Maula Bakhsh of Lahore.

² *Sharī'at*. In Pañjābī it is called *sharā* or *sharīyat*.

³ A Muhammadan priest, but here it stands for priests of any church.

⁴ Baths at five sanctuaries, an act considered to be holy by the Hindus.

⁵ Not one with the universal self.

⁶ Supererogatory prayers.

⁷ *Širāṭu'l-mustaqīm*.

⁸ *Laulāka lamā khalaqtu'laflāka (Ḥadīṣ-i-qudsī)*.

⁹ Literally, stake.

hide them any longer he pours them out with that vehemence and force which ardent but genuine suppressed thought generally possesses. Besides, the beauty of this poem lies in the fact that though Bullhā uses the very words and expression which an enraged Pañjābī would use, he carefully avoids all that could in the least make it vulgar or violent. How many poets could express great philosophic truth with such force and so briefly and sweetly as Bullhā did ?

Mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 Jhūth ākhā te kujh bacedā hai, saec ākhiā bhāmbar macdā hai
 dil dolā gallā to jacedā hai, jacc jacc ke jehbā kahindī hai
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 ikk lāzm bāt adab dī hai, sānū bāt malūmī sabh dī hai
 har har vice sūrat rabb dī hai, kahū zahar kahū chappē dī hai
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 jis pāiā bhet kalandardā, rāh khojiā apāne andardā
 sukkhvāsī hai is mandar dā, jitthe carhī hai nā lahindī hai
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 etthe duniā vice hanerā hai ate tillkañ bāzī vehrā hai
 andar varke dekho kehṛā hai, bāhar khalkat paī dhūndēdī hai
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 etthe lekhā pāū pasārā hai isdā vakkharā bhet niārā hai
 ikk sūrat dā camkārā hai jū cinag dārū vice paīdī hai
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 kite nāzo adā dikhlāī dā, kite ho rasūl milāī dā
 kite āshak bañ bañ āī dā, kite jān judāī sahindī hai.
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 jadō zāhar hoe nūr horī, jal gae pahār koh tūr horī
 tadō dār carhe mansūr horī, utthe shekhī nā maīdī taiḍī hai .
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 je zāhar karā asrār tāī sabh bhul jāvan takrār tāī
 phir māran bullhe yār tāī, atthe makhfi gall sohindī hai
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 asā paḥiā ilm tahkīkī hai, ulthe ikko haraf hakīkī hai
 hor jhagarā sabh vadhikī hai atvē rouḷā pā pā bahindī hai
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai
 bullhā shahu asāthō vakkh nahī, bin shahu thī dūjā kakkh nahī
 par vekkhan vāī akkh nahī, tāhī jān paī dukkh sahindī hai
 mūh āi bāt nā rahindī hai.¹

The speech that has come into the mouth cannot be withheld.
 If I state an untruth something remains, by telling the truth

¹ *Kānūn-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, kāfī 70.

the fire spreads ;¹ of both (truth and untruth) the heart is disgusted² and in disgust the tongue speaks. The speech, etc. One necessary thing concerns religion, but to me all things are known ; everything is the image of God, somewhere it is visible, somewhere hidden. The speech, etc. He who has discovered the secret of the saint (*pīr* or *gurū*), (he) has found the path of his inner self and is the happy resident of this temple (self-realization) where there is no rise or setting. The speech, etc. Here on earth is darkness, and the courtyard (path) is slippery ; look within, who is there ? Outside, the crowd is searching (for God). The speech, etc. Here the account (*karma*) has spread its feet, the secret of it is different and unique. Of one image (God) there is the light as a spark falls into wine. The speech, etc. Somewhere He (God) shows coquetry, somewhere He brings Muḥammad, somewhere as a lover He comes, somewhere His soul suffers separation. The speech, etc. When light (God) became visible, the mountain of Sinai was aflame, again on the cross mounted Mansūr, there exists no boasting of mine or yours. The speech, etc. If I proclaim the secrets, all quarrel (of religions) will be forgotten (cease) ; then they (the clergy) will kill the friend Bullhā ; here on earth hidden speech (ambiguous) is charming. The speech, etc. I have studied the science of search (divine) and therein only one word is genuine. All other arguing is additional (and unnecessary) and useless noise is made. The speech, etc. Bullhā the Lord is not separate from us, apart from the Lord nothing else exists ; but there is no seeing eye, hence the soul is suffering pain. The speech, etc.

Sources of Information

Pañjāb University MS. No. 374, Folios 2-14, 743. In Ġurmukkhī characters. This MS. contains a few sayings of Bullhe Shāh. The compiler in an appended verse says that he was called Pūraṇ Dās and compiled the book in 1861, Samvatt 1884. This is the oldest MS. of Bullhā's sayings found up to date.

Pañjāb University MS. No. 4684 also contains some *kāfīs* of the saint-poet. They are written in a very bad hand. It seems that the pious desire to put in writing all the poet's religious verse led the copyist to insert some of Bullhe Shāh's compositions with which he was not well acquainted. He collected stanzas from different poems to

¹ Dissensions arise. It is a Pañjābī expression.

² Of truth for hiding it and of untruth because it is not reality.

complete the one he had begun. It does not seem to be a very old MS. ; at the utmost it is eighty years old. It is in Gurmukkhī characters.

Kāfiā Bullhe Shāh, MS. found in the library of Dr Hifzur-Rahman of Lahore. This is a collection of some poems of Bullhe Shāh written in a good hand in Urdū characters.

Four pages from a lost MS., the personal property of the writer. The poems are correct but the handwriting is not very good. In Urdū characters.

Now we come to the printed sources for the life, teachings and sayings of Bullhe Shāh. Since Bullhe Shāh is enthroned in the hearts of all Pañjābīs, Hindus or Muslims, books and pamphlets have been published in Urdū, Gurmukkhī and Hindī. Some of these have gone through many editions. We mention here only those which are well known.

Concerning the accounts of the life of the poet we can suggest the following :

Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiā by Muftī Ghulām Sarvar of Lahore, in Persian prose. It gives a brief account of the life of Bullhe Shāh.¹

Tahqīqāt-Cishṭī, by Nūr Aḥmad Chishtī, also gives an account of Bullhā's life.

Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind by Muḥammad Dīn, in Urdū characters but in Pañjābī verse. The author gives short sketches of the lives of Bullhe Shāh and his master Shāh Ināyat.

A pamphlet on the life of Bullhe Shāh was written by Mr C. F. Osborne of the I.C.S. The original is not traceable but an Urdū translation by Zia-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, printed at Delhi in A.H. 1338 (A.D. 1919) is available. It gives some interesting information on the life of the saintly poet, collected from various sources.

The following are the names of a few printed books on his poetry. They are mostly collections of his compositions, but some of them have good introductions giving important information on various episodes of his life and some notes on his verse :

¹ Hope Press, Lahore. Printed in A.H. 1284.

*Kānūn-i-'Ishq*¹ by Anwar 'Alī Shāh of Rohtak. The work of Mr Alī Shāh is admirable so far as general information and selection of verse are concerned. The author fails miserably when he tries to prove that Bullhe Shāh was a strict mosque-going Muslim.²

*Sāī Bullhe Shāh*³ by Sundar Singh Nirula, in Gurmukkhī. This is a collection of 116 *kāfis*, a *bārāmāh* and *athavārā* of Bullhe Shāh. It contains a short sketch of the life and teachings of the poet. The Pañjābī meanings of those few Persian and Arabic words which sometimes occur in Bullhā's verse have been given in footnotes. This is a very fine and authentic collection.

*Hans Cog*⁴ by Bābā Buddh Singh. This book on Pañjābī literature contains a chapter on the poetry of Bullhe Shāh. It is in Gurmukkhī characters.

*Bullhe Shāh*⁵ edited by Dr Mohan Singh, in Gurmukkhī. This book contains only fifty poems of Bullhe Shāh. Though very well brought out, it is full of information which has practically no concern with the subject. The explanations and annotations on the original poems are far from satisfactory, as everywhere the editor, desirous of showing the superiority of his own faith, has inserted compositions of the Sikh Gurūs.

*Kāfiā Hazrat Bullhe Shāh Sāhib Kasūrī*⁶ edited by Bhāī Prem Singh of Kasur. It is a very good collection, in Urdū characters. The compositions in it are said to have been collected from various MSS. and other sources.

Besides these there are many small collections in pamphlet form. They contain mostly those poems which

¹ Printed at Alam Press, Lahore, and published by Chanan Din Allāh Vāle ki kaumī Dukān, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. It is in Urdū.

² For the sake of convenience we have referred to this collection for the quotations given above.

³ Published by Bhāīs Paratab Singh Sunder Singh, Mai Seva, Amritsar, 1931-2.

⁴ Published by Phullvārī Agency, Hall Bazar, Amritsar, 3rd edition, 1926.

⁵ Published by the Pañjāb University in 1930.

⁶ Sewak Machine Press, Lahore.

are included in the above-mentioned books, and therefore need not be named here.

Apart from MSS. and printed works there is another source of information. That is the oral tradition preserved by the *kavvālis* and minstrels. Some of these, attached to the tomb of Bullhe Shāh and that of his master Ināyat Shāh, have been of great help to me. Of course one should bear in mind that the information they furnish is mostly in the form of legends and stories. Between them they relate the authentic incidents and sing the original verse. This source is rich and helps in establishing the facts concerning the life and work of the poet.

CHAPTER V

‘ALĪ ḤAIDAR

(A.D. 1690-1785)

‘ALĪ ḤAIDAR, the Ṣūfī poet, was born at Kāziā in the Multan district, in the year A.H. 1101 (A.D. 1690).¹ He passed, says the tradition, the greater part of his life in the village of his birth, where he died in A.H. 1199 or the year 1785 of the Christian era, at the advanced age of ninety-five years.²

A few years ago, Ḥaidar was practically unknown to the general public as a poet. Wandering *faqīrs* sometimes sang fragments of his mystical verse in the streets, but no attention was paid to it, as people are not accustomed to pay heed to what the *faqīrs* sing or recite. In 1898, Malik Fazal Din of Lahore was so greatly impressed on hearing a poem of ‘Alī Ḥaidar that he decided to collect all the poetry that ‘Alī Ḥaidar had written and publish it for the benefit of the public. He acted on his decision, and with much labour succeeded in collecting most of the poems from the *kavvālīs*, and also from a descendant of the poet named Ḥaẓrat Faqīr Ḡhulām Mirā of Kāziā who furnished him with a copy of the original manuscript.³ This collection the Malik named *Mukammal Majmū‘a Abyāt ‘Alī Ḥaidar*, and published it soon after it was ready.⁴

The descendants of ‘Alī Ḥaidar could not furnish much information on the life and literary career of the poet. Perhaps they themselves did not know more about their

¹ See *Majmū‘a Abyāt ‘Alī Ḥaidar*, Introduction, p. 3.

² *ibid.*

³ See *Majmū‘a Abyāt ‘Alī Ḥaidar*, Introduction, p. 2.

⁴ It can be procured from Allāh Vāle ki Kaumī dukān, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. For the sake of convenience we will refer to this collection as *M.M. ‘Alī Ḥaidar*.

illustrious ancestor.¹ In the absence of his life-history, we should have turned to his poetry for information, but unfortunately that too has proved of little help. Incidentally ‘Alī Ḥaidar says that he was not a saiyid, which his descendants proclaim him to be, and also gives the name of his *pīr* or *murshid*. Ḥaidar states :

Mīm maī kuttā ban āl rasūl najīb dā pāhru hā ghar bār utte
uppar aggō oh andherī maī hondiā ais darbār utte
nām tarīk dā bhī khādīm sahibā dī puceckār utte
par aihle ulūm dī izat rakhan vāzib hai sansār utte.²

Mīm : I am a dog of the *āl* of the exalted Prophet and keep watch on their house ; I pass as a storm³ over and above this court.⁴ I am a slave even of their name and also of the kindness of these gentlemen (i.e. saiyids), but it is right to maintain the honour of the learned in the world.

Had ‘Alī Ḥaidar been a saiyid he would not have called himself a dog of the saiyids’ door, but would have claimed a place of equal honour. The above, therefore, removes all doubt and establishes the fact that Ḥaidar was an Indian and not one of the foreign saiyids.

From the above quotation we can also conclude that he was troubled by the saiyids for his attentions to the learned. Who could these learned people be except some liberal mystics of whom the saiyids often disapproved ? Ḥaidar seems to have been afraid of the saiyids, and that is why he lowered himself before them ; but at the same time he maintained in an apologetic manner his own conviction that to respect the learned befitted a man.

Our poet was a confessed Ṣūfī and a faithful follower of Shāh Mohiy-ud-dīn, as :

¹ The descendants and *kavālis* give more legends than valuable information. The legends are not original, but are distorted versions of those relating to great mystics.

² *M.M. ‘Alī Ḥaidar*, p. 23.

³ Allusion to a Panjābī superstition according to which a dust storm sweeps away all evil influence and evil spirits from that part of the country over which it passes.

⁴ The Muhammadans respectfully refer to the residence of the saiyids as *darbār* or court.

Qāf kyā gam khauf asā nū je shāh muhaiuddin asāḍarā ai
shāh abdul qādir jilā dā je lutf āmin asāḍarā ai.¹

Qāf: what sorrow and fear have we,² if Shāh Muhiy-ud-dīn
is ours and if Shāh Abdul Qadir of Jilān is guardian of our
pleasure ?

And again :

Ali Ḥaidar kyā parvāh kise dī je Shāh Muhaiuddin asāḍarā ai.³

‘Ali Ḥaidar, what do we care for any other if Shāh Muhiy-ud-dīn
is ours ?

Muhiy-ud-dīn or Abdul Qādir Jilānī, who, as we know,
was born in Jilān in the year A.H. 471 (A.D. 1078)⁴ was famous
for his learning. He was the founder of the Qādirī order of
Ṣūfīs⁵ and has always had innumerable followers all over
the Pañjāb. Ḥaidar, as is clear from the above, was a
Qādirī, but who his *pīr* was we do not know.

The style of ‘Ali Ḥaidar is very ornamental. No
mystic Pañjābī poet, with the exception of Bullhe Shāh
and Hāshim, has surpassed Ḥaidar in poetic flow and fecun-
dity of vocabulary. His verse, being ornate, abounds in
alañkāras, notably in *vrityānuprāsa*,⁶ as :

Shīn sharāb de mast raihan, kī nain taīde matt vāḷare nī,
surkh sufaid siyāh do banāḷare bāj kajjal aīvē kāḷare nī.⁷

Here *shīn*, *sharāb*, *surkh*, *safaid*, and *nī* at the end of each
line form a graceful *vrityānuprāsa*.

Ḥaidar has shown his command of *samak*⁸ in his
Qissā Hīr va Rāḷha. Each short poem is full of foreign
phrases and words, but they are so well welded into his

¹ M.M. ‘Ali Ḥaidar, p. 23.

² ‘We’ is here employed in place of the first person singular.

³ M.M. ‘Ali Ḥaidar, p. 23.

⁴ Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 5.

⁵ Rose, *Glossary*, Vol. I, p. 538.

⁶ We have named this figure of speech according to the Sanskrit
system because Pañjābī poetry is entirely Indian as regards grammar,
verse technique, etc.

⁷ M.M. ‘Ali Ḥaidar, p. 2.

⁸ *Samak* is a figure of speech. If in a poem in a certain language
words and phrases of other languages are inserted by the poet and these
insertions do not look odd or strange then it is called *samak*. See *Alañkāra
Manjūṣā*, pp. 22-3.

poetry that they do not give the reader the impression of being foreign. Here is an example :

Jān bacā ke bājhō cāke, rakhī kyū kar hoī mā
 Yā rag masīva al māhbūb rehā gair nā koī mā
 dīl vicc ākhihe vekkh tamāshā hai je uthe dhoī mā
 man ho muqnātis haidar, use dī khicc rakhioī mā.¹

In the above poem *yā rag masīva al māhbūb* and *man ho muqnātis*, two Arabic sayings,² are put in as if they were in Pañjābī.

Speaking of the style of Ḥaidar, a living poet³ in both Urdū and Pañjābī once said : ‘ His style resembles that of Habīb Qaānī so far as the arrangement of words and beauty of language is concerned, but for his descriptions and expressions he resembles Hāfiz.’⁴

‘Alī Ḥaidar’s style no doubt charms his reader by its grace and beauty. He also excelled in subtle poetic conceit. We give below a specimen in which, desirous of showing the superiority of his own religion over the faith of the Hindus, he very tactfully makes Hir speak for himself.

