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ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

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PAÑJĀBĪ SŪFĪ POETS. .

1460 A.D. to 1900 A.D.

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The title of the thesis denotes the Šūfī Poets who wrote in the Pañjābī language and not those who merely belonged to the Pañjāb. The period dealt with is 1460 to 1900 A.D.

Before entering into an account of the Poets and their poetry we have in an introductory chapter briefly sketched Šūfīism outside India, followed by a description of its growth and development in the Pañjāb. Here we have also classified different trends of Šūfī thought into separate schools. The verse-forms, the technical terms and other peculiarities of Pañjābī Šūfī poetry have been fully explained.

The following few chapters have been devoted to life-histories and to the discussion at length of the works of the outstanding Poets representing various schools. In these chapters a few specimens from each poet's verse are transliterated and literally translated. The Poets are Ibrāhīm Farīd, Mādho Lāl Husain, Sultān Bāhū, Bullhe Shāh, Alī Hai Fard Faqīr, Hāshim Shāh, and Karam Alī.

In the chapter that follows, are discussed some Šūfīs though unknown to the public, appear to have been good poets. A few examples, to illustrate their mystic ideas, and taken from the extant portions of their manuscripts, are given.

The last chapter deals with those Sūfī poets who, from a literary view-point, were of little importance.

Throughout this dissertation we have clearly indicated the sources of our information for the life accounts, the work and mystic ideas of the Poets. All verse quotations are taken from books the authenticity of which is established either by finds of manuscripts or by unanimous acceptance of them by Pañjābīs of every denomination. Information gathered from guardians of shrines and the minstrels attached to them, the descendants of the poets and the learned, has been referred to as such.

A bibliography of books, journals and pamphlets consulted or quoted, is appended.

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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 documents on which I have based my research were 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-nishīns.
4. Recitals of the Kavvālīs 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 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 ever 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 Ṣūfīs and Pañjābīs. But I have

tried to discuss them as methodically as possible.

The sources for the life history and poetry of each poet have been given at the end of each chapter. In the case of those poets for whose life and poetry the sources are meagre I have indicated them in the footnotes.

Pañjābī is a language written in three different scripts, i.e. Persian, Nāgrī and Gurmukhhī. The Muhammadans who employ the Persian script give the Persian or Arabic characters to the language, and the Hindus with Nāgrī insert Hindī and Sanskrit features. 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 have been 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 connections; it has therefore not been possible to keep always to the same spelling.

For technical non-Pañjābī Sūfī terms and names I have generally followed The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. For old Sūfī and Islāmic names the Urdū system of transliteration. These names after all are not Pañjābī and are written

as in Urdū.

In the case of the names of living people I have spelt them 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 after 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 so to maintain a uniform character I have throughout this work spelt it as "Pañjāb".

For the transliteration of Pañjābī verse I have employed Rev. 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, the Rev. Dr. T. Grahame Bailey, for his very kind suggestions and valuable advice throughout, but specially in the translation of the Pañjābī specimens.

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

a	for	ਅ	ch	for	ਚ	ph	for	ਫ
ā	"	ਆ	j	"	ਜ	b	"	ਬ
i	"	ਇ	jh	"	ਜ਼	bh	"	ਭ
ī	"	ਈ	ñ	"	ਙ	m	"	ਮ
u	"	ਉ	ṭ	"	ਟ	y	"	ਯ
ū	"	ਊ	th	"	ਠ	r	"	ਰ
e	"	ੲ	ḍ	"	ਡ	l	"	ਲ
ai	"	ੲੲ	ḍh	"	ਡ਼	v	"	ਵ
o	"	ੳ	n	"	ਨ	r̄	"	ਰ਼
au	"	ੲੳ	t	"	ਤ	rh	"	ਰ਼
k	"	ਕ	th	"	ਖ	sh	"	ਸ਼
kh	"	ਖ	d	"	ਦ	f	"	ਫ਼
g	"	ਗ	dh	"	ਧ	z	"	ਜ਼
gh	"	ਘ	n	"	ਨ	ḷ	"	ਲ਼
ṅ	"	ਙ	p	"	ਪ	~	"	nasal vowel
c	"	ਚ						

g for ਏ
 kh " ਏ

INTRODUCTION.

I

The Origin and Development of Ṣūfīism outside India.

No account of Pañjābī Ṣūfīism, its poets and poetry, will be complete without a short sketch of the origin and development of Ṣūfīism outside India. Pañjābī Ṣūfīism, evidently, is a branch of the great Ṣūfī movement which originated in Arabia, during the 1st century A.H. (700 A.D.)¹ It, however, differs a good deal, 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 Ṣūfī thought in the Pañjāb, it is better to review briefly the outstanding features of this Islāmic sect beyond Indian borders.

Ṣūfīism first saw the light 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. (815 A.D.), these ascetics began to be known to the

1. Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics, Vol. XII., p. 10.

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

2

people as Ṣūfīs.¹ The name Ṣūfī was given them because woollen garment was the habit of these mystics. The term, labisa'l-Ṣūf, which formerly meant "he clad himself in wool" was applied to a person who renounced the world and became an ascetic,² henceforward signified that he became a Ṣūfī.³

The early mysticism was essentially a product of Islām,⁴ and originated as a consequence of the Islāmic conception of God which could not satisfy persons possessing spiritual proclivities. The two striking factors in the early mysticism as Goldziher has stated⁵ were an exaggerated consciousness of sin and an overwhelming dread of divine retribution. They

1. J.R.A.S., XXXVIII., 1906, p.305.

2. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 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 Ṣūfīism, Ṣūf meaning wool. (See Ideals of Indian Art, pp.50-51).

3. Ibid.

4. Its roots according to Macdonald run far back to heathen Arabia (see Muslim Theology, pp. 124, 125).

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

feared God more than loved Him and submitted unreservedly to His Will.¹ But in the beginning of the 2nd century A.H. (A.D. 815) ṣūfī thought began to develop under the influence of Greek philosophy of Ashrākiān² and Dionysius³. Christianity, itself enveloped by neo-Platonic speculations, exercised great influence in monastic organization and discipline.⁴ Hebrew philology,⁵ to a certain extent, helped the progress of technical vocabulary. But Greek influence seems to have effected most, because besides philosophical ideas, the ṣūfīs borrowed from them the medical science which they named Yunānī or Greek system.⁶ Neo-Platonism developed intellectual tendencies. The civil war and dry dogmas of the ‘ulamā soon drove the intellectual ṣūfīs to scepticism. They searched elsewhere for truth and knowledge.⁷ The search was not in vain and soon

1. As ordained in the Qur’ān.

2. Dabistān, Vol.III., p.281. Messrs. Shea and Troyler translated it as "Platonists".

3. Nicholson, J.R.A.S. Opt. cit., p.318.

4. Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics, XII., p.11.

5. Massignon, Lexique technique de la Mystique Musulmane, pp.51,52,53,54.

6. Les Sikhs, Chap.I., p.18.

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

a new school different from the already existing was established. It was greatly influenced by Persian religion and Indian thought, both Buddhist and Hindu.¹

The adherents of the new school were almost all of non-Semitic origin, their national characters were formed by the climatic and geographical positions of their countries² and so in spite of Semitic masters, the psychology of their own races affected their new faith, Islām. To them the doctrines of Islām seemed unphilosophic and non-gnostic and thus they were compelled to interpret them in the light of their old faiths and the faiths with which they had been in touch and which appealed to them more. Thus later, Ṣūfīism was also a Psychological reaction of different peoples especially the Persians against the dogmas of Islām.

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1. Professor Massignon is vehemently hostile to any Hindu influence and ignores traces of Buddhism. The admirable way in which the learned professor attempts to interpret Ṣūfīism, i.e., only on philological bases is one-sided. His knowledge of Hinduism is not very deep and so his mind is prejudiced against Hindu thought.
 2. 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).

The latest school of Ṣūfīism which had undergone the influence of Persian and Indian influences and mixed different glosses of Buddhism with their creed came in the forefront under Bāyazīd of Bisṭām. He was not attached to any old Ṣūfī school.¹ Bisṭāmī's system was based on fanā or absolute annihilation in the Divine.² Bāyazīd was so captivated by Vedāntic conception of God that he would say "Glory to me, how my glory is great".³

This school was evolved still further under Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, who added the formula Ana'l-Ḥaqq.⁴ This Ṣūfīism transformed the Buddhist legends and panegyrics and introduced them into Islām. In Central Asia where Buddhist legends were congealed round the Saints, Ṣūfīism evolved a cult of saints. Pilgrimages, another Buddhist practice, was also introduced. Besides this Ṣūfīism borrowed another doctrine, the Ṭarīqa or Ṭarīqat, from the same source. Before being fanā, the Ṣūfī seeker must tread by slow stages the Ṭarīqat or path to reach

1. Lexique Technique, p.243.

2. He learnt Fanā bi'l tawḥīd from his teacher Abū 'Alī Sindī or of Sind in return for Hanefite canonical law (see Lexique Technique, pp.263-4). Nicholson also mentions this fact (see The Mystics of Islam, p.17).

3. Lexique Technique, p.246.

4. This is the equivalent of Aham Brahm.

Ḥaql̄qa or Ḥaql̄qat, Reality, or the goal of Union. The path comprises 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, therefore, were considered heretics and were often hanged or exiled.² This alarmed the adherents of the new Ṣūfī thought who retraced their steps and again entered into the folds of the old Ṣūfī school. The Ṣūfīs, in general, were not popular with the powerful orthodox. To spare the fury of the orthodox and to save their lives all Ṣūfīs thenceforward recognized Muḥammad as their ideal and tried to interpret their independent thought from the allegorical sayings of the Qur'ān.³

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1. The Mystics of Islam, p.29. Ṣūfī teachers do not agree as to the number of the stages. Most of them enumerate more than seven.
 2. Bisṭāmī was exiled many times from his native town (see Lexique Technique, p.247) and Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj was crucified (Passion, I., pp.9,10).
 3. Bāyazīd openly declared himself equal of the Prophet and ridiculed the Day of Resurrection, the Judgment, and the Qur'ānic paradise (See Lexique Technique, pp.252-3).

II

Šūfīs in India.

After the conquest of Northern India, the Šūfīs began to pour into the country. This was the only peaceful, friendly and tolerant element of Islām. The Islām promulgated by the sword¹ and aggressive 'Ulamā and Qāzīs could not impress the Hindus who abhorred it. But the Islām represented by the Šūfīs appealed to them. Almost all the willing conversions were no doubt the result of Šūfī preaching.

Development of Šūfīism in the Pañjāb.

In the beginning Šūfīs in Northern India were preachers and often joined hands with the rulers to establish their power and to convert the people to Islām.² Their patience,

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1. 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, Tshish-tiyah Kobrawiyah, Shaṭṭāriyah and Naqshabandiyah" (Léxique Technique, p.68) shows his scanty knowledge of Indian History.
 2. Shaikh 'Alī Makhdūm Hujwīrī generally known as Dātā Ganj Baksh followed the arms of Mas'ūd, son and successor of Maḥmud Ghaznavī, to Lahore, where he settled down to preach (See Latif - History of Lahore, pp.179-82). There are many such examples.

tolerance and friendly spirit brought them followers from lower Hindu classes, unfortunately neglected by the higher classes. To this class of Ṣūfīs belonged Farīdu'-ddīn Ganj-i-Shakar, 'Alī Makhdūm Hujwīrī and many others. But, later on, many Ṣūfīs gave up missionary work¹ and devoted themselves to the study of different religious systems and philosophies of the country. Miā Mir, Prince Dārā Shikoh and Abū'l-Faḍl and Fayzī belonged to this category of Ṣūfīs; these Ṣūfīs began to question the superiority of their own religion or to deny its authority.² Miā Mir is said to have helped Gurū Har Govind many a time and sent him a woman, related to the Qāzī of Lahore who liked his doctrines and wanted to become a Sikh.³

Ṣūfīism underwent another considerable change towards the end of the 17th century. The intolerance of Aurangzeb and of his adherents had so much affected the spiritual-minded and

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1. Mr. Zuhurud Din in his "Mystic tendencies in Islām", p.142, writes, "Out of the later Ṣūfīs very few appear to have been given any thought to this practical aspect aspect (conversion) of the doctrine of Islāmic Ṣūfīism."
 2. Emperor Akbar is another example; his faith in superiority of Islām was so much shattered that he founded a new religion, Dīn-i-ilāhī.
 3. See Latīf, History of the Panjāb, p.256

intellectuals amongst the ṣūfīs that they were driven more towards Hinduism than before.¹ Hindu Vedāntic thought overpowered their beliefs, Bhāgvatism influenced their ideas and it was a surprising fact that in the Pañjāb, the stronghold of Islām, Musalman mystics held the view that except God there was no reality; all else, therefore, became illusion or the Hindu Māyā.²

The doctrine of transmigration and reincarnation was soon adopted and after was supplemented by the theory of Karma.³ Again Muḥammad who remained a perfect model of man for ṣūfīs of other countries was not necessarily the ideal of the Pañjābī ṣūfī. The philosophically minded sometimes

1. No doubt the ṣūfīs during the reign of Shāh Jahān, ^{under} had the patronage of Prince Dārā Shikoh ~~have already~~ absorbed a good deal of Hindu Vedāntic thought but they remained, save a few rare exceptions, within the limits of their own religion, but the intolerance of the orthodox and the intolerance of the Emperor Aurangzeb ^{later on} sometimes compelled them to speak against Islāmic dogmas, etc., freely and turn more towards Hindu religion with real feeling than before. Both Māyat and Bullhe Shāh were born during this period.

2. Dabistān, Vol. III., p. 281.

3. Qānūn-e-Ishq, Vol. I. Kāfīs 2 and 37. "The doctrine of Karma which is alien to ṣūfīism" (The Mystics of Islam, p. 19) became now one of its doctrines.

ignored him, at other times allotted to him the same place as they gave to the prophets of other religions.¹ For the orthodox popular Ṣūfīs he nevertheless remained some one 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 Bhāgvata-lore.² Condemnation of idols, which had not been very vehement even in the 16th century ceased altogether now. Muḥammadan mystics accepted them as another way of adoring the Universal Lord.³ The Ṣūfīs often abstained from flesh and practised the doctrine of Ahimsā by loving all life, animal and human.⁴

The Qur'ān which could not be dispensed with and was

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1. See the poetry of Bullhe Shāh specially Kāfī 90 of Sāī Bullhe Shāh.
 2. See the Bārāmāh of Karīm Bakhsh, Chapter IX.
 3. Sāhibjānī a celebrated Ṣūfī of 17th century performed the pūjā in the house of idols (Dabistān, III., 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 mosque. His temple and mosque were everywhere. See Bullhe Shāh Kāfī 58 of Qānūn-ē-Ishq.
 4. Dabistān, III., 302.

held in great veneration by the early Ṣūfīs was now placed on the same level with the Vedas and the Purānas.¹

Last but not least it should be mentioned here that the principle of religious tolerance was advocated by many mystics who denounced fanaticism and admitted freedom of religious beliefs.²

The above were the new developments in Ṣūfīism on the Pañjābī soil. They were, however, not the chief characteristic of every Ṣūfī's teachings. These new developments on the other hand helped in the classification of Ṣūfīs. The Ṣūfīs of the Pañjāb can be classed into three schools of thought:-

I. The Orthodox School.

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

II. The Philosophic School.

The Ṣūfīs of the philosophic school were speculators and thinkers. They had absorbed the essence of Vedānta so well

1. Qānūn-e-'Ishq, Kāfī 76.

2. See the Poetry of Bāhū and Bullhe Shāh.

that to them difference of religion, country and sect were immaterial. They abhorred regulations and dry dogmas of all religions. They displayed best the essence of pantheistic Sūfism. This type ignored conversion and was the chief factor of establishing unity between the faithfuls of various religions. Bullhe Shāh belonged to this school.

III. 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, preached and practised them. Muḥammad remained their only prophet and Qur'ān their best book but they provided a place in their long list of saints and angels for all other prophets and teachers. They are popular with the lower classes of both Hindus and Muslims. To the Hindus they preach the Qur'ān and the superstitions of Islām, while to the Muḥammadans the popular beliefs and superstitions. As they are apt to change with times and conditions they are equally dangerous to Islām and Hinduism. To this class belonged Fard Faqīr and many others.

A brief Sketch of Panjābī Sūfī poetry.

The Sūfīs of the Panjāb like the Sūfīs of the other parts of India, wrote for centuries together in Persian¹

1. Sarkar - History of Aurangzeb, III., p. 387

Besides the language, the phraseology, similes and in fact, the whole system of Persian Prosody and Rhetoric was copied in its entirety. Later on the Ṣūfīs 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,¹ that it was Persian poetry written in an Indian language. The national spirit, thus, was paralysed and national sentiments and thoughts were allotted a secondary place. It was only in the middle of the 15th century A.D. that the initiative to write in the language of the people, i.e. Pañjābī, was taken by a saint of the Cishtī order of Ṣūfīs.² This initiator was Shaikh Ibrāhīm Farīd, a descendant of Farīdu'ddīn Ganj-i-Shakar of Pāk Patan. His example was followed by many, of whom Lāl Ḥusain, Sulṭān Bāhū, Bulhe Shāh, 'Alī Ḥaidar and Hāshim are the outstanding and well known figures. Besides, a considerable amount of Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry in fragments from

1. The grammatical system, however, was Indian.

2. 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 as we will see, later on, are not his.

various pens has been found¹. A few poems out of these contain the names of the writers but nothing more than that. We will speak of this poetry below.

Ideal 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 the case of some it was gained while living.² The Pañjābī Ṣūfī like any other mystic in the world calls God his beloved. But the Beloved, who in Islāmic countries was both masculine and feminine³ now became feminine.

In Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry therefore God is the Beloved and Ṣūfī or human soul the woman separated from her lover by illusion or Māyā. The Ṣūfī soul at times wails, then cries and again yearns for union with the Beloved. The Ṣūfī poet in the Pañjāb generally refers to three stories of perfect

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1. From some neglected and worm-eaten and torn manuscripts in the private libraries, and from some lithographed books not very much read by the public.
 2. Union gained while living was of two natures, partial and complete. Partial was possible when the Ṣūfī was in a state of supreme ecstasy. Complete was attained (in very rare cases) when all consciousness of self was lost and the mystic ever lived in and with the Universal Self.
 3. In Persian poetry for example the Beloved is both Yuṣuf and Zulaikhā.

love in his poetry. They are the love tale of Hīr Rājā, Sassī Punnū and Sohṇī Mahīvāl.¹ These tales of tragic love are popular with all Pañjābīs and are models of perfect love.

In all the three the heroines, Hīr, Sassī and Sohṇī, who spend their lives in sorrow ever yearning to meet their respective lovers, were united with them in death. For a Ṣūfī these tales² have a spiritual significance. The heroines stand for the Ṣūfī (the soul) and the heroes for God (the sought beloved). After the Ṣūfī has attained Union with God he is no more Hīr³ but becomes Rājā, because for him all differences vanish and he sees Rājā (God) as much in his own self as in other creation. The Ṣūfī poetry consequently is full of poems, songs and hymns praising the Beloved describing the pain and sorrow inflicted by separation their efforts made to meet them and ultimately the joy, peace and knowledge attained in the Union.

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1. Of these Hīr and Rājā and Sassī Punnū in all probability were of Indo-Scythian origin but they have been overlaid by Muslim colours and superstition by the poets.
 2. Of the three the Hīr and Rājā tale is the most important. So many poets have sung this love-tale. The best written up to date is Hīr of Vāre Shāh or Wāris Shāh.
 3. Hīr has almost the same position in Pañjābī literature as Rādhā has in Hindī literature.

III

General Characteristics of Pañjābī Ṣūfī Poetry.

We now proceed to examine the chief characteristics of Pañjābī Ṣūfī 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 Ṣūfī poets carried other languages, such as Persian and Urdū. Mysticism being more predominant than materialism in these poets' temperaments all complexity of expression, artificial and ornate style, jingle of words and inflation is missing in 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 industry and prevalent mythological ideas² and social customs. This should not, however, indicate that the language is crude and vulgar. No.

1: Aurangzeb considered the Ṣūfīs heretics and was extremely harsh with them. Provincial Governors and Princes of the Royal blood often followed his example during his reign and after foreign invasions by Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh were also responsible in a great measure.

2. This does in no way signify 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.

the great anxiety to convey correctly the devotional emotions often imparted a sort of beauty and sweetness rare to artificial Urdū poetry. Similes were taken from every-day 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 ever maintained dignity, order and sincerity. To sum up, it 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 and minute details.

Verse-forms.

The principal forms of Pañjābī Ṣūfī verse are the following:-

Kāfī. This name is borrowed from Persian "Kafiya", meaning in that language rhyme, is applied to Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry in general. Usually it is a song on Divine attributes and sometimes poems on different Ṣūfī beliefs. Kāfīā are found in different chandas mostly prakṛit and in the rāgas of the Pañjābī musical system¹.

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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.

Bārā-Māh, an account of twelve months of 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.

Aṭhvārā or a description of eight days. For seven days the Seeker awaits anxiously for God. At the end of the seventh day 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 originally it is Pañjābī. The oldest verse of this kind is found in the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs and was composed by Arjuna Dev.¹ Later on it appears to have become a popular verse form of the Ṣūfīs. Some of them wrote more than two or three Sīharfīs.² Sīharfī exactly speaking is not a small poem but is a collection of small poems. The letters of the alphabet are taken consecutively and words whose initials they form are employed to give

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1. It is known as Bāvan akharī on account of 52 letters of the Nāgrī alphabet.
 2. Hāshim and 'Alī Haidar each wrote about half a dozen Sīharfīs.

metrical expression to the poet's ideas. Here is one example:-

Alif allāh cambe dī būṭī murshid man mere vice lāī hū
Nafī asbāt dā pānī māli sī rahe rage har jāī hū
Andar būṭī mushk macāyā jā phullaṅ paī āī hū
Jīvē murshid kāmīl bāhū jāī eh būṭī lāī hū¹

Alif; Allāh is like the plant of cambā² which
the preceptor planted in my heart, O He;
By water and gardener of negative and
positively (respectively) it remained near
the rag³ 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 or 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

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- 1. Majmūā Abīyāt Sultān Bāhū.
 - 2. Jasmin. (Abiyāt)
 - 3. Shāh rag or rag is the great vein found in the neck and
considered by the Panjābī ṣūfī to be nearest his mind.
 - 4. Haidar's Sīharfīs are marked for this.

poems for each letter. For example 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 legends historical or imaginary.¹ In *Ṣūfī* literature however we have found only one such *Sīharfī*.²

The *Sīharfīs* of the *Muḥammadans* are on Arabic or Persian alphabets. There is none being composed on the *Nāgarī* or *Pañjābī* alphabets though *Hindus* of different sects have written *Sīharfīs* on the Arabic and Persian alphabets.³

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 society conventions to which they pay little attention and disregarding them try to meet each other.