Alif eh bāman⁵ bhairē bhaṭṭh paye kūrā rāh batāunde ne
 so phitṭe mūh ohnā kāfarā dā sabh kūrō kūr kamāūde ne
 cūcak de ghar kheriā de aih nitt vicāre aude ne
 ‘ netarsunetarnetar ’ sunnī de gin gin gaṇḍhī pāūde ne
 maī guṇ māre ohnā de sir mālā turt puāūde ne
 nāl dumbal channī lā phuāre māpyo calāūde ne
 kih sharm hayā ohnā kāfarā nū jo khair duāre mannāūde ne
 narak dī bhāh maīdī nāhī ahi eh apāne hatthī lāūde ne
 akkhi dekh tijjan nāhī eh kāfar aīnī hāūde ne
 je murde nū dukkh sukkh nāhī kyū haḍḍiā gaṅgā pāūde ne
 eh jāñju gal ne janj kheriā dī maī haidar mūl nā bhāūde ne.⁶

Alif : these bad Brahmans are in the oven (i.e. fire) for they tell the false path (i.e. Hinduism), therefore shame on those

¹ M.M. ‘*Alī Ḥaidar*, p. 78.

² These sayings are inserted in their corrupted form.

³ Maulānā Waqār (N.A.) Ambālvi, who is known as one of the best living poets of Urdū. He sometimes writes in Pañjābī also and, being a Pañjābī and a scholar of Persian, his judgements command our respect.

⁴ Bābā Buddh Singh also compares Ḥaidar with Hāfiz of Shirāz, see *Hans Cog*, p. 181.

⁵ In Pañjābī Brahmans are called Bāmans.

⁶ M.M. ‘*Alī Ḥaidar*, p. 26.

heathens¹ who all follow the false. Into the house of *cūcak* and the *kherās*² these wretches (Brahmans) always come. Saying *netarsunetarnetar*³ and calculating, they tie the knot.⁴ When I marred their qualities (i.e. when I refused to obey them by loving Rājāhā) then they ordered the garland (i.e. of marriage with Saidā) to be put on my head. Putting a cup to the abscess, the parents start the stream⁵ (i.e. obeying the order of the Brahmans parents bleed my heart by giving me in marriage to Saidā). What modesty and shame have these heathens, who in the temple beg for safety? This is not the fire of my hell (Muhammādan hell), they have lit it themselves.⁶ Seeing this (fire) they are not convinced but keep on boasting (i.e. they still praise their religion). If a corpse experiences no pain or pleasure then why do they put the bones into the Ganges? This sacred thread round the neck is like the marriage procession of the *kherās*; Haidar, I do not like it at all.

Haidar paints well his disgust of the worldly possessions which we have to leave after death. He calls them false and states that the only true possession is God with his prophet and his friends.

Kūrā ghorā kūrā jorā kūrū shau asvār
 kūrē bāshe kūrē shikār kūrē mīr shikār
 kūrē hāthī kūrē lashkar kūrē fauj katār
 kūrē sūhe kūrē sālū, kūrē sohne yār
 kūrē jore kūrē bere kūrē hār shaṅgār
 kūrē koṭṭhe kūrē manmit kūr eh sansār
 haidar ākkhe sabh kujh kūrā saccā hikk kartār
 dūjā nabī muḥammad saccā sacce us de yār.⁷

¹ Hindu laity who follow the path indicated by the Brahman clergy.

² *Cūcak* and *kherās* here represent the Hindu community.

³ The poet, not knowing the Sanskrit text of star calculations which the Brahmans read, gives words that sound like it.

⁴ Engagement knot between Hīr and Saidā, the son of the *kherā* chief, but the poet here means the knot of falsehood or Hinduism.

⁵ Allusion to the Pañjābī village treatment of an abscess. A cup is put next to it and the barber then applies the knife. Blood gushes out and falls into the cup. Here the sore heart of *Hīr* or of the *Moman* is the abscess: the barber stands for her father and mother, i.e. the Hindu community, the knives for the order of the Brahmans, and the gushing blood or fountain for the reproaches of *Hīr* or of *Moman* for their falsehood or Hindu faith.

⁶ The poet says that the Hindus invite the fires of hell by resting in Hinduism, and so it is not Islām that sends them there.

⁷ *M.M.* 'Alī Haidar, p. 58. This poem, it appears, was written after the poet had seen a royal hunting party which included ladies of the royal court.

False is the horse, false is the costume and false is the king rider ; false are the hawks,¹ false the falcon and false is the leader of the hunt ; false the elephants, false the battalions and false are the armies with swords ; false the red,² and false the *sālūs*³ and false the beautiful friends ;⁴ false these uniforms, false the boats and false are the toilets ; false the houses, false the pleasures and false is this world. Haidar says all is false, *kartar*⁵ alone is true ; the second true one is the Prophet Muḥammad, and true are his friends.

Haidar’s faith in God is well described in this :

Alif etthe otthe asā ās taīlī ate āsarā taīḍare zor dāi
mahī sabh havāḷre taīḍare ne asā kḥauf nā kḥaḍare cor dāi
tīlī jān savāl javāb sabhō sānu haul nā aukḥarī gor dāi
alī haidar nū sikk taīḍarī ai taīḍai bājh nā sāyal hor dāi.⁶

Alif: both here and there you are my hope and your power is my support ; all buffaloes⁷ are in your charge, so I am not afraid of any wretched thief ;⁸ you know all prayers and their answers (so) I have no fear of the difficult grave ; ‘Alī Haidar feels your want, save you he does not seek another.

It will be interesting to give here one of the few poems in which Haidar reproaches his countrymen, the king and the foreign element, then so prominent at the Imperial Court of Delhi, for having allowed the Persians to come into the country and for submitting to their lust for riches :⁹

Be bhi zaihar nahī jo khā maran kujh sharam nā hindustāniā nū
kyā hayā ehnā rājiā nū kujh lajj nahī turāniā nū
bhaiḷe bhar bhar devan khajāne fārsiā khurāsāniā nū
vice chauniā de vice pāṇi takk badhoje laḥu nā vēdeā pāṇiā nū.¹⁰

Be: there is no poison which they (Indians) should eat and (consequently) die, the Indians have no shame ; what shame have these kings, what shame have these Turānis ?¹¹ The wretches fill up and give treasuries to the Persians and the

¹ Hawks were of great help in hunting, in those days.

² Dresses of red colour worn by women.

³ *Sālū* is a red thick cloth used for making women’s veils. This veil is considered to be auspicious.

⁴ Ladies of the king’s harem who accompanied him to the hunt.

⁵ Note here the word *kartār* for God. It is a Hindu name for God, but is mostly employed by the Sikhs.

⁶ *M.M.* ‘*Alī Haidar*, p. 1.

⁷ The striving souls.

⁸ Satanic temptations.

⁹ This poem describes the invasion of Nādir in A.D. 1739.

¹⁰ *M.M.* ‘*Alī Haidar*, p. 40.

¹¹ The foreign element.

Khurāsānis; ¹ in the cantonments they (i.e. the Persians) have reserved water for themselves, the only water we (Indians) see is blood.

It is evident from this and other such poems that to Haidar his country's distress was unbearable, and he cursed freely the rulers and those in power.

Haidar alone of the Pañjābī Śufī poets played with words. It is on account of this that his thought is weak and often the same idea is differently described. Physical love was his ideal for spiritual love, and he therefore laid great stress on the use of words which naturally imparted a sort of brilliancy to his language. Here is a specimen to illustrate his mastery over words :

Shīn shakar ranji yār dī maīnū talkh kitā sabbh shīr shakar
ganj shakar dī shakar vandā je kare rabb shīr shakar
rājhā khīr te hīr shakar rabb pher kare jhabb shīr shakar
jo labbiai lab lab te hāzīr piyo payālā shīr shakar
haidar gussā pīve tā akkhe pīau mitthā lab shīr shakar.²

Shīn : the anger of my friend is bitter to me ; it has made our friendship bitter.³ I will distribute the sugar of Ganj Shakar ⁴ provided God arranges peace ; Rājhā is rice and Hīr is sugar. May God soon bring about their union ; what we search is present on each lip (i.e. the name of God), drink that cup of friendship ; Haidar, if he controls his anger, will say. Drink friendship with the sweet sugar of lips.

Haidar, we believe, was a very good musician. Each line of his verse is full of rhythm and is so beautifully composed that his reader is tempted to sing rather than read or recite it. One specimen will suffice :

Te tāriyā lāriyā taīdiā nī, maīnū lāriyā kāriyā māriyā nī
hīr jahīā sai goliā gholiā nī, sadake kittiā taīthō vāriā nī
caupar mār tarōn nā pāse, pāse ditiā hadḍiā sāriā nī
Haidar kaun khalāriā taīthō, asī jitiā bājiā hāriā nī.⁵

¹ People of *Khurasan*, a province of Persia.

² *M.M.* 'Alī Haidar, p. 9.

³ *Shīr* in Persian means milk and *shakar* is sugar. Here the word *shīr-shakar* has many meanings, as : sweet milk ; union with the beloved ; God ; peace ; and also sweetness of lips.

⁴ The followers of Ganj Shakar distribute sugar on the fulfilment of their desires and vows.

⁵ *M.M.* 'Alī Haidar, p. 1.

At the end of each poem of his *ṣiḥarfīs*, Ḥaidar wrote a sort of *ṣalāw* to indicate the musical refrain. Here is this chorus :

Anban inbin unbun thī, ikk samajh a-ṣāḍarī ramaz miā.¹

Ḥaidar used Multānī, which is a sweet dialect of Pañjābī, and became more so when the poet played with it. The few poems which have come down to us from the *Hīr* of Ḥaidar show that he was an Arabic scholar and a competent *ḥafīz*. Had it been complete it would be a document to prove how the Ṣūfīs understood the *Qur’ān* and the *ḥadīṣ*. Their interpretations are different, as Ḥaidar’s *Hīr* differs from those of other Mussulmans. Still what is left of the *Hīr* is very interesting and pleasing. Before we close this account we will let Ḥaidar speak briefly for himself.

Khe khalak khudā dī ilam paḥdī sānū ikkā mutālīā yār dā ai
jihne khol ke ishk kitāb ditthī sige saraf de sabh visār dā ai
jinhe yār de nām dā sabak paḥyā etthe jāe nā sabar karār dā ai
haidar mullānū fikar namāz dā ai ehnā āshka talab didār dā ai.²

Khe : the creatures of God study knowledge, but we have only the study of the Beloved ; he who has opened and looked in the book of love is ready to spend all ; he who has read the lesson of the beloved’s name should not come here, for here is only peace and contentment ; Ḥaidar, the priest has to think of prayers, but these lovers desire only the manifestation (of the Beloved).

Be, be dī teg na dass mullā oh alif sidhā kham ghat āyā
ohā yār kalokarī rāt vālā hun bhes vaṭā ke vatt āyā
sohnā mīm dī cadar paīhn ke jī kehā julfā de ghungat ghat āyā
alī haidar ohā yār paiyārā hun ahmad baṅ ke vatt āyā.³

Be : O priest, do not show me the curved sword of *be*⁴ because this is the straight *alif*⁵ that has come back bent ; the friend of last night changing his garb has come again ; the handsome friend wearing the shawl of *mīm*⁶ and veiled in his locks has

¹ M.M. ‘*Alī Ḥaidar*, p. 1.

² *ibid.*, p. 72.

³ *ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴ *Be* is unpleasant to Ṣūfīs who prefer only *alif*, so Ḥaidar compares the second letter of the alphabet to a sword.

⁵ *Alif* in Ṣūfī language stands for God or Reality.

⁶ *Mīm* to the mystics signifies Muḥammad.

returned ; 'Ali Ḥaidar, that friend beloved now has come agai
as Aḥmad.¹

Lām lok nasihatā de thakke sohne yār tō mukkh nā morsā maī
tore māure peure kaḍḍ choran jānī yār piche ghar chorsā maī
maī tā bele vassā hardam māhī vāle mattī dedeā nī khūhe boṛsā
maī

ali haidar ne akkhiā lāiyā kite kaul nū mūl nā torsā maī.²

Lām : the people are tired giving me good counsels, but I
will not turn my face from the handsome friend ; if mother
and father turn me out, for my beloved I will leave the house ;
I will ever live in the *jaṅgal* of my beloved,³ and will throw
into a well those who give me good advice.⁴ 'Ali Ḥaidar, our
eyes have met⁵ and I will never break my word.

¹ Ahmad is the real name of Muhammad, the Arabian prophet.

² *M.M.* 'Ali Ḥaidar, p. 25.

³ The Beloved, Rājhā, is poor and lives in a *jaṅgal*, i.e. in the open
country away from towns.

⁴ 'The impertinent counsel-givers will be thrown into a well.' This
is a Pañjābī expression meaning that no heed will be paid to what the
unsought-for advisers say.

⁵ After the eyes have met, i.e. after love has been declared.

CHAPTER VI

FARD FAQĪR

(c. A.D. 1720-90)

FARD FAQĪR is generally known as Fard Fakīr. No biography of the Ṣūfīs or the poets known to us contains any description of his life and beliefs. Oral tradition is also silent. It may be that in some secluded village of the Gujrat district there is some tradition relating to this Faqīr, but our efforts have not had any success. Fard, nevertheless, gives enough information about himself in his works. Though he does not give the date of his birth, yet he tells us in his *Kasab-Nāmā Bāfindgān* that he lived in the eighteenth century A.D.

Yārā sai trai saṭh barsā san nabī dā āyā
eh rasālā kāmīl hoyā hukam dhurāō āyā.¹

The eleven hundred and sixty-third year of the Prophet's era has come,² and this journal is complete according to the order that had come from the start.³

This shows that when he finished the book in A.H. 1163 (A.D. 1751) he would already have been a man of thirty or forty years. We do not mean to say that a man below this age was not allowed to write a book, but because as he had disciples when he wrote the *Kasab-Nāmā*, and the *Kasab-Nāmā* was written at the request of a weaver disciple,⁴ in all probability he had attained that age. A *faqīr* cannot have disciples at an early age, because almost all his youth passes in study and in discipleship. We can therefore safely say that Fard Faqīr lived, preached, and died between the years A.D. 1720 and 1790.

¹ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 13.

² From eternity or God.

³ Has begun.

⁴ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 6.

He was a resident of the Gujrat district in the Pañjāb as is stated at the end of his *Bānā-M'āh* ¹ Whether he was an inhabitant of Gujrat town or of some village in the district of Gujrat, it is impossible to say.

He was a Ṣūfī, as he reproaches those who are not true to their Ṣūfī professions :

Bāhir bānā sūfiā andar dagā kamāy.²

Outside the guise of a Ṣūfī and inside they earn deceit.

And again

Mim mīmō mull vakāūdi ajj fakīri hatt
ikk paise dī unn lai gall nū seli vatt
gerī raṅg lai kapare khol sire de vāl
fardā lekhā laisiā rabb kādir jul jalāl ³

Mim : the *faqīri* is sold today in the shop ; buying one pice worth of wool (thread) the *seli* ⁴ is twisted round the neck ; with *geri* ⁵ the clothes are coloured and the hair is let loose, *Fard*, the mighty radiant and glorious God will take account.⁶

His title *Faqīr* also indicates that he was a *deruish*. *Fard* was a Ṣūfī of the popular school. From his own account it is clear that he was a *pīr* of the lower classes such as the weavers and the barbers ⁷ His imagination, his low and vulgar thought, so conspicuously shown in his *Roshan dil*, his lack of personality and his strong fanatic convictions so clearly manifest in his poetry, support our view.

The times during which he was born and lived and the political circumstances of the province were detrimental to the growth and development of art. Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Pañjāb had been a stage for dis-

¹ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 24.

² *ibid.*, p. 1.

³ *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ *Seli* is a twisted woollen thread tied round the neck of the Ṣūfīs, especially the popular ones, to indicate that they are mystics. The Ṣūfīs in India do not put on woollen clothes. *Seli* is a remnant of the woollen garment.

⁵ Soft red stone, used as a dye.

⁶ Explanation for hypocrisy practised to deceive fellow human beings.

⁷ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 6.

sensions, and from 1739 to 1770 it witnessed no peace at all. The invasion of Nādir in 1739, the successive raids of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, the first of which began in 1748, and the desire of the provincial ruler to become independent of both Durrānī and the weak Mughal court at Delhi, all contributed to create trouble and confusion. This was an opportunity for the suppressed Sikhs, who began to assert themselves by devastating the country and thereby creating trouble for the rulers. The Marāthās for a short while entered the arena and were proclaimed masters. But the Marāthā sovereignty dissatisfied Durrānī, who returned once more. The Marāthās retired in 1761, but henceforward there was a constant state of war between the nominees of the Afghān and the rising Sikhs. It was only in 1770 that the Sikhs finally deposed and repulsed the Afghān officials and occupied the Pañjāb. It took them some years to establish a strong government in the province that had long been a prey to the ambitions of different claimants. Poetry naturally could not flourish in such a state of affairs. Nor could there exist amicable feelings and tolerance between members of the various communities, certainly not in the followings of the popular *pīrs*. These *pīrs*, moreover, were often utilized to preach the cause of one or the other party. To protect themselves against the ever hostile *ulamā* and to save themselves from the fury of the powerful they had to adhere to the cause of one of the contending parties. Their popular Ṣūfīism, therefore, often turned into fanaticism. Yet, in all fairness to them, it should be stated here that in their private lives they tried to please and respect, as far as possible, the beliefs of people belonging to different religions. In public they preached the beliefs of the political party to which they gave allegiance. Fard was a popular Ṣūfī, the outcome of these circumstances, and therefore we can easily forgive him his fanaticism and other shortcomings.

Fard seems to have had a good knowledge of Arabic. His *Roshan Dil* abounds in words and quotations from the *Qur'ān*. About his knowledge of Persian we do not know anything except that in his *Kasab-Nāmā Bāfindgān* he says :

Nasar fārsī nu chaḥḍ asā ne hindī nazam banāyā.¹

Abandoning Persian prose we have made² it in Hindi poetry.

To him Pañjābī was Hindī as it was the language of the Hindustānīs or the Indians.³ Whatever the name he gave to his mother-tongue, the above indicates that he was accustomed to write in Persian prose.⁴ His Pañjābī verse is more or less rustic in expression but lacks that sweet flavour which rustics impart to it. It is all a sort of *baṭṭ* which is abrupt in itself. Its flow is not smooth ; it is, however, powerful and emphatic.

The following are his works :

Bārā-Māh or *bārā-māsā*. MSS. of this are very numerous and are found in different libraries and with private individuals. They differ slightly in minor details. These differences, occurring mostly in words, are due to the fact that the copyist was never the same person. Apart from this, they are all the same. There is one such MS. in the India Office Library.⁵ Fard's *Bārā-Māh* has many a time been published in the Pañjāb.

Sīharfī. This is very popular with orthodox Mussulmans and the lower orders of the community and has had various editions.

Kasab-Nāmā Bāfindgān, a treatise on the profession of weavers, was completed in 1751. This describes weaving

¹ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 5.

² 'Have written it.'

³ Mussulman writers of the Pañjāb often called Pañjābī, Hindī. It might be that originally it was called Hindī but later on when the language of Delhi and of the United Provinces was called Hindī it came to be termed Pañjābī. Muslim tradition, however, continued to call it Hindī.

⁴ We have not seen anything by him in this language.

⁵ MS. D, Fol. 7.

on spiritual lines, praises the weavers, and condemns the rulers who tyrannized over them. It was published two or three times at various places in the Pañjāb. Of all the editions, the one published by the Muslim Steam Press, Lahore, and also containing the other two works, the *Bārā-Māh* and *Sīharfī* and entitled *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*¹ is the best. We have therefore utilized this for quotations.

Roshan Dil is a manual of instruction on dogmatic religious duties. The work is very popular and has been frequently published. There are many MSS. Two are in the India Office Library.² In one of these the author is said to be Fard Faqīr but in the second copy the scribe Murād 'Alī in the appended verses ascribes the authorship to Maulvī Abd-Allāh. After a careful study of *Roshan Dil* we come to the conclusion that it could not have been written by an open-minded Ṣūfī. We believe that, under stress of circumstances, Fard was either forced to claim authorship of this work or was made to write it. There are two reasons for this belief.

First, that his name rarely occurs in it while in his *Sīharfī*, *Bārā-Māh*, and *Kasab-Nāmā Bāfndgān* his name occurs at the end of every few lines.

Second, that in one place in the *Roshan Dil* he says :

Maī dardā gall nā ākkhdā mat māran ulmāh,
ehse kāraṇ rakkhiā fardā bhed chupā.³

For fear I do not say the matter, lest the 'ulamā should kill me, therefore Fard (says) I have kept the secret concealed.

Roshan Dil is a great favourite of the 'ulamā, so the secret must have been considered a great heresy, punishable by death, which the unfortunate poet could not freely express.

These two facts therefore make us believe that either he was forced to write the book, or at least some parts of it,

¹ Allāh Vālo kī Kaumī Dukān, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

² MS. D, Fol. 44 and Fol. 77.

³ *Roshan Dil*, p. 23.

or he was compelled to accept its authorship. Of all the printed editions of the *Roshan Dil* the one published by Abdul Rashid is the only well-printed edition ;¹ we have referred to it in these pages.

In his *Kasab-Nāmā Bāfindgān* Fard tells us how the rulers at that time ill-treated the artisans. They exacted forced labour whenever it pleased them, without considering how the arts, crafts, and industry, and consequently the poor artisans, would suffer.

Hākīm ho ke bain galice bauhtā zulam kamāde
 mehantiā nū kamī ākkhan khūn uhnā dā khāde
 phaṛ vagāri lai lai jāvan khauf khudā nāhī
 fard fakirā dard mandā diā ikk din pausan āhī
 kāsabiā nū maihar mukaddam jabran cattī pāde
 bhār garibā dā sir laike āpe dozakh jāde.²

Being rulers they sit on carpets³ and practise tyranny ; artisans they call menials and drink their blood. By force they take them to work without fearing God, Fard, the sufferer's sighs will fall on them one day.⁴ The artisans have (to pay) the first tax and they have to suffer this loss. Carrying the load of the poor on their heads⁵ they (rulers) themselves go to hell.

Fard is very bitter against the Hindu *avatāras* and goes out of his way to curse them :

Jehre ism khudaye de, likkhe andar nass
 uhe nā bhulāvanā, rām kishan sir bhass.⁶

Those names of God which are written in the veins,⁷ do not forget those, and ashes be on the head of Rama and Krishna.

A new convert to Islām is ever welcome among the Muhammadans, but he is looked down upon by those Muslims who uphold their pure Islāmic origin, for his non-Islāmic descent. Considering him to be by origin a descendant of the *kāfirs*, they sometimes give him the same treatment

¹ Feroz Printing Works, Lahore.

² *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 9.

³ *Galīca* is a Persian carpet.

⁴ The sighs will invite evil for the rulers.

⁵ Accompanied by the curse of the poor.

⁶ *Roshan Dīl*, p. 10.

⁷ The ordinary simple-minded Pañjābī Muslim *faqīrs* of all denominations believe that the Islāmic names of God, being true, are written inside the veins of man and so he should repeat them.

as is given to non-Muslims.¹ Fard, however, does not approve of this and advises them to be more benignant :

Jo koī hindu āyke hove musalmān
māl na ghannaṅ os dā nā kar burā gumān
kaid nā karna katal bhī ādā os imān
bājhō 'ujat sharā de diyo nā āzār.²

Any Hindu who comes and becomes a Mussulman, do not take away his wealth nor harbour evil thought, do not imprison or slay him, for faith has brought him (to Islām); without the permit of the *sharī'at* do not give (him) trouble.

In spite of his orthodox beliefs, Fard could not help believing in the *karmas* and he often enjoins upon his followers the duty of doing good actions. One specimen will suffice here :

Ghain garūrat nā karo, rovo dhāi mār
bājhō amalā cangiā kaun laṅghāsī pār
chaḍḍ duniā de vāhde kaul khudā dā bhāl
fardā lekhā laisiā rabb kādir jul jalāl.³

Ghain : do not bear pride but wail bitterly⁴ instead, (because) without good actions who will see you across ? Abandoning the prosperity of the world understand the word of God. Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.

In the following he speaks like a free Ṣūfī :

Sin sunāyē khalak nū kar kar masale roz
lokā de nasihatā andar tere cor
kī hoya je laddiā gadhā kitābē nāl
fardā lekhā laisia rabb kādir jul jalāl.⁵

Sin : you preach to the public, treating problem after problem⁶ each day, (you) give instructions to others and inside you is the thief ;⁷ what avails it if the ass is loaded with books ? Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.

¹ Major Abbott puts this Muslim sentiment clearly : 'All converts to Islam are ashamed of that page which preceded their conversion. They cannot bear to think themselves the sons of Kawfurs (infidels). As the strongest expression of scorn is not "you dog" but "you son or grandson or great-grandson of a dog", so to be a remote grandson of a Kawfur is more terrible to an Asiatic than to be merely himself a Kawfur.' (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, 1854.)

² *Roshan Dil*, p. 8.

³ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 3.

⁴ Wailing for not having acted rightly.

⁵ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 2.

⁶ The problems of religion from the sacred texts.

⁷ Inside you is mischief installed.

Here Fard Faqīr demonstrates his anxiety to hide his knowledge of things :

Zāl zikar khudāy dā nakar zāhir khalak dikhāy
andar kar tun bundgī bāhar pardā pāy
mūl nā vecī ilam nū nā kar kisse savāl
fardā lekhā laisia rabb kādir jul jalāl.¹

Zāl : discuss not God openly showing to the public ; inside (in the heart) you should pray to Him and outside put the veil ;² do not in the least sell your knowledge nor question any person. Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.

Such pious ideas of the poet are strikingly in harmony with his repeated orthodox injunctions.

With all his prejudices against the *kāfirs* (Hindus), Fard did not hesitate to state the efficacy of the *pañḍits'* knowledge with regard to the future, as :

Maī vēdi pās paṛosiā nit pucchdī paṇḍit joshiā.³

I see near ones and neighbours and ever consult the *pañḍits* and *jotashīs* (astrologers).

Again :

Rahī dhūṇḍ kitābā phol ke sabh pothī paṇḍat khol ke.⁴

I am engaged in search, turning over the books and opening all the *pothīs*⁵ of the *pañḍits*.

The following verse depicts well how the very popular Śufī imagines his union with the Beloved :

Ajj hovan lef nihālīā kol niyāmat bhariā thālīā
bauhnāl payāre khāviye, hor mushk gulāb lagāviye.⁶

Today (there) should be covers and mattresses⁷ and plates full of rare preparations ; sitting with the Beloved should I eat (them) and should apply the scent of roses.

¹ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 2.

² The veil of orthodox beliefs which were established at the time.

³ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 10.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵ The books of the Hindus in *nāgarī* script are generally called *pothīs*.

⁶ *Daryā-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 22.

⁷ Spread on the bed and elsewhere in honour of the Beloved.

CHAPTER VII

HĀSHIM SHĀH

(A.D. 1753-1823)

HĀSHIM was only a Ṣūfī poet and had no claim to sainthood or *faqīrī*. The biographies of the Ṣūfī saints and *faqīrs* therefore do not mention him at all. There are many oral traditions rich in information, but the only written account that we have found is a short sketch by Bābā Buddh Singh in his *Bambīhā Bol*.¹ Unfortunately, this sketch, as we shall see later, is in no way better than the oral traditions. The only reliable sources of information were the narratives of some elders whose fathers or grandfathers had known the poet. After a great deal of correspondence one of my friends collected narratives from some old gentlemen of Jagdeo village, the birth-place of Hāshim. The following is the sum-total of these narratives relating to the poet :

He was the son of Kāsim Shāh, a carpenter of Jagdeo village in Amritsar district and was born in A.H. 1166 (A.D. 1753). He possessed a great love for knowledge and composed verse in his youth. God had conferred on him the gift of writing, and it was on this account that he surpassed the poets of his time. The Sikh chiefs esteemed him. He died at the age of seventy.²

The above accords with the traditional accounts, save in the stories about Hāshim's friendship with Raṅjīt Singh and about the patronage from him which the poet is said to have enjoyed. But before proceeding any further

¹ Pp. 162-4. Mohan Singh, in his recently published *History of Panjābī Literature* (p. 72) gives a few lines on the life of Hāshim, but his information seems to have been taken from *Bambīhā Bol* and does not show any research on his own part.

² We are indebted to a few of our family friends for having procured us this information.

let us state here that all sources of information agree that Hāshim was born in A.D. 1753 and died at the age of seventy, i.e. allotting him a life of seventy Pañjābī years,¹ he died in A.D. 1823.

Was Hāshim a court-poet of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh? Bābā Buddh Singh calls him *rāj-kavī*,² and Dr Mohan Singh also speaks in the same strain.³ According to history Raṅjīt Singh assumed the title of Mahārājā in 1801, some time after he had occupied Lahore. For the next ten years he was whole-heartedly engaged in consolidating the different constituents of the province and had little time for poets and poetry. It was only after the year 1810 that he began to evince interest in arts other than the art of warfare. If then he ever made Hāshim his court-poet it could have been only after A.D. 1810 when the poet was nearing his fifty-eighth year. But no history of the Mahārājā written before or after A.D. 1810 speaks of the poet.

Our knowledge and study of the popular and oral narratives does not permit us to call Hāshim a court-poet of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh. What we believe is that Hāshim had the patronage of Raṅjīt Singh when he was a territorial chief, and this patronage continued unofficially in the shape of small gifts of little importance, even after the latter had become Mahārājā of the Pañjāb.

Bābā Buddh Singh makes another statement regarding Hāshim's position at the Sikh court and his intimacy with Raṅjīt Singh. He says that the poet recited his *Sassi-Punnū* to the Mahārājā at a *dusaihrā darbār*, and this so won him that ruler's love that he was called in spare moments to recite his verses to the Mahārājā.⁴ In all the well-known histories and popular narratives of the private and public life of Raṅjīt Singh no reference is made to

¹ The Islāmic year is shorter than the Christian year which is as long as the Pañjābī year. In the Pañjāb, all communities, save some religious heads of the Mussulmans, follow the Pañjābī calendar.

² *Bambhā Bol*, p. 162.

³ *A History of Pañjābī Literature*, p. 72.

⁴ *Bambhā Bol*, p. 162.

Hā-him.¹ Therefore we doubt if he ever lived in Lahore, or saw the Mahārājā as frequently as the Bābā states he did.

Bābā Buddha Singh makes still another assertion,² describing Hāshim as an intimate friend of Faqīr 'Azīz-ud-dīn.³ A direct descendant of the Faqīr⁴ whom we approached for information concerning the poet told us that his ancestor never spoke of Hāshim and that neither in his vast correspondence nor in his library was there anything relating to the poet. He doubted very much the correctness of the Bābā's statements.

Hāshim, too, in his poetry does not mention Raṅjīt Singh or 'Azīz-ud-dīn, the minister. Had he been in the service of the Mahārājā he would have told us so.⁵ On the other hand he speaks against the kings of his times, as :

Kaiḥ suṅ hāl hakikat hāshim hundiā bādshāhā di
 julmō kūk gaye asmāni dukkhiā ros dilā di
 ādmiā di sūrat diss di rākas ādam khore
 jālam cor palit zanāhi khauf khudāō kore
 bas huṅ hor nā kaiḥ kujh hāshim jīō rabb rakkhe raiḥnā
 eh gall nāhi fakirā lāyak burā kise dā kaiḥnā.⁶

Say and hear the real description, Hāshim, of the kings of the present time ; through their tyranny the screams of sorrowful angry hearts have reached the heavens. Their faces are like those of men, but they are monsters, man-eaters, cruel thieves and impure adulterers, unmindful of God's terror. Enough ! now say nothing more, Hāshim ; live as God keeps. It behoves not the *faqīrs* to speak ill of any one.⁷

¹ Raṅjīt Singh's attachment for 'Azīz-ud-dīn who was his company in spare moments, his affection and childish talks with Hirā Singh and other young boys, and his voluptuous love for dancing and singing are all recorded in detail ; but there is nothing about Hāshim.

² *Bambihā Bol*, p. 163.

³ He was one of the ministers of the Mahārājā ; for an account of his life see Sir Lepel Griffin's *Ranjit Singh*.

⁴ Faqīr Jalāl-ud-dīn Sāhib of Lahore.

⁵ It was customary to speak of one's patron. The poet Qādir Yār, a contemporary of Hāshim, tells us of his patron Harī Singh and his king, Raṅjīt Singh. He even mentions the gift of land which he received for composing his *Pūran Bhagat*.

⁶ *Shirī Farhād*, p. 4. Printed at Victoria Press, Lahore.

⁷ Hāshim lived between A.D. 1753 and 1823-4, and this description may be of the Sikh *Misaldārs* who became masters of the Pañjāb from A.D. 1769.

We therefore come to the conclusion that Hāshim was neither a *rāj-kavi* nor on intimate terms with Faqīr 'Azīz-ud-dīn, and that if ever he received consideration from Ranjīt Singh and his minister, it was during his *misaldārī* before A.D. 1801.

Hāshim, it appears, had a good education and must have studied Persian and Arabic. His knowledge of these languages, in the words of Sir Richard Temple, 'is apparent in his fondness for interlarding (and thereby spoiling) his poetry with Arabic and Persian words and phrases'.¹

The poet is absolutely silent about himself, and we have to remain content with the little we know. One thing that we gather from Hāshim's verse is that he was an earnest seeker after God and was persuaded of the truth of Ṣūfī doctrines by the condition of the world around him.²

Who was Hāshim's *pīr* and when he met him is unknown, though we read a few verses in his praise. Probably he had recognized and praised as *pīr* the person who had created his interest in Ṣūfī doctrines.

In Hāshim's poems there is no exposition of any Ṣūfī doctrines or allusion to his adherence to any particular sect. He had taken Ṣūfīism as an established belief. His reader is supposed to know it or his poems remain somewhat unintelligible or are mistaken for romantic or pious poetry. The poet, however, refers frequently to Manṣūr, and sometimes to others like Shamsī Tabrīz.

His prosody is Pañjābī throughout, though as stated above his vocabulary abounds in Hindī, Persian, and Arabic words. These words often occur in their original form, but sometimes also in their corrupted Pañjābī versions.

¹ 'Muhammadan belief in Hindu superstition', *Indian Antiquary*, 1881, p. 372.

² It is a remarkable fact that all Ṣūfīs of the philosophic school who lived between 1740 and 1850 were pessimistic regarding material welfare and very anxious about the welfare of the soul. This pessimism, it seems, was a natural consequence of constant warfare in the land.