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1. *Pañjābī* poets other than *Ṣūfīs*, both *Hindus* and *Muḥammadans* have written many such *Sīharfīs*.
 2. This *Sīharfī* written at *Gujrāt* by *Muḥammad Dīn*, describes the life of a *Ṣūfī Murīd*. It could not have been more than fifty years old.
 3. See *Sīharfīs* of *Gahgā Rām* and that of *Sāī Dās* both on the Arabic alphabet.

This disregard brings them misfortune and so they die ultimately to be united in death for eternity. Some Qissās are composed on Siḥarfī principle, others are composed of Baits, sometimes called Slokas.

Bait, 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 for the brave slain in battle. But then began to be employed to a song composed in praise of Almighty God or some great religious personage.² It is composed of various stanzas called paupīs, literally steps and are sung by minstrels at religious shrines.

1. Maīyā Singh's Pañjābī Dictionary.

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

IV

Place of Pañjābī Ṣūfī Poetry in Pañjābī Literature.

A good number of Pañjābī Ṣūfī poets made attempts to create friendly feelings between different communities by harmonizing the opposing systems. For this reason their poetry became clear to all sections of the Pañjābī people. Besides, from a literary point of view also it demanded and was allotted a very high place. It remains in the high favour of both Hindus and Musalmans and circulates among the masses in the form of songs, proverbs and hymns to the present day.¹ In short without this contribution, Pañjābī literature would be poor and devoid of a good deal of its beauty and literary charm.

Here we will give explanations of those few words that will be used in their original forms while we will be talking of the Ṣūfī poets.

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

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1. Nānak is the only non-Ṣūfī whose verse is esteemed in the like manner by the Pañjābī people.
 2. The office of Gaddī-nishīn which formerly was bestowed on one of the disciples, later on became hereditary in the families of the saints. Almost all Gaddī-nishīns now inherit the seats as their birthright and not for merit.

Murīd: a disciple.

Murshid: a preceptor or a teacher.

Pīr: Murshid.

Khalīfa: chosen successor of a teacher; a successor.

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

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

Antarā: a poem or song excepting the refrain.

It has been mentioned above that the Pañjābī Ṣūfīs in their compositions employed, save 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.¹ All the necessities of the then life were produced by the inhabitants themselves. The Ṣūfī poetry which was nursed in the towns and villages, therefore, bore strong impressions of its surroundings. The most important industry of the Pañjāb which flourished more or less in every

1. We mean the times when machine-made things were not imported from abroad, during which period the Ṣūfī poetry was composed.

village and town and even city, was the cotton.¹ The cotton manufacture comprised three processes as:-

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

The Śūfīs made ample use of the vocabulary of this industry and gave similes from the same. We give below the vocabulary relative to cotton manufacture, which can be of help to those who are interested in Pañjābī Śūfī poetry.

1st part, i.e., cleaning of cotton.

Tumbṇā: to open the cocoons with hand done by the women folk.

Velṇā: the instrument used for separating the seeds from cotton.

Velavī: one who works on the velṇā.

1. Mr. Badel Powel writing as late as in 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" as quoted by C.M. Birdwood in his "The Industrial Arts of India", p.244.

Jhambhñā or Piñjñā: to card cotton.

Peñjāh or Piñjāh: cotton carder.

Punni: small roll of carded cotton prepared for spinning.

Now we come to the second process of this manufacture, i.e., spinning. To the Pañjābī Ṣufī this world was a spinning wheel and his own self or soul the young girl who was supposed to spin and prepare her dowry. His performing good actions were like spinning and which taken together 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 in spinning¹ so did God love the Ṣufī who died with a good account (karma or actions) and possessed qualities that would befit a good striving soul. But like that obstinate and short-sighted girl who ignoring the sad future spent her time in playing and replied to her mother's remonstrances by stating that one part or the other of the spinning-wheel was out of order, the Ṣufī merged in ignorance made excuses for his indulgence in worldly pleasure. In the end, like the idle young girl

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

he was ignored by the Beloved and admittance to Union was refused. Thereupon he bewailed his sorrow and described the pangs of Divine separation. Here is its vocabulary:-

Carakhā: a spinning wheel.

Carakkharī: the wheel of the spinning wheel on which the thread turns.

Bair: the net-work of cord which bridges the two sides of the carakkharī and on which the thread turns.

Mālh or Māhal: thread that connects the carkkharī with the spindle.

Hatthī or Hatthā: the handle that turns the wheel.

Mankā: 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.

Taklā or traklā: spindle of the spinning wheel.

Tand: thread spun on the spinning wheel.

Challī or Muḍḍā: a hank of yarn spun.

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

Katṭṇā: to spin.

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

3rd process or weaving.

Narā: a weaver's shuttle.

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

Khaddī: a loom.

Tānā or Tānī: warp.

Peṭā: woof.

Māṇḍ or Pāṇ: paste made with wheat flour used to make stiff the cotton thread for weaving.

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

Gaṇḡh or Ghuṇḡdī: 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.

Uṇṇā or Buṇṇā: to weave.

Raṅṅnā: to dye.

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

Besides the vocabulary of the cotton industry the ṣūfīs also

employed the names of things in everyday use in the agricultural areas, as:-

Goīl:¹ a small hut made of mud and grass built on pasture land for the cow-herd or made on fields for the person who keeps watch.

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

Chajjlī;² a tray larger than a chajj and used to winnow threshing floor.

Jhārū³ or bauhkar: a broom used for sweeping the floor or to collect together grain spread in the sun.

Āngīthī:⁴ a small object made of iron or earth to hold fire.

Bhāambar:⁵ a flame or a big fire.

Ghunḍ:⁶ that part of a woman's veil which she throws over her face to conceal it from men.

1. This world to the Ṣūfī was like a goīl for temporary stage.
2. A Ṣūfī in all humility calls himself a sweeper, the beliefs of different people threshing floor which he winnows to separate the right belief from the wrong.
3. Ṣūfī jhārū is wisdom.
4. Pañjāb is extremely cold in winter and so people use āngīthī to warm themselves. The Ṣūfī's heart is an eternal āngīthī full of fire, i.e., separation's pangs.
5. In Ṣūfī language it is also love's flame which consumes the body.
6. Ignorance is a Ṣūfī's ghunḍ.

Influence of Ṣūfī thought and poetry on Pañjābī literature.

The influence of mystic thought and verse on Pañjābī literature had been tremendous. There was hardly any poet of renown who remained free from this influence. The Romantists like Vāre Shāh or Wārīs Shāh absorbed so much of Ṣūfī ideas that it led some people to state that he was a mystic which he was not.

Here for example he speaks like a Ṣūfī:-

Paṛh paṛh ilam kazā paye karṇ muftī
 bājh ishk de rahṇ majhūl miā
 paṛhiā ilam nā rabb dī tūm hundī
 ikko ishk dā haraf mākul miā.¹

Reading and studying the knowledge the Muftis give the judgment, but without love have they remained ignorant sir; by studying knowledge the secret of God is not known only

1. Hīr Vāre Shāh, p.1.

one word of love is efficient sir.¹

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

Kahindā ishk dī zāt safāt nāhī
 nāhī āshkā dā mazhab dīn rānī
 ishk zāt kumāt nā puchhdāī
 es ishk dī bāt aṇarj rānī

1. How closely ^{the} above resembles the following of Bullhe Shāh
 (Qānūn-e-Ishq, kāfī 76)

Ishk dī navīō navī bahār
 Ved Qur'an paṛh paṛh thakke, sijjade kardiā ghas
 gaye matthe
 nā rabb tīrath nā rabb makke, jīñ pāiā tix nūr jamal

Love ever has a new season (glory)

Reading and studying the Vedas and the Qur'an (they)
 are tired

By bowing in obeisance the forehead is used up
 God is neither at a sanctuary nor in Mekka
 One who has found (love) their light^{is} powerful.

Bāhū has said the same:-

Pe paṛh paṛh ilam hazār katābā ālam hoye sāre hū
 hikko haraf ishk dā nā paṛh jāñ bhule phirñ vicāre hū
 (Majmūā 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.

ishk pāk palit nā samjh dāī
 nahī jān dā kufr islām rānī
 amām bakhsh nā khauf hai āshkā nū
 khāh maut hoai khāh jindgānī.¹

(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. Love understands not pure and impure nor recognises Heathenism and Islām, queen. Amām Bakhsh the lovers have no fear whether death occurs or life remains.

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

ethe āyā nū duniyā moh laīdī daghe bāzī dā dhār ke bhes
 mīyā
 sadā nahī javānī te aish māpe sadā nahī je bāl vares
 mīyā
 sadā nahī je daultā fīl ghorē sadā nahī je rājiā des
 mīyā
 Shāh Muḥammadā sadā nā rūp duniyā sadā rahn nā kālare
 kes mīyā.²

1. Chandar Badan, p. 7

2. Qissā Larāī Singhā, p.1.

Here come human beings are illusioned 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 possess, sir. Shāh Muḥammad for ever in the world is not beauty nor for ever remain black hair, sir.

The above few examples we hope will be enough to show the amount of Ṣūfī influence on the general Panjābī literature.

CHAPTER I.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm Farīd Ṣānī.

(1450 A.D. to 1575 A.D.)

I

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

The Cishtīs of the Pañjāb.

This order was originally founded by Abū izhāq Shāmī of Cisht,¹ but in the Pañjāb it was revived in the 13th century² by Farīdu'ddīn generally known as Shakar Ganj.³

The grandfather of Farīdu'ddīn migrated to India from Persia early in the 12th century. Farīd was born fifty years

1. Ain-i-Akbarī, Vol.III., p.367.

2. Rose - A Glossary of Pañjāb Tribes & Castes, Vol.III., p.432.

3. This title originated from a miracle performed by him. It has many versions, one of which being 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.

later in the village Khotwās¹ near Multan, in the year 565 A.H. (1171-72 A.D.).² 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 at Ajodhan afterwards known as Pāk Paṭan.³ From here he began his missionary work in the Pañjāb. On his death, his work was carried on by his descendants from Pāk Paṭan as their headquarters and his disciples scattered all over Northern India to carry his message always looking to Pāk Paṭan as their spiritual centre.⁴ Shaikh Ibrāhīm was the twelfth descendant

1. Ain-i-Akbarī (English translation), Vol.III., p.363. Garcin de Tassy translates it Ghanawāl.

2. Ibid.

3. Macauliffe states (Sikh Religion, 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 Sāhib kā Pāk Paṭan or Farīd's cleansing ferry. This is not a satisfactory explanation. Perhaps Ajodhan being the seat of Farīd ~~it~~ was therefore known as Pāk Paṭan, holy seat, town or city.

4. The sect maintained its integrity till very late, when it was split into two sub-orders, the Nizāmiās and the Ṣabīriās. The former from Nizām-ud-dīn Awliyā a disciple of Farīdu'ddīn and the latter from Ṣābir cousin and son-in-law of the founder. (See Rose's Glossary, etc. Vol.III. p.532.)

of Farīdu'ddīn and descended in the following genealogical order:-¹

Hazrat Bābā Farīdu'ddīn ganj-i-shakar,

Dīwān Badr ud-Dīn Sulaimān.

Dīwān 'Alā uddīn. Mauj-i-Darya.

Dīwān Mu'izz^uddīn.

Pīr Faḡl-ud-dīn.

Pīr Dīwān Bahā-uddīn Harūn.

Pīr Shaikh Ahmad Shāh.

Pīr Aṭā-ullāh.

Khawāja Shaikh Muḡammad.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm Farīd Sānī.

Nothing very 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 960 A.H. or 1554 A.D. at Sirhind where he was buried after a spiritual reign of forty-two years.²

But both the ^aJwāhir-i-Farīdī and the Gulzār-i-Farīdī relate

1. See Gulzār-i-Farīdī.

2. Sujān Rāī's as quoted by Macauliffe in his Sikh Religion,

Vol.VI., p. 358

that he died at Pāk Paṭan in the year 959 A.H. or 1553-54 A.D.¹

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.² 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 end of the fifteenth century.

After having pursued the ordinary curriculum of secular studies he was initiated into the Cishtī order and went through the spiritual training of a Ṣūfī. In course of time he succeeded his father Khawāja Shaikh Muḥammad in 916-17 A.H. and became the Gaddī-Niṣhīn. He seems to have very much resembled Farīd in sanctity and personality, and, therefore was named Farīd Ṣānī or Farīd the Second. He had frequent interviews with Hindu saints and reformers, and with darveshes of Islām.⁴

1. *Jwāhir-i-Farīdī*, p.294 and *Gulzār-i-Farīdī*, p.81.

2. We have been unable to find any trace of his tomb in Sirhind. In none of the old Biographies of Saints we find that he died at Sirhind.

3. *Jwāhir-i-Farīdī*, p.292.

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

The titles and appellations which Ibrāhīm bore¹ show the great influence he wielded over the masses.

1. He was called Farīd Sānī or Second.
2. Sālis Farīd or Farīd the Arbitrator.
3. Shaikh Ibrāhīm Kalān or Ibrāhīm the Elder.
4. Bal Rājā or the might 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.² Ibrāhīm's popularity amongst the Hindus of his time was rather amazing.

A long residence in India, a sincere study of her religions and philosophies and the political environments had weakened the proselytizing zeal which animated the soul of Farīd the

1. These titles and appellations we have collected from the Gulzār-i-Farīdī's pages. Macauliffe also mentions them in his book, see Vol.VI., p.102.
2. The Gulzār-i-Farīdī also calls him Brāhm or Baram, see p.79. The Janam Sākhī all call him Brāhm, see Bālā-Janam Sākhī, p.543.

First.¹ The Ṣūfīs 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 the people belonging to different creeds. This moral support the emperor was not strong enough to uproot.

Thus the Cishtīs of Pāk Paṭan were then the Pīrs or saints of the Pañjāb more than anything else.² At their shrines

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1. Even Farīd the first was not altogether engaged in conversion work. His efforts were often supplemented by two factors:-
 - 1st. The political domination left the Hindus helpless specially economically. Economical difficulties therefore compelled them to embrace Islām which at once raised their status.
 - 2nd. The social disintegrity of the Hindus supplied him converts. If a man of high caste ate or drank at his place or at any Musalman's place he was excommunicated and in the absence of repentance was forced to become a Ṣūfī hence Musalman. The members of the neglected lower classes also confessed the Islāmic creed.
 2. An interesting example of this is given in *Tarīkh-i-Daudī* (E. & D. ed. Vol. IV., pp. 439-40). Mīā Abdullāh of Ajodhan forbade Sultān Sikandar Lodī to carry on his resolve to massacre the Hindus assembled at Kurukeshtra. The Sultān 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 personality and the popularity of Abdullāh appeased soon his wrath and he gave up both his resolves, i.e. massacre the saint and the infidels. Later on inspired by the policy of Aurangzeb the hereditary incumbents of Pāk Paṭan changed their creed of tolerance advocated by their predecessors and became the supporters of fanaticism of which Farīd the First had disapproved. See *Les Sikhs*, p. 191.

flourished that Islāmic philosophy which had been coloured by Hindu thought and the cult rituals.¹ Such was the state of the Cishtī order when Ibrāhīm ascended the seat of Farīdu'-aīn at Pāk Paṭan. The Gulzār-i-Farīdī 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",² yet no Ṣūfī all over 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 control over matter and spirit and pass over the remaining in silence.

A thief entered his house with the intention of stealing but God being unwilling to see his devotee suffer, struck him blind. Early in the morning the Shaikh ordered his servant

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1. Garçin de Tassy finds Hindu influence even in the end of the 19th century (See "La Religion Musalmane dans l'Inde")
 2. Junayd as quoted by Nicholson in his "The Mystic of Islam", p.131.

to fetch water for his ablutions. The servant saw the blind thief and informed his master. The thief pleaded guilty 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 beseeched to avoid disaster. He, taking pity, took off his turban and whirled it round, upon which rain fell in torrents.²

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

II

The Literary Work of Farīd.

Ibrāhīm's literary works in Pañjābī consist of a set of Kāfiā and a hundred and thirty shaloks. Besides these we have been able to trace a Nāsīhat-Nāmā in the Pañjāb University Manuscripts.⁴ The style of this is more or less that

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1. Gulzār-i-Farīdī, p.80.
 2. Jawahir-i-Farīdī, p.294.
 3. Macauliffe, Sikh Religions, VI., p.358.
 4. MS. 374. Folios L-14 - 743.

of Farīd and so the 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 remaining of Farīd's verse is all found in the Ādi 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 stated that only after having seen the book which Nānak submitted to his inspection the Shaikh gave permission to add his sayings.¹

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 reigning Pīr.² In their correspondence the Gurūs addressed themselves as Nānak³ and this may have led the author of the Gulzār-i-Farīdī to make the mistake.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm's Pañjābī poems though had won him the love of the people, yet ^{they} failed to procure him the praise of the learned who looked disdainfully at the poets of the living

1. Gulzār-i-Farīdī, p.80.

2. Farīd Ṣānī died in 959 A.H. (1553-54 A.D.) early in the reign of Akbar while Gurū Arjun compiled the Granth much later (1581 A.D. - 1606 A.D.).

3. Munshī Fānī says that Gurū Har Gobind when wrote to him signed as Nānak, see Dabistān, II., p.236.

languages and refused to recognise them as such. Pañjābīs therefore should thank Gurū Arjun for having written down a major part of the verse of this first Pañjābī Ṣūfī poet.

As has been mentioned above, Farīd Ṣānī was the name conferred on Shaikh Ibrāhīm for his high sanctity. He, however, employed it as his nom de plume.¹ 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,"² 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 Sahikh'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 Singh³ bases his argument on two facts; that since Amīr

1. Sikh Religion, VI., p.357.

2. Idem.

3. Hays Cog, p.69.

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 ^{ha}ślokas, such as:-

Farīdā roṭī merī kāṭh dī lāvan merī bhukkh
Jinhā khādhīā cop riā soī sahaṅge dukkh.

Farīd my bread is of wood and satisfies my
hunger; those who eat buttered bread will
undergo sufferings,

clearly indicate those incidents passed in the life of Farīd the First and so it must be of his composition. He thus makes Farīd and Ibrāhīm the conjoint authors. The first of these two arguments is not at all convincing and the second can be rendered 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 hayātī jag nā koī thiru rahīā

Jisu āsanī ham baiṭṭhe kete bas gaīā.¹

O Shaikh no life in the world is stationary

The seat on which I am seated had been occupied by many.

1. Ādi Granth, āsā Sekh Farīd shalok, 5.

From the above poem we understand that the author was not Farīdu'ādīn 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.¹ His language was, therefore, a Pañjābī comprising its 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 those words not understood by the Pañjābī people. 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 misses that intense feeling which would characterise the poetry of Husain. Except this want of feeling, it is expressive intelligible and demonstrates the restlessness of the author's

1. The custom prevails to the present but in a very degenerated manner.

soul for the Divine Union. His verse though it does not conform to the Persian rules of Prosody is overlaid by similes, very human and sometimes incoherent and unsuitable for the Divine Beloved, as in Persian poetry. Considering that he was the first Ṣūfī who replaced Persian by his mother tongue this defect can be ignored. His highest merit lies in the fact that he was the first Muslim saint who composed verse in Pañjābī and was the pioneer of Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry.

III

Religious tenets.

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

But as tolerance was their motto they soon became friends of the people. As they influenced the people's thought they were themselves influenced in return and began to doubt the asserted monopoly of the Muslim path to reach God. Such appears to have been the state of Shaikh Ibrāhīm's mind when he became Pīr of Pāk Paṭān. He could not openly criticise the established beliefs of his order as he was the hereditary incumbent and derived his power and prestige from there, but this could not prevent his holding his personal views.

The uncertainty as to what was the true path, Islām or Hinduism, perplexed him greatly. During one of his interviews with Nānak he says:-

Ikk Khudāī duī hādī kehrā sevī kehrā haddā raddī.¹

There is one Lord and two teachers,²

which shall be served (adopted) and which censuring rejected.

Nānak replied:-

Sāhib ikko rāh ikk, ikko sevīe aur raddī

dūjā kāhe simarīe jammē te mar jāī

Ikk simaro Nānakā jal thal rahiā samāī.³

There is but one Lord, and one way,

Adopt the one and reject the other⁴

Why should one worship a second, who is born and then dies.

Remember Him alone Nānak who is present in waters (seas) and on lands.

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

1. Janam Sākhī (Bala) p.544.

2. Muḥammad and the Hindu Avatāras.

3. Janam Sākhī, p.544.

4. By one Nānak means the way of faith and devotion.

Pār paṭolā dhaj karī kambalṛī Pahiroī
 Jiṇī vesi Sahu milai soī ves karoī.¹

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 of 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.²

Ibrāhīm however could not support Nānak's view. But he was extremely happy to find some one 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."³ This compliment illustrates faithfully how greatly the Ṣūfī beliefs of Ibrāhīm had undergone the latter Bhāgvat influence.

1. Janam Sākhī, p.545.

2. Idem.

3. How closely this resembles the Vaiṣṇavas belief:- Hari hari jan dou ek hai, bimb vicār (नै को), jal te uthe taraṅ jiau, jal hī bikhe samāī; i.e., God and his saints are one, the question of reflection is none, as from water rises the tide and in the water does it ebb.

Towards the end of his career Ibrāhīm appears to have set aside the remaining fanatical side of Islām. His faith is the set Ṣūfī 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's men carry prayer carpets on their shoulders, wear a Ṣūfī'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 Ṣūfī 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

1. Sikh Religion, VI., p.398.

2. Ibid. p.394. This reminds one of the Vaiṣṇavā 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.

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.¹

The fame of Shaikh Ibrāhīm has surpassed that of the
sect of which he was the spiritual head. For centuries to-
gether 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 Cishtī. 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 Shaloks
which are repeated in Hindu and Musalman homes every day.
They will serve as specimens of his literary genius and also
of his popularity.

1. Sikh Religion, VI., p.394.

CHAPTER II.

Mādhō Lāl Ḥusain.

(1539 A.D. to 1593-94 A.D.)

I

Ḥusain was born in 945 A.H. (1539 A.D.) in Lahore.¹ His ancestors originally, says the author of Tazkīrā, were 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 Musalman belonged to dhatā clan of 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 'Uṣmān⁴ was engaged in the weaving profession. Ḥusain never learned this trade, but on account of his father being engaged in the industry Fard Faqīr in his Kasab-Nāmā Bāfind-gān⁵ says:-

1. Tazkīrā Awliyā-i-Hind, Vol.III., p.33.

2. Idem.

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 added to the names of new converts by Muhammadans.

5. See Daryā-^{Ma'rifat} Ma'rifat containing the Kasab nāmā.

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

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

Ḥusain was put in the charge of Abū-Bakr at a very tender age and became a Ḥāfiẓ at the age of ten years.¹ Then Shaikh Bahlol of Ciniot (Chiniot Jhang district) who learnt the doctrine of Fanā from a Ṣūfī of Koh-Pan̄j-Shīr, came to Lahore and made Ḥusain his own disciple.² After a few years Shaikh Bahlol returned from Lahore and left Ḥusain to continue his study or practices at the shrine of Dātā Ganj Bakhsh³ in Lahore.⁴ For twelve years he served the ashes of the Pīr and followed the strict Qur'ānic discipline.⁵ He is said to have spent many a night ^{in a} standing posture in the river Rāvī repeating the Qur'ān.⁶ At twenty-six he left that Pīr and became a student of Sa'd-ullāh from whom he learnt many a

1. Tahqīqāt-i-Cishti, p.43.

2. Ibid, pp.42-43.

3. See Introduction, p.7

4. Tahqīqāt-i-Cishti, p.46.

5. Ibid.

6. History of Lahore, p.145.

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 the Qur'ān which he had in his hand in the well 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.¹ Hereafter Ḥusain discarding all rules and regulations, began to dance, sing and drink. He became a Mystic. The excesses of Ḥusain became scandals and were heard by 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 sainthood and so satisfied he went back to his native town.² Ḥusain wore a red dress and came to be known as Lāl Ḥusain or Ḥusain the Red.³ Ḥusain was very fond of dancing and singing and mixed freely in the company of dancers and musicians.⁴ The Qādirīs to whose sect Ḥusain belonged generally loved music and dance which they thought helped them in their divine contemplations but never went to the extreme which Ḥusain reached.

1. This story of conversion is related in Tahqīqāt-i-Cishtī, pp.48-49.

2. Ibid. p.49,

3. Tazkīrā Awliyā-i-Hind, Vol.III.,p.34, and Yād-rafta-gān,p.58.

4. Ḥasanāt-ul-‘ārifīn, p.46.

Husain shaved clean his moustache and beard and refused, according to the author of *Ḥasanāt-ul-‘ārifīn* to accept those persons as disciples who were unwilling to shave their faces.¹ This idea of Husain and his neglect of Musalman religious duties, aroused suspicion and some officials thought of punishing him but Husain pointing to them their own neglect of religious duties escaped the punishment.² Lāl Husain was fortunate to have been born, lived and died during the reign of Emperor Akbar whose fondness for religious men and specially Sūfīs was proverbial. Akbar, it appears from the writings of Dārā Shikoh, knew Husain. Prince Dārā writes, "Prince Salīm and the ladies of Emperor Akbar's harem believed in his supernatural powers and entertained respect for him."³ The *Tahqīqāt-i-Cishtī* states⁴ that prince (later Emperor) Salīm was greatly attached to the Saint and appointed Bahār Khān, an officer, to record the daily proceedings of him. These records which were regularly submitted for the perusal of the prince were later on compiled along with the sayings of the saint and were named Bahāriā.⁵ The Bahāriā is said to be replete with incidents relating to the supernatural power of the saint.

1. *Ḥasanāt-ul-‘ārifīn*, p.47.

2. *Ibid*, p.46.

3. Prince Dārā, as quoted by Latif, see *History of Lahore*, p.145.

4. P.52.

5. We have not been successful in tracing this book in the Libraries of London and of the Pañjāb.

His attachment of Mādho.

Having become a Ṣūfī Ḥusain began preaching in public. A Brahman boy of Shāhdara, a village across the Rāvi, frequented these religious séances and showed keen interest in his teachings.¹ This attracted the attention of the saint who was soon attached to the handsome youth. This attachment developed so much and so rapidly that if some day Mādho failed to come Ḥusain would walk down to his house. This sort of friendship was not pleasing to the 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 him a dip in the Ganges, on a certain festival day. When Mādho informed the saint of his pending departure, he was much distressed and begged the boy *not to go with his* parents. However, he promised him a bath in the company of his parents on the appointed day. Mādho thereupon refused to accompany his parents who proceeded alone to Hardvār.

1. Some say that he saw him while he was drinking at some bar.

But Mādho being a young Hindu lad could not have gone to the wine-house. The above, therefore, seems to be the true version. The author of *Tahqīqāt-i-Cishtī* relates that Ḥusain met Mādho while the lad in a fashionable manner went riding through the bazaar. He tried in vain to possess the lad for 16 years at the end of which he got him, pp.50-51 .

After a few days the saint asked the boy to close his eyes. Shutting his eyes Mādho found himself on the banks of the Ganges with his parents who had reached there by that time. After the bath he found himself back in his house at Shāhdara. On their return the parents confirmed their son's statement of having bathed with them on the fixed day. This miracle, says the tradition, so much impressed Mādho that he confessed the Muḥammadan faith and became a Musalman.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 who 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 bewailing. On enquiry, he was told that Mādho had died. The Faqīr laughed aloud and walking to the dead body exclaimed, "Get up, Mādho, why do you sleep at this hour? Get

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

2. Taḥqīqāt-i-Cishti says 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 they not finding the door returned. pp.50-51.

up and see I am waiting for you." Upon this, continues the story, Mādho jumped on his feet and followed Husain out of his parental house never to return again, and became a Musalman.

Both these versions of Mādho's conversion are legendary and most probably untrue and of later origin, because how could a Sūfī of Husain'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.

The truth to our mind appears to have been as follows:-

That Mādho convinced of Husain's sainthood 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 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

1. According to Ḥasanāt-ul-‘ārifīn Husain is credited to have been above all religions. "He said he was neither a Muslim nor a pagan," i.e. Hindu. p.46.

of these forced converts.

Mādhō later on was known as Shaikh Mādhō and his name became the prefix to that of the saint¹ who to the present day is known as Mādhō Lāl Husain.

The love of Husain for Mādhō was unique and he did all that lay in his power to please the boy. Once seeing his co-religionists celebrating holi² and being desirous of doing the same he brought some Gulāl (pinkish-red powder) and threw it on Husain. Husain at once joined him in the fun.³ Basant or the Spring festival like holi was also celebrated each year by Lāl Husain to please Mādhō.⁴

Mādhō Lāl Husain was held in great respect by the people, and the Hindus though they seem to have turned Mādhō out of their society fold, yet could not master their credulous beliefs in supernatural miracle-performing power of the saint and esteemed him along with their Muslim brethren. The author of Tazkīrā fixes the number of his followers as 90,000 but other people, he says, believed the number of his faithful

1. Latif on the authority of Ḥaḳīqat-ul-Fuqarā, History of Lahore, p.146.

2. A Hindu festival-like carnival when people amuse themselves by throwing colour on each other.

3. Tahqīqāt-i-Cishtī, pp.51-52.

4. These festivals are still celebrated at the shrine where he lies buried near his dear Mādhō.

to reach 100,000.¹ The same authority is responsible for the statement that Ḥusain's Gaddīs, sixteen in number, are scattered over India.² Four of these sixteen seats are called Garībs or the pious, the other four are named Dīwāns or the Ministers.³ Three are known as Khākīs or the ash smearers and another four baihlāvals, i.e. entertainers. Nothing is said about the sixteenth,⁴

Ḥusain indulged in wine and probably it is due to alcohol that he died at 53, comparatively early age for a saint. His death occurred in 1008 A.H. or in 1593 A.D. at Shāhdara where he was duly buried.⁵ A few years^{later} as predicted by the saint⁶ 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

1. Vol.III., p.36.

2. The Gaddī-nishīn of Lahore shrine and his relatives are uneducated, ignorant and immoral fellows. They said that they possessed the biography and other books of the saint but refused to show them to me. I, however, collected some Kāfīs from and verified the facts of books with the Kavvālīs.

3. The Gaddī-nishīn of the Lahore shrine is the head Dīwān and is the spiritual descendant of Mādho.

4. p.36.

5. Ibid. p.62.

6. History of Lahore, p.146

Mādhō was buried by his side. Latif describes the tomb as follows:-

"The tomb is situated north of the village of Bāghbānpurā. There are signs of two tombs on high platform, one of Mādhō and the other of Lāl Husain. 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 the lattice work of red and stone. North of the enclosure is a tower in which is reverentially kept the impression of the prophet's feet (Qadam-i-Rasūl) and the west is a mosque. This mosque was constructed by Morā, a Muḥammadan wife of Ranjīt Singh."¹

Lāl Husain appears to have friendships among holy men of his times. He was an intimate friend of Chajju Bhagat who the tradition says called him Shāh Husain 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

1. History of Lahore, p.146.

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

compiling the Ādi Granth, Ḥusain submitted his verse to his inspection. But the Gurū disapproving refused to insert it in the Granth.¹ Ḥusain's poetry, if we may be permitted to say so is in no way inferior to that of many found in the body of the Granth and also a free Ṣūfī like Ḥusain would not care to have his verse inserted in the book of a sect then not so popular as it became after a few years.

II

His Mysticism.

Ḥusain's Ṣūfīism was of a peculiar type and presented a curious medley of Persian and Indian Ṣūfīism. In his mystic ideas and beliefs he was more Indian than anything else but in his daily life he followed the Persian Ṣūfīs more.

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 rolling 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

1. Haws cog. p.107.

Pañjābī Ṣūfī in particular avoided wine and led simple lives but the Ṣūfīs 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.

A second visible feature of Persian influence which calls attention was his love of a youth. As stated above, he was enamoured of a youth Mādho. This idea of youth love 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 youth love originally Greek¹ was borrowed by Muslims of Islāmic countries especially Persia. Some Ṣūfīs and also some orthodox Muḥammadans told us that youth love was practised for the following reasons:-

1. A young man physically is more beautiful than a woman and so he inspires better the Ṣūfī to describe his Beloved.²
2. Man is a weak being and cannot altogether give up his

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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 Women in Greek Poetry, by E.F.M. Benecke.
 2. This is like an artist who wants a beautiful model to paint some divine subject.

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 male and therefore to describe him and to constantly think of him a perfect youth is desirable as constant companion.¹

How far the above explanation is true we can not say.

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

III

His Works.

Husain has left no poetic works. His only work is a number of Kāfīs of a highly mystic type.

His Language and Style.

The language of his verse is simple Pañjābī slightly

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

overlaid with Persian and Arabic words. It excels in expression of thought and has a clear flow. In many ways it is superior to Ibrāhīm Farīd's Panjābī but mostly in its simplicity and effectiveness. It lacks the brilliancy of Urdū poetry but holds its head high with regard to just proportion of words and powerful sense of rhyme. His versification is smoother, his similes more relevant and his words simple but effective than those of Ibrāhīm. It is of less orthodox type but still is not altogether saturated with Indian thought as would be the poetry of Bullhe Shāh. As his character, so his poetry is a curious mixture of ^{thought} Sūfī, Indian and foreign thoughts. The essential feature of his poetry which strikes the reader is that it is highly pathetic and piercing the heart creates a sort of mystic feeling.

Peculiarity of his doctrines.

Husain's peculiarity of character is also visible in his poetry. He believes in fanā but does not seem to ~~be~~ ^{accept} ~~submerged~~ with the doctrine of Ana'l-Haqq without which fanā is not comprehensible. As we will see presently he spent his life in the search of the Beloved whom he knew to be everywhere present but did not see. His excessive love for Mādho also proves that he did not reach those heights where Bullhā soared.

Husain believed in the theory of Karma but on rational Pañjābī basis, as:-

Duniā tō mar jāvaṇā vatt nā āvaṇā
jo kich kittā burā 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.

Husain insists on good Karmas so much that a good many of his poems are composed to express that belief, for example:-

Tārī sāi rabbā ve maī augaṇ hārī
sabh saiyā gunvantīā, tārī sāi rabbā ve maī augaṇ hārī
bhejī sī jis bāt nū piārī rī soī maibāt bisārī
ral mil saiyā dāṅ rangayā piārī rī maī rahī kūārī
maī sāi te parbat dar de, piārī rī maī kaṅ vicārī
kahe husain sahelio mī 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 dowries dyed (for marriage)

I am left unmarried (for not possessing a dowry).

1. From a Kavvālī of Lahore shrine. It is also given in Hans cog, p.115.

2. Pañjāb Univ. MS. p.374, Kāfī 1.

Of my master (God) the mountains are afraid, poor creature, what am I? Husain says O friends without qualities there is but disaster.

Husain believed in Saṃsāra. This belief he appears to have borrowed from the Sikhs, a rational Bhāgvat order founded in the end of the 15th century A.D. by Nānak Dev. The founder of this path had endeavoured to bring saṃsāra to the state of a science and like the Ājīvikas professed that the wheel of saṃsāra contained eighty-four thousand species of life, each of which in its turn possessed millions and millions.¹ But Husain fails to have a clear grasp when he enters into the details. His idea is vague, as:-

Vatt nahī āvaṇā bholiai māai
 eh varī veḷā eh vārī dā
 is caupaṭ de caurāsī khāne
 jug vichare mil coṭā khāde
 kī jānā kī pausī dā.²

Has (soul) not to come again (born), o innocent mother, this turn of time (human birth) is only for this turn (life)³; this chess-board (saṃsāra) comprises

1. Les Sikhs, p.34.

2. Hans cog., p.112.

3. In 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 as his actions permit. Husain does not seem to believe in that.

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 Husain's soul separated from the Universal Soul:-

Dard vichore dā hāl nī maĩ kehnũ akkhā
 sūlā mār divānī kittī birahū piā khiāl, nī maĩ kehnũ
 akkhā
 jaṅgal jaṅgal phirā dhūḍēdī aje nā āyā mahīvāl, nī maĩ
 kehnũ akkhā
 Dhukhan dhūē shāhā vāle jāpholā tā lāl nī, maĩ kehnũ
 akkhā
 kahe husain faqīr rabbānā, vekh nimāniā dā hāl, nī maĩ
 kehnũ akkhā¹.

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 jaṅgal to jaṅgal I roam searching, yet my Mahīvāl² has not

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1. This Kāfī is found in the Panjāb University MS. No. 374 (Kāfī 9) but is slightly different from what the Kavvālīs sing. Here we write it as the Kavvālīs give it.
 2. The story of Sohñī Mahīvāl generally known to the public through the Qissā Sohñī Mahīvāl by Fazal Shāh and other poets and the tragedy said to have taken place in the time of Shāh Jahān from the above Kāfī seems to have been much older and perhaps of ancient origin.

come. The smouldering fire has black flame whenever I stir (it), I see the Lāl;¹ says Shāh Husain, God's faqīr, behold the lot of humble ones.

Husain explained the reason of his ecstatic dance which was against the precepts of the established Musalman beliefs and perhaps against the injunctions of the Qur'ān too.

Shak giā beshakī hoī tã maī augaṅ naccī hã
 je shāhu nāl maī jhumar pāvã sadã suhāgaṅ saccī hã
 jhuṭhe dā mūh kālā hoyã āshak dī gall saccī hai
 shak giā beshakī hoī tã maī augaṅ naccī hã.²

The doubt³ 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.⁴ The liar's face (those^{he} who accused) has been blackened and the lover's statement has been proved true; because the doubt had vanished and doubtlessness is established therefore I devoid of qualities dance.

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1. Lāl here has two meanings; red consuming fire hidden under black smoke and the Beloved hidden from us by Māyā or our ignorance.
 2. From Kavvālīs. Hans cog contains it too.
 3. About God.
 4. Suhāgin or Suhāgaṅ is a woman who has her husband living hence happy.

Here is a Kāfī where Shāh Ḥusain describes in a short but forceful way the sarcasm of the public over his unique way and expresses his determination to continue his search of the Divine Beloved:-

Rabbā mere augaṅ citt nā dhari
 augaṅ hārī ko guṅ nāi andarō fazal karē
 duniā vāliā nā duniā dā mānā naṅgā nū naṅg loī
 nā asī naṅg nā duniā vāle sānū hass dī janī kanī
 kahe Ḥusain fakīr sāsī da sādī dādhe nāl baṅī.¹

O God do not mind my faults; full of faults (I) without quality, from within show compassion (enlightenment). To the worldly the pride of world, to the recluse² renunciation is a cover.³ Neither a recluse I nor worldly (therefore) who so ever laughs at me; says Shāh Ḥusain God's faqīr, my friendship is made with Terrible One (God).

It appears that Ḥusain never attained the stage of Union.

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1. Kāfīā Shāh Ḥusain No.1.
 2. Naṅgā are opposite of worldly so recluses.
 3. 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.
 4. Janī kanī is a Pañjābī expression, very difficult to be rendered in English. It means even a person of ordinary importance ^{what} to say of others.

He ever longed to meet and merge in God. This sentiment that his Beloved was separated from him by his own illusion or ignorance so much overpowered his soul that it sang its pangs of separation in a wonderful touching feeling. This pathos has a very lasting effect on the mind of the reader. No other Ṣūfī can beat Ḥusain in this. Here we give one such composition for general interest.

Sajjan bin rātā hoīā vaddiā
 māṣ jhare jhar piñjar hoyā kaṅkaṅ geīā haḍḍiā
 ishḱ chapāyā chappdā nāhī birhō tanāvā gaḍḍiā
 rājḥā jogī maī jogiānī, maī ke karchaḍḍiā
 kahe shāh husain fakīr sāīdā tere dāmaṅ laggeiā.¹

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; Rājḥā is a Yogī and I his Yogin, what has he done unto me. Says Shāh Ḥusain, God's faqīr I have held Your skirt.

Here is a true example of Shāh Ḥusain's love for intoxicating things. He prays to God to grant him these things with wisdom and contemplation. It clearly shows that he was a

1. Pañjāb University MS. No. 374 Kāfī 5 and Kāfī No. 2.

pleasure-loving Ṣūfī:-

Jetī jetī duniā rām jī tere kolaũ māṅdī
 kuṇḍā deī soṭā/^{deī}koṭṭhī deī bhaṅg dī
 sāfī deī/^{mircā}be mīntī deī raṅg dī
 posat deī bāṭī deī cāṭī deī khaṇḍ dī
 giān deī dhiān deī mahimā sādhu saṅg dī
 shāh husain fakīr sāī da ehī duāī māṅg dī.¹

All the world (people) O Rāma² begs from you.

Give the kuṇḍā³ and soṭā⁴ and a chamber (full) of bhaṅg,⁵
 give the cloth⁶ and black pepper and measureless
 colour,⁷ give poppy⁸ and the cup and a cāṭī⁹ of
 sugar; give wisdom and contemplation and the

1. Pañjāb University MS. 374 Kāfī 42.

2. Rām-jī here does not mean Rāma the hero of the epic poetry but God, omnipresent.

3. Kuṇḍā is a stone vessel in which bhaṅg is rubbed.

4. Soṭā is a long piece of wood about two inches ^{in diameter} wide with ^{which} bhaṅg is pressed and rubbed.

5. Cannabis Indica.

6. A thin cloth for the liquid bhaṅg to filter through.

7. Some sort of colour generally saffron to give a pleasing colour to the preparation.

8. Poppy seeds which are added to the preparation.

9. Cāṭī is a big earthen vessel used for storing things.

honour of sādhus' company (says)

Shāh Ḥusain, the faqīr of God, this is the
request of a faqīr.

Such was Ḥusain, the peculiar Ṣūfī, who lived in the hopes
of meeting his parted Beloved, but who utilized the period
of ~~attente~~ ^{wailing} in drinking wine and bhang.

Sources of Information.

1. Pañjāb University MSS. No. 374 Folios 2-4 743. This manuscript in Gurmukhī characters contains about forty-five Kāfīs of Ḥusain. They are not very correct. The compiler has mixed most of them. Some, however, are correct.
2. Kāfiā Shāh Ḥusain, a small brochure containing 27 Kāfīs published at Lahore.¹
3. The Kāfīs collected from Kavvālīs, elders and Mirāsīs at Lahore.

On the life of Ḥusain the following books exist:-

1. Bahāriā, as stated below by Bahār Khān, We have not succeeded in tracing the book.
2. Ḥaḳīqat-ul-Fuḳarā contains an account of Shāh Ḥusain. It is out of print.
3. Tahḳīqāt-i-Cishti by Nūr Aḥmad Cishti. This Urdū book speaks of Ḥusain at length.²
4. Tazkirā-Awliyā-i-Hind,³ by Mirza Muḥammad of Delhi. In Urdū but Persian characters. 3 volumes. The third volume speaks of Ḥusain and Mādho.

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1. Sant Singh & Sons, Lahori Gate, Lahore.
 2. Koh-i-Noor Press, Lahore.
 3. Muir Press, Delhi, 1928.

5. Ḥasanāt-ul-‘arīfīn,¹ by Maulvī Muḥammad ‘Umar Khān, is an Urdū rendering of the Persian work Ḥasanāt-ul-‘arīfīn of Prince Dārā Shikoh, gives an account of Shāh Ḥusain.
6. History of Lahore by Syed Muḥammad Latif in English. Speaks of Ḥusain also.
7. Hans cog by Buddh Singh contain some second-hand information about Ḥusain.
8. Yād-raftagān,² another biography of saints, contains a few pages on Ḥusain's life.

1. Kapur Art Printing Works, Lahore.

2. Islāmīa Steam Press, Lahore.

CHAPTER III.

Sultān Bāhū.

1631 A.D. to 1691 A.D.

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 all agree about the date of his death. He died on Friday night at early dawn in first Jumādī alṣānī month in the year 1102 A.H.¹ i.e., 1691 A.D. 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 1630 A.D. at Āvān, Sherkoṭ in Jhang district. From having been born at Āvān he is also known as Āvān.³

According to Manāqabei-Sultānī his ancestors migrated to India from Arabia after the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusain.⁴ Having fought and defeated the Hindus of Pind dādan Khan Ahmadabad and the districts around them, they forced them and

1. Manāqab-i-Sultānī, p.125.

2. Idem.

3. Ibid, p.4.

4. Sons of 'Alī and grand-sons of the Prophet.

their Chiefs to embrace Islām.¹ Whatever his ancestors may have been the father of Bāhū was a resident of Jhang district. He is said to have been a person of quiet disposition and so was his wife, the mother of Bāhū.² Legends relating to his childhood are numerous and of varied nature. One of them is so interesting that we cannot help relating it here. It runs:- When Bāhū was a boy, he was such a devout Musalman that a sort of radiance spread around his face and any Hindu who witnessed it was so impressed that forgetting all, he renounced his own religion and became a Musalman. This miracle wrought alone by his radiance frightened the Hindus, who in a delegation waited upon his father and requested him to let his son Bāhū keep indoors, except at certain hours. This request was complied with and the young boy thereafter had to remain indoors.³

His family was held in great regard by the emperor Shāh Jahān who conferred on his father Sultān Bāzīd Kahar Jānan in jāgīr.⁴

Bāhū received his education at home and his mother was mostly responsible for it. It is said that after he had

1. Manāqab-i-Sultānī, p.7.

2. She was known as Bībī Rāstī Quds Sarā, cf. p.8.

3. Manāqab-i-Sultānī, p.40.

4. Ibid. p.126.

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 so he had better go and find a male teacher.¹ Thereupon he left his wives and family and went to Ḥaḡrat Ḥabīb-ullāh Qādirī² at Baghdād³ on the banks of the river Rāvi.