He wrote the following books : *Qissā Shīrī Farhād*, *Qissā Sohṇī Mahīvāl*, *Qissā Sassī-Punnū*, *Gyān Prakāsh*, and *Dohre*.¹

Of these, *Sassī-Punnū* and *Dohre* are his two master-pieces and have been issued in many editions in various scripts of the Pañjāb. *Sassī-Punnū* was even transliterated in Roman characters with a *résumé* in English by Sir Richard Temple.²

Gyān Prakāsh is still wholly unknown to the public. But Lālā Kālī Das, a living Pañjābī poet of Gujranwala, asserts that he possessed a manuscript copy of this work of Hāshim, which unfortunately was lost by a friend to whom he had lent it for study. According to him the work was purely philosophic and was in Hindī. We hope to trace it some day. The *Sohṇī* of Hāshim is not very popular. This is the only work of which a manuscript has been found.³

Shīrī Farhād has also gained fame for the poet, but in popularity it stands nowhere near *Sassī-Punnū*.

Sassī-Punnū and *Dohre* are his best works as regards sentiments and terseness and it is for this reason that they have attained unrivalled popularity. Before we enter on the study of these two works, it would be only fair to say that there is no visible inequality in workmanship in the different works of Hāshim. The only visible difference is in thought. We presume that he wrote his best works at an advanced stage when his thought had matured.

Sassī-Punnū

This work is avowedly based on the Sindhī story of Sassī. The subject had been treated before by two Pañjābī poets.⁴

¹ Bābā Buddh Singh says that he also wrote *Lailā Majnū*, but we have not come across it.

² Roman Urdu Journal, 1881.

³ Pañjāb University Library, No. 914.

⁴ Hāshim Barkhurdār and ṡhulām Rasūl.

Hāshim's work, however, differs from that of his predecessors, the main difference being that his central idea was to describe the true love of the hero and heroine, and so, unlike them, he very cleverly skimmed over local customs, class prejudices, and marriage, with its accompanying ceremonies. He concentrated all his thought on the description of their love and succeeded in relating it in a most impressive manner.

The work begins with the customary few lines in praise of God. These are followed by a couplet which explains the object of his writing this verse :

Sun suṅ baut sassī diā bātā kāmīl ishḱ kamāyā
hāshim jo satt thī att kitā vahim utte vall āyā.¹

Hearing many tales about Sassī and the love she fulfilled, what was true and was truly upheld, Hāshim became possessed with the idea (of writing the story).

The poet then opens the story by telling that Ādam, the Jām² of Bhambor, was a great and just ruler. He bestowed rich gifts on the poor and the holy for having a child. After long years a daughter was born to his wife and was called Sassī. Astrologers prophesied that :

Kāmīl ishḱ sassī tan hoṣī jab hogu juān siānī
mast bihosh thālā vice marsī dard firāk ranjhānī.³

Perfect love will come into Sassī's body when she grows and attains youth. Enamoured, fainting in the desert, she will die of the sorrow of separation's pain.

And then

Hāshim dāg lage us kul nū jagḱ vice hog kahānī.⁴

Hāshim, (thereby) to her family will disgrace come (when) it (her love) becomes a public story.

¹ *Qissā Sassī-Punnū*, p. 1.

² Jām is an equivalent of Rājā or Nawāb.

³ *Qissā Sassī-Punnū*, p. 4.

⁴ *ibid.*

The parents, anxious to save the family¹ from this predicted disgrace, suppressed their sentiments and, tying a talisman round her neck, put Sassī in a wooden chest, inlaid with precious stones and filled with treasure, and launched it into the river. A washerman, Attā by name, was working on the bank of this river. He saw the box, and jumping into the stream he caught it and brought it ashore. Surprised at the sight of such a treasure, he opened it and was even more surprised to find it contained a baby girl. He took her to his wife and they brought her up as their own child. Sassī grew up into a beautiful woman. Many a washerman suitor came to wed her but she refused them all. This enraged a relative of Attā who presented himself at the Jām's court and told him that Attā's daughter was worthy of him.² The Jām sent a messenger to bring Sassī to his court. Sassī did not go but handed him the talisman. When the Jām saw it, he and his wife were deeply touched. They invited Sassī to come back, but she proudly refused to do so.

Now it so happened that a rich man of Bhambor had made lovely gardens in which he hung portraits of kings and princes. Sassī along with her friends visited these gardens. Seeing the portrait of the prince of Kecem she became enamoured of him. She returned home sad and could neither sleep nor rest. She then wrote to her royal father to grant her lands at the spot where the Bilocīs entered Bhambor and to give orders that none should pass without seeing her first. The request was granted and she built a garden house there. It so happened that the Biloc merchants who came to trade from Kecem paid their

¹ In the Sindhī story Sassī was a Brahmin's daughter. On her birth the astrologers foretold that she would marry a Muhammadan and would die in the desert pining for his love. This version appears to be more comprehensible, but Hāshim being a Šūfī could not attach importance to trifling religious differences on the path of love.

² The Jām would have been a very old man and it is for this reason that the enraged relative, to revenge himself, wanted him to marry the youthful Sassī.

customary respects to Sassī. On inquiry she was told that they knew Punnū, the Kecem prince who was their brother.¹ Thereupon she imprisoned them all, letting two go back to their country. These two mounted their camels and reached the court of 'Alī the father of Punnū in all haste. They told him all that had happened and demanded help. 'Punnū will not go whatever may happen to the merchants,' said the Chief. Disappointed, the merchants waited on Punnū and related to him the beauty of Sassī and the interest she took in him. This made him curious and he left for Bhambor with his men. Reaching the city one night he entered Sassī's gardens. Ordering the camels to graze in the gardens, he slept on the flower-bed which was always kept ready for Sassī. The gardeners informed their mistress of the destruction of the gardens and Sassī with her friends came to chastise the trespassers. But when she saw Punnū lying in her flower-bed her anger turned to joy. Their eyes met and they fell in love. Punnū then lived happily with her and the prisoners and his companions were asked to return to Kecem. When 'Alī came to know of his son's behaviour, his sorrow was great and he was very unhappy. His other sons thought of a device to bring their brother home to their father. Taking sweet wine with them they came to visit Punnū at Bhambor. Sassī and Punnū arranged great festivities in their honour. After dinner the guests offered them wine, which had its effect and they fell fast asleep. The brothers thereupon mounted their camels and, taking with them the sleeping Punnū, set out on their journey to Kecem. In the morning Sassī woke up to find that her Punnū had gone. She was sad and inconsolable. In vain her adopted mother impressed upon her that her low social status was the cause of Punnū's dramatic departure. Madness overcame her and she left barefooted for the kingdom of 'Alī. The heat of the sun

¹ By brother they meant caste-man or relative.

and the burning sands soon scorched her tender feet and, shouting the name of her beloved Punnū, she fell dead. A shepherd who saw her dying was so much impressed by her death that he became a *faqīr*. He buried her ashes and became their guardian.

The spirit of Sassī met Punnū in a dream and told him that she had given her life for him. He woke up to find himself in his parents' house. At once he prepared to return to his love, but his parents, brothers, and the tribesmen would not let him go. Helpless, he drew his sword and was about to strike himself dead when the parents gave in. Praying God that he might find Sassī happy he set off. When he reached her grave and saw the shepherd *faqīr* sitting near by, he inquired of him the name of the saint whom he had buried.¹ 'It is not a saint but a peerless beauty who died crying for Punnū,' replied the *faqīr*. Punnū at once swooned dead on the grave, which opened, and put out two arms to receive him.

We will now let Hāshim speak from his Sassī. The adopted mother of Sassī, hearing of her fate, comes to console her and advises her to forget Punnū, the source of her suffering.

Dhoban mā̃ nasihat kardī ā dhīā pau rāhī
dhoban zāt kamīnī kar ke chor gaye tudh tāhī
bhaj bhaj pher use val daurē lāj aje tudh nāhī
hāshim vekh dukkhā val pāke ghunḍ biloc balāi.² .

The *dhoban*³ mother gives counsel, Daughter, come to the true path. Considering the washermen's caste low, they (Punnū and his brothers) have left you. Again and again towards him you run, still you have no shame. Hāshim, throwing a veil on⁴ see your sufferings; the Biloc is an evil spirit.⁵

¹ It is only saints and *faqīrs* who die and are buried in deserts. Ordinary people rarely go to such lonely places.

² *Sassī-Punnū*, p. 10.

³ A *dhoban* is a woman belonging to the washermen's caste, called the *dhobī zāt* or *jāt*.

⁴ By patiently thinking over your troubles you will find that he was a source of sorrow for you.

⁵ *Balā* is a female evil spirit, but in the ordinary sense it means trouble and sorrow.

To this and other good counsels Sassī replied with firm determination :

Marsā mūl nā mursā jān tali par dharsā
jad takk jān rahe vicc tan de marnō mūl nā ḍarsā
je rabb kūk sassī di sunsi jā pallā us pharsā
hāshim nāhī shahīdan hoke thal mārū vicc marsā.¹

I will die, but will not return at all from my path, I will place my life on the palm of my hand.² So long as life remains in my body, death in the least I will not fear. If God will hear the cries of Sassī then I will go and seize his skirt.³ Or else becoming a martyr, Hāshim, in sandy land I shall perish.

The dramatic fashion in which Punnū was carried off and the counsels of her mother and others almost maddened her and she followed her beloved. The heat in the desert was unbearable, and Sassī could not continue any further; yet she would not return :

Camkī ān dupaihrā veḷe garmī garm behāre
tappdī vā vage asmānō pancchī mār utāre
ātash dā dariā khalotā thal mārū vicc sāre
hāshim pher picchāh nā mūr dī lū lū hot pukāre
nājak pair gulāb sassī de maīhdi nāl shaṅgāre
bālū ret tape vicc thal de jīū jāū bhunnaḥ bhaṭṭhīāre
sūraj bhaj variā vicc badaḷī ḍardā lishak nā māre
hāshim vekh yakīn sassī dā sidkō mūl nā hāre.⁴

At midday the heat of the hot season⁵ increased. Burning air blew from the sky, felling the birds and killing them. A river of fires was flowing all over the sandy desert. Hāshim, still she did not turn back, each pore of hers was calling the Hot.⁶ The delicate rose-like feet of Sassī with henna beautified, were in the hot sand of the desert like as roast barley in an oven.⁷ The sun ran, and in clouds hid himself, through fear he did not shine; Hāshim, behold the trust of Sassī, in truth she did not fail.

A short while before her death in the desert sands the helpless Sassī, losing self-control, curses the thieves of her Beloved :

¹ *Sassī-Punnū*, p. 19.

² A Pañjābī expression signifying the little value of life.

³ Punnū's, to show her humility.

⁴ *Sassī-Punnū*, p. 20.

⁵ Summer.

⁶ 'Hot' was a title of Punnū.

⁷ *Bhattī* is an oven in which corn is baked after being mixed with hot sand.

Shālā ¹ rahin kiāmat tāī nāl sūlā de lurke
hāshim maran kumaut bidesī, lūn vāngū khur khur ke.²

Please God, till resurrection's day, with acute pains affected,
Hāshim, may the foreigners die an unnatural death, like salt
slowly melting.

She even curses the camels which carried Punnū away
from Bhambor, and the caravan :

Orak vakat kaihar diā kūkā suṇ patthar dhal jāve
jis dāci merā punnū khariā shālā oh dozakh vice jāve
yā us nehu lage vice birhō vāng sassī jar jāve
hāshim maut pave karvānā tukhm zamīno jāve.³

At last hearing the cries of woe ⁴ even a stone would melt. The
camel which has carried my Punnū away, please God, may she
go to hell, or may she in love's separation suffer and like Sassī
be burnt : Hāshim, may death on the caravan fall and from
earth their seed disappear.

When Punnū inquired of the shepherd about the newly-
made grave he replies :

Ākke oh fakīr punnū nū khol hakikat sārī
āhī nār pari dī sūrat garmī marī vicārī
japp dī nā punnū dā āhī dard ishk dī mārī
hāshim nām makān nā jānā āhī kaun vicārī.⁵

To Punnū that *faqīr* relates, opening ⁶ the whole truth : It was a
woman, image of a nymph, dead because of heat, poor thing,
repeating the name of Punnū and of love's pain she died,
Hāshim ; her name and house I do not know, nor who the poor
one was.

How Punnū dies at this tragic news is told as follows :

Gall suṇ hot zīmī ne ḍiggā khā kaleje kānī
khulh gaī gor piā vice kabare pher milo dil jānī
khāttar ishk gaī ral mittī sūrat husan janānī
hāshim ishk kamāl sassī dā jagg vice rahī kahānī.⁷

Hearing that speech, with heart's cramp, the Chief fell to the
earth, the grave opened and he fell into the grave and the lovers
met again. For the sake of love the woman's beauteous image
mixed with dust : the story of Sassī's perfect love, Hāshim,
remains in the world.

¹ *Shālā* = *Insha Allah*.

³ *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵ *Sassī-Punnū*, p. 24.

² *Sassī-Punnū*, p. 21.

⁴ Death agonies.

⁷ *Sassī-Punnū*, p. 24.

⁶ Explaining.

Dohre

Hāshim in his *Sasī-Punnū* expresses same manner as Jāmī expressed his in But in the *Dohre* he is a pure Ṣufī and sin mystic emotions. *Dohre* has procured : of the pious and the esteem of the learned Hāshim can demand a place next to Bu him not anxious to gain power and posi Bāhū, free from all fetters of sanctity of pū ship, he wrote down the ideas which occup

By the word *Dohra* the reader might believe it to be a Hindī verse-form, which *dohre* of Hāshim are different from *dohre* be classed in two groups.

Those of the first group are somewhat verse-form called *chands* and are 208 in belonging to the second group are called *ḍi* *ḍiorā* is an old Pañjābī verse-form. As a 1 in folk-poetry, but in some rare cases po it. Of the Ṣufī poets, Hāshim was the But his *ḍiorā* poems called *ḍiore* are few in are only seven, published along with his and entitled *Dohre Hāshim Shāh* or *Daryā*

We now proceed to give a few specimens *dohre*-and *ḍiore*.

Hāshim reproaches love, calling him his inability to break the shackles of shame tied round the poet's feet.

Jā farihād bike te āyō otthō cā pahār
mere pair janjir hayā dā, ohnū mūl nā
ishkā zor nahī vicc tere sacc ākkh buḍ
hāshim log karan gam aīvē asī bhet te

When Farhād was being sold then you came at the mountain, (but) the chain of shame (cor

¹ Allāh Vāle kī Kaumī Dukān, Kashmiri Bazar.

² *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 30.

feet you have not at all broken. Love, you have no strength in you, say the truth (that) old age has come (on you), Hāshim, people worry ¹ uselessly, we ² now have found out your secret.

Hāshim explains the difference between the so-called lovers of God and the real lovers or seekers, as :

Rabb dā āshak hoṅ sukkhālā eh baut sukkhālī bāzī
goshā pakaṛ rahe ho sābar phaṛ tasabī bane namāzī
sukkh arām jagat vicc sobhā ate vekkh hove jagg rāzī
hāshim khāk rulāve galiā te eh kāfir ishk mazūzī.³

To be a lover ⁴ of God is easy, it is a very easy game ; simply sit patiently ⁵ in a corner, seize a rosary and say the prayers. Thus will come rest, comfort and fame in the world and the people will be pleased ⁶ on seeing them ; (but) Hāshim, this heathen love makes the unbeliever roll in the dust of the streets.⁷

Hāshim believed that those alone could realize love who had renounced all religion and faith, as :

Jis vicc jaṅg birhō dā piā tis nāl lahū mukh dhotā
shamā jamāl diṭṭhā parvāne ate ān shahīd khalotā
ja mansūr hoyā madmātā tadh sūlī nāl parotā
hāshim ishk aih jehā miliā jin dīn mazhab sabh dhotā.⁸

One in whom the battle of separation has commenced,⁹ he has washed his face with blood.¹⁰ The moth saw the glory of the candle and coming, stood a martyr.¹¹ When Mansūr was filled with divine passion then he was threaded to the cross. Hāshim, such souls alone have attained love, who washed off (rave up) all faith ¹² and religion.

What happens after love has taken root in the human heart is well explained here :

¹ Worry because they think that love has ceased to have any effect.

² Meaning I.

³ *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 20.

⁴ Lovers of God according to the religious code.

⁵ i.e. *goshā nishā*.

⁶ Satisfied.

⁷ The theologians termed the Ṣūfī's love for God as heathen love and the Ṣūfī as an unbeliever. Hāshim is here speaking ironically.

⁸ *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 14.

⁹ Who realizes that he is separated from the Real.

¹⁰ He cleans his soul with his own blood, i.e. he sacrifices himself for Truth.

¹¹ He died for his love caring little for all else.

¹² By 'faith' the poet means blind faith in the words of others without making personal efforts to find Him.