After a short period of discipleship Sultān Bāhū defeated his master in his power of Karāmāt or miracles.⁴ Thereupon Ḥabīb-ullāh frankly informed him of his inability to teach any further and directed him to go to his master Ḥaḡrat Pīr Saiyid Abdul Raḡmān of Delhi. This Abdul Raḡmān as Ḥabīb-ullāh described him "was apparently a mansabdār of the emperor but possessed great spiritual knowledge".⁵ Sultān Bāhū then went to Delhi and learnt from Abdul Raḡmān⁶ what he desired.

1. Manāqab-i-Sultānī, p.34.

2. Ibid. p.35. Who was this Ḥabīb-ullāh we do not know. There were so many of this name at the time. Beale in his dictionary mentions two, one a celebrated poet of Āgrā, and another "the author of an Arabic work called Bahr-ul-Mantiq or the Sea of Logic".

3. This Baghdād is different from the famous city of Irāq. Most probably it was a village on the banks of Rāvi.

4. Manāqab-i-Sultānī, pp.36-37.

5. Ibid. p.37.

6. Ibid. p.37. This Abdul Raḡmān could not be any other than the son of Abdul Āzīz Naqshbandī. Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Dārā shikoh married his daughter in 1062 A.H. 1651 A.D. 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 responded and overlooked the emperor's attentions.¹ Bāhū had four married wives and seventeen unmarried ones. Of the former three were Muslim and the fourth a Hindu. He had eight sons of his married wives.² This sort of life though sanctioned by the Muslim law did not befit 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 1180 A.H. (1767 A.D.) 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

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1. Tawārīkh Sultān Bāhū, pp.8-9. We see no other reason of Bāhū's indifference towards Aurangzeb except that either he doubted his attentions or that he disapproved of his treatment of the Ṣūfī saints and friends of the late prince Dārā Shikoh whom the Ṣūfīs and especially the Qādirīs loved and counted as one of them.
 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 Pañjāb Chiefs, Vol.I., p.478.

and left the faithful unmolested.¹ What the Bhangī chiefs spared nature did not.² Some time after, the Chenab having changed its course, its waters covered the grave-yard, and many tombs were swept away. The Murīds and Khalīfās thereupon began to weep and wail but a voice recomforted them by telling that next morning an unknown person would come and bring from under the water the box containing the dead body of Sulṭān Bāhū. As stated by the voice a strange person brought the box out of the river³ and ordering it to be buried under a pipal tree in a deserted building disappeared.⁴ The box 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.⁵ This event occurred ten years after the Sikh raid on the district, *b.e.*, in 1190 A.H. or 1775 A.D.⁶

1. Manāqab-i-Sulṭānī, p.130.

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

3. Manāqab-i-Sulṭānī, p.130.

4. This unknown person describes the tradition was Sulṭān Bāhū himself.

5. With due respect to the sentiment of the faithful we rather doubt that the present tomb contains the ashes of the saint.

6. Manāqab-i-Sulṭānī, p.131.

II

His Works.

Bāhū, says the author of Tawārīkh Sultān Bāhū, in all wrote a hundred and forty books in Persian and Arabic.¹ Nothing is recorded about his works in Pañjābī except that he wrote poetry in Pañjābī also.² What happened to this Pañjābī poetry is not known. Most probably as Pañjābī was considered vulgar and unscholarly, his Pañjābī works were ignored and ultimately lost.³ In spite of all this indifference some of Bāhū's Pañjābī verse was preserved by the Gaddī-Nishīns though not for the love of it. The followers and admirers of Sultān Bāhū are mostly villagers and uneducated people who know no other language but their own mother tongue which is Pañjābī. So the descendants to maintain their own prestige and influence over these credulous people have preserved some of Bāhū's Pañjābī verse.⁴ It is sung by the Kavvālīs on the 'Urs days.

1. Manāqab-i-Sultānī, p.181.

2. Ibid. p.239.

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

4. As mentioned ^{below} above some of it has been published by Miā Fazal Din of Lahore.

Bāhū, relates the author of Manāqab-i-Sultānī, wrote in his 'Ain-ul-Fuqar that he thanked his mother for having given him the name Bāhū which by the alteration of one nukta or point becomes Yāhū.¹

The only published Sīharfī of Bāhū is very lengthy. Each letter of the alphabet has one, two or four short poems each consisting of eight Tukks. But some letters have more than twenty such poems. The most striking thing of Bāhū's poetry is that evêry second tukk ends in hū. Hū is regarded as a name of Allāh and it is considered highly meritorious to repeat it as often as possible. This style of each line ending in hū is entirely a new innovation in Pañjābī poetry. It is also a great help to establish the authenticity of Bāhū's Pañjābī verse.

Bāhū, as judged from his poetry belonged to the philosophic school of Şūfīs but for some reason or other hid his philosophy under the veil of orthodoxy. It may be that to ensure his safety² he disguised his philosophic thought.

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1. p.8. Yāhū, it is said, in the Pañjābī is as important and efficacious a name of God as Om, in Sanskrit.
 2. As mentioned above Aurangzeb, the emperor, kept an eye over him through his regard and kind attention. For this very reason as we have said before ^{low} Ināyat Shāh the great Qādirī saint turned away his beloved disciple Bullhe Shāh.

Then there was another reason which could not permit him that liberty and joy which Bullhe would enjoy. That was his sainthood. He had become a Pīr not in the sense of preceptor but a religious head and object of respect and worship. This demanded a certain amount of reserve and prudence on his part. So he had to present his philosophic ideas slightly tinged with orthodox thought, in spite of his personal convictions. Yet, it is worth stating here that Bāhū's ideas though philosophic were different from those of Bullhe Shāh his younger contemporary. He does not seem to have believed in karma and reincarnation and if he did, they were not convictions with him. This was a great lack of balance and equilibrium in his pantheistic philosophy and it is this lack which accounts for his indulgence in sexual pleasures and princely living. His private life was a natural consequence due to the lack of this balance.

Bāhū's verse is composed in simple and unpretentious style. It has a well marked character of its own and 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 to Bāhū is that his verse is pious and bereft of all human love and its ideals.

Bāhū's language is Panjābī, as it is spoken in Jhang and the districts around it. It has all the sweetness and

simplicity but is not rustic or vulgar.

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

The following poems are extracts from Bāhū's Sīharfī:-

This is Bāhū's ideal of a faqīr -

Jīm jiūdiā mar rahnā hove, tā ves fakīrā kariye hū arūḥī
 je koī suṭṭe guddar kūrā vāng arūḥī sahiye hū
 je koī kaḍḍe gālā mehnā us nū jī jī kahiye hū
 gilā-ulāhmbhā bhañḍī khavārī yārde pārō sahiye hū¹

Jīm: if dead while living we want to remain, then the
 robe of faqīrs we should wear, O He;

If any one throws at us worn out and rubbish²
 like a dunghill we should bear, O He;

He who abuses and taunts, him, we should say sir,
 sir, O He;

Complaint and taunts, scandal and troubles we
 should bear for the Beloved's sake, O He.

1. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū, p.9.

2. Guddar is worn out cloth.

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

Jīm jinhā shau alif thī pāyā, oh fer kun'ān nā paṛh de hū
oh māran dam muhabbat vālā, dūr hoyo ne parde hū
dozakh bihisht Gulām tinhāde, cā kītto ne barde hū
maī kurbān tinhā tō bāhū, jehre vāhdat de vice varde hū¹

Jim: those who have found the Lord Alif² they again do
not read the Qur'ān, O He;

They respire the breath of love and their veils³ 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.

Bāhū speaks of his beloved.

Ce caṛh cannā tū kar roshanāī te jikkar karēde tāre hū
tere jahe cann kai sai caṛhde, sānū sajjanā bājh hanerā hū
jitthe cann hai sādā caṛhdā, kadar nahī kujh terī hū
jis de kāran asā janam gavāyā bāhū yār milsī ikk verī hū⁴

1. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū, p.9.

2. Alif here means God.

3. Meaning their ignorance has vanished and they have seen
the Truth.

4. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū, p.10.

Ce: rise moon spread your light and the stars will
talk of it,¹ O He;

Many hundred moons like you might rise without the
Friend to me is dark, O He;

Where that moon of mine rises there no regard
for you is felt, O He;

For whom, Bāhū, I have lost my life, once that
Friend will meet, O He.

Here is Bāhū's definition of real lovers (seekers).

Nūn: nā oh hindu nā oh moman nā sijdā den masitī hū
dam dam de vicc vekhan maulā, jinhā jān kazā nā kittī hū
āe dāne te bane divāne jinhā zāt sahī vañjh kittī hū
maĩ kurbān tinhā tē bāhū jinhā ishk bāzī cuṇ lītī hū.²

Nūn: neither Hindus are they, nor are they Muslims nor in
the mosques they in obeisance bow, O He;
In each and every breath³ they behold God, who have
not distorted their lives, O He;

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1. Will discuss of its light being so strong as compared to
their own light.
 2. Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū, p.22.
 3. In each creature or in the breath of each creature that
breathes.

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 jāṃā pah ghar āyā, ism kamāvanzātī hū
nā otthe kufar islām dī manzil nā otthe maut hayātī hū
shāh rag thī nazdik langhesī pā andūre jhātī hū
oh aṣā vice aṣī uhuā vice dūr huī kurbātī hū.¹

He: dressed in God I come home, to earn the Name is my
profession, O He;

Neither there are 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,² O He.

Again:-

Nūn: nāhī jogī nāhī jaṭṭgam nā maī cilā kamāyā hū
nā maī bhajj masītī varīyā nā tasbā kharkāyā hū
jo dam gāfil so dam kāfir sānū murshid ehpharmāyā hū
murshid sānū sohñī kittī bāhū ikko pal vice cā bakhshāyā
hū.³

1. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū, p.24.

2. Has disappeared or has left the soul.

3. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū, p.23.

Nūn: neither a yogī nor a jaṭṭgam¹ nor have I observed
the forty days' fast, O He:

Neither have I rushed into a mosque nor with rosary
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, ³Bāhū, in one moment he
procured me grace, O He.

Nūn mazhabā vāle darvāze ucce, rāh rabbānī morā hū
Paṇḍtā te mulvāniā kolō chap chap langē de corī hū
aḍḍiā māran karn bakheṛe dardmandā dīa ghoṛī hū
bāhū cal utthāī vasiāi jitthe dāvā nā kisse horī hū.⁴

Nūn: religion's⁵ gates are high and the path of God
is like a drain,⁶ O He; from the Paṇḍits and the maulvīs,

-
1. Sādhus and darveshis with long braided hair.
 2. By fervently counting the beads.
 3. Meaning, has done me a great favour by teaching the secret,
i.e. "the breath when one is forgetful of God that breath
is false."
 4. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū, p.22.
 5. Religion here stands for any established church.
 6. Drain in Pañjābī signifies humility.

it passes hidden and concealed,¹ O He; they kick with their heels and create trouble (but this) for the sufferers is a *ghoṛī*,² O He; Bāhū, let us go there and live where no one else's claims exist,³ O He.

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

Ain āshik hove teṣ ishk kamāve dil rakkhe vāṅg pahāṛā hū
lakh lakh badiā hazār ulāhme, kar jāne bāg bahārā hū
mansūr jahe cukk sūlī ditte vākif kul asrārā hū
sijjdiyā sār dil nā cāhe bāhū tore kāfir kahn hazārā hū.⁴

-
1. It passes low and concealed, i.e., the mystic lover being afraid of the clergy keeps himself hidden from them and is humble.
 2. They try to crush the mystics underfoot and create trouble for them but to the lover these kicks and trouble appear like that auspicious song which is sung at marriage celebrations indicating the approaching union.
 3. Where no one professes anything, i.e., where there are seekers but no professors of paths.
 4. Majmūā 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 Manşūr was hanged on the cross, who was acquainted with all the secrets, O He; to bow head in obeisance¹ heart wants not, Bāhū, though thousands might proclaim me heathen, O He.

Bāhū expresses his sentiments for his Murshid here.

Mīm murshid makkā tālib hājī kābā ishk banāyā hū
 vicc hazūr sadā har veḷe kariai hajj savāyā hū
 hikk dam maithō judā jo hove dil milane te āyā hū
 murshid ain hayātī bāhū mere lū lū vicc samāyā hū.²

Mīm: the Murshid is Makkā, seeker the pilgrim and love is the Kā'aba, O He; in his presence ever and at all times³ 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.

-
1. This obeisance is made during the five daily prayers of the Muhammadans.
 2. Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū, p.21.
 3. Waiting upon him at each minute of the day and night is like pilgrimage to the Kā'aba.

Bāhū like the orthodox Qādirīs composed a few poems in praise of Abdul-Qādir Jīlānī the founder of the Qādiriyā sect. Here is one poem of this kind.

Sīn suḡ faryād pīrā diyā pīrā, maī akkh suḡāvā kehnū hū
 tere jehā mainū hor nā koī, maī jehe lakh tainū hū
 phol nā kāgaz badiā vāle dar tō dhak nā mainū hū
 maī vice aiḡ gunāh nā honde bāhū tū bakhshīdō kāhnū hū.¹

Sīn: listen to (my) complaint O Pīr of the Pīrs,² 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,³ 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.

This is the condition of a real lover.

Ain ishk dī bhāh haḡḡā dā bālan āshak baiḡ saḡēde hū
 ghat ke jān jigar vice ārā, vekkh kabāb talēde hū
 sar gardān phiran har veḡe khūn jigar dā pīde hū
 hoge hazārā āshak bāhū par ishk nasīb kīde hū.⁴

1. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū, p.14.

2. A name of Abdul Qādir Jīlānī.

3. The papers containing the account of my bad deeds.

4. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū p. 16.

Ain: love is fire, bones¹ the fuel and sitting in front the lovers warm themselves,² 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?³ O He.

What the Beloved expects of the lover is a white heart and not the white face. It is very nicely expressed in the lines given below:-

Dāl dil kāle kolō mūh kālā caṅgā, je koī us nūjāne hū
 mūh kālā dil acchā hove tā dil yār pachāne hū
 eh dil yār de picche hove, matā yār vī kade sanjhāne hū
 bāhū sai ālam chor masītā naṭṭhe, jab lage ne dil ṭikāne hū⁴

Dāl: than 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 follow⁵ the beloved, might be that He

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1. The different parts of the lovers body burn in the fire of love, hence fuel.
 2. The warmth or suffering is experienced by the lovers, i.e., their souls.
 3. Meaning those who attain love, (i.e., the Beloved's love) are rare though thousands try to have it.
 4. Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū, p.11.
 5. Should constantly seek the Beloved.

him recognises,¹ O He; Bāhū, hundreds of learned men have left the mosques and run (to their Pīrs) when their heart has attained its mark,² O He.

Who is pure and saved is told in this couplet:-

Jīm jo pākī bin pāk māhī de, so pākī jān palītī hū
hikk butt-khanne jā vāsai hoai ikk khālī rahe masītī hū.³

Jīm: those who are pure without the purity of the Beloved⁴ consider their purity to be impurity.

Some in the idol house have reached union, others have failed in mosques.⁵

Bāhū disapproves of faqīrī without knowledge. He says:-

Ain ilam bājhe koī fukar kamāve kāfir mare divānā hū
sai varīā dī kare ibādat rāh allāh kannu begānā hū
gafalat kannu nā khulsan parde dil zāhil butt khānnā hū
maī kurbān tinhā de bāhū jinhā mīliyā yār yagānā hū.⁶

1. So that he recognising the search will accept the lover.
2. When lovers' hearts have become pure and follow the Beloved (i.e., ^{W. Spirit} they see Him in all and love Him in all) then they have attained the light and so leave the church.
3. Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū, p.8.
4. Purity without God is uncleanness. It is not by professing the said to be pure religion that one attains salvation but by loving God.
5. "Some," says Bāhū, "attained Union remaining in the idol-house or religion that presents idolatry and so 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 latter and not to the Spirit.
6. Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū, p.16.

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 will 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 jehṛā katal māshūk de manne hū
ishk nā chore mūh nā more tore sai talvārā khanne hū
jitt val dekkhe rāz māhī dā lagā udāhī vānjhe hū
saccā ishk hasnain¹ Alī dā bāhū sar deve rāz nā bhanne hū.²

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. Ḥasnain stands for both Ḥasan and Ḥusain.

2. Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū, p.16.

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

Jīm jīūde kī jānaṇ sār moyā dī so jānejo mardā hū
 kabarā de vice ann nāpānī utthe kharc turēdā ghardā hū
 ikk vichorā mā pyo 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 He;² first there is the separation of parents and brothers,³ second is the trouble of the grave, O He;

Bāhū, his faith there alone rests safe, who keeps his head before God, O He.

This extract illustrates well his regard for the Kalmā:-⁴

He hor dāvā nā dil dī kāri, kalmā dil dī kāri hū
 kalmā dūr jaṅgāl karēdā kalmē mail uttārī hū
 kalmā hire lāl jawāhar, kalme haṭṭ pasārī hū
 itthe utthe doṅī jahānī bāhū kalmā daulat sārī hū.⁵

1. Majmū'a Sultān Bāhū, p.9.

2. That is, there 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.

He: other profession for heart is not efficient, the Kalmā ~~is~~ 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 spread its shop,¹ O He; Bāhū, here and there in both the worlds the Kalmā is all the wealth,² O He.

Islām is the only true path, says our poet.

eh dil hijar fīrākō sarḍā eh dam mare nā jivē hū
saccā rāh Muḥammad vālā bāhū jaī vicc babb labhīve hū.³

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

1. By spreading its shop means that Kalmā is spreading or Islām is progressing.
2. That is, the Kalmā is the greatest and entire wealth as its repetition wins the pleasures of the world and heaven.
3. Majmūā Sultān Bāhū, p.4.

Sources of Information.

1. Manāqab-i-Sultānī¹ (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.

2. Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Pañjāb², by Ghulām Sarvar, in Urdū, also contains some important information about the saint.

3. Tawārīkh Sultān Bāhū, in Persian. This hand-written 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.

On the Pañjābī works of Bāhū there is only one book published. This is a collection the authenticity of which has been well established. The title of it is:-

1. Husain Steam Press, Lahore.

2. Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1877.

3. Compiled by

Majmū'a Abyāt Sultān Bāhū Pañjābī.¹

It is in Urdū characters and contains a very lengthy Siharfī.

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

1. 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.

Life of Bullhe Shāh.

1680 A.D. to 1758 A.D.

I

Bullhe Shāh is one who is universally admitted to have been the greatest of the Pañjābī mystics. No Pañjābī mystic poet enjoys to the present day a wider celebrity and a greater reputation than he. His Kāfis have gained unique popularity. In truth he is one of the greatest Ṣūfīs of the world and in thought stands equal to 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 and 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 Vedāntic thought

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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 often put him to inconvenience and in trouble but he does not mind anything for his belief. It is on account of this phase of the Pañjābī character that reforming sects have always gained ground in the Pañjāb.

is its chief characteristic.

He was born in a Saiyid family residing at the village Pandokī of Kasur in the Lahore district, in the year 1680 A.D.¹ This was during the twenty-first year of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign.² According to C. F. Usborne³ he died in 1171 A.H. or 1758 A.D., i.e. in the short reign of 'Ālamgīr the second at the ripe old age of 78 years. The Kavvālīs say that he was brought up and educated on strictly Muḥammadan lines as was the wont of Saiyid families of those days. Mr. C. F. Usborne says that his father was a man of Darveshic ideas.⁴ This makes it difficult therefore to decide between the 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 as they were much enraged when Bullhe Shāh became a Ṣūfī and a disciple of the Arāfī

1. See Sāī Bullhe Shāh, p.5., and Bullhe Shāh by C. F. Usborne, p.4.

2. Aurangzeb ascended the Mughal throne in May 1659.

3. C. F. Usborne's ^{Pamphlet}, p.4.

4. See p. 4 of his pamphlet.

Ināyat Shāh. We conclude therefore that Bullhe Shāh's father could not have been a man of theosophic disposition and what Mr. C. F. Usborne meant by darveshic ideas was that he was a religious man.

After having completed his education, it is said that Bullhā went to Lahore. Of the two traditions one says that as was the custom of those days he went 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 legend of 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. This decided him to make him his Murshid. He turned his steps towards the house of the Shāh. On reaching it he found him engrossed in his work in the garden.¹ Having introduced himself, Bullhā requested to be accepted as a disciple and taught the secret of God. Thereupon Ināyat said:-

Bullhiā rabb dā pāṇ ai
edharō puṭṭaṇ odharō lāṇ hai.²

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1. Ināyat Shāh was an Arāī or gardener cultivator. 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 printed books mentioned ^{below} above.

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

The second tradition says that Shāh Ināyat was the Head-gardener of the Shālimār gardens of Lahore. When in Lahore Bullhe Shāh visited them. It being 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 ~~him~~ the sin of stealing he looked at the ripe fruit and said:- "Allāh Ghanī."² On utterance of these magic words a mango fell into his hands. He repeated the same several times, and thus collected a few mangoes. Tying them in his scarf³ he moved on to find a comfortable place to sit and eat them up. At this time he met the head-gardener who accused him of stealing the fruit from the Royal gardens.

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1. Sāī Bullhe Shāh and Bullhe Shāh (Panjāb University) both give this tradition, see pp. 8 and 13 respectively.
 2. Some Kavvālīs relate that the magic word was "Bismillāh", the author of Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind agrees with them, see p.38.
 3. A long piece of cloth wound round the shoulders by Panjābī men.

Considering him to be a man of low origin and desirous of demonstrating to him his occult powers he 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 ~~the~~ 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 reduce their power." So saying he uttered Allāh Ghanī and all the fruit in the gardens fell on the lovely lawns. Once again he repeated the same and the fruit went back on the trees. This defeat inflicted by the guardian whom the young Saiyid Bullhe Shāh considered ignorant and low revolutionised his whole thought. Falling at the feet of Ināyat Shāh he asked to be classed as a disciple which request was immediately granted.¹

The above two traditions though different in detail, come to the same conclusion that Bullhā, impressed by the greatness of Ināyat, became his disciple. Bullhe Shāh in

1. This tradition is equally popular as the other, It was related to me at Lahore by some Kavvālīs. The author of Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind relates it in a slightly different manner. See p. 38.

his verse often speaks of his master Ināyat Shāh and thanks his good luck for having met such a Murshid.

Bullhā shauh ve nīc kamīnī
shauh ināyat tārī.¹

Say Bullhā O God the Lord
Ināyat has saved me, low and mean.

And:-

Bullhe Shāh dī suṇo hakāit
Hādī pakriā hog hadāit
Merā Murshid Shāh Ināyat
uh laṅghāai pār.²

Listen to the story of Bullhe Shāh, he has got hold of the Pīr and shall have salvation. My teacher, Shāh Ināyat, he will take me across.

In an account dealing with Pañjābī poets it would perhaps be out of place to speak at great length of Shāh Ināyat who wrote in Persian.³ But his connection with Pañjābī was the influence exerted by him through his teachings and writings.

1. Sāī Bullhe Shāh, p.23, Kāfī 6.

2. Sāī Bullhe Shāh, p.7.

3. Shāh Ināyat it is said always preached in Pañjābī and used to quote some Pañjābī verse of his own composition. But as Pañjābī was considered the language of the vulgar and uncultured these compositions were not preserved.

Bullhā, the Rūmī of the Pañjāb came most directly under his influence and having learnt from him was inspired to write his remarkable poetry. It will therefore be proper to give here some short account of this wonderful man.

II

Inayat and his school.¹

Ḥaḡrat Shaikh Muḥammad Ināyat-ullāh generally known as Shāh Ināyat Qādirī was born at Kasur in the Lahore district, of Arāī parents. The Arāīs in the Pañjāb were gardeners or petty cultivators. They are known to be Hindu converts to Islām and are therefore considered inferior by Muḥammadans. Rose in his Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Pañjāb, etc. writes:- "The nucleus of this caste was probably a body of Hindu Saini or Kamboh cultivators who were converted to Islam at an early period."² Ibbetson and Wilson also are of the same opinion and their view is supported by traditions of some Arāī sub-castes who claim descent from Hindu princes of solar and

1. We are indebted to Khān Sāhib Shaikh Siraj-ud-din, retired Assistant Post Master General, the present Gaddī-nishīn of Shāh Ināyat for the written information he furnished on the life and work of his ancestor. For convenience we will refer to this information as Sirā. Inform. i.e., Siraj-ud-din Information.

2. Vol. II, p.15.

lunar races.¹

The descendants of Shāh Ināyat, however, claim descent from Kulāb, an ancestor of the Prophet Muhammad.[†] The genealogical tree which Shaikh Siraj-ud-din 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.² The Arāis³ according to all possible 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 bear the year 1110 A.H.⁴ or 1699 A.D. From this we can conclude that he was a contemporary of Aurangzeb and perhaps saw a part of the

1. Vol. II., p. 15.

†. *Sirā. Inform. pp. 3 and 4.*

2. We have no motive to doubt the statement of the Shaikh Sahib. If we do not accept it, it is because all scientific and historical evidence is against it.
3. The Shaikh showed to us a manuscript in Persian from which he had copied the genealogical tree. This manuscript from its appearance and paper seemed to be of a very recent origin.
4. This endorsement according to the Panjābī Ṣūfī custom was 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 Ṣūfī had the right to give such permission.

reign of Shāh Jahān. The Wazāif-i-Kalān gives the year of his death as 1147 A.H., i.e., 1735 A.D. during the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh.^{1*} He was educated after the manner of his times and received a good knowledge of Persian and Arabic. As he was born with mystic disposition he became a disciple of the famous Ṣūfī scholar and saint Muḥammad 'Alī Raḡā Shattārī.² After the period of studies he was created Khalīfā. Later on he received the Khilāfat of other seven sub-sects of the Ṣūfī Qādirīs.³ Soon after this event he left Kasur and migrated to Lahore. The author of Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind says that the great enmity of the Ḥākim Ḥusain Khān compelled him to migrate⁴ but his descendants assert that it was the order of his teacher that brought him to Lahore.⁵ 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 times.⁶

2. The Shattārī is a sub-sect of the Qādirī sect of Ṣūfīism.

3. Sirā. Infor. p.5.

4. P.36.

5. Sirā. Infor. p.8.

6. Idem.

1* The author of Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind, however, puts it in

1141 A.H. See p.36.

III.

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 Shikoh.¹ They were very much inclined towards the Hindu philosophy. Shāh Ināyat walked in their steps. Being a man of scholarly habits he wrote several books and commented upon the works of his predecessors. In his Dastur-ul-'Amal² he describes the different methods of the Hindus employed in ancient times for the attainment of Salvation.³ He classes them in different groups. The seventh and the last group according to him is efficacious to procure for the seeker the spiritual state of Parma Hamsa. This knowledge, believed Ināyat, was carried by the Greek invaders under Alexander the Great to Greece from where it was borrowed by the Mystics of Islām.⁴

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1. See British Museum Catalogue, Rieu I., 54, and II., 828, and also Journal Asiatique, 1915, p.268.
 2. This manuscript is in the possession of the present gaddī-nishīn.
 3. These methods are those various Yogic practises used by the Yogis of old to control the senses and to concentrate on the Divine in their long meditations.
 4. Dastur-ul-'Amal, p.114.

Shāh Inayāt, besides his enunciation of Hindu thought, wrote a considerable amount on Ṣūfīism and its development. He is said to have written a commentary on the Holy Qur'ān but it is not available. The following are the Persian works of Shāh Ināyat, now in the possession of his Khalifā descendant, Shaikh Siraj-ud-din:-

1. Iṣlāh-ul-'Amal, a work on Ṣūfīism and Ṣūfī practices.
2. Laṭāif Ghaibiā.
3. Irshād-ul-ṭālibīn.
4. Notes on Jawāhir Khamsā of Muḥammad Ghāṭṣ of Gwalior.²

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.³

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1. These manuscripts have never been studied or spoken of by scholars as yet. They are mostly in Persian but abound in Arabic vocabulary.
 2. Spiritually Shāh Ināyat was a descendant of Muḥammad Ghāṭṣ of Gwalior, Sirā. Inform p.3.
 3. 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. None of them is sure of the statement he makes.

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 the means that they employed to persuade him to renounce his choice. The following will sufficiently demonstrate the indignation of the family:-

Bullhā^e nū samjhāvan āiyā bhainā te bharjāīyā
 āl nabī aulād alī dī bullhiā tū kī likā lāiyā
 mann lai bullhiā sādā kahnā chadḍ de pallā rāiyā.

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 Arāī.²

To this reproach Bullhā firmly but indifferently replies:

Jehrā sānū saiyad ākkhe dozakh miln sajāiyā
 Jehrā sānū sāī ākkhe bahishtī pigā pāiyā
 Je tū loṛē bāg bahārā Bullhiā Tālib hojā rāiyā.³

-
1. In India the term al is confined to descendants through a daughter. Descendants through a son are called aulād.
 2. The Arains are also called Rains, see Rose, Glossary, etc. 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.

He who calls me a Saiyid, shall receive punishments in Hell, he who calls me $\text{am} \text{Arāī}$ shall in heaven have swings; O Bullhā if you want pleasures of the garden become a disciple of the Arāī.

Bullhā seems to have suffered at the hands of his family as he has once or twice mentioned in his poetry.¹ 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 love and encouraged him in his search for ~~truth~~.²

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 essentially against Ṣūfīs of the Ināyat Shāh's type, he forbade Bullhā to speak freely and openly against the established Muḥammadan beliefs. But Bullhā did not pay heed to his master's valuable advice as is clear from this:-

Bullhā^e nū lok mattī dēde bullhā tū jā baiḥ masītī
 vicc masītā de kih kujh hundā jo dilō namāz nākittī
 bāhrō pāk kītte kih hundā jo andarō gaī nā palītī

1. See Sāī Bullhe Shāh, p.106 Kāfī 82.

2. The same sister Mr. C.F. *Usborne* states remained a spinster to keep company to her bachelor brother. See trans. p.5.

bin murshid kāmīl bullhiā terī aivē gaī ibādat kittī
 bhatṭh namāzā te cikkar roze kalme te phir gaī siāhī
 bullhā shāh shauh andarō miliā ~~bhullī~~ phire lukāī.¹
 To Bullhā people give advice (saying) O Bullhā go and
 sit in the Mosque; what avails it going to 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 Ramzān! Over the Kalmā black has passed. Says
 Bullhā Shāh, the Lord has met from within but the
 people are going astray.

Such utterances annoyed Shāh Ināyat who practised Ḥaqīqat
 (reality) in the garb of Ṭarīqat² to escape the fate that so
 many Sūfīs in Islāmic lands had met before.^{3*} But Bullhā with
 the enthusiasm of a new convert would not listen to his good
 counsels. This act of disobedience made Ināyat Shāh extremely
 angry and so he sent him away. After some time realising

1. Kanūn-i-'Ishq, Vol. II., p. 211.

3* Like Manṣūr-al-Ḥallāj and Shamsi-Tabriz, etc.

2. Ṭarīqat here means the established path, i.e., Islām, and
 Ḥaqīqat represents the Truth of Sūfīism.

the truth of his master's advice,¹ Bullhe Shāh regretted his past attitude and wanted to go back to his master. He tried all devices but Shāh Ināyat ignored him. The only way then left open to Bullhā was to approach him personally. But how 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 sufficient he came to Lahore and waited for an opportunity. One day when Ināyat Shāh had entered a mosque, Bullhe 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:-

Vatt nā karsā mān rājheṭe yār dā ve ariā
 ishk allāh dī zāt lokā dā mehṇā, kaī val karā pukār kise
 use dā hāl ulo jāṇe, kaṇ koī dam mārḍā ve ariā.²
 nahī rahiṇā

1. In those days to speak in that strain was the greatest act of heresy. Aurangzeb was very keen on punishing the Ṣūfīs 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.151-53. The Qādirīs over-dreaded him as Dārā was an initiated Qādirī. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol.I. p.298.

2. Sāī Bullhe Shāh, Kāfī 48.

Never again shall I bear pride for my friend Rāj̄hā (God) O comrade; love is an attribute of God but for people it is a taunt (i.e. it becomes a thing to be taunted about). Whom shall I call (my own because) no one is to stay (live eternally); his (one who loves) condition He (God, the Rāj̄hā) alone knows, who is there that remains alive, O comrade.

When he was singing thus he saw his master among his audience, and so he continued -

Vatt nā karsā mān rāj̄hete yār dā ve ariā
 ajjajokarī rāt mere ghar rahī khāve ariā
 dil diā ghunḍhiā khol asā nāl ḥass khā ve ariā.¹

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

This was sufficient for Ināyat to know who the singer was. Coming near he asked, "O singer, are you not Bullhā?" "No, Hazrat," replied the singer, "I am not Bullhā but ~~B~~hullā," i.e., repentent.² He was forgiven and once again he came to live with his master. He remained with him till the day of his death.

1. Sāī Bullhe Shāh, Kāfī 48.

2. Sāī Bullhe Shāh, p. 11, and on the authority of Kavvālīs.

IV

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 Sūfī doctrines marks the first of the three periods. This period was chiefly spent in study but he made some verse during this time too. These compositions were after the traditional Sūfī poetry of the Panjāb, i.e. simple but emotional and sentimental. From the literary point of view, this poetry of Bullhā though it is graceful, charming and simple, yet is weak in thought and so very commonplace.¹

Here is an example:-

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 raihī gai, ikk gaṇḍh māhī dil baihī gai
bhāh lāle hār shīngār nū

Dil loce, etc.

Maī dūtīā ghāil kitīā, sūlā gher cupherō litīā

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol.I., p.100, Kāfī No.17.

ghar āve māhī dīdār nū

Dil loce, etc.

Bullhā hun sājan ghar āiā, māi ghut rājhan 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 the toilet; heart craves, etc.

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

Heart craves, etc.

Bullhā now the friend has come home, I have
embraced hard my Rājhā;

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, as:-

Bullhā shauh bin koī nahī aithe utthe dohī sarāī
 sambhal sambhal kadam ṭikāī phir āvan dūjī vār nahī
 Uṭṭh jāg ghurāre mār nahī¹

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 grave, as would a pious Muhammadan, as:-

ikk roz jahānō jānā hai
 jā kabre vicc samānā hai
 terā gosht kīriā khañā hai
 kar cettā maṇo visār nahī
 uṭṭh jāg ghurāre mār nahī.²

One day you have to part from the world,

in the grave you have to fit,

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol.I., p.64, Kāfī No.1.

2. Kānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol.I., p.64.

your flesh the insects will eat,
remember this, do not forget
from your heart. Awaken, 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 take up as a part of his advaitism:-

Tū es jahānō jāēgī, phir kadam nā ehtthe pāēgī
eñ joban rūp vañjhāēgī
taī rahiñā vice sansār nahī.¹

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 Sūfīs of the orthodox type, because this helps them to save Bullhe Shāh the epithet, "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 assumed more Indian colour. Here he resembles

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq Vol.I., p.64.

both the advanced type of a Śūfī and a Vaiṣṇava devotee, in thought, in religious emotions and in his adoration of the Pīr or Gurū. Like them he places Gurū and God on the same level and finds no difference between the two. How closely the following resembles in idea and emotion the Vaiṣṇava lore, that were it not for the name Bullhā at the end, it would be hard to distinguish it:-¹

Ikk andherī koṭharī dujā dīvā nā vāṭī

bāhō phar ke lai cale shām ve koī saṅg nā sāthī

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 vehre ā var mere

maī tere kurbān ve vehre ā var mere

tere jihā maīnū hor nā koī dhūṅḍā jāṅgal belī rohī

dhūṅḍā tā sārā jahān ve vehre ā var mere

maī tere kurbān ve vehre ā var mere

lokā de bhāne cāk mahī dā rājhā lokā vice kahidā

sadā tā dīn imān ve, vehre ā var mere

1. Saṅgīt Sāgar, p.289.

maĩ tere kurbān ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
 māpe chorṛe laḡḡi laṛ tere, shāh ināyat sāĩ mere
 lāĩā dī lajj pāl ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere
 maĩ tire kurbān ve vehṛe ā vaṛ mere.¹

Whether you consider me (as loved one) or not, O,
 Come, enter my court-yard,² I sacrifice myself
 for thee, O come enter my court-yard. 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
 court-yard; I sacrifice myself for you, come under my
 court-yard. For others you are a cowboy,³ I call you
 Rājā when in company (but) you are my religion and faith,
 O come enter my court-yard; I sacrifice myself for you,
 O come enter my court-yard. Leaving parents I have held
 your garment,⁴ O Lord have compassion,⁵ my master.

1. Kāfī 49.

2. Vehṛā also stands for street but generally it is a court-yard.

3. Cāk; one who looks after the buffaloes only, but here we have translated it as cowboy^{herd} which is more comprehensible in English.

4. Lar lagana means to accept or follow the person. At 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 they accept each other and shall walk together, hence this expression, laṛ laganā.

5. Ināyat here stands both for Gurū (Ināyat Shāh) and God's compassion.

Save me the shame of this long love (by coming back)
 O enter my court-yard; I sacrifice myself for
 you come enter my court-yard.

Bullhā's adoration and respect for his Gurū is profound. He finds no difference between God and his Hādī and sings to him in the same strain as to God:-

Pahilī paṛī prem dī pulsarāte ḍerā
 hājī makke hajj karn maī mukh dekhā terā
 āī ināyat qādirī hatth pakṛī merā
 maī udikā kar rahī kadī ā kar ḍerā
 ḍhūnd shahir sabh bhāliā kāsad ghallā kehṛā
 carhī ā ḍolī 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

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

2. This is the Ṣirāṭu 'l Mustaqīm of the Qur'ān.

3. Qāsid in Panjābī Ṣūfī language is both a messenger and a postman. It is employed in the same sense as Udho in the Vaiṣṇava language.

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:-¹

Ved pothī kī dish hai hīne karam hamāre.

What fault is it of the book Ved,² my karmas are low.

At the end of the second period Bullhe Shāh appears to
have some vision of the Lord he was searching. He had the
vision which the Ṣūfīs long to have but this vision as yet
had not attained that stage where differences remain no more.
He received that vision in the orthodox way. He was not con-
scious of it every moment of his life. It was an occasional
occurrence. He had that divine vision like the great Ṣūfīs
and Bhagatas through the paths indicated by their respective
religions. Like their vision Bullhe Shāh's vision of the

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol. I., p. 125, Kāfī 37.

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

Lord was also stamped with the seal of Islām. He sings of his vision in the traditional way exalting the Prophet and through the verses of his Qur'ān:

Huṇ maī lakkhiā sohṇā yār, jis de husan dā garm bazār
 jad ahad ikk ikklā sī, nā zāhar koī tajallā sī
 nā babb rasūl nā allāh sī nā zabār kahār
 becū va bacagūnā sī be shubhā be namunā sī
 nā koī raṅg namūnā sī, huṇ gunāgū hazār.
 piārā pahin pushākā āiā, ādam apanā nām dharāiā
 Ahad tō baṇ Ahmaḍ āiā, nabiā dā sardār
 kun kahā fakūn kahāiā, becūnī secū banāiā
 Ahad de vice mīm ralāiā tā kittā aiḍ 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 with 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 Ahmaḍ was made and the chief of the Prophets. He said "Kun" and "fayakun" was said so out of no likeness He created likeness.

1. Kanūn-i-'Ishq Kāfī 57.

In Aḥmad He inserted mīm (i.e. produced Aḥmad) and then made the Universe.¹

Third Period.

The third but 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-permeating 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. Here lies his greatness. He says:-²

Kih kardā nī kih kardā

koī puccho khā dilbar kī kardā

āpikko kaī lakkh gharā de, mālak sabh ghar ghar dā

Kih kardā, etc.

Mūsā ate pharūn banā ke, do hoke kiū laṛdā

Kih kardā, etc.

hāzar nāzar tūhē hai, cucak kis nū kharḍā

Kih hardā, etc.³

1. Literally so great a spread.

2. Only a few stanzas from the Kāfī "Kih kardā, etc."

3. Kanūn-i-'Ishq Kāfī 85.

What does He, friends, what does He?

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 to each one

Creating Moses and Pharaoh (thus) becoming

two why does he fight?

What does He, friends, what does He?

You are ever Omnipresent (then) whom does

Cūcak¹ take away.

What does He, friends, What does He?

Someone ask what the Beloved does?

And again:-

Pāiā hai kujh pāiā hai, sattgurū ne allakh lakhāiā hai

kahū vair paṛā kahū belī hai, kahū majnu hai kahū lailī hai

kahū āp gurū kahū celī hai, sabh apanā rāh dikhāiā hai

kahū cor banā kahū shāh jī hai, kahū mamber te bahī kāzīhai

-
1. Allusion to the story of Rājhā and Hīr. Cūcak the Siāl chief enraged at the attachment of his daughter Hīr for his cowboy ^{herd} Rājhā separated them by keeping Hīr in close custody and later on by giving her in marriage to a man of his own choice.

kahū teg bahādur gāzī hai, āp apanā panth batāiā hai
 kahū masjid kā vartārā hai, kahū banīā thākar dvārā hai
 kahū bairāgī jap dhārā hai, kahū shekhan ban banāiā hai
 kahū turak musallā parhde ho, kahū bhagat hindu jap
 karde ho
 kahū gor kandī vice parde ho, har ghar ghar lāḍ lāḍaiā
 hai
 bullhā shahu dā maī muhtāj hua, māhrāj mile merā kāj hūā
 darshan piā dā ilāj hūā, laggā ishk tā eh guṇ gāiā hai
 pāiā hai kujh pāiā hai.¹

I have found, I have found something

My true Gurū has made manifest the Unmanifest

Somewhere It² is an enemy, somewhere It is a friend

Somewhere It is Majnū, 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 pulpit It is a Qāzī

Somewhere It is Tegh Bahādur³ the ghāzī

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol.II., p.160, Kāfī 59.

2. Āp has no gender so we have rendered it by 'IT' which stands for Allakh, the Bramh who is beyond sex.

3. Tegh Bahādur means brave of the sword, but here it stands for the ninth gurū of the Sikhs who was judged by the Qāzīs at the order of Aurangzeb and executed at Delhi in the year 1676.

Who has told of his own path (sect)
 Somewhere It as a mosque¹ is in use
 Somewhere It has become a temple²
 Somewhere It is a Vairāgī in meditation absorbed
 Somewhere It becomes clad, clad as Shaikhs
 Somewhere as Muslims on the musallā³ read the prayers
 Somewhere as Hindu devotees repeat God's name.
 Somewhere You are engaged in digging graves
 In each house,⁴ 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 (realised)
 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 sort of 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 men-
 tion here that this they obtained after having spent their

-
1. Somewhere in the cult of the mosque is It represented.
 2. And somewhere in that of the Temple.
 3. A prayer carpet.
 4. House here signifies way, path, place.

lives in established dogmas, willingly or unwillingly, and after having struggled hard to become free of them.¹ But Bullhe Shāh appears to have obtained the Advaita conception of God soon after his initiation into Sūfīism, because his poetry in this strain abounds. Amongst Indian Sūfīs we hardly find any who could behold God as clearly in all creation bad or good as Bullhā did. If there were any possible exception they would be Mullā Shāh² and Sarmad.³ Mullā Shāh, though

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1. Both Al-Hallāj and Bīṭāmī could not break with the established beliefs. Hallāj went to Mekka on pilgrimage many a time (see Massignon La Passion, Vol. I. pp. 3, 4, 5). When they became free and realised the truth it was towards the end of their lives.
 2. Mullā Shāh was a disciple of Miā Mīr of Lahōre. He attained great fame in Kashmir and was waited upon by the Princes and poor alike. He was the spiritual preceptor of Dārā Shikoh. Aurangzeb on his accession to the Mughal throne ordered Mullā Shāh who then was old and infirm to appear before him at Delhi, but later, on the intercession of his sister Fāṭimā changed his orders. He was, however, compelled to come down to Lahore where he died in misery. See Claudfield's Mystics of Islam, p. 180.
 3. For accounts of Sarmad see Indian Antiquary 1910, pp. 89-90 and 121-22.

not in any way inferior to Bullhā in his Pantheistic philosophy and its realisation in life yet lacked the moral courage to declare it. Possibly out of fear he attached importance to religious prescriptions such as Ramzān and obligatory daily¹ prayers. 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 Jewish theology.

My friend, the naked sword Thou comest

I know Thee, in whatever guise Thou comest.²

His denial of Prophetship to Christ on the authority of the Old Testament³ and his other belief that God was a material substance symbolised by a human figure,⁴ etc, did not accord with his pantheist thought. Were he a true pantheist he would see God in all teachers and not see him only in Muhammad and deny him in Christ. This difference between the pantheistic concept of Bullhā and Sarmad clearly illustrates that the latter realised the Truth but partially and at moments, while the former lived with Truth and in Truth. Bullhā

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1. Claud Field - Mystics of Islam, p.180. He reported those those who dispensed with prescribed fast and prayers, etc.
 2. Sarkar - History of Aurangzeb, Vol.I., p.113.
 3. Idem. p.110.
 4. Idem.

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 where lies the fault⁹. With the lover surely who has not yet fully realised 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 or Krishna or a poor beggar in the street or in his own self, as:-

Bindrāban mē gaū carāve,
 laṅkā car ke nād vajāve
 makke dā ban hājī āve
 vāh vāh raṅg vaṭāī dā
 huṅ kī thī āp chapāīdā.¹

In Brindaban you reared the cattle
 Invading Laṅkā² 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?