Tor janjir shariyat nass dā jad raccada ishk majāzi
 dil nū cot laggi jis din dī asā khūb sikhī rind bāzi
 bhaj bhaj rūh vare butt-khānne ate zāhir jism namāzi
 hāshim khūb parhāyā dil nū ais baith ishk de kāzi.¹

(The soul) breaks the chain of law and hastens to create heathen
 love. From the day my heart has felt the blow (of love) I have
 learnt well licentiousness (because) again and again my soul
 enters the idol-house, but outwardly my body is at prayers.
 Hāshim, being installed (in the heart), this *qāzi* of love² has
 well taught my heart.

We give below a few more *dohre* which express faithfully
 Hāshim's various mystic ideas.

Zahd ibādat cahe vekkhe nāhī hargiz dhiyān nā kardā
 Shāh Mansūr carhāyā sūli ate yusaf kitto su bardā
 kis gall de vice rāzi hove koi bhed nahī ais gall dā
 hāshim be parvahī kolō merā har veḷe jiu ḍardā.³

The orthodox wants adoration (of God) but sees Him not, and
 pays no attention at all :⁴ he raised Shāh Mansūr on the cross
 and made Joseph a slave. By what may he be pleased ? There
 is no secret in this matter. Hāshim, my heart is ever afraid
 of his indifference.

Dil soi jo sej sajjau de nit khūn jigar dā pive
 nain soi jo ās daras dī nit rahan hameshā khīve
 dil be dard biādhi bhariyā shālā oh har kise nā thīve
 hāshim so dil jān raṅgilā jahrā dekkh dilā val jive.⁵

That alone is the heart which ever on the Beloved's bed drinks
 its own heart's blood. Those alone are eyes which remain
 ever drunk. An unsympathetic heart⁶ is full of disease, God
 grant everyone may not possess it. Hāshim, know that heart
 to be pleasure-loving⁷ which lives by looking at the heart.⁸

Har har post de vice dost oh dost rūp vaṭāve
 dost tak nā pahūce koi eh post cāh bhulāve
 dost khās pachāne tāi jad post khāk rulāve
 hāshim shāh jad dost pāve tad post val kad jāve.⁹

¹ *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 9.

² The Śūfī doctrines of Divine love.

³ *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 29.

⁴ He is not attentive and often takes contradictory steps.

⁵ *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 21.

⁶ One who does not feel the pain and sorrow of others.

⁷ *Raṅgilā* literally means a pleasure-loving person ; here it means
 one who loves God, i.e. one whose heart is coloured with the divine colours.

⁸ He who feels the pain of others, Hāshim believes, is God's lover.

⁹ *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 9.

In every poppy-head ¹ is the Friend ² and that Friend changes his guise. ³ No one reaches that Friend, this poppy-head ⁴ makes one forget the desire for Him. Then alone is the Friend recognized when the poppy-head is placed in the dust. ⁵ Hāshim Shāh, when the Friend is found then who will go to the poppy-head ?

Ved katāb paṛhan caturāi ate jab tab sādḥ banāve
bhagave bhes karan kis kāran oh man dā khot lukāve
murakh jā vare us vehre ate aukhad janam gavāve
hāshim mukat nasīb jihnā de soi dard mandā valāve. ⁶

Reading of the Ved and the Book ⁷ is a trick, because now and again it will make (the reader) a knower ; what is the guise of a recluse for ? It hides impurity of heart. The ignorant enters that courtyard (path) and wastefully passes his life ; Hāshim, for whom salvation is destined, they come to sufferers. ⁸

Before closing this account, we will give one of Hāshim's *ḍiorā*. It will clearly show the difference between *dohrā* and *ḍiorā* :

Māhi pār arām nā mainū, mai mutthi teg nazar di,
tarle kardi
sohni khavār hoī jagg sāre, jo rāt same jhanā tardi,
zarā nā ḍardi
hāye baṇi lācār sohni maī firā bahāne kardi,
ghāt nā tardi
hāshim siddak sohni dā vekkho ate hikmat jādū gardi,
parakh mitardi. ⁹

The Beloved is across (the river), no rest for me, I am lost, deceived by the glance's sword, I beseech (him). Sohni is straitened in the whole world who at night swims the Chenab and without the least fear. Ah I, ¹⁰ Sohni, becoming despondent, am wandering, making excuses but do not swim across. ¹¹ Hāshim, see the sincerity of Sohni and see in her the skill of a magician and the discrimination ¹² of a friend.

¹ Religion with its dogmas.

² God.

³ He is differently manifested in each religion.

⁴ Religious dogmas which make the follower forget Him, the Real.

⁵ Religion and its accompanying dogmas are abandoned.

⁶ *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 17.

⁷ Book stands for the revealed scripture. Here by Book is meant the *Qur'ān*.

⁸ i.e. Śūfīs, because they suffer at the separation from the Universal Soul.

⁹ *Dohre Hāshim Shāh*, p. 31. ¹⁰ The poet now speaks of himself.

¹¹ I have no courage to take the drastic step into the sea of conviction and so am making excuses for remaining on shore.

¹² That she could distinguish between the true beloved and the false one.

CHAPTER VIII

KARAM 'ALĪ

OF Saiyid Karam 'Alī Shāh¹ absolutely nothing is known beyond what may be gathered from his own poetry. The biographies of saints, so far as we have been able to consult them, ignore him completely. It is possible that one day the publication of some unpublished biography of poets and saints may provide us with an account of the life and work of the poet, though, up till now, no book has increased our knowledge about him. We are therefore compelled to fall back on Karam 'Alī's own work and the copyist's² note, although very little regarding him is to be found in his verse.

Towards the end of his work entitled *Khiyāl*,³ the copyist Muḥammad Niwāz writes that the work was written by his master Saiyid Karam 'Alī Shāh. Karam 'Alī, therefore, was a saiyid. The poet himself tells us that he met his spiritual guide Pīr Ḥusain at Malerkotla :

Maler kotla Karam Alī nī dittā pīr husain jamāl,
payāre de lar lagg.⁴

In Malerkotla, friend, on Karam 'Alī, Pīr Ḥusain bestowed his splendour ; hold the skirt of the dear one.

Though the poet met his *pīr* at Malerkotla, yet the permanent place of his *gurū's* residence seems to have been Vataḷā (Batala) in the Gurdaspur district :

Karam Alī cal shaihar Vataḷe lok paṇṇ pai jānī nū.⁵

¹ Our attention was drawn to the existence of the poet by the recital of his poems by several *faqīrs* and minstrels.

² Copyist of Karam 'Alī's MS.

³ After hearing the recital of Karam 'Alī's verse from *faqīrs* we decided to find out some written work of the poet. Fortunately we came across a slightly worm-eaten and forgotten copy of the *Khiyāl* in a corner of Mr Hafiz-ur-Rahman's Library. Excepting a few pages missing from the middle, the MS. is intact and is written in a legible hand.

⁴ *Khiyāl* 60.

⁵ *Khiyāl* 41.

Karam 'Ali, go to the town of Batala, people (here) are worrying my life.

Again :

Ā Pīr Husain dikhāi ditti hass hass kadamā de val natthi
Karam Ali lā sine maī suttī, vasā shaihar vaṭāle dī gaddī.¹

Pīr Husain came and manifested himself, laughing laughing
I ran to his feet ; Karam 'Ali, taking him to my breast I slept,
I reside at the seat of Batala.²

At the end of almost all his poems Karam 'Ali tells us that the dark veil of his ignorance was shattered by the bright light of real knowledge imparted to him by Husain. For example :

Karam Ali huṅ vāre, vāre, pīr husain ne tāre tāre
dukkh gaye huṅ sāde sāre, hoye sattgurū meharbān kuṛe.³

Karam 'Ali now is a sacrifice,⁴ a sacrifice, Pīr Husain has saved, has saved him. All our⁵ troubles have now disappeared (because) the true-*gurū*⁶ has been merciful, O girl.

There is no indication of time in the verse. The *faqīrs* say that he lived during the reign of Ranjīt Singh. Not doubting the *faqīrs*, we think that he was born in the time of Ranjīt Singh but died when the English had taken possession of the Pañjāb. Here is a proof of this :

Karam Ali cal shaihar vaṭāle baitṭh phalaur dī rele.⁷

Karam 'Ali go to the city of Vatālā (Batala), sitting in the train (bound) for Phillaur.

The enthusiastic manner in which he mentions the train shows that he was still living when the railways were started in the Pañjāb.⁸

¹ *Khīyāl* 32. He refers to Batala as the seat of his Master in several other poems, for example in *Khīyāl*s 47 and 68.

² Karam 'Ali, it seems, lived for some time at the spiritual seat of his *gurū*.

³ *Khīyāl* 14.

⁴ A sacrifice for his teacher.

⁵ Meaning mine.

⁶ Husain.

⁷ *Khīyāl* 65.

⁸ The first railway to and from Phillaur was started in 1870.

The poet most probably was a Qādirī because in one of the lullabies written for his son, Saiyid Jalāl, he calls Abdul Qādir Jilānī one of the protectors of the child.

Nabī Alī va hasan husain, aur pācavē hazrat fātimā haī kamāl
Gaus alāzīm shāhe jilānī huai tum par ab diāl.¹

The prophet, 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusain and fifth, the honourable Fāṭimā are perfect; they and Shāh Ghaus al-A'zam² of Jilān are now all merciful to you.

That Karam 'Alī belonged to the popular Ṣūfī school is quite evident from his poetry, which lacks individuality and personality. It is in a way a versification of the ideas of various schools of religion, though Islāmic thought predominates and occupies a higher place than the others. Krishna is praised in one poem, his playing with the *gopīs*³ is described in another, but in the one that follows these Muḥammad is praised as the best of them all and is described as the cause of creation. Karam 'Alī, therefore, is a typical example of popular Ṣūfīs flourishing in favourable conditions and in normal times.⁴ Besides these few hints on his life, all that we know is that Karam 'Alī was an earnest seeker after God and that after his initiation into Ṣūfīism by Ḥusain he passed most of his time singing the praises of his *hādī* and through him of his God.

The *Khiyāl* of Karam 'Alī comprises four kinds of poems. *Khiyāls* are nothing but *kāfīs* composed to be sung in different musical measures. A *khiyāl* in Urdū means a 'thought' or 'idea'. It is because of this that the *kāfīs*, which were various thoughts of the poet and were composed at different times, were gathered together and named *khiyāl*. As the *khiyāls* outnumbered the other poems, the

¹ *Lorī* 12 in the *Khiyāl*.

² One of many names of Abdul Qādir.

³ Even the poet becomes one of the *gopīs* and invites Krishna to come to play the game.

⁴ There is a good deal of contrast between him and Fard Faqīr. One lived in difficult and the other in happy times.

manuscript was named *Khiyāl*. These *kāfis*, eighty in number, are of unequal length. A few are very lengthy while the others are moderately long.

Ghazals. The manuscript also contains 17 *ghazals*. No Pañjābī Ṣūfī before Karam 'Alī wrote *ghazals*. These lyrics are lengthy and are composed in Urdū interlarded with many Persian and Arabic words. Pañjābī words too are not infrequent. The language, on the whole, is poor and his prosody is not accurate, and this fact clearly proves that his knowledge of Urdū was limited.

Lorīs. These lullabies are twelve in number and were probably written some time after the birth of his son. Except the last two lines of the twelfth one, they are all in Pañjābī. In most of them, Maulā Alī or 'Alī is called the protector of the child. This may be an indication that Karam 'Alī was a Shī'a.

Dohre. There are two *dohre*, the Hindī *chand* of eight *tukk* each, and one *dohā* as in Hindī poetry. They are all in Pañjābī.

The book *Khiyāl* is marked by the complete absence of method or system of arrangement or any traditional praising of God, his Prophet, and the saints. But the poems are full of music and have poetic flashes. Karam 'Alī mostly employed popular metres and refrains for expressing his ideas, and this is responsible for a good deal of poetic beauty being imparted to his mediocre thought. Save the *lorīs* the poems are full of Ṣūfī effusions of a popular type, which make room for all doctrines and superstitions. The sayings of the *Qur'ān*, though engraved in Pañjābī verse, lack that charm which they have in the poetry of 'Alī Haidar.

That Karam 'Alī wrote any poetry besides the *Khiyāl* seems improbable. In any case this is his only work known to us. Now we proceed to give a few *khiyāls* to show their poetic beauty and the Ṣūfī thought they contain.

Pir worship is the most conspicuous element of Karam 'Alī's poetry. Like any other popular Ṣufī he does not differentiate between the Beloved (God) and his teacher. His *hādī* is the Beloved to him and always remains so.¹

Rondī nū maīnū muddatā hoiyā kade
deve ān jamāl, dil nū tāb nahī
ā pīr husain dikhāi ditti hoiyā karam
alī maī nihāl, dil nū tāb nahī.²

(I) have been crying for a long time, that he should come some time and manifest his splendour ; the heart has no peace.³ Pir Husain came and made a manifestation ; (thus) Karam 'Alī, I became satisfied ; the heart has no peace.

Again :

Karam Ali lai Pir Husain shāh
chej bichā ke soiyā nī.⁴

Taking Pir Husain Shāh (with him) Karam 'Alī spread the bed and slept,⁵ O friend.

The above shows the attitude of the popular Ṣufī with regard to the Beloved. He is satisfied with his teacher and abandons all idea of union with the Beloved through his own efforts, entirely relying on the *hādī* to obtain it for him. The following will eliminate all doubt concerning the truth of our statement :

Koī lavo nī piā nū moṛ, minntā kar karke
Is de badale merīai māē deo hor kise nū ṭor minntā kar karke
haulī haulī tusī karo nī gallā tusī pāo nā saiyo shor minntā kar
karke
Pīr husain sivā nā koī, karam ali dā hor, minntā kar karke.⁶

¹ In Pañjābī Ṣufīism, a soeker is supposed to drown himself in the *pīr* and then meet God, but once he has found God, he becomes one with Him. Though he talks much of One-ness, a popular Ṣufī is unable to feel or to understand it, and that is why his *pīr* always remains God and the Prophet for him.

² *Khiyāl* 78.

³ This is the refrain of the poem.

⁴ *Khiyāl* 79.

⁵ Meaning that having accepted Husain as his *pīr* he is fully satisfied and is living without any further search for the Beloved.

⁶ *Khiyāl* 73.

Let someone make the beloved come back¹ with many entreaties. In his place, my mother, send somebody else (with many entreaties).² Quietly, quietly carry on the conversation, make no noise, friends; (with many entreaties). Talking sweetly of things take him back to the house; (with many entreaties). (Because) save Pir Husain, Karam 'Ali has no other of his own; (with many entreaties).

Here in brief is Karam 'Ali's idea of God's omnipresence which he professes to see in all religions. For him it is God Himself who is working in each religion :

Masalā kar kar vāz karāūdā, kar kar lokā jamā biṭṭhāūdā
dīn diā bātā khūb sunāūdā, kufre islām phāriā hai
tilak lagā ke matthe bassdā, gal vice paihn janeu dassdā
otthe kar bhajan nā rajj dā, paṛh paṛh oh oṅkāriā hai
kitthe isāi baniā faraṅgi, kare laṛāi baṅ baṅ jaṅgi
hatth tere hai mandī caṅgi, dhar topī shimlā uttāriā hai.³

Talking of the doctrines You arrange sermons and gathering the people seat them, and (then) many matters of faith⁴ you tell them, (saying) Islām has shattered the false.⁵ Putting the mark on the forehead You reside, wearing the sacred thread round the neck (You) show, there⁶ singing the praise You never get satisfied, studying and reading⁷ You have uttered *Om*. Somewhere You have become a foreign Christian and You fight becoming a warrior, in Your hand is good and evil, taking off the turban You have put on the hat.

Before proceeding any further it would be advisable to state here that the popular Ṣūfī's concept of God's omnipresence, though apparently there is no difference, is, in reality, a good deal different from that of an intellectual Ṣūfī. No doubt like the others he also sees God in both good and evil, in chastity as well as in iniquity, in truth as well as in untruth.⁸ But unlike them he fails to understand that

¹ Or change his mind to go on a voyage.

² This is the *rahāu* or refrain.

³ *Khilyāl* 9.

⁴ Islām.

⁵ Non-Islāmic religions like Christianity and Hinduism.

⁶ In Hinduism.

⁷ The Hindu religion, i.e. its scriptures.

⁸ Karam 'Ali, who sees God's presence in different religions as shown above, sees it even in the dwellings of prostitutes and gamblers as :

Jadō tavāif de ghar jāvē, utthe kī kī nāz karāvē.

fine but powerful point which maintains the balance and establishes the superiority of good over evil, of chastity over iniquity, of truth over untruth, and so on. What is this point? We will now explain it. The intellectual Ṣūfi knows that God in His Own-Self is Truth, Light and Purity, but when He reflects Himself then He does it equally in good and in evil. To understand and see Him both in his personal and in his Omni-Self it is essential that the seeker should be like Him, i.e. like His Personal-Self. Truth can see Truth and therefore only that man can see Him who has become like Truth. Once Truth is realized in Itself, then it is a very easy matter for the seeker to see Him reflected in evil and untruth. Therefore the intellectual Ṣūfi¹ concentrates all his forces to see Truth through the Truth, i.e. by becoming Truth. But the popular Ṣūfi's efforts to seek the Truth through untruth are soon shadowed by ignorance, hence the realization of Truth remains a hypothesis, and mysticism becomes a body without the soul. Except for some rare exceptions the popular Ṣūfis eventually fall into ignorance, and believe that both good and evil, being two different aspects of the same God, are to be regarded as the same. And it is due to this great misunderstanding that their seats often became and become the centres of moral turpitude.