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

2. Ceylon.

and:-

Saiyo hun sājan maĩ pāio ī
har har de vic samāio i.¹

O friends now 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 differences existed no more for him. He became one with Him, the Divine, and experienced that cosmopolitan joy which is procured beyond limits and divisions. He says:-

Bullhā kī jānā maĩ kaun
nā maĩ moman vice masītā, nā maĩ vice kufar diā nītā
nā maĩ pākā vice palītā, nā maĩ mūsā nā phiraun
Bullhā kī jānā maĩ kaun
nā maĩ andar vaid katābā, nā vice bhangā nā sherābā
nā vice rindā mast kharābā, nā vice jāgan nā vice saun
Bullhā hī jānā maĩ kaun
nā vice shādī nā gamnākī, nā maĩ vice palītī pākī
nā maĩ ābī nā maĩ khākī, nā maĩ ātish nā maĩ paun
Bullhā kī jānā maĩ kaun
nā maĩ arbī nā lahaurī, nā maĩ hindī shahir nagaaurī

1. Bānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol. II., pp162, Kāfī 59.

nā maĩ hindū turk pashorī, nā maĩ rahindā vice nadaun

Bullhā kī jānā maĩ kaun

nā maĩ bhed mazhab dā pāiā, nā maĩ ādam havā jāiā

nā maĩ apnā nām dharāiā, nā vice bai than nā vice bhaun

Bullhā kī jānā maĩ kaun

avval ākhar ap nū jānā, nā koī dūjā hor pachānā

maithō hor nā koī siānā, Bullhā shahū kharā hai kaun

Bullhā kī jānā maĩ kaun.¹

Bullhā what do I know who I am?²

Neither am I a Muslim in the mosque nor I am in the ways
of paganism

Nor among the pure or sinful, nor I Moses or the Pharaoh

Bullhā what do I know who I am?

Neither in the books of doctors, I, nor indulged I in
bhang³ 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 or of earth, nor in fire or in air.

Bullhā what do I know who I am?

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol.II., pp.266-67, 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 chapter II p. 70

I am not of Arabia nor of Lahore, nor an Indian or 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 and the passage from it to most cynical epicureanism is also a most natural thing.¹ 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 others² but he was a pantheist of a different

1. Journal Asiatique, 1869, pp.157-58. 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.

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

type. We have stated above that the pantheism of Bullhe Shāh was Indian in its entirety and therefore differed a good deal from the pantheism of the Ṣūfīs. Bullhā's pantheistic thought was accompanied by its allied doctrines, reincarnation and karma. He disagreed with the Ṣūfīs 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, (it not being so easy as it is ordinarily thought to be), but demanded many existences. And then it were not alone many lives or the ecstatic contemplations that could make annihilation possible. His secret of merging in the Universal Spirit was based on Karma. When the mind and 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 rightful duty without attachment then alone was the seeker fit to lose his individual existence after death and not before. This was a next to impossible task to accomplish, as small steps 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 of all danger of turning into

1. Journal Asiatique, 1869, pp.159.

materialism or atheism.

Another superiority of Bullhā over other Ṣūfīs was that he never took part in conversion work.² His Advaita which was Indian in its essence and had so much 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 same, none was more efficient than the other to find the Beloved. It is evident from his poetry that it was the efficiency and sincerity of of the Seeker for the Sought that was taken into account, and not the religion he was born in. We can, therefore say that in this respect no Ṣūfī of any country can venture to dispute the spiritual summits which Bullhā had attained.¹

After the death of Ināyat Bullhe Shāh returned to Kasur. He remained faithful to his Beloved and to himself by not contracting any marriage. The sister who understood him also remained single and kept him company in his last years. He

1. Even Al-Ḥallāj 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 Muḥammad. See La Passion, p.4. It might be that when he had attained the state of Ana 'l-Ḥaqq he no more believed in conversion, but we cannot say anything since he was hanged soon after.

2. Almost all Ṣūfīs took part in conversion work, even the avowed opponents of Ṣūfīism. Mr. Zuhur' d Din in his Mystic Tendencies of Islām admits this, see p.142. (Ahmad)

died in 1758 A.D. and was buried in Kasur where his tomb still exists.

Bullhā, says the tradition, was not understood by his own family and people¹ who gave him up as lost. But he had captivated the hearts of the Pañjābīs and had the support of the masses. For the Pañjābīs he is still alive and ever inspires them to sing of the eternal Beloved in whom he has merged.

V

The Poetry of Bullhā Shāh.

Šūfī poetry all over the world is erotic in expression but in meaning it is essentially symbolic. "Almost all the Šūfī poets wrote about the Divine Beloved in the terms applied to their beautiful women."² The mystic poetry, therefore if literally taken seems sensuous and monotonous. In India the Šūfīs inherited this tradition with the only 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 influence, specially Vaiṣṇava.³ Apart from this the Šūfīs generally borrowed, as we have

1. He himself refers to the bigoted attitude of his relatives, see p.28 above.

2. Jalāl-ud-dīn Rūmī by Hadland Davis, p,23,

3. In Vaiṣṇavas poetry God is Krishna the cowboy and the Seeker Rādhā the milk-maid.

mentioned above, the terms of describing the different parts of the Beloved from the Persians. Even the rose garden and the bulbul which are characteristics of Persian verse were unhesitatingly borrowed. In Pañjābī Ṣūfī poetry, however, the influence was much less than in other parts of the country. Bullhe Shāh, the king of the Pañjābī mystics, seems free of this foreign influence, and his poetry is far from being erotic. Besides 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 Beloved and Rājhā but never went on to describe his different limbs.² 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 our poet. So Bullhā talked of the eternal Beloved in terms highly spiritual and pure as it behoves a real Seeker. This was an innovation in Pañjābī Ṣūfī verse by Bullhā.¹ This change was due to the following causes. Firstly the natural growth of his own character. He never sought the shelter of woman's love. He

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

fell in love with the Universal Lord and then needed no help from worldly love to find his Lord. This was the first and chief cause of his poetry being essentially non-erotic. Secondly, it was 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 conventions. Nowhere in his Kāfīs do we find fabulous descriptions of the eyes, nose, neck and cheeks, etc. of the Beloved. So we can safely say that his poetry represents truly what is naturally felt in loving the Divine, whether terrible or compassionate, simple or complex. His verse is suffused with Love Divine. This is a striking greatness of Bullhe Shāh poet.

The second greatness of our poet 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 but its beauty lies in thought and in the facility and simplicity of the expression of that thought. Who could express with greater facility the following describing his union with God:-

rājhā rājhā kardī nī maī āpe rājhā hoī
 saddo nī mainū dhīdo rājhā, hīr nā ākko koī
 rājhā maī vice maī rājhe vice hor khiāl nākoī
 maī Mahī uh āpe hai, appnī āp kare dil joī

Rājhā rājhā kardī nī maī āpe rājhā hoī
saddo nī maīnū dhīdo rājhā hīr nā ākho koī

hatth khūṇḍī mere agge maṅgū, moḍhe bhūrā loī

Bullhā hīr saleṭī dekho, kitth jā khaloī

Rājhā rājhā kardī nī maī āpe rājhā hoī
saddo nī maīnū dhīdo rājhā, hīr nā ākho koō.¹

Repeating rājhā, Rājhā, friends myself I have

become Rājhā. Call me (now) Dhīdo² Rājhā, none
should call me Hīr. Rājhā is in me and I am in
Rājhā, no other thought there is,

I do not exist, he himself exists, he amuses himself

Repeating Rājhā Rājhā, etc.

In my hand the staff, in front the wealth,³ and round
my shoulders the rough blanket; Bullhā behold Hīr of
Siāl, where she has gone and stood.

Repeating Rājhā Rājhā friends, etc.

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol.II., p.262, Kāfī 109.

2. Dhīdo is a cowboy^{herd} who looks after Buffaloes, that was the
name of Rājhā when he became a cowboy^{herd} of the Siāl Chief.

3. Cattle in those days were the wealth of the tribal chiefs,
The cowboy^{herd} Rājhā when he drove the cattle to the fields,
walked behind them with a staff in hand and a rough
blanket over the shoulders.

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Bullhā also did not follow the conventions regarding the similes, verse-forms and Alankāric beauties. Here is the hiding place of his poetic originality for which he excels most of his Indian and almost all of his Pañjābī Śūfī contemporaries, predecessors and successors.

Bullhā did not write much but what he wrote was to the point and inspired. There is a great amount of poetry said to have been composed by the poet but one can easily distinguish the real from the unreal by the force and strength of the language and the directness of thought which is so characteristic of Bullhā's verse.

As we have largely quoted from his poetry we have seen how familiar he was with all that was Pañjābī in tradition and beauty and how gracefully he speaks of it. He never attempted to explore those regions of which he had no real knowledge. He was a child of the Pañjāb and so sang in his mother tongue, in the old original verse forms of his own land giving the similes and using the expressions that were of his native land. His poetry, though remarkably abstract, is not out of the reach of the mind. We give below a few of his kāfīs for literary interest:-

Merī bukkal de vice cor nī, merī bukkal de vice cor
kihnū kūk sunāvā nī, merī bukkal de vice cor
corī corī nikal giā nī, jagg vice paigiā shor
merī bukkal de vice cor

musalmān siviā tō darde, hindū darde gor
 dovē ese de vice marde, iho dohā dī khor
 merī bukkal de vice cor

kitte rāmdās kitte phate muḥammad eho kadīmī shor
 miṭṭ giā dohā dā jhagrā nikal piā kujh hor
 merī bukkal de vice cor

arsh manūrō miliā bāgā, suniā takht Lāhaur
 shāh ināyat ghunḍhiā pāiā, lakk chip khicdā dor
 merī bukkal de vice cor.¹

Within the folds of my veil was the thief, O friend,
 within the fold of my veil was the thief; to
 whom shouting at the pitch of my voice should
 I tell that within the folds of my veil was the thief.
 Stealthily stealthily he has gone out and
 (this) has caused the surprise in the world. The
 Musalmans fear the crematorium, and the Hindus
 fear the tomb, both die in this (fear) which
 is the trouble of both; somewhere it is Rāmdās
 somewhere it is Fateh Muḥammad; this is the
 eternal struggle. The difference of both has ceased,
 as something different has turned up. From High heavens
 the prayer calls were made and they were heard at the
 throne² of Lahore, Shāh Ināyat, put the knots and now
 He (God), hidden behind, pulls the strings.

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq, Vol.II., p. Kāfī 64.

2. Seat of Ināyat Shāh at Lahore.

Here Bullhe Shāh stands for unity so essential for human welfare, of the followers of different religions and their 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, bahīe trinjhan tajabhamān
 sunnī nā nahī ham shīā, sulh kul kā mārāg līā
 bhūkkhe nā nahī ham rajje, naṅge nā nahī ham kajje
 rōde nā nahī ham hass de, ujarē nā nahī ham vassde
 pāpī nā sudharmī nā, pāp puṅ kī rāh nā jā
 bullhā shahū har citlāge hindū turk do jan tiāge.¹

Neither Hindu nor Musalman let us sit to spin, abandoning pride (of religion). Neither a Sunnī 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 or 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 Musalmans both people have I abandoned.

Bullhe Shāh was an impartial critic of bigotry and those set rules and regulations of any church which forbid free expression of love divine. He not finding any difference between

1. Kānūn-i-'Ishq. Vol. II. Kāfī 73.

the church codes of Islām and Hinduism allotted them both a place inferior to that which he assigned to Love Divine. 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 maī
 savāl sharā de javāb ishk de hazrat ākh sunāvā maī
 sharā kahe cal pās mullā de sikkh lai adab adābā nū
 ishk kahe ~~cal pās mullā de sikkh lai~~ ikke harf baterā thapp rakkh
 aur katābā nū
 sharā kahe kar pañj asnānā, alag mandir kī puja re
 ishk kahe terī pūjā jhūthī je ban baiṭhō dūjā re
 sharā kahe kujh sharm hayā kar band kar is camkāre nū
 ishk kahe eh ghungat kaisā khullan de nazāre nū
 sharā kahe cal masjid andar hak namāzādā kar lai
 ishk kahe cal maikhāne vicc pīke sharāb naphal parh lai
 sharā kahe cal bihīshṭī caliye, bihīshṭā de meve khāwā ge
 ishk kahe otthe paihrā sēḍa āp hatthī vartāvāge
 sharā kahe cal hajj kar moman pulsarāt laṅgānā re
 ishk kahe buā yār dā kābbā utthō mūl nā halnā re
 sharā kahe shāh mansūr nū sūlī utte cāriā sī
 ishk kahe tusā caṅgā kittā buai yār de vāriā sī
 ishk dā darzā arsh mūallā sirtāz laulākī re
 ishk viccō paīdā kittā bullhā ājiḷ khākī re.¹

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

Law says let us go to heaven, we will eat the fruits of
heaven,

Love says there is our watch and we shall distribute them
ourselves.

Law says, O faithful one come perform the hajj, you have
to cross the bridge,¹

Love says the door of the Beloved is Ka'aba from there
I will not stir.

Law says, on the cross² we placed Shāh Maṅṣūr

Love says you did well, you made him enter the door of
the Beloved.

The rank of love is the highest sky, the crown of creation.³

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 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, yet he carefully avoids all that could in the least make it vulgar or violent. How many poets could express great philosophic truth with this force and so briefly and sweetly as Bullhā did?

1. Siratū'l mustaqīm.

2. Literally, stake.

3. Laulāka lamā khalaqtu laflāka (Ḥadīṣ-i-qudsī).

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

Jhūth ākhā te kujh baccdā hai, sacc ākhiā bhāmar macdā
hai

dil dohā gallā tō jaccdā hai, jacc jacc ke jehbā kahindī
hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

ikk lāzm bāt adab dī hai, sānū bāt malūmī sabh dī hai
har har vice sūrat rabb dī hai, kahū zāhar kahū chappē
dī hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

jis pāiā bhet kalandardā, rāh khojiā apne andardā
sukkhvāsī hai is mandar dā, jitthe carhdī hai nā lahindī
hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

ette duniā vice hanerā hai ate tillkan bāzī vehra hai
andar varke dekho kehra hai, bāhar khalkat paī dhūndēdī
hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

ette lekha pāū pasārā hai isdā vakkharā bhet niārā hai
ikk sūrat dā camkārā hai jiū cinag dārū vice paīdī hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

kite nāz/o adā dikhlāī dā, kite ho rasūl milāī dā
kite āshak ban ban āī dā, kite jān judāī sahindī hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

jadō zāhar hoe nūr horī, jal gae pahār koh tūr horī

tadō dār carhe mansūr horī, utthe shekhī nā maĩdī taĩdī
hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

je zāhar karā asrār tāī sabh bhul jāvan takrār tāī
phir māran bullhe yār tāī, atthe makhfī gall sohindī hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

asā parhīā ilam tah kīkī hai, utthe ikko haraf hakīkī hai
hor jhagarā sabh vadhīkī hai aivē rahīā pā pā bahindī hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai

bullhā shahu asāthē vakkh nahē, bin shahu thī dūjā kakkh
nahī

par vekkhan vālī akkh nahī tāhī jān pai dukkh sahindī hai

Mūh āī bāt nā rahindī hai.¹

The speech that has come into the mouth cannot be withheld.

If I state an untruth some thing remains, by telling the
truth fire spreads;² of both (truth and untruth) the
heart is disgusted³ and in the disgust the tongue speaks.

The speech, etc.

One necessary thing concerns ~~religious code~~ religion, but
to me all things are known; everything is the image of
God, somewhere it is visible, somewhere hidden.

The speech, etc.

1. Kānūn-i-Īshq. Vol. II., Kāfī 70.

2. Dissensions arise. It is a Pañjābī expression.

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

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 ~~as~~ He brings Muḥammad, somewhere as a lover He comes, somewhere ~~as~~ His soul suffers separation.

The speech, etc.

When light (God) became visible, the mountain of Sinai was flamed, then on the cross mounted Manṣūr there is (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 (clergy) will kill the friend Bulhā, 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 soul is suffering pain.

The speech, etc.

Sources of Information.

1. The Pañjāb University manuscript No. 374 Folios 2-14 743. In Gurmukhī characters. This manuscript 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 Samvat 1884. This is the oldest manuscript of Bullhe's sayings found up to date.

2. Pañjāb University Manuscript 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 the 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 complete the one he had begun. It does not seem to be a very old manuscript; at the utmost it is eighty years old. It is in the Gurmukhī character.

3. The Kāfīā Bullhe Shāh manuscript found in the Library of Dr. Hifz-ur-Rahman of Lahore. This is a collection of some poems of Bullhe Shāh written in a good hand in Urdū characters.

4. Four pages from a lost manuscript. Personal property (of the writer of these lines). The poems are correct but

the hand-writing 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 enshrined in the hearts of all Pañjābīs, Hindus or Muslims, books, pamphlets have been published in Urdū, Gurmukkhī and Hindī. Some of these have had many editions. We mention here only those which are well known.

Concerning the life accounts of the poet we can suggest the followings:-

1. Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiā by Muftī Ghulām Sarvar of Lahore, in Persian prose. It gives a brief account of the life of Bullhe Shāh (Hope Press Lahore. Printed in 1284 A.H.)
2. Tahqīqāt-i-Cishti by Nūr Aḥmad Chishti, also gives an account of Bullhā's life.
3. Bāgh-i-Awliyā-e-Hind, by Muḥammad Dīn in Urdū characters but in Pañjābī verse. The author gives small sketches of the lives of Bullhe Shāh and his master Shāh Ināyat.
4. A pamphlet on the life accounts of Bullhe Shāh was written by Mr. C. F. Usborne of the I.C.S. The original is not traceable but an Urdū translation by Zia-ud-Din Aḥmad, printed at Delhi in 1338 A.H. (1919 A.D.) is available. It gives some interesting information on the life of the saint-poet, collected from various

sources.

The following are the names of a few printed books on the poetry of the Poet. 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. Kānūn-i-'Ishq¹ by Anwar Ali Shah of Rohtak. The work of Mr. Ali Shah 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

2. Sāī Bullhe Shāh³ by Sundar Singh Nirula in Gurmukhī. This is a collection of 116 Kāfīs, a Bārāmāh and Aṣṭhvārā of Bullhe Shāh. It contains a small sketch of the life and teachings of the poet. The Panjābī meanings of those few Persian and Arabic words which sometimes occur in Bullhā's verse have been given as foot-notes. This is a very fine collection from the point of view of authenticity.

1. Printed at Alam Press Lahore and published by Chanan Din

Allāh Vāle kī kaunī 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 Bhais Pratab Singh, Sundar Singh, Mai Seva Bazar, Amritsar, 1931-32.

3. Hans Cog¹ by Bābā Buddh Singh. This book on Pañjābī literature contains a chapter on the poetry of Bullhe Shāh. It is in Gurmukkhī characters.

4. Bullhe Shāh². Edited by 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.

5. Kāfiā Hazrat Bullhe Shāh Sāhib Kasūrī³ 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 manuscripts and other sources.

Besides these there are many small collections in pamphlet form. They contain mostly those poems which are included in the above-mentioned books, and therefore need not be named here.

Apart from ~~man~~ manuscripts and printed works there is another source of information. That is the oral tradition preserved

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

2. Published by the Pañjāb University, in 1930.

3. Sewak Machine Press, Lahore.

by the Kavvālīs 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 related to the life and work of the poet.

CHAPTER V.

‘Alī Ḥaidar.
(1690 A.D. to 1785 A.D.)

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

A few years ago Ḥaidar was practically unknown to the general public as a poet. The wandering faqīrs sometimes sang fragments of his mystic verse in the streets but no attention was paid to it as people are hardly accustomed to pay heed to what the faqīrs sing or recite. In the year 1898 A.D., Malik Fazal Dīn of Lahore on hearing a poem of ‘Alī Ḥaidar was so greatly impressed that he decided to collect all the poetry that ‘Alī Ḥaidar had written and publish it for the benefit of the public. He put his decision into practice and with much labour succeeded in collecting most of the poetry of the poet from Kavvālīs, elders, and also from a

1. From information received through correspondence from the descendants.

2. Ibid.

descendant of the poet named Ḥaḡrat Faqīr Ghulām Mirā of Kazia who furnished him with a copy of the original manuscript.¹ This collection the Malik named "Mukammal Majmū'a Abyāt 'Alī Ḥaidar", and it was published by him soon after it was ready.²

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 illustrious ancestor.³ 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 tells 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:-

1. See Majmū'a Abyāt 'Alī Ḥaidar, Introduction, p.2.

2. It can be procured from Allāh Vāle kī Kaumī dukān, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. For convenience' sake we will refer to this collection as M.M. 'Alī Ḥaidar.

3. The descendants and Kavvālīs give more of legends than any valuable information. The legends, besides, are not original but are those relating to great mystics and presented in a distorted form.

Mīm maī kuttā baṅ āl rasūl najīb dā pāhru hā ghar bār
 utte
 uppar aggō oh andherī maī hondiā ais darbār utte
 nām tarīk dā bhī khādim sahibā dī pucckār utte
 par aihle ulūm dī izat rakhan vāzib hai sansār utte.¹

Mīm: I am a dog of the Āl of the exalted Prophet and
 keep watch on their house; I pass as a² storm over and
 above this court.³ I am a slave even of their name and
 also of the kindness of these gentlemen (i.e. Saiyid^s)
 but it is right to maintain the honour of the learned in
 the world.

Had 'Alī Haidar 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 Haidar was an Indian and
 not one of the foreign Saiyids.

From the above quotation we can also conclude that he

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1. M.M. 'Alī Haidar, p.23.
 2. Allusion to a Pañjābī superstition which is that a dust
 storm sweeps away all evil influence and evil spirits
 from that part of the country over which it passes.
 3. The residence of the Saiyids the Muḥammadans respectfully
 address as Darbār or court.

was troubled by the Saiyids for his attention to the learned. Who could these learned people be except some liberal mystics of whom the Saiyids often disapproved. Haidar seemed to have been afraid of the Saiyids and so lowered himself before them but at the same time in an apologetic manner he maintained his own conviction that to respect the learned befitted a man.

Our poet was a confessed ṣūfī and faithful of Shāh Muḥiy-ud-dīn, as:-

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

Qāf; what sorrow and fear have we,² if the Shāh Muḥiy-ud-dīn is ours (and if Shāh Abdul Qādir of Jīlān is guardian of our pleasure.

and again:-

Alī Haidar kyā parvāh kise dī je Shāh Muḥaiuddīn
asāḍarā ai.³

'Alī Haidar, what do we care for any other if Shāh Muḥiy-ud-dīn is ours.

1. M.M. 'Alī Haidar, p.23.

2. "We" is here employed in ~~the~~ place of first person singular.

3. M.M. 'Alī Haidar, p.23.

Muḥiy-ud-dīn or Abdul Qādir Jīlānī^{who} as we know was born in Jīlān in the year 471 A.H., i.e., 1078 A.D.¹ was famous for his learning. He was the founder of the Qādirī order of Ṣūfīs² and has always had innumerable followers all over the Pañjāb. Ḥaidar, as is clear from the above was a Qādirī but who was his Pīr we do not know.