The musical tunes in which Karam 'Alī expressed his sentiments of divine love are popular in all Pañjābī, and more so in Sikh, circles. As an example we might quote :

When You go in the house of a prostitute what coquetry You display there ?

and

Juaī khānne de vicc vaṛ vaṛ dāo khelē par sāre ḍar ḍar
 Entering the gambling-house You bet, but all in fear.

These aspects of God are misunderstood by the mystics and their followers alike.

¹ The orthodox is saved from falling into untruth and ignorance by his adherence to religious commandments.

Mere sine vajdi hūl
 ishk piāre dī
 turan phiran thī ājiz kīfī kajeje sūl,
 ishk piāre dī¹
 eh dukkh laggiā sānū kāri hoye arām nā mūl
 ishk piāre dī
 je ikk vāri daras dikkhāve, maīnī sāre dukkh kabūl,
 ishk piāre dī
 Karam Ali nū deve dikhāi mukkh yār dā rabb rasūl,
 ishk piāre dī.²

In my breast there is a stab ; the stab of dear love. It has disabled me from walking and in my heart is a terrible pain ; the pain of dear love. The disease that has caught me is serious, and not at all curable ; the disease of dear love. If once you³ manifest yourself all trouble will be acceptable to me ; the trouble of dear love. To Karam 'Alī, let there be manifested the face of the Beloved which is (like) God and his prophet ;⁴ the face of dear love.

Sometimes Karam 'Alī employs, besides musical tunes, even the words peculiar to the Sikh social and religious literature. Here is an example :

Satt Gurā de carnī lagg piāre satt gurā de⁵
 be mukkh hoīye mūl nā hargiz bhāvē tāne deve sārā jagg
 sijjadiō mūl nā mukkh haṭāiye bharm dā torīye tagg
 hījar farāk de jo kujh andar sītal hove agg
 jivē rājhā baṅ baṅ pālī, hīr de cāre vagg
 Karam Ali kar kar arjūiyā dil nū laiye ṭhagg.⁶

Be attached to the feet of the true *gurū*, of the dear true *gurū* ; though the world taunt thee, yet turn not thy face⁷ away (from him). Turn not thy face from worship, break the thread of doubt. Whatsoever is in separation, let that fire become cool.⁸ May he live who as Rājhā becoming a herdsman grazes the cattle of Hīr. Karam 'Alī, by making petitions let us win the heart of the true *gurū*.

¹ *Ishk piāre dī* is the refrain repeated at the end of each line.

² *Khīyāl* 12.

³ The Beloved, i.e. God.

⁴ It can be translated either ' the face of the beloved which is God and his Prophet ', or ' which is like God and his Prophet '.

⁵ The *rahāu* ' *piāre satt gurā de* ' is to be repeated after each line.

⁶ *Khīyāl* 59.

⁷ Do not detach yourself from the *gurū*.

⁸ Whatever pains and troubles are experienced in separation, they are finished because the fire of separation is extinguished by attachment to the *gurū*'s feet.

In the poem given above the musical tune and the words *satt gurā*, *carṇī*, *bharm*, and *sītal* are all peculiar to the Sikh religious songs of the Pañjāb. If one heard it being sung, one would at once take it for a Sikh song in some *gurū's* praise.

We have said already that Karam 'Alī, like any other Śufī belonging to the popular school of thought, versified the beliefs of different religions and their various sects. Here are a few lines from one of his lengthy *khīyāls* which serve as a vivid example. He speaks of Krishna and his playing *holī* :

Hori khelo biraj ke vāsī hori khelo
koī urāvat hai lāl gulāli koī phaīkat hai pickāri
hamare mahal maīkayō nahī āyo lok karat haī hāsī.

And :

Pir Husain ke jay duāre karam alī jāvē dukh sāre
Govind govind ke guṇ gāre, tere janam kī ṭuṭe phāsī
hori khelo, etc.¹

Play *holī*, resident of Brij, play *holī*, some sprinkle *lāl-gulāli* ² and some throw syringefuls ; ³ but why have you not come to my palace ? The people are laughing.⁴

And :

By going to the door of Pir Husain, Karam 'Alī, all troubles disappear ; ⁵ sing the attributes of Govind, ⁶ (thus) the pain of rebirth ⁷ will end.

Now we proceed to give specimens of his *lorīs*. Though they are childish and amusing, yet they are interest-

¹ *Khīyāl* 62.

² Red vegetable powder thrown at one another during the *holī* festival in early spring.

³ Of coloured water.

⁴ People are laughing ironically at me because you have not come to play *holī* with me.

⁵ Troubles disappear because he teaches the name of God.

⁶ Govind, a Hindu name of God, but mostly used for Krishna, the eighth incarnation of the Hindus.

⁷ Lit. hanging or execution. This is a Hindu idea according to which the human soul has to pass through many births before it attains salvation. The process of entering one life after another is abhorrent to the striving soul, who calls it hanging or execution. This eternal pain, says Karam 'Alī, ends by singing the attributes of God which procure salvation.

ing. They tell us that Karam 'Alī was overjoyed to have a son, whom he calls the light of his house. Such attachment is typical of a popular Ṣūfī.

Lorī lai ve saiyad jalālā
khush hove dekhan vālā
terā maulā ali rakkhvālā
ghar karam ali de ujālā.¹

Hear the lullaby of Saiyid Jalāl, that the looker-on may be pleased, your master is 'Alī the protector (and) light is in the house of Karam 'Alī.

And again :

Lorī de de bābal hass dā, paṛh paṛh ' wajj hullā ' phir dassdā
duī vaiham pare ho vassdā, karam ali caṛh anhad bassdā.²

Singing the lullaby the father laughs, and over and over repeats *wajj-hullā* ;³ the foolishness of *dvaita* departs⁴ and Karam 'Alī, the soul mounts and dwells in the Eternal.

Towards the end of his work is a *dohā* which we believe the poet wrote some time before his death. In it he welcomes death and asserts that it would bring his troubles to an end. What his troubles were we do not know. Here is the *dohā* :

Vakat ākhiri ā gayā, thalle maut paighām
call karam shāh caliye, jhagre mitan tamām.

The last moment has arrived, the order of death is downstairs ;
come, Karam 'Alī, let us go, all troubles will end.

¹ *Khiyāl, lorī* 18.

² *ibid., lorī* 4.

³ *Wajj-hullā* is the Pañjābī form of the Arabic *vajhu' Llāh* meaning the face of God. The Ṣūfīs of the Pañjāb repeat it as one of their spiritual practices.

⁴ *Duī* in Pañjābī means the fact of being two, and it is for this reason that the word is employed for *dvaita*. *Dvaita* represents that school of thought which takes God and his creation as two separate units and not one and the same, as is believed by the exponents of *advaita*.

CHAPTER IX

SOME MINOR POETS

Karīm Bakḥsh

A Pañjābī manuscript in the library of Dr Hizf-ur-Rahman caught our attention. On examination we found that it was written in a very neat hand, on old Pañjābī paper. It could not have been less than seventy-five years old, perhaps it was more.

This work, as Karīm Bakḥsh himself states in the preface, was a Pañjābī translation of *Tafrīḥu'l Azkīā fi'l Ambīā* of Abu'l Ḥasan; most probably the author was a pupil of this Abu'l Ḥasan, though he does not say so; but he has not forgotten to tell us that Abu'l Ḥasan was a disciple of Shāh Abdul 'Azīz Muḥaddas of Delhi.

The translation in Pañjābī is entitled *Tazkiratu'l Ambīā*. At the end of the work, the translator attached a small *Bārā-Māh*. This *Bārā-Māh Muḥammadī*,¹ as he calls it, amply proves what we said in the Introduction, that some Ṣūfīs imitated the Vaiṣṇavas and sang of Muḥammad in the same way as the latter sang of Krishna. Not only this, but references made in such descriptions also point to Hindu customs, such as going to bathe on festival days, and changing of dress colours in mourning,² etc. The Ṣūfī's Mathura was Medina and he himself the forsaken Rādhā,³ while his Gokul or Bṛindaban was the place of his residence. The Ṣūfī's months and their names were Pañjābī⁴ as was

¹ *Bārā-Māh Muḥammadī* means twelve months on Muḥammad.

² See below the description of the second and the twelfth months.

³ Of course the name Rādhā was never mentioned. As we have already said, Hīr replaces Rādhā in the Pañjāb and so her name was used whenever it was necessary.

⁴ The Pañjābī months are the same as the Hindu months. The names, too, are as in Sanskrit, except that they are somewhat corrupted and differently pronounced.

his concept of the weather of each month, and he described his mystic condition accordingly. To illustrate the truth of our statement we give below the *Bārā-Māh Muḥammadi* of Karīm Bakhsh.

Although we tried to discover the life-history of Karīm Bakhsh we were unsuccessful. We only know that his *takhalluṣ* or *nom-de-plume* was 'badar'.¹ His custom of using 'b' in the place of 'v' indicates that he belonged either to the Jullundur or to the Hoshiarpur district. He was a Ṣūfī, for an orthodox Muhammadan would not write in the strain in which he wrote his *Bārā-Māh*.

Bārā-Māh Muḥammadi ²

Cetar, the first month of the year

Cetar cinttā har dam camke, taraf madīne jāvā māī
pakaṛā jāī roze sandī ro ro hāl sunāvā māī
bhā bichorē biyog vikhāya vasalō pānī pāvā māī
je kar yāri kare nasibā badar piā aṅg lāvā māī

Vesākh, the second month of the year

Karan besākh taiyāri saīyā ralmil nahāvan jāvan nū
uṭṭh uṭṭh pave palaṅg darindā māī tattī de khāvan nū
maī tattī te tatt bhalattī jamī darad uṭṭhāvan nū
tere bājh rasulā kehrā kaḍḍā hāl sunāvan nū

Jeth, the third month

Jethō heṭh gamā de āī darad bichorā khādā je
jalḍ madīne saddo hazrat nahī ājiz mar jādā je
khāk sare te cāk garībā jogī bhes baṭādā je
āī jān labā te hazrat dam dam darad satādā je

Hār, the fourth month

Hār mahīne hāre ghatā ro ro hāl bajāvā māī
dūti dushman kull zamānā kyō kar jān bacāvā māī
corī chuppe bhāiyā kolō taraf madīne jāvā māī
oh kehrā din bhāgi bharyā jad piyā aṅg lāvā māī

¹ *Tazkiratu'l Ambiā*, Preface.

² *Tazkiratu'l Ambiā*, pp. 211-12.

Sāvan, the fifth month

Sāvan saun nā birhō dēdā ro ro cikā mārā maī
 aih maihbūb habīb khudā de kis dar jāye pukārā maī
 dushman pāle dūtī vehrā kīkar umar guzārā maī
 āī jān labā te jāni jān tere tō vārā maī

Bhādrō, the sixth month

Bhādrō bhāh bichorē bhavakī, jal bal kolā hovā gī
 khālī maihal darāvan saīyo, hāju hār parovā gī
 ghar de vālī zāt nā pucchi, kis agge jā rovāgī
 cal madine khāvind agge huṅ hatth bannh khalovāgī

Asoj, the seventh month

Asoj ās nahī kujh bākī maī āsī kurlādi hā
 tere dard bichorē hazrat khūn jigar dā khādi hā
 likkhīā lekh nasib azal dā ai jholī huṅ pādi hā
 sarvare ālam dohī jahāni terī goli bādi hā

Kattak, the eighth month

Kattak kaun sune fariādā tū sarvar sultānā hai
 tū mahbūb rasūl khudā dā vālī dohī jahāni hai
 terī khātīr paidā hoyā, jo jimiā asmānā hai
 duniā andar hashar dihaṛe tū mera khasmānā hai

Magghar, the ninth month

Magghar mukh rahī hā hazrat āy karo dil dāri maī
 lakkh lakkh vāri vāri jāvā ghol ghatā ikk vāri maī
 khesh kabilā ghol ghumāvā ho kurbān nakkārī maī
 je ikk jhāt measar āve dohī jahāni tāri maī

Poh, the tenth month

Poh mahine sarvar bājhō jo saṅg mere bitī je
 shālā dushman nāl nā hove jahī bichorē kitī je
 kī ākkhā maī ishkh kavliā maut āpe maṅg litī je
 zaihar payālī ishke vālī miṭ akkhī maī pītī je

Māgh, the eleventh month

Māhi māgh nā maī ghar āye khālī sej darāvegi
 paīyā barafā sardi shurakī, sardi pīr khapāvegi
 belī melī saṅg nā belī badar havelī khāvegi
 ah hazrat didār vikkhāo ṭhok kaleje jāvegi

Phagan, the twelfth month

Phagan bhukkhi sūhe sāde taī bājhō kujh yād nahī
 guzariā sāl nā sajaan āye jā koī faryād nahī
 aih maqbūl rasul khudā de bin tere dil shād nahī
 jāy pukārā vice madine kyō hundi imdād nahī.

‘ In *cetar*, worry is ever lively ; I should go to Medina ; (and) holding the lattice ¹ attached to the tomb, ² weeping, weeping I tell my state ; the fire of separation has disunited us ; on it I pour the water of union ; if destiny ordains our friendship, *badar*, I would embrace the dear one.

‘ In *vesākh*, my friends ³ make preparation to go together to bathe, ⁴ my bed ⁵ rises and attacks me like a wild beast to eat me, the hot one ; I, the hot one, enveloped with heat, am born to undergo pain ; without you, O apostle (Muhammad), whom should I find to tell my condition to ? ⁶

‘ In *jeth*, I am buried under sorrow, ⁷ the pain of separation devours me ; call me soon to Medina, O *Ḥazrat*, or poor I shall die ; (smearing) ashes on the head ⁸ I, the poor cowherd, change into a *yogī’s* garb ; ⁹ I am near death, O *Ḥazrat*, every minute pain troubles me.

‘ In the month of *hār*, I heave sighs and, crying, sing my tale ; the whole age is a back-biting enemy ; ¹⁰ how can I save my life ? Hiding and in secret from my brothers ¹¹

¹ The walls of the tombs of great Muhammadan celebrities in India generally have latticed walls, and visitors are not allowed beyond them.

² The tomb of the Prophet.

³ Girl friends.

⁴ In *vaiśākh* or *vesākh* falls the festival of the New Year’s day when the Hindus, especially Hindu women, go to the river or some such place to bathe. Generally fairs are held outside the bathing-places, where people enjoy themselves.

⁵ He imagines that in the absence of the dear one the bed assumes a cruel aspect as if it wanted to eat him up.

⁶ Meaning, ‘ whom could I find greater than you to whom to tell my sorrow ? ’

⁷ ‘ I am buried under sorrow ’ is a Pāñjābī expression meaning that sorrow has overpowered me.

⁸ A Hindu *yogic* practice. A sign of renunciation.

⁹ When Rājāhā could not obtain Hīr in marriage he became a *yogī* or *jogī*, a Hindu recluse. The poet forgets that he is replacing the heroine and so it could not be Rājāhā but Hīr.

¹⁰ ‘ The world talks against me behind my back. Between the separation from you and an unsympathetic world, how am I to live ? ’

¹¹ Here the poet again becomes Hīr and says that like her he goes to meet Rājāhā (Rasul) without her brothers’ knowledge.

towards Medina I go ; what a lucky day that will be when I embrace my dear one.

‘ In *sāvan*, separation does not let me sleep, weeping, weeping I scream ; ah beloved, dear to God.¹ to which door shall I go and call ?² Enemies whom I cherished, all of them slander me ; how shall I pass my life ?³ Life has come to the lips (I am near death). O my life, I sacrifice my life for you.

‘ In *bhādrō*, the fire of separation has kindled ; I will burn and become coal ; these vacant palaces frighten me, O friends ;⁴ a garland of tears will I make ; the master of the house⁵ has not asked for me.⁶ Before whom shall I go and weep ?⁷ Let us go to Medina ; before my Lord with joined hands shall I stand.⁸

‘ In *asoj*, no more hope remains, I, the sinner, am wailing ; because of⁹ the pain of separation from you, O *Ḥazrat*, I am tasting the blood of my heart ; my destiny was written in eternity, and that I am now receiving in my bosom : Lord of the world in both the worlds, I remain your humble slave.

‘ In *kattak*, who will hear my complaints (when) you are sovereign and Lord ?¹⁰ you the beloved apostle¹¹ of God, are master of both the worlds ; for you alone was created

¹ Muḥammad, whom God declares as his dear one in some *ḥadīṣ*.

² For help.

³ Those whom I loved and cared for have turned out to be back-biting enemies.

⁴ Girl friends.

⁵ Meaning, ‘ master of my body ’.