The style of 'Alī Ḥaidar is very ornamental but straightforward. No mystic poet of Pañjābī with the exception of Bullhe Shāh and Hāshim has surpassed Ḥaidar in poetic flow and fecundity of vocabulary. His verse being ornate abounds in Alānkāraṣ, notably in Vṛityānuprāsa,³ as:-

Shīn sharāb de mast raihan, kī nain taīde matt vāḷare nī,
 Surkh sufaid siyāh do banāḷare bāj kajjal aīvē kāḷare nī.⁴
 Here shīn, sharāb, surkh, sufaid and nī at the end of each line form a graceful Vṛityānuprāsa.

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1. Beale, An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p.5.
 2. Rose, Glossary, Vol.I. p.538.
 3. We have given the names of this ornament of language according to the Sanskrit system because Pañjābī poetry is entirely Indian as regards grammar and verse technique, etc.
 4. M.M. 'Alī Ḥaidar, p.2.

Haidar has shown his command of Samak¹ in his Qissā Hīr va Rājhā. Each small poem is full of foreign phrases and words but they are so nicely stitched in to his Pañjābī 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 masiva al māhbūb" rehā gair nā koī mā
 dil vicc ākhhe vekkh tamāshā hai je utthe dhoī mā
 "man ho maqnātis" haidar, use dī khicc rakhioī mā.²

In the above poem "yā rag masiva al māhbūb" and "man ho maqnātis", two Arabic sayings,³ are put in as if they were Pañjābī.

Speaking of the style of Haidar, a living poet⁴ in both Urdū and Pañjābī once said, "his style resembles that of

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1. Samak is an ornament of language. If in a poem of 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 Alankār Manjūṣā, pp.22-23.
 2. M.M. 'Alī Haidar, p.78.
 3. These sayings are inserted in their corrupted form.
 4. Maulānā Waqār (N.A.) Ambālvī 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, he is surely a better judge than ourselves.

Habīb Qaānī so far as the arrangement of words and beauty of language is concerned but for his descriptions and expressions he resembles Hāfiz."¹

The cast of 'Alī Haidar'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 Hīr speak for himself.

Alif eh bāman² bhaire bhaṭṭh paye kūrā rāh batāunde ne
 so phitṭe mūh ohnā kāfarā dā sabh kūrō kūr kamāude ne
 cūcak de ghar kheriā de aih nitt vicāre āude ne
 'netarsunetarnetar' sunnī de gin gān gaṇḍhī pāude ne
 maī guṇ māre ohnā de sir mālā turt puāude ne
 nāl dumbal channī lā phuāre māpyo calāude ne
 kih sharm hayā ohnā kāfarā nū jo khair duāre mannāude ne
 narak dī bhāh maīdī nāhī āhī eh apane hatthī lāude ne
 akkhī dekh tijjan nāhī eh kāfar aīnī hāude ne
 je murde nū dukkh sukkh nāhī kyū haḍḍiā gangā pāude ne
 eh jānju gal ne janj kheriā dī maī haidar mūl nā bhāude
 ne.³

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1. Bābē Buddh Singh also compares Haidar with Hāfiz of Shirāz, see Hans Cog, p.181.
 2. In Pañjābī Brahmans are called Bāmans.
 3. M.M. 'Alī Haidar.

Alif: these bad Brahmans are in the oven (i.e. fire) for they tell the false path (i.e. Hinduism), therefore shame on those heathens¹ who all follow the false. In- to the house of Cūcak and the Kherās² these wretches (Brahmans) always come. Saying "ne tarsuneta^{rnetar}"³ and calculating, they tie the knot.⁴ When I marred their qualities (i.e. when I refused to obey them by loving Rājhā) then they ordered the garland (i.e., of marriage with Saidā) to be put on my head. Putting a cup to the abscess parents start the stream⁵ (i.e., obeying the order of the Brahmans parents bleed my heart white by giving me in marriage to Saidā). What modesty and

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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 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. All dirty blood, etc., then gushes out and falls in the cup. Here the sore heart of Hīr is the abscess; the barber, her father and mother, i.e., the Hindu community; the knives, the order of the Brahmans, and the gushing blood or fountain are the reproaches of Hīr, for their falsehood or faith.

shame have these heathens who in the temple beg for safety. This is not the fire of my hell (Muhammadan hell), they have lit it themselves.¹ 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 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 joṛā kūrū shau asvār
 kūrē bāshe kūrē shikare kūrē mīr shikār
 kūrē hāthī kūrē lashkar kūrē fauj kaṭār
 kūrē sūhe kūrē sālū, kūrē sohne yār
 kūrē joṛe kūrē bere kūrē hār shangār
 kūrē koṭṭhe kūrē manmiṭ kūr eh sansār
 haidar ākkhe sabh kujh kūrā saccā hikkē kartār
 dūjā nabī muḥammad sacca sacce us de yār.²

1. 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.

2. M.M. 'Alī Haidar, p.58. This poem, it appears, was written after the poet had seen a royal hunting party including ladies of the royal house.

False is the horse, false is the costume and false is the king rider; false are the hawks,¹ false the falcon² and false is the leader of the hunt; false the elephants, false the battalions and false are the armies with swords; false the red,³ and false the sālūs³ 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. Ḥaidar says all is false, Kartār⁵ alone is true; the second true one is the Prophet Muḥammad, and true are his friends.

Ḥaidar's faith in God is well described in this:-

Alif etthe otthe asā ās taĩḍī ate āsarā taĩḍare zor dāī
mahī sabh havālṛe taĩḍare ne asā khauf nā khaḍare cor dā ī
tūī jān savāl javāb sabhō sānu haul nā aukharī gor dā ī
alī haidar nū sikk taĩḍarī ai taĩḍai bājh nā sāyal hor dā
ī. 6

1. Hawks were of great help in hunting, in those days.
2. Dresses of red colour worn by women in those days.
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 mostly employed by the Sikhs.
6. M.M. 'Alī Ḥaidar, p.1.

Alif: both here and there you are my hope and your power is my support; all buffaloes¹ are in your charge so I am not afraid of any wretched thief;² you know all prayers and their answers (so) I have no fear of the difficult grave; 'Alī Ḥaidar feels the want of you, save you he does not seek another.

It would be interesting to give here one of the few poems in which Ḥaidar reproaches his countrymen, the king and the foreign element then so prominent at the Imperial Court of Delhi; for having allowed the Persians into the country and submitting to their lust for riches³:-

Be bhī zaiḥar nahī jo khā maran kujh shāram nā hindus-
tāniā nū
kyā hayā ehnā rājiā nū kujh lajj nahī turāniā nū
bhaiṛe bhar bhar devan khajāne fārsiā khurāsāniā nū
vice chauniā de vice pānī takk badhoje lahū nā vēdeā
pāniā nū.⁴

Be: there is no poison which they (Indians) should eat and (consequently) die, the Indians have no shame; what

-
1. The striving souls.
 2. Satanic temptations.
 3. This poem describes the Invasion of Nādir in 1839 A.D.
 4. M.M. 'Alī Ḥaidar p.40.

what shame have these kings, what shame have these Turānīs,¹ the wretches fill up and give treasuries to the Persians and the Khurāsānīs;² 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 Ḥaidar his country's distress was unbearable, and he cursed freely the rulers and the powerful.

Ḥaidar alone of Panjābī Ṣūfī poets played with words. It is on account of this that his thought was weak and often the same idea was differently described. Physical love was his ideal for spiritual love, 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 of playing with words:-

Shīn shakar ranjī yārdī mainū talkh kitā sabh shīrshakar
ganj shakar dī shakar vaṇḍā je kare rabb shīr shakar
rājhā khīr te hīr shakar rabb pher kare jhabb shīr shakar
jo labbi ai lab lab te hāzir piyo payāla shīr shakar
haidar gussā pive tā ākkē piau miṭṭhā lab shīr shakar.³

1. The foreign element.

2. People of Khurāsān, a province of Persia.

3. M.M. 'Alī Ḥaidar, p.9.

Shīn: the anger of my friend is bitter to me; it has made our friendship bitter.¹ I will distribute the sugar of Ganj Shakar² provided God arranges peace; Rājḥā 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, he will say, drink friendship with 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 it rather than read or recite. One specimen here will suffice:-

Te tāriyā lāriyā taīdiā nī, mainū lāriyā kāriyā māriyā nī
 hīr jahīā sai goliā gholiā nī, sadake kittiā taīthō
 vāriā nī
 caupaṛ mār taroṇ nā pāse, pāse ditiā haḍḍiā sāriā nī
 Haidar kaun khalāriā taīthō, asī jitiā bājiā hāriā nī.³

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1. 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.
 2. Ganj Shakar's faithful distribute sugar on the fulfilment of their desires and vows.
 3. M.M. 'Alī Haidar, p.1.

In the end of each poem of his *Siharfīs*, Ḥaidar wrote a sort of *rahāu* to indicate the musical refrain. Here is this chorus:-

Anban inbin unbun thī, ikk samajh asāḍarī ramāz miā.¹
 Ḥaidar used his own Pañjābī, i.e., Multānī which is a sweet dialect 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 Ḥāfiḡ. Had it been complete it would be a document to prove how the Ṣūfīs understood the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīs. Their interpretations are different, as Ḥaidar's *Hīr* differs from those of other Musalmans. 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 mutāliā yār dā
 ai
 jihne khol ke ishk kitāb diṭṭhī sige saraf de sabh visār
 dā ai
 jihne yār de nām dā sabak paḥyā etthe jāe nā sabar
 karār dā ai
 haidar mullā nū fikar namāz dā ai ehnā āshkā talab didār
 dā ai.²

1. M.M. 'Alī Ḥaidar, p.1.

2. M.M. 'Alī Ḥaidar, p.72.

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; Haidar, the priest has to think of prayers, but these lovers desire only the manifestation (of the Beloved).

Be, be dī teg nā dass mullā oh alif sidhā kham ghat āyā
 ohā yār kalokaṛī rāt vālā huṅ bhes vaṭā ke vatt āyā
 sohṇā mīm dī/cadar paīhn ke jī keha julfā de ghunṭaṭ ghat
 āyā
 alī haidar ohā yār piyārā huṅ ahmad baṅ ke vatt āyā.¹

O priest, do not show me the curved sword of Be² because this is the straight Alif³ that has come back bent; the friend of last night changing his garb has come again; the handsome friend wearing the shawl of mīm⁴ and veiled in his locks has returned; 'Alī Haidar that friend beloved now has come again as Ahmad.⁵

1. M.M. 'Alī Haidar, p.72.

2. Be is unpleasant to Ṣūfīs who prefer only alif, so Haidar compares the second letter of the alphabet to sword.

3. Alif in Ṣūfī language stands for God or Reality.

4. Mīm to the mystics signifies Muhammad.

5. Ahmad is the real name of Muhammad the Arabian prophet.

Lām lok nasīhatā de thakke sohne yār tō mukkh nā morsā
 mai
 tore māure peure kaḍḍ chorān jānī yār piche ghar chorā
 mai
 māi tā bele vassā hardam māhī vāle mattī dēdeā nī khūhe
 borā māi
 alī haidar ne akkhiā tāiyā kite kaul nū mūl nā torā māi.¹

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 jāngal of my beloved,² and will throw into a well those who give me good advice;³ 'Alī Haidar, our eyes have met⁴ and I will never break my word.

1. M.M. 'Alī Haidar, p.25.

2. The Beloved Rājā is poor and lives in a jāngal, i.e., in open country away from town.

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

4. After the eyes have met, i.e., after the love ~~is declared~~ has been declared.

CHAPTER VI.

Fard Faqir.

(1720 A.D. to 1790 A.D.)

Fard Faqir is generally known as Fard Fakir. No biography of Šūfīs or 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 related to this Faqir 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 18th century A.D.

Yārā sai trai saṭṭh barsā san nabī dā āyā
eh rasālā kāmīl hoyā hukam dhurāo āyā.¹

Eleven hundred and sixty-third year of the prophet's era has come² 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 1163 A.H. or 1751 A.D. he would already have been a man of at least

1. Daryā-e-Ma'rifat, p.13.

2. Has begun.

3. From eternity or God.

thirty or forty years. We do not mean to say that a man below the above-mentioned 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 he in all probability had attained that age. A Faqīr cannot have disciples at an early age because almost all his youth passes in study and discipleship. We can therefore safely say that Fard Faqīr lived, preached and died between the years 1720 and 1790 A.D.

He was a resident of the Gujrat district in the Pañjāb as is stated in the end of his Bārā-Māh.² Whether he was an inhabitant of Gujrat town or some village in the district Gujrat it is impossible to say.

He was a Ṣūfī as he reproaches those who are not true to their Ṣūfī profession:-

Bāhir ~~ba~~nā ṣūfiā andar dagā kamāy³

Outside the guise of a Ṣūfī and inside they earn deceit. And again:-

Mīm mīmō mull vakāūdī ajj fakīrī haṭṭ
 ikk paise dī unn lai gall nū selī vaṭṭ
 gerī raṅg lai kapare khol sire de vāl
 fardā kekḥā laisiā rabb kādir jul jalāl.⁴

1. Daryā-e-Ma'rifat, p.6.
 2. Ibid, p.24.
 3. Idem.p.1.
 4. Ibid.p.3.

Mim: the faqīrī is sold to-day in the shop; buying one pice worth of wool (thread) the selī¹ is twisted round the neck, with geri² the clothes are coloured and the hair is let loose, Fard, the mighty radiant and glorious God will take account.³

His title Faqīr also indicates that he was a darvesh. Fard was a Ṣūfī though of the popular school. From his own accounts it is clear that he was a Pīr of the lower classes such as weavers and barbers.⁴ His imagination, his low and vulgar thought so conspicuously shown in his Roshan dil, and his lack of personality and strong fanatic convictions so clearly manifest in his poetry, support our view.

The times during which he was born and lived and the then political circumstances of the province were detrimental and unfavourable for the growth and development of any art. Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Panjāb had been a

1. Selī is a twisted wool-thread tied round the neck of the Ṣūfīs especially popular ones to indicate that they are mystics. Ṣūfīs in India do not put woollen clothes. Selī is a remnant of the woollen garment.

2. Soft red stone, used as a dye.

3. Explanation for hypocrisy practised to deceive fellow beings.

4. Daryā-e-Ma'rifat, p.6.

4

stage of dissensions, and from 1739-1770, 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 Marāthā sovereignty dissatisfied Durrānī who returned once more. The Marāthās retired in 1761, but henceforward constant warfare commenced 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. And then 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 the members of various communities, especially in the followings of popular Pīrs. These Pīrs, moreover, were often utilized to preach the cause of one or 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 it should, in all fairness to them, 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 can be easily forgiven for his fanaticism and 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 but in his Kasab-Nāmā Bāfindgān he says:-

Nasar fārsī nū chaḍḍ asā ne hindī nazam banāyā.¹

Abandoning the Persian prose we have made² it in Hindi poetry.

To him Pañjābī was Hindī as it was the language of the Hindustānis or Indians.³ Whatever the name he gave to his

1. Daryā-e-Ma'rifat, p.5.

2. Have written it.

3. Musalman writers of the Pañjāb often called Pañjābī, Hindī.

It might be that originally it was called Hindī but later on when the language near Delhi and in U.P. was stamped Hindī it came to be termed Pañjābī but Muslim tradition continued to call it Hindī.

mother tongue, the above indicates that he was accustomed to write in Persian prose.¹ His Pañjābī verse is more or less rustic in expression but lacks that sweet flavour which rustics impart to it. It is all in a sort of Baīt which is abrupt in itself. Its flow is not smooth but it is powerful and emphatic.

The following are his works:-

Bārā-Māh or Bārā-māsā. Manuscripts of this are very numerous and are found in different libraries and with private individuals. They slightly differ in minor details. These differences occurring in words mostly 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 manuscript in the India Office Library.² Fard's Bārā-māh has many a time been published in the Pañjāb.

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

Kasab-Nāmā Bāfindgān or a treatise on the profession of weavers, was completed in 1751 A.D. This describes weaving on spiritual lines, praises the weavers and condemns the rulers who tyrannised over them. It was published two or three times at various places in the Pañjāb. Of all the

1. We have not seen anything by him in it.

2. MS.D. Pol. 7.

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editions, one published by Muslim Steam Press, Lahore, containing the other two works, the Bārā-māh and Sīharfī and entitled Daryā-e-ma'rifat¹ is best of all. We have therefore utilized this for quotations.

Roshan dil. is a manual of instructions on dogmatic religious duties. The work is very popular and has been frequently published. There are many manuscripts of it. 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 Fard under stress of circumstances was either forced to claim authorship to 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 Bāfindgān it occurs at the end of every few lines.

Second, that in one place in the Roshan dil he says:-

Maī ḍardā gall nā ākkhdā mat māran ulmāh,
ehse kāraṅ rakkhiā fardā bhed chupā.³

1. Allāh Vāle kī Kaumī Dukān, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

2. MSS. D.Foll.44 and Foll.77.

3. Roshan dil, p.23.

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 something 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 at least some parts of it or was compelled to accept the authorship. Of all the printed Roshan dils one published by Abdul Rashid is the only nicely printed and decent looking;¹ we have referred to it in these pages.

Fard in his Kasab-Nāmā Bāfindgān tells how the rulers at that time ill-treated the artisans. They exacted forced labour whenever it pleased them without any consideration how the arts, crafts and industry would suffer and consequently the poor artisans.

Hākim ho ke bain galīce bauhtē zulām kamāde
 mehantiā nū kami ākkhan khūn uhnā dā khāde
 phar vagārī lai lai jāvan khaur khudā nāhī
 fard fakīrā dard mandā diā ikk dinpausan āhī
 kāsabiā nū maihar mukaddam jabrau catṭī pāde
 bhār garibā dā sir laike āpe dozakh jāde.²

1. Feroz Printing works, Lahore.

2. Daryā-e-ma'rifat, p.9.

Being rulers they sit on carpets¹ and practise tyranny; artisans they call menials and drink their blood.

By force they take them to work without fearing God, Fard the sufferers sighs will fall on them one day.²

The artisans have (to pay) the first tax and by force this loss. Carrying the load of the poor on their heads³ 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 khudāye de, likkhe andar nass
uhe nā bhulāvanā, rām kishan sir bhass.⁴

Those names of God which are written in the veins⁵
do not forget those, and ashes be on the head of Rama
and Krishna.

A new convert to Islām is ever welcome among the Muham-
madans but he is looked down upon, by those Muslims who uphold
their pure Islāmic origin, for the convert's non-Islāmic

1. Galīcā is a Persian carpet.

2. The sighs will invite evil for the rulers.

3. Accompanied by the curse of the poor.

4. Roshan dil, p.10.

5. This is an idea of ordinary simple-minded ^{Panjab} Muslim Faqīrs of all denominations that Islāmic names of God being true are written inside the veins of man and so he should repeat them.

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descent. They sometimes considering him to be a descendant of the Kāfīrs by origin, give him the same treatment as to a non-Muslim.¹ Fard however does not approve of this and advises them to be more benignant:-

Jo koi hindu āyā hove musalmān
 māḷ na ghannaṅ os dā nā kar bura gumān
 ka'id nā karnā katal bhī ādā os imān
 bājhō hujat sharā de diyō nā āzār.²

Any Hindu who comes and becomes a Musalman do not take his wealth nor harbour evil thought, do not imprison or slay him for faith has brought him (to Islām); without the permit of the Shari'at do not give (him) trouble.

1. Major Abbott puts this Muslim sentiment beautifully "All converts to Islām 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 in himself a Kawfur." (Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol:XXIII.,1854.)

2. Roshan dil.p.8.

Fard in spite of his orthodox beliefs could not help believing in Karmas and often enjoins upon his followers to do good actions. One specimen will suffice here:-

Ghain garūrat nā karo, rovo dhāī mār
bājhō amalā caṅgiā kaun laṅghāsī pār
chadd duniā de vāhde kaul khudā dā bhāl
fardā lekhā laisiā rabb kādir jul jalāl.¹

Ghain: do not bear pride but wail bitterly² 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.

Sīn sunāyē khalak nū kar kar masale roz
lokā dē nasihatā andar tere cor
kī hoyā je laddiā gadhā kitābā nāl
fardā lekhā laisia rabb kādir jul jalāl.³

Sīn; you preach to public treating problem after problem⁴ each day, (you) give instructions to others and inside you are the thief⁵; what avails it if the

1. Daryā-e-ma'rifat, p.3.

2. Wailing for not having acted rightly.

3. Daryā-e-ma'rifat, p.2.

4. Problem of religion from the sacred texts.

5. Inside you is mischief installed.

ass is loaded with books, Fard the mighty radiant
and glorious God will take account.

Here Fard Faqīr demonstrates his anxiety to hide his knowledge
of things:-

Zāl zikar khudāy dā nākar zāhir khalak dikhāy
andar kar tun bandgī bāhar pardā pāy
mūl nā vecī ilam nū ~~hā~~ kar kisse savāl
fardā ~~kekha~~ laisia rabb kādir jul jalāl.¹

Zal: discuss not God openly showing to the public,
inside (in 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 striking in comparison
with his orthodox injunctions and their repetitions.

With all his prejudices against the Kāfirs (Hindus) Fard
did not hesitate to state the efficacy of the Paṇḍits' know-
ledge with regard to the future, as:-

Maī vēdī pās paṛosiā nit pucchdī paṇḍit joshia³

I see near ones and neighbours and ever consult the

1. Daryā-e-ma'rifat, p.2.

2. Veil of orthodox beliefs which were established at the time.

3. Daryā-e-ma'rifat, p.10.

Paṇḍits and jotashīs (astrologers).

Again:-

Rahī dhūṇḍ kitābā phol ke sabh pothī paṇḍat khol ke.¹

I am engaged in search, turning over the books and opening all the Pothīs² of the Paṇḍits.

In the following verse is very well depicted how the very popular Ṣūfī imagines his union with the Beloved:-

Ajj hovan lef nihāliā kol niyāmat bhariā thāliā
bauhnāl payāre khāviye, hor mushk gulāb lagāviye.³

To-day (there) should be covers and mattresses⁴ and the 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.18.

2. The books of the Hindus in nāgarī script are generally called Pothīs.

3. Daryā-e-ma'rifat, p.22.

4. Spread on the bed and elsewhere in honour of the Beloved.

CHAPTER VII.

Hāshim Shāh.

Hāshim was only a Sūfī poet and had no claim to saintship or Faqīrī. The biographies of Sūfī saints and Faqīrs therefore do not mention him at all. There are many oral traditional accounts which are rich sources of information. The only written account that we have found is a short sketch by Bābā Buddh Singh in his Bambihā Bol.¹ This sketch unfortunately, as we shall see later, is in no way better than the oral traditions. The only reliable source that could furnish us the required information and that was open to us 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 old gentlemen of Jagdeo village, the birth place of Hāshim. The following is the sum-total of these narratives relating to the poet.

1. Pp.162-64. Mohan Singh in his recently published "A History of Panjābī literature", p.72, gives a few lines on the life of Hāshim but his information seems to have been taken from Bambihā Bol and does not show any research on his own part.

"He was the son of Kāsim Shāh, a carpenter of Jagdeo village (in Amritsar district). Was born in 1166 A.H. (1753 A.D.) He possessed a great love for knowledge and composed verse while young. God had conferred on him the gift of writing and it is on account of this that he could defeat the poets of his time. The Sikh Chiefs esteemed him. He died at the age of seventy."¹

The above accords with the traditional accounts save the stories relative to Hāshim's friendship with Ranjīt Singh and his patronage which the poet is said to have enjoyed. But before proceeding any further let us state here that all sources of information agree that Hāshim was born in 1753 A.D. and died at the age of seventy, i.e. allotting him a life of seventy Pañjābī years,² he died in 1823 A.D.

Was Hāshim a court-poet of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh? Bābā Buddh Singh calls him Rāj-kavi³ and Sardār Mohan Singh who followed his foot-prints also speaks of the poet as a court-poet of the Mahārājā.⁴ Ranjīt Singh according to history

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1. We are indebted to our family friend Sardār Jivan Singh of Amritsar for having procured us this information.
 2. The Islāmic year is shorter than the Christian year but the Pañjābī year is as long as the latter. In the Pañjāb all communities save some religious heads of the Musalmāns follow the Pañjābī calendar.
 3. Bambīhā Bol. p.162.
 4. "A History of Pañjābī Literature." p.72.

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 different constituents of the province and had little time for poets and poetry. It is only after the year 1810 that he began to evince interest in other parts besides the art of warfare. So if he ever made Hāshim his court-poet it could have been only after 1810 A.D. when the poet was nearing his sixty-eighth year. But no history of the Mahārājā written before or after 1810 A.D. 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 Ranjīt Singh Mahārājā. What we believe is that Hāshim had the patronage of Ranjīt 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 Panjāb.

Bābā Buddh Singh makes another statement regarding Hāshim's position at the Sikh court and his intimacy with Ranjīt Singh. In this he says that the poet recited his Sassī-Punnū to the Mahārājā at a Dusaihrā Darbār and this won him that ruler's love and thereafter he was called in spare moments to recite his verse to him.¹ In all the well-known histories and popular narratives on the private and public life of Ranjīt Singh no

1. Bambīhā Bol. p.162.

reference is made to Hāshim.¹ Therefore we doubt if he ever lived in Lahore, or saw the Mahārājā as frequently as stated by the Bābā.

Bābā Buddh Singh makes still another assertion² 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 among his vast correspondence and in his library there was nothing relating to the poet. He doubted very much the correctness of what the Bābā has said.

Hāshim, too, in his poetry does not mention Ranjīt 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

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1. Ranjīt Singh's attachment for 'Azīz-ud-dīn who held him company in spare moments, his affection and childish talks with Hīrā 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 his life account see Sir Lepel Griffin's "Ranjīt Singh".
 4. Faqīr Jalāl-ud-dīn Sāhib of Lahore.
 5. It was customary to speak of one's patron. Poet Qādir Yār a contemporary of Hāshim tells us of his patron Harī Singh and his king, Ranjīt Singh. He even mentions the gift of land which he received for composing his "Pūraṇ Bhagat."

other hand he speaks against the kings of his times, as:-

Kaih sun hāl hakikat hāshim hundiā bādshāhā dī
 julmō kūk gaye asmānī dukkhiā ros dilā dī
 ādmiā dī sūrāt diss dī rākas ādam khore
 jālam cor palīt zanāhī khauf khudāō kore
 bas hun hor nā kaih kujh hāshim jīō rabb rakkhe raihnā
 eh gall nāhī fakīrā lāyak burā kise dā kaihñā.¹

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, the man eaters, cruel, thieves and impure adulterers unmindful of God's/terror. Enough! now say nothing more Hāshim, live as God keeps. This behoves not the Faqīrs to speak ill of any one.²

We, therefore, come to the conclusion that Hāshim was neither a Rāj Kavi nor stood on intimate terms with Faqīr 'Azīz-ud-dīn, and if ever he received consideration from Ranjīt Singh and his minister it was within the misal territory before 1801 A.D.

Hāshim, it appears, had a good education and must have studied Persian and Arabic. His knowledge of these languages,

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1. Shīrī Farhād, p.4. Printed at Victoria Press, Lahore.
 2. Hāshim lived between 1753 A.D. and 1823-24 A.D. and this description^{may be} of the Sikh Misaldārs who became Masters of the Panjāb from 1769 A.D.

in the words of Sir R. 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 in life he met him is unknown though we read a few verses in praise of him. Probably he had recognised and praised as Pīr him who interested him 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 can be taken for romantic or pious poetry as may be the case. The poet, however, refers frequently to Manṣūr, sometimes to others like Shamsi Tabrīz.

1. Muḥammadan 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 1740-1850 were rather pessimistic regarding material welfare and were very anxious about the welfare of the soul. This pessimism it seems was a natural consequence of constant warfare in the land.

His prosody is Pañjābī throughout, though as stated above his vocabulary abounds in Hindī, Persian and Arabic. These words come often in their original form, but sometimes also in their corrupted Pañjābī forms.

He in all wrote the following books:- Qissā Shīrī Farhād, Qissā Sohni Mahivāl, Qissā Sassi-Pannū, Gyān Prakāsh and Dohre.¹

Of these Sassi-Punnū and Dohre are two masterpieces of Hāshim, the poet, and have had many editions in various scripts of the Pañjāb. Sassi-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 Dās, a living Pañjābī poet of Guranwala asserts that he possessed a manuscript copy of this work of Hāshim, which unfortunately was lost by a friend to whom he lent it for study. The work according to him was purely philosophic and was in Hindī. We hope to trace it some day. The Sohni 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 Sassi-Punnū.

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.

The 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 of Hāshim it would be only fair to say that there is no visible inequality in workmanship in the different works of our poet. The only visible difference is in thought. We presume that he wrote his two best works at an advanced stage when his thought had matured.

Sassī-Punnū.

This work of Hāshim is avowedly based on the Sindhī story of Sassī. The subject had been treated before by two Pañjābī poets.¹

Hāshim's work, however, differs from 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 as:-

1. Hāshim Barkhurdār and Ghulām Rasūl.

Sun sun baut sassī diā bātā kāmīl ishik kamāyā
hāshim jo-satt thī att kitā vaihm utte vall āyā.¹

Hearing many tales about Sassī and the love she fulfilled, what was true and was truly upheld, Hāshim got the craze for that.

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 poor and holy for the gift of a child. After long years a daughter was born to his wife and was called Sassī. Astrologers prophesied that:-

Kāmīl ishik sassī tan hosī jab hogu juān siānī
mast bihosh thalā vice marsī dard firāk rānjhānī.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 jagg vice hog kahānī.⁴
Hāshim (thereby) to her family will disgrace come
(when) it (her love) becomes a public story.

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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 Sassi in a wooden chest, engraved with precious stones and filled with wealth 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 such a treasure he opened it and was more surprised to find the baby-girl. He took her to his wife and they brought her up as their own child. Sassi grew up into a beautiful woman. Many a washerman suitor came to wed her but she refused them. 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 Sassi to his court.

1. In the Sindhi story Sassi was a Brahman's daughter. The astrologers on her birth 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 Ṣūfī could not give importance to silly religious differences on the path of love.

2. The Jām would have been a very old man and it is for this that the enraged relative, to revenge himself, wanted him to marry the youthful Sassi.

Sassī did not go but handed him the talisman. When the Jām saw it, he and his wife were deeply touched. They invited Sassī back but she proudly refused, immune to her mother's entreaties.

Now it so happened that a rich man of Bhambor had made lovely gardens in which he hung portraits of kings and princes. Sassī with her friends visited these gardens. Coming on 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 lands at the spot where the Bilocis 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 from Kecem came to trade and as customary came to pay their respects to Sassī. On enquiry she was told that they knew Punnū, the Kecem prince who was their brother.¹ Thereupon she imprisoned them letting free two to go back. These two mounted their camels and in all haste reached the court of 'Alī the father of Punnū. They told him what 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 in

1. By brother they meant caste-man or relative.

one night he entered Sassī's gardens. Ordering the camels to graze in them, he slept on the flower bed ever 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 bed her anger turned into joy. Their eyes met and they fell in love. Punnū then began to live happily with her and the prisoners and 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 they offered them wine which had its effect and they fell fast asleep. The brothers thereupon mounted their camels with sleeping Punnū and set 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 barefooted left for the kingdom of 'Alī. The heat of the sun, 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 sp̄krit 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 parental house. At once he prepared to return to his love but parents, brothers and tribesmen would not let him go. Helpless, he drew his sword and was about to strike himself when the parents gave in. Praying God to find Sassī happy he set off. When he reached her grave and saw the shepherd Faqīr sitting near by he enquired 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. This was enough. Punnū swooned dead on the grave which opened and two arms received 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 nasīhat kardī ā dhīā pau rāhī
 dhoban zāt kamīnī kar ke chor gaye tudh tāhī
 bhaj bhaj pher use val daurē lāj aje tudh nāhī biloc balāī
 hāshim vekh dukkhā val pāke ghunḍ biloc balāī.²

1. It is saints and faqīrs who die and are buried in deserts.

Ordinary people rarely go to such lonely places.

2. Sassī Punnū, p.10.

The dhoban¹ mother gives counsel, daughter come to the true path. Considering the washermen's caste low they (Punnū and his brothers) have left you therefore. Again and again towards him you run still you have no shame. Hāshim, throwing a veil² see your sufferings the Biloc is an evil spirit.³

To this and other good counsels Sassī replied with firm determination:-

Marsā mūl nā mūrṣā jān talī par dharsā
jad takk jān rahe vice tan de marnō mūl nā ḍarsā
je rabb kūk sassī dī sunṣī jā pallā us pharsā
hāshim nāhī shahīdan hoke thal mārū vice marsā.⁴

I will die, but will not return at all from my path, will place my life on the palm of my hand.⁵ So long as life remains in my body from death in the least I will not fear. If God will hear the cries of Sassī then I will go and seize his skirt.⁶ Or else becoming a martyr

-
1. Dhoban is a woman belonging to washermen's caste called the Dhobī zāt or jāt.
 2. By patiently thinking over your troubles you will find that he had been a source of sorrow for you.
 3. Balā is an evil female spirit but in the ordinary sense it is meant for trouble and sorrow.
 4. Sassī-Punnū, p.19.
 5. Pañjābī expression signifying little value for life.
 6. Punnū's to show her humility.

Hāshim in sandy land I shall perish.

The dramatic fashion in which Punnū was carried off and the counsels of 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, as,

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 muḷ dī lū lū hot pukāre
 nājak pair gulāb sassī de maīhdī nāl shaṅgāre
 bālū ret tape vicc thal de jīū jāū bhunnaḥ bhaṭṭhīāre
 sūraj bhaj variā vicc badalī dardā lishak nā māre
 hāshim vekh yakīn sassī dā sidkō mūl nā hāre.¹

At mid-day the heat of the hot season² increased.

Burning air blew from the sky, felling the birds and killing them. A river of fire was standing (flowing) all over the sandy desert. Hāshim, still she did not turn back, each pore of hers was calling the Hot.³ The delicate rose-like feet of Sassī with henna beautified, were in the hot sand of the desert as men roast barley in an oven.⁴ The sun ran, and in clouds hid himself, through

1. Sassī-Punnū, p.20.

2. Summer.

3. Hot was a title of Punnū.

4. Bhaṭṭhi is an oven in which corn is fried after being mixed with hot sand.

fear he did not shine, Hāshim behold the trust of Sassi, in truth she did not fail.

A short while before her death in the desert-sands the helpless Sassi losing self-control curses the thieves of her Beloved.

Shālā¹ rahin kiāmat tāī nāl sūlā de lurke
hāshim maran kumaut bidesī, lūṅ vāṅgū 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 caravanists.

Orak vakat kaihar diā kūkā sun patthar dhal jāve
dāci
jis merā punnū khariā shālā oh dozakh vice jāve
yā us nehu lage vice birhō vāṅg sassī jar jāve
hāshim maut pave karvānā tukhm zamīno jāve.³

At last hearing the cries of woe⁴ 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 Sassi be burnt: Hāshim, may death on

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1. Shālā = inshā Allāh.
 2. Sassi-Punnū, p.21.
 3. Ibid.p.24.
 4. Death agonies.

caravaners fall and from earth their seed disappear.

When Punnū enquired of the shepherd about the fresh grave he replies:-

Ākkhe oh fakīr punnū nū khōl hakīkat sārī
 āhī nār parī dī sūrat garmī marī vicārī
 japp dī nām punnū dā āhī dard ishk dīmārī
 hāshim nām makān nā jānā āhī kaun vicārī.¹

To Punnū that faqīr relates, opening² the whole truth. It was a woman, image of a nymph, dead 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 sun hot zīmī te diggā khā kaleje kānī
 khulh gaī gor piā vice kabare pher mile dāl jānī
 khāttar ishk gaī rāl miṭṭī sūrat husan jānānī
 hāshim ishk kamāl sassī dā jagg vice rahī kahānī.³

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 beautiful image mixed with dust: the story of Sassī's perfect love, Hāshim, remains in the world.

1. Sassī-Punnū, p.24.

2. Explaining.

3. Sassī-Punnū, p.24.

Dohre.

Hāshim in his Sassī-Punnū expresses his Ṣūfīism in the same manner as Hāfiḡ expressed his in his Yusaf Zulaikhā. But in the Dohre he is a pure Ṣūfī and sings out his inner mystic emotions. The Dohre has procured for him the love of the pious and the esteem of the learned. With his Dohre Hāshim can demand a place next to Bullhe Shāh. Like him not anxious of gaining power and position and unlike Bāhū free from all fetters of sanctity of Pīrhood and Khalīfā-ship, he wrote down the true ideas occupying his mind.

By Dohrā the reader might be misled and believe it to be a Hindī verse-form, which it is not. The dohre of Hāshim are different from dohe in Hindī and can be classed in two groups.

Those of the first group are somewhat like the Hindī verse form called Chands and are 208 in number. Those belonging to the second group are called diore and not Dohre. Diorā is an old verse-form of Pañjābī and peculiar to itself. As a rule it is employed in folk-poetry but in some rare cases poets have used it. Of the Ṣūfī poets Hāshim was the first to compose poetry in it. But his diorā poems called diore are few in number. There are only seven published along with his dohre at Lahore and entitled Dohre Hāshim Shāh or Daryā-i-

Ḥaḡīqat.¹

We now proceed to give a few specimens of Ḥāshim's Dohre and ḡiore.

Ḥāshim reproaches love calling him weak and old for his inability to break the shackles of shame, i.e. convention round the poet's feet.

Jā fariḡād bike te āyō otthō cā pahār curāyo
 mere pair janjīr hayā dā, ohnū mūl nā cā turāyo
 ishkā zor nahī vice tere sacc ākkh budḡāpā āyo
 ḡāshim log karan ḡam āivē asī bhet tera huḡ pāyo.²

When Farḡād was being sold then you came and from there stole the mountain (but) the chain of shame (convention) round my feet you have not at all broken. Love you have no strength in you, say the truth (that) old age has come (on you), Ḥāshim, people worry³ uselessly we⁴ now have found out your secret.

Ḥāshim explains the difference of the state or condition of the so-called lovers of God and the real lovers or seekers, as:-

1. Allāh Vāle kī Kaumī Dukān, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

2. Dohre Ḥāshim Shāh, p.30.

3. Worry because they think that love has ceased to have any effect.

4. Meaning I.

Rabb dā āshak hoṇ sukkhālā eh baut sukkhālī bāzī
 gosha pakar rahe ho sābar phar tasabī baṇe namāzī
 sukkh arām jagat vice sobhā ate vekkh hove jagg rāzī
 hāshim khāk rulāve galiā te eh kāfir ishk mazāzī.¹

To be a lover² of God is easy, it is a very easy game,
 simply to sit patiently³ in a corner, seize a rosary
 and say prayers. Thus will come rest, comfort and
 fame in the world and the people will be pleased on
 seeing them; (but) Hāshim, may this sham love roll
 that unbeliever in the dust of the streets.⁵

Hāshim believed that those alone who could realise Love
 who had renounced all religion and faith, as:-

jis vice jaṅg birhō dā piā tis nāl lahū mukh dhotā
 shamā jamāl diṭṭhā parvāne ate ān shahīd khalotā
 jā mansūr hoyā madmātā tadh sūlī nāl parotā
 hāshim ishk aih jehā miliā jin dīn mazhab sabh dhotā.⁶

-
1. Dohre Hāshim, p.20.
 2. Lovers of God according to religious code.
 3. I.e. Gosha nishī.
 4. Satisfied.
 5. Heathen because it is not satisfied with set beliefs.
 6. Dohre Hāshim Shāh, p.14.

One in whom the battle of separation has commenced¹ he has washed his face with blood.² The moth saw the glory of the candle and coming stood a martyr.³ When Mansūr was filled with ^{Divine} passion then he was threaded to the cross. Hāshim, such souls alone attained ^(given up) ~~have~~ Love, who washed off ^{all} faith and religion.⁴

What happens after love has taken root in the human heart is well explained here:-

For janjir shariyat nass dā jad raccadā ishk majāzī
dil nū coṭh laggī jis din dī asā khūb sikhī rind bāzī
bhaj bhaj rūh vare butt-khāne ate zāhir jism namāzī
hāshim khūb parhāyā dil nū ais baiṭh ishk de kāzī.⁵

(The soul) breaks the chain of law and hastens to create sham love. From the day my heart has felt the blow (of love) I have learnt well the 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 Qāzī of love has well taught my heart.

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1. Who realises that he is separated from the Real.
 2. He cleans his soul with his own blood, i.e. he sacrifices himself for the Truth.
 3. He died for his love caring little for all else.
 4. By faith the poet means blind faith in the words of others without making personal efforts to find Him.
 5. Dohre Hāshim Shāh, p.9.

We give below a few more dohre expressing faithfully Hāshim's various mystic ideas.

^{ate} Zēā bādāt cāhe vekkhe nāhī hargiz dhiyān nā kardā
Shāh Mansūr carhāyā sūlī ate yusaf kītto su bardā
kis gall de vicc rāzī hove koī bhed nāhī ais gall dā
hāshim be parvāhī kolō merā har veḷe jīu dardā.¹

The orthodox wants adoration (God) but sees Him not,
and pays no attention at all,² raised he/Shāh Mansūr on the
cross and made Joseph^e slave. By what may he be pleased?
There is no secret in this matter. Hāshim, my heart is
ever afraid of his indifference.

Dil soī jo sej sajjan de nit khūn jigar dā pīve
nain soī jo ās daras dī nit rahan hameshā khīve
dil be dard biādhi bhariyā shālā oh har kise nā thīve
hāshim so dil jān rangilā jahṛā dekkh dilā val jīve.³

That alone is the heart which ever on the Beloved's bed
drinks its own heart's blood. Those are eyes alone
which remain ever drunk. An unsympathetic heart⁴ is
full of disease, God grant everyone may not possess it.

1. Dohre Hāshim Shāh, p.29.

2. He is not attentive and often takes contradictory steps.

3. Dohre Hāshim Shāh, p.21.

4. One who does not feel the pain and sorrow of others.

Hāshim, know that heart to be pleasure-loving¹ which lives by looking at the heart.²

Har har post de vice dost oh dost rūp vaṭāve
dost tak nā pahūce koī eh post cāh bhūlāve
dost khās pachāne tāī jad post jhāk rulāve
hāshim shāh jad dost pāve tad post val kad jāve.³

In every poppy-head⁴ is the Friend⁵ and that Friend changes his guise.⁶ No one reaches that Friend, this poppy-head⁷ makes one forget the desire for Him. Then alone is the Friend recognised when the poppy-head is placed in the dust.⁸ Hāshim Shāh, when the Friend is found then who will go to the poppy-head.

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1. rangīlā literally means pleasure-loving person, here it means one who loves God, i.e. one whose heart is coloured with divine colour.
 2. Who feeling the pain of others like that man, Hāshim believes, is God's lover.
 3. Dohre Hāshim Shāh, p.9.
 4. Religions.
 5. God.
 6. He is differently manifested in each religion.
 7. Religious dogmas which make the follower forget Him, the Real.
 8. Religion and its accompanying dogmas.

Ved katāb parhan caturāī ate jab tab sād̄h banāve
bhagave bhes karan kis kāran oh man dā khoṭ lukāve
murakh jā vare us vehre ate aukhad janam gavāve
hāshim mukat nasīb jihnā de soī dard mandā valāve.¹

Reading of the Ved and the Book² 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.³

Before closing this account we will give one of Hāshim's
diorā. It will clearly show the difference between Dohrā
and diorā:-

Māhī pār arām nā mainū, maī mutthī teg nazar dī, tarle
kardī
sohnī khavār hoī jagg sāre, jo rāt same jhanā tardī,
zarē nā dardī
hāye banī lācār sohnī maī firā bahāne kardī, ghāṭ nā
tardī,
hāshim siddak sohnī dā vekkho ate hikmat jādū gardī,
parakh mitardī.⁴

1. Dohre Hāshim, p.17.

2. Book stands for the revealed scripture. Here by Book is
meant the Qur'ān.

3. I.e., Sūfīs, because they suffer of the separation from
the Universal-Soul

4. Dohre Hāshim, p. 17.

The Beloved is across (the river), no rest for me, I am lost, deceived by the glance's sword, I beseech (him). Sohñī is straitened in the whole world who at night swims the Chenab and without the least fear. Ah I,¹ Sohñī, becoming despondent, am wandering, making excuses but do not swim across.² Hāshim, see the sincerity of Sohñī and see in her the skill of a magician and the discrimination³ of a friend.

1. The poet now speaks of himself.

2. I have no courage to take the drastic step in the sea of conviction and so am making excuses for remaining on shore.

3. That she could distinguish between the true beloved and the false one.

CHAPTER VIII.

Karam 'Alī.

Of Saiyid Karam 'Alī Shāh,¹ 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 an account of the life and work of the poet, though up till now no book contributes to what little we know of him. We are therefore compelled to fall back on Karam 'Alī's own work and the copyist's² note, but very little regarding him is to be found in his verse.

Towards the end of his work entitled "Khīyāl"³ the

1. Our attention was drawn to the existence of the poet by the recital of his poem by several Faqīrs and minstrels.
2. Copyist of Karam 'Alī's manuscript.
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 forsaken copy of the Khīyāl in a corner of Dr. Hifzur-Rahman's Library. Excepting a few pages missing from the middle the manuscript is intact and is written in legible hand.

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 Malerkotlā, as:-

Maler kotle karam alī nī dittā pīr husain jamāl,
payāre de lar lagg¹.

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 Malerkotlā, yet the permanent place of his gurū's residence seems to have been Vaṭālā (Batala) in the Gurdaspur district, as:-

Karam Alī cal shaihar vaṭāle