⁶ *Zāt*, which literally means caste, species or essence, is here employed in a different sense, implying that he has not asked for my person.

⁷ If a husband, not caring for his wife, leaves her, she approaches people who, intervening, influence him and make him accept her again. But in this case Muḥammad, the beloved of God, is the husband, and so there remains no one to influence him.

⁸ The Indian and especially the Hindu way of begging pardon.

⁹ Due to the pain of your absence.

¹⁰ ‘ When you are the only Lord who would dare to attend to my complaints against you ? ’

¹¹ The Prophet Muḥammad.

all that is sky and earth ; in this world my days are like the last judgement, you are my Lord.¹

‘ In *magghar* I am ending my day,² O *Ḥazrat*, come and hearten me ; lakh and lakh times I may be sacrificed for you, but let me be sacrificed once and for all ; I will sacrifice my family and friends³ and I, worthless one, being devoid of quality, will sacrifice myself ; if I get one favourable glance, I am saved in both worlds.

‘ In the month of *poḥ*, without the Lord, what has happened to me ? O God, grant it may not happen, even to an enemy, what separation has done to me ; what should I, a morsel of love, say ? I have myself asked for death ; the cup of love’s poison I have drunk with closed eyes.

‘ In *māgh*, my love has not come home, the empty bed will frighten me ; the snows have fallen, the cold has increased, the pain of the cold will trouble me ; the friend and companion is not with me, *badar*, the empty building will eat me ; ah ! *Ḥazrat*, give me a glimpse of you (or else) the injury will reach my heart.

‘ In *phagan* I am hungry,⁴ red has become plain,⁵ without you I remember nothing ; the year has passed, the dear one has not come, of that I do not complain.⁶ O God’s approved apostle, without you my heart is not happy ; shall I go and call in Medina ? Why have I not been helped ? ’

¹ The confusion and tumult is followed by the day of resurrection. Then the faithful will be saved. The poet here reminds the Prophet that after this separation he would have a better lot, being his faithful follower.

² ‘ I am approaching my end.’

³ There is a custom among the Pañjābīs that in order to ward off evil from a person, money or some other article is passed over his head and is then distributed among the poor, or (if an eatable) thrown away to animals or birds.

⁴ Hungry for union.

⁵ An abandoned woman, according to Hindu custom, is not supposed to wear red (the Hindu auspicious colour) and decorated dresses. Her clothes are simple and colourless.

⁶ Because, being himself devoid of good actions, he placed his hope in the divine Grace.

Bahādur

A few extant pages of a Pañjābī manuscript in the library of Dr Hizf-ur-Rahman contain some compositions of a poet named Bahādur. Judging from the language and the Ṣūfī beliefs we can place this unknown poet somewhere between the years A.D. 1750 and 1850. He tells us that, being a passionate man, he trespassed on the rights of other people, which turned friends into enemies, and he was insulted almost every day. Then he met his teacher Pīr Muḥammad who, throwing a veil over his past, put him on the path of divine love. Bahādur thenceforward became a wandering *faqīr* and it is because of this that he designates himself a *gandilā*, or nomad, as :

Merī zāt gandilī āhī har dam maṅgdī fazal ilāhī
 aśī gandilē zāt kamīne sabh koī sāthō ḍardā
 māṅgan khair jāīye jis verhe dur dur chur chur kardā
 āpe jhirkē āpe dēvē sāthō kujh nā sardā.

My tribe is nomad (and) ever begs¹ God's compassion ; I am a nomad, low of caste² and all people fear me ; in whatever street I go to beg, it says, go away, go away.³ You⁴ yourself reproach me, and you yourself give.⁵ I am capable of nothing.

As is evident from his verse Bahādur was very much influenced by the Vedānta philosophy, but in rather a crude way. Other Hindu doctrines, such as *karma*, *yoga*, and *māyā*, also influence his personal Ṣūfī convictions. The cosmogony of *māyā*, however, was the most cherished conviction of Bahādur. He calls it a *baṅgālan*, i.e. a woman

¹ The nomad tribes in the Pañjāb often live by begging.

² The nomads are considered to be of low caste by Pañjābīs of all denominations.

³ The nomads, being casteless and dirty in their habits, are avoided by the people of the street where they go to beg. They are kept at a distance but are given alms.

⁴ Meaning God.

⁵ The poet wants to say that God in one of His aspects scolds him through the people of the street where he goes to beg, and in another gives him alms through the same people.

magician of Bengal,¹ and he composed a work on the subject called *Baṅgālan-Nāmā*.²

It would be unwise, after the perusal of the two extant pages of this work, to discuss Bahādur's conception of *māyā*. But it would not be out of place to refer here to what the poet meant by it. To him *māyā* was an imperceptible power which could play with man's physical and spiritual faculties, but it was not necessarily a deceptive malefactor. He attributed a mystic's indulgence in divine love, as well as a king's love of aggressive conquest and his ultimate disappearance from the world, to the magic flute-playing of this *baṅgālan*, *māyā* :

Ālim fāzil paṇḍit dāne, suṅ suṅ bīn hoye mastāne
bhul gai puṅjā niyat dugāne, aisī prem jhaṛī sir pāi
dekho kaun baṅgālan āi, aisī raskar bīn bajāi
mīr malik bādshāh unāni, dāve thakke kar naphsāni
khir khir bāg hoye gul fāni, rahi hukumat nā ikk rāi
dekho kaun baṅgālan āi, aisī raskar bīn bajāi.³

The learned, scholars, *paṇḍits* and wise men, listening to the flute become intoxicated; *puṅjā*⁴ forgotten, they have now another intention, such magic of love has been put in their head.⁵ See what *baṅgālan* has come and how perfectly she has played the flute! *Mīrs*, *maliks*⁶ and the Greek emperor⁷ were exhausted with their worldly desires. The garden blossomed but the flowers have faded,⁸ not a grain of authority remains. See what *baṅgālan* has come, and how perfectly she has played the flute!

¹ Bengal was known to be the home of magic and sorcery, and Bengali women were thought to be the most proficient in these arts. It is for this reason that Bahādur calls *māyā* a *baṅgālan*.

² The two extant pages of the MS. are in the above-mentioned Library.

³ *Baṅgālan-Nāmā*.

⁴ *Pūjā* here indicates the religious dogmas and not the Hindu cult ritual.

⁵ Magic words are often blown or whispered on the head of the person whom the magician desires to bring under control.

⁶ These are the titles of Mussulman kings and noblemen.

⁷ Alexander the Great.

⁸ The kings and emperors, who, says the poet, blossomed and faded like flowers after a short-lived glory.

Bahādur's idea about the attainment of Unity is expressed in the following couplet :

Sāṅg sabar gudelā kalmā gur eh sāz batāyā
kasrat band namāz dhundhālīō rāh vaihdāt de lāyā.

Put on the guise of patience, take the rug of the *kalmā*.¹ This method the teacher has taught me. By the prayers of an ascetic he has brought me out of the fog,² and put me on the road to unity.

Bahādur's style, though apparently simple and easy, is really somewhat complicated. He employs words and terms which are common but subtle in meaning, which fact makes the task of literal translation more than usually difficult. He is not very profound, and his understanding of Ṣūfīism seems crude but practical. It would be unjust to say more as we have only a few specimens of his poetry before us.

An Unknown Poet

Another set of pages of an extant manuscript helps us in the study of Ṣūfī poetry. The poems contained in these pages are in the Pañjābī language as it is spoken in the south-east Pañjāb, overlaid with Hindī and Persian words. The work contains no reference to the author or to the time and place of composition. The only indication of time is the style, which clearly shows that it was written in the eighteenth century A.D.

The poems are the only ones of their kind, as they expound the Ṣūfī doctrines as then understood in the Pañjāb. In a poem partly illegible the author states that the 'author of *Khamsā* knew it'. From this we can conclude that the author of this unknown verse was most probably a Qādirī Ṣūfī. Whoever the author may have been, the verse is of great value.

¹ This indicates the particular kind of dress that wandering Ṣūfīs are supposed to put on.

² Out of ignorance.

explains the four stages of the disciple or the

jān piāre, har har jāko taur nayāre
 . sakhupat jāno tarayāpad kā sirar pacchāno
 sūt pacchāno, bhī malkūt supan ko jāno
 o jabrūt pacchāno tarayāpad lāhūt ko jāno.

four stages, dear, each one of which has separate
at, supan, sakhupat and tarayāpad, of these know

The *jāgrat* state recognize as *nāsūt*,¹ and know
 stands for *supan* ; recognize *sakhupat* as *jabrūt*,²
tarayāpad is *lāhūt*.⁴

ing poem presents the original Ṣūfī belief
 divine Spirit is infused into the human spirit
 eginns to feel with the former, then is attained
'l-Haqq :

h ko man mẽ dhāro yāni hak ko hak mẽ dāro
 anī kare tab jan hak mẽ kalī dhare
 i dhayān lagāyā ho har har mẽ samāyā.

eat Essence (Truth) in your mind, that is to say,
 to the Real. One who performs such an action
 gence⁵ on the Real. He who has thus fixed his
 coming God has entered into God.⁶

nce of a *pīr* was indispensable for a Ṣūfī
 islāmic lands. In India, under the influence
 lt, the *pīr* was no longer sought after for
 guidance but in order to represent God to
 til the disciple lost his individual soul in

rat is the stage of humanity.

e stage of the angels.

hird stage, that of power.

st stage, that of Divinity.

ere means *citt* or the awakened mind.

s with the following of the great Al-Ḥallāj :

is mingled in my spirit even as wine is mingled with
 water.

othing touches Thee, it touches me, lo in every case
 art I.

om Professor Nicholson's *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 151.)

that of his *pīr* he could not merge in the Great Soul. This is explained in the following lines :

Tan man gur mē mār ke gur apanā māro
Mahāmāth mō ḍār ke auhaṅg¹ pukāro.

Slaying body and soul in the teacher, slay your own entity, and then, merging this² in the Great-Essence, call ' I am '³.

The poet then proceeds to explain some other doctrines and dogmas, but much of the MS. is illegible. We give two of the remaining legible poems which represent the mystic beliefs of the poet.

Jad berāṅgī raṅg banāyā vayfātī ho rūp vikhāyā
berāṅgī se raṅg liyāā dīn kufar ho jaṅg racāyā
jad berāṅgī raṅg gavāī jhagrā jhāhā sab miṭ jāī
bin murshid eh sirar na pave murakh andh malecch kahave.

When the Colourless (God) took on colour, becoming mortal (He) manifested Himself. He, the mortal, brought colour from the Colourless, Islām and paganism resulted and war commenced. When the Colourless takes this colour away then quarrel and struggle all cease. Without a *pīr* this secret is not found,⁴ and the fool (seeker) is called blind and unclean.

How the seeker conceives of religion when his self is lost in the Self is explained here :

Nūre aḥmadī kiyā pasārā kyā pirthī kyā ambar sārā
jab sunnā dā bhurnā bhuria avval nūr Muḥammad uriyā
yānī hai voh khatar-ullāh anfās avval hai kul dā maulā.

The light of Aḥmad⁵ spread itself on earth and sky, when doubt arose about the *sunna*,⁶ then first the light of Muḥammad⁷ burst out, that is, it is the illumination of God, but the Primeval Spirit⁸ is Lord of all.

¹ Sanskrit *aḥam* in Pañjābī is *auhaṅg*.

² 'Then put the *gurū* containing you, in God.'

³ Meaning, 'Then say I am the truth' or 'I am God' (*aḥam brahm*). The poet has given the first word of the formula '*aḥam brahm*' and leaves the remainder to be added by his reader.

⁴ How, after the knowledge is taken back by God, quarrels and wars finish and the seeker is illuminated, can only be known through the *murshid*.

⁵ The revelation made to Aḥmad or Muḥammad which is Islām.

⁶ Practical example or *sunna* of Muḥammad and other prophets who came before him.

⁷ Islām.

⁸ The Pure and Eternal Soul.

CHAPTER X

THE ŞŪFĪ POETS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Before closing this dissertation we will speak of a few Şūfī poets of mediocre talent. Those Şūfīs who received inspiration from personal spiritual experience and acquired knowledge by assiduous study of religions and philosophies had begun to disappear at the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. In fact the real Şūfī ceased to exist after Hāshim. Consequently the clear flowing stream of Şūfī poetry soon became a stagnant pool. The two chief causes of this stagnation were : (1) political changes, eventually followed by a new outlook on life ; and (2) the selfishness of the *gaddī-nishīns* and the ignorance of the Şūfīs.

In 1801 the Pañjāb proper came under the rule of Rañjīt Singh and remained under him until 1839. At the beginning of his reign, Rañjīt Singh was engaged in warfare, and it was only towards the end that he began to encourage and patronize the arts. His death in 1839 was followed by confusion and anarchy and gave a severe blow to the slowly reviving arts. This confusion was followed by fresh wars, and in 1848 the Pañjāb came under English rule. The new rule saw the advent of a new age and changed the whole outlook. The Pañjābīs were now whole-heartedly engaged in adapting themselves to the new life and the new cultural and scientific ideas ; practical considerations had ascendancy over everything else, and Şūfī mysticism fell into oblivion.

The well-to-do and intelligent people being engaged in new activities, Şūfīism became the sole property of the *gaddī-nishīns* and the lower classes. The former, like any other hereditary incumbents, found no charm in Şūfī thought. If they still clung to it and tried to propagatē it, it was

not for love of mysticism but because it had become a means of earning a livelihood. They did not mind to what low state of moral and spiritual degradation it sank, so long as they could amass wealth.¹ Most of them hankered after position and power and entered different trades and professions. Others entered Government service and left the charge of their mystic centres and the duties connected with them in the hands of paid servants. So the seats of Ṣūfī culture were soon plunged into deep ignorance.

The lower classes, however, still remained faithful to Ṣūfīism, and Ṣūfī teachers thenceforward came from these classes. Such popular Ṣūfīs lacked the education and culture of the orthodox mystic, nor had they the intellect and wisdom of the philosopher. To such Ṣūfīs mysticism was nothing more than the matter of a few dogmas. When they had accepted a *pīr*, observed the *cilā*, had worn a patched mantle and tied a woollen thread round their necks, then they were qualified Ṣūfīs. Mental concentration, meditation, and intelligent study, which formerly occupied the major part of a Ṣūfī's time, were forsaken.

Music and dancing which were often patronized and practised by the former Ṣūfīs in the nineteenth century were replaced by *mujrā*² and *hāls*.³ The natural sequel to this ignorance and degeneration was an utter mental sterility. The poets who were the outcome of this Ṣūfīism, therefore, were nothing but clever *tukk-bands* or rhymesters. They repeated the thought of their celebrated predecessors in different words but in the same style and verse-forms. Their poetry was a faint echo and a poor repetition of the

¹ All the *gaddī-nishāns* are rich people, and some of them are millionaires.

² A nautch-party. The dancers are generally prostitutes.

³ In ancient mysticism *hāl* was a mental state or condition procured through Divine Grace, but in later mysticism it is a sort of ecstasy mingled with frenzy. The *hāl* is played by the followers at the Ṣūfī shrines. The person who plays it is believed to be possessed by some holy spirit and makes prophecies regarding the future, etc.

ideas of those who preceded them. But they were hailed as poets because, as an old Pañjābī proverb says :

Jitthe hor nahī otthe harind ī pardhān ai.

Where there is no other (tree), the castor-tree is chief.

Most of these poets wrote one or more *sīharfis* or *ū bārāmāh* or a few *kāfiā*. There is a great number of such poets but we will speak here only of a few well-known ones among them.

Ghulām Muṣṭafā Maḡhmūm

This poet was born in the middle of the nineteenth century. The preface to his work entitled *Shamā'-e-'Ishq* contains a few lines of Persian verse in which he introduces himself in this manner :

'My name is Ghulām Muṣṭafā and my *takhallus* or *nom-de-plume* is *Maḡhmūm*. My place of residence is Maulvānī on the bank of the river. My district is Lyallpur which is a new town, but its water, air, and scenery are for the peace of the soul.'¹

In this passage *Maḡhmūm* tells us that Lyallpur 'is a new town', but then he calls it both a district and a town. We know that Lyallpur town existed long before, but the district was constituted on 1 December 1904.²

So it seems that *Maḡhmūm* brought out his *Shamā'-e-'Ishq* only after 1904. But when was it written? After a careful study of the work we came to the conclusion that the poems found in this work were written at different times of the poet's life and that it was only towards the end of his life that he collected and published them.³

*Shamā'-e-'Ishq*⁴ contains Pañjābī poetry greatly overlaid by Persian words and phrases. It opens with the

¹ *Shamā'-e-'Ishq*, MS., p. 1.

² *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, Pañjāb, 1908, pp. 219 and 223.

³ Many Pañjābis agree with us.

⁴ This manuscript is the property of Dr Hifz-ur-Rahman of Lahore. It is not complete. Only the first 72 pages are intact; the last few were lost during a fire at the owner's house.

kalmā followed by the praise of God and the Prophet. Then it is divided into three *bābs* or chapters.

The first chapter contains *ghazals* and *kāfis*. The second *bāb* has a *siharfī*. The third and last *bāb* of the manuscript contains women's sayings and comprises *kāfis* and *ghazals*.

The poems of the first chapter are full of Persianism. The poet, in the conventional way of that language, sings of the *bulbul*, the *nargis*, and wine. These compositions, to confess the truth, are beyond the comprehension of a Pañjābī knowing only his own mother-tongue and the ordinary Urdū. The poems of the second *bāb* repeat the same thought in different words and are full of Persian words. In the third *bāb* the poet speaks of his Beloved like a Pañjābī woman. There are very few Persianisms in this chapter.

From a literary point of view the verse of *Maghmūm* is commonplace. It lacks individuality and vivacity. None of the wailing and weeping for the Beloved creates any effect on the reader. His poetry, in fact, is like a body without a soul. But he seems to be a clever rhymer and he possessed a good knowledge of the Persian language.

Maghmūm wrote another poem named *Qissā Kapaṛā*. We have not been able to find any manuscript of this work.

We now give two examples of his Pañjābī¹ verse :

Sin sall vichore dī jhal ve rahiā
 shamā vāṅg pataṅg jal bal ve rahiā
 suṅ hot balocā khān punnū
 merā din islām imān punnū.
 merā do jag mān tīrān punnū
 huṅ hāl sassī takk ān punnū
 tatī ret thalā tattī jal ve rahiā
 sute naram nihālarī ral ke punnū
 gal dāl bāhī gal vaḷ ke punnū
 sutī chadd giō val chal ke punnū
 lio sār bimār nā val ke punnū.²

¹ By Pañjābī we mean that which contains no Persian words.

² *Shama'-e-'Ishaq*, ch. iii, p. 59.

Sîn : I am bearing the pain of separation ; like light and moth, I am flaming and burning ; listen O Hot, Biloc Punnū Khān, my religion, Islām and faith are Punnū. He is my pride and honour in both worlds ; Punnū, now come and see the condition of Sassī. The sand of the desert is hot and I am hot and burning. We slept together in a soft covering, Punnū, encircling our arms round each other's necks, Punnū (but) you left me sleeping, cunningly deceiving me, Punnū. Punnū, you have not inquired after the state of the sick one.

The above is incoherent in thought and misses the real spirit. Here is another poem :

He hijar bichore tere dilbar jigar kaleje tāyā
jalbal rahā vajūd tamāmī virhon cikhā macāyā
marne andar shakk nā koī, dam labā par āyā
jām vasal Maghmūm luṛindā, turyā rūh tarhāyā.¹

He : your separation, Beloved, has heated my heart. All my body is burning, separation has raised the burning pyre. There is no doubt about death ; life has come to the lips. *Maghmūm* desired the cup of union but (his) soul departed thirsty.

Ghulām Husain Kelianvālā

This poet was born in the nineteenth century. Nothing is known about him except that he belonged to Kelianvālā on the banks of the Chenab river. He has written two *sīharfīs* on Hīr's love, entitled *Sīharfī Hīr*, and one *Bārā-māh*.²

His style is simple and lacks that artificiality so noticeable in *Maghmūm*. His thought was old but he imparted feeling to it. A couple of his poems are given below :

Mīm muṭṭhiā kuṭṭhiā ishk tere
gaī zauk vicc vihā rājhā
Hoī nafi terī asbāt picche
chaḍḍī āpaṇī zat safāt rājhā
hoī mahav tasvir maī husan tere
dite vahim khiāl uṭhā rājhā
bāki zāt hai zāt husain terī
rahi lū lū de vicc samā rājhā.³

¹ *ibid.*, ch. ii, p. 46.

² These small works are published all over the Pañjāb and can be had from any bookseller.

³ *Sīharfī Hīr*.

Mīm : I am enamoured of your love and in happiness I am lost. Rāj̄hā. I have become negative for your positive and I have lost my own entity and qualities, Rāj̄hā. I am engrossed in your beauty's picture and all foolish thoughts I have given up. What remains of my own substance, says Husain, is your substance which is present in each pore, Rāj̄hā.

Hīr replies to her mother's good counsel in this manner :

Be bass mattī s̄anū dass nāhī
 as̄ā sam̄jh leīai terī rass m̄āai
 kābe val karenī ē kaṇḍ merī
 keh̄rī nāl hadīs de dass m̄āai
 rāj̄hū jān de vice makān merā
 rihā jiv nahī mere vas m̄āai
 māhī nāl Husain fakīr hosā
 tere kherīā de sir bhass m̄āai.¹

Be : enough, give us no more advice, we have understood your meaning, mother. You turn my back to the *ka'aba*, according to which *hadīs*,² mother, tell me ? Rāj̄hā is the shelter of my life, my soul is not under my control, mother. With the beloved, Husain, I will be a *faqīr* and on the head of your *kherīs* will be ashes, mother.

Muḥammad Dīn

Muḥammad Dīn was a devotee of the Cishtī saint Shaikh 'Alī Mak̄hdūm Hujwīrī³ of Lahore.⁴ His *pīr* was Mirā Shāh, who, according to the poet, is buried in Lakkhanwal in the Gujrat district. He was employed as a munshi or secretary but, being an initiated Cishtī, he called himself a *faqīr*.⁵ His secular teacher was one Maulvī Maḥbūb 'Ālam. In the end of his *aṭhavārā*, he wrote a long supplicatory poem for the long life of his teacher and his progeny.⁶

In all he wrote two *sīharfīs* on divine love, one *sīharfī* on his friend Muhammad Ashraf, of whom we will speak later, one *bārā-māh*, and one *aṭhavārā*. All these works,

¹ *Hīr Husain*.

² Muhammadan traditional law which has various branches and sections.

³ See Introduction, p. xvii.

⁴ MS. of his work, *sīharfī* No. 1, p. 7.

⁵ MS., *sīharfī* No. 2, p. 21.

⁶ MS., p. 23.

together with *bārā-māhs* by Muḥammad Ashraf, are found in the manuscript¹ we have studied.

Muḥammad Dīn's *sīharfī* on Ashraf is unique in Ṣufī literature, not as a literary or mystic document but as the life record of a fellow Ṣufī. Its worth is enhanced because it throws light on the methods of the popular Ṣufī teachers. The teacher Mirā Shāh or his *gaddī-nishīn* locked up Muḥammad Ashraf, an enthusiastic seeker, in *cilā* or seclusion and made him fast for one full year, after which period he unlocked the door and brought him out :

Sin sāl hoyā cile vice sohne, sohne murshid ne pherā pāyāi.²
Sin : when for a year the handsome one has been in *cilā*, then the handsome teacher returned.

This seclusion or solitary confinement, as is natural, made Ashraf look different—most probably he looked like a ghost. The very sight of him was enough to frighten people. When he appeared in public, men and women fainted, but the credulous poet attributes this to the spiritual beauty which he believed Ashraf had attained during the period of seclusion.

Rannā mard ho gaye bihosh sāre
 mukh dekhdiā nū lagī sāg sāī.³

All women and men fainted, seeing the face they were trans-
 fixed.⁴

This seclusion, says the poet, procured Ashraf the divine vision, and, becoming a *faqīr*, he began to wander in the streets, but died soon after. His death is proof enough that he lost his health while he was in seclusion, although his *pīr* and fellow disciples attributed it to his anxiety to meet the Beloved. This sufficiently illustrates to what a low state Ṣufiism had sunk in the hands of hereditary successors and popular saints.

¹ This MS. is in the Library of Dr Hifz-ur-Rahman and appears to be in the handwriting of the author.

² MS., *Sīharfī Ashraf*, p. 15.

³ *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ With a *sāy* or spear.

Besides this *sīharfī* on Ashraf which is written in a pathetic style there is nothing extraordinary in the verse of Muḥammad Dīn. It is simple, commonplace and second-hand. We will now quote a few lines from his verse :

Wāu vakht nizā dā ān pahuncē
 āvī ghari o sajjanā vāstāi
 tere ishk ne mār khavār kītī,
 kāri karī o sajjanā vāstāi
 beṛī thilhī sī ishk mizāj vāli
 pār karī o sajjanā vāstāi
 Muḥammad dīn kaṇḍe kharī sikknī hā
 lāī pār o sajjanā vāstāi.¹

Wāu : the last moment has arrived, come home, O friend, for the sake of (God).² Your love has made me wretched, make me right or fit, O friend, for God's sake. My boat of love's temperament has been loosed (from the bank), take it across, O friend, for God's sake. Muhammad Dīn, standing on the shore I am pining ; take me across, O friend, for God's sake.³

Muḥammad Ashraf

We have already spoken of Ashraf in our account of Muḥammad Dīn, whose fellow disciple he was. His sincere desire to attain union with God led him to accept a spiritual teacher and guide who turned out to be very incompetent. He lost his health, which failed in a *cilā* of a year's duration, and so died shortly afterwards.

Two of his *bārā-māhs* are found in Muḥammad Dīn's manuscript. A few lines from the pen of this unfortunate poet will not be out of place here.

° Māgh māli tere bājhō phirniā mast divāni jī
 uccā kūkā āh vī aisi, sune nā dil dā jāni jī
 sabh jag ālim tere nūrō sūrat dā lāsūni jī
 Muhammad ashraf sāī bājhō aivē umar vihāni jī.⁴

¹ MS, *sīharfī* No. 2, p. 20.

² Literally *vāstāi* can be translated 'for the sake', but in fact it stands for 'for the sake of God'.

³ These lines in spirit, rhyme, and vocabulary seem to have been borrowed from Fazal Shāh's Sohni. When Sohni was drowning in the Chenab she spoke in this strain.

⁴ *Bārā-māh*, I, p. 11.

In *māgh* without thee, O beloved, I walk intoxicated and senseless, sire. Loudly I wail, and similar is the sigh, but the beloved of my heart does not hear, sire. All the world has knowledge from your light, in appearance you are peerless, sire. Muhammad Ashraf, without the Master life is aimlessly passed, sire.

Māgh majhī cher savele āvī
 analhakk dī bin bajāvī
 mukkh tō ghungat caā uthāvī
 ājiz tāī daras karāvī
 noshā shauh kadī pherā pāvī
 ashraf tāī yār malāvī.¹

In *māgh*, graze the cattle and return early and play the flute of *ana'l-Huqq*. Take the veil off your face and let the helpless have a glance. Bridegroom Lord, some time visit me, and let Ashraf meet the Beloved.

Hadāit-Ullāh

Hadāit-Ullāh was born in Lahore some time in the middle of the nineteenth century and died there in the twenties of the twentieth century. He was and is still believed to be a Şufî. Whoever he may have been, his poetry is tinged with Şufî beliefs, but there is nothing new in it except the words and phrases. All else is the property of his predecessors.

He wrote a number of a *sharfīs* and a *bārā-māh*. Below is a 'month' from his famous *Bārā-māh* :

Māgh mahīne māhī bājhō, jo kujh
 maī saṅg bitī je
 Shālā dushman nāl nā hove,
 jehī bichore kīti je.
 Kohlū vāṅg jān tattī dī
 pīrh ishk ne litī je
 Jāṅṅaṅ oho gall hidāyat,
 zahar ishk jin pitī je.²

In the month of *Māgh* without the beloved what has happened to me ? God grant it may not happen even to an enemy, what separation has done to me. As in the oil-press the life of this hot one has been pressed and taken by love. They alone know this state, Hadāit, who have drunk the poison of love.³

¹ *Bārā-māh*, II, p. 12.

³ There is some influence of Hāshim here.

² p. 6.

CONCLUSION

Such were the Pañjābī Ṣūfī poets from A.D. 1460 to 1900.

The Ṣūfīs, who came to India with the object of leading the Indians to the Beloved by Muḥammad's path, did creditable work for some years. Then the old Indian vigour asserted itself and in its turn influenced the Ṣūfī beliefs. The mystics therefore absorbed the best of Islām and Hinduism and developed a new sort of Ṣūfī thought more Indian than foreign in character. Anxious to carry this new thought to the masses, they versified it in their language. In troublous times, the Ṣūfīs maintained with their preachings the mental balance of the different communities and, through their poems, sent the message of peace, unity, and love to almost every home and hamlet.

But by the end of the eighteenth century they had done their work. The need of the people was now different. Yet some continued to sing of the Beloved in the traditional manner, which fact imparted a monotonous and dull character to their poetry so that it soon ceased to be interesting.

The Pañjāb is unrivalled for the number of its Ṣūfī shrines. Every few miles there are one or two of them. There is hardly a shrine which does not possess some traditional verse of its own. The *kāwālīs* there sing of the saints and their poetry. Credulous admirers still gather there in large numbers, to admire and worship the saints who, singing of the Beloved, were ultimately merged in Him. The Pañjābīs still consider themselves fortunate to have such noble, pious, and sweet poetry which inspires them to seek the Divine Love.

APPENDIX

HĪR AND RĀJHĀ

HĪr was the daughter of Cūcak, the Sial chief of Jhang. When still young her father betrothed her to Saidā, the son of Kherā, chief of Raṅgpur. HĪr grew up to be a beautiful maiden and the fame of her beauty spread far and wide.

Another tribal chief of the neighbourhood had eight sons. The youngest, called Rājḥā, was very handsome and the best loved of his father. This aroused the jealousy of the elder brothers, who, on the death of the father, turned Rājḥā away without giving him anything at all. After wandering long in the wilds and wastes he reached the river Chenab. He looked around for a boat to take him across, and his eyes fell on a lovely barge. He asked the boatman if he could be taken to the other bank, but was refused. Being very tired he persuaded him to let him rest in the barge for a while. Taking pity on the handsome youth the bargeman consented. Entering the barge, Rājḥā lay on the soft and cool bed and soon fell asleep. A little later, he was awakened by a noise. Opening his eyes, he saw HĪr standing by the bed. She was enraged at the impertinence of the boatman in permitting a stranger to enter her barge. But presently her anger vanished because Rājḥā and HĪr fell in love with each other at first sight. To keep Rājḥā near her she approached her father and procured for him the job of a cowherd. The clandestine meetings between the lovers were soon discovered. Rājḥā was expelled and HĪr was forcibly given in marriage to Saidā. She, however, refused to associate with her husband. Rājḥā arrived at Raṅgpur disguised as a *yogī*. He managed to get in touch with HĪr and through the good offices of Sahtī,¹ the sister of Saidā, he ran away with his beloved.

They were pursued, caught, and brought back. They were judged by the priests, who ordered exile for Rājḥā and close

¹ Sahtī herself left Raṅgpur with her own lover the same night. But she managed to escape her pursuers, while HĪr and Rājḥā were arrested.

custody for Hir. Immediately after the execution of the orders Raṅgpur caught fire, and the misfortune was attributed to the sighs of the lovers. Hir's marriage with Saidā was annulled, and she was allowed to go with Rājḥā, who was recalled. With her lover, Hir returned to the house of her parents where she was welcomed. Rājḥā left Jhang for his own home with the object of making preparations to marry Hir. Meanwhile the brother and uncle of Hir, who had all along shown feigned courtesy, told her that Rājḥā had been murdered. She fell down unconscious. In this state they administered a poisonous drink to her, as a result of which she died.

A messenger was sent to inform Rājḥā that death had claimed Hir. In haste Rājḥā came to Jhang to ascertain the truth. He was taken to Hir's tomb. The sight was unbearable for him, and he fell dead on the tomb of his beloved.

SOHNĪ AND MAHĪVĀL

Tālā, a potter of Gujrat, had a beautiful daughter named Sohni. A handsome young merchant of Bukkhara, called Izzat Beg, when passing through Gujrat fell in love with this girl. He stayed on indefinitely in Gujrat and so all his companions left him. Izzat Beg visited the potter's house constantly on the pretext of buying pottery, and in a short time converted all his wealth into pottery. Left without any money, he opened a shop. But his mind being full of Sohni he could not attend to business. The shop was soon closed and he became a menial in Tālā's house. Pleased with his work and appearance, after some time Tālā ordered him to graze his buffaloes. One day he happened to meet Sohni, to whom he confessed his love for her. Sohni, touched by his devotion and smitten by his beauty, promised him her faithful love. Their attachment, however, was soon discovered. Mahivāl¹ was dismissed and Sohni was given in marriage to a neighbour's son. Sohni refused to live with her husband, and through a friend communicated with her lover who lived as a *faqīr* on the opposite bank of the Chenab. At night Mahivāl would swim across the river to meet Sohni.

¹ Mahivāl literally means a grazier of buffaloes. Izzat Beg came to be known as Mahivāl after he had taken charge of Tālā's buffaloes.

But once he received a wound and could not come for many days. Therefore Sohñī crossed the river on an earthen jar to meet her lover. On coming back she hid her jar in the bushes on the river bank. Sohñī's sister-in-law discovered the secret and replaced her jar by an unbaked one. At night Sohñī entered the stream as usual, but soon the jar dissolved and she was thrown into the waters. She cried loudly for her friend, and Mahivāl, who was impatiently waiting for her, heard her cries and jumped into the river. But she was drowned before he could reach her. Struck with grief, Mahivāl let himself go beneath the waves and soon joined his Beloved in the next world.



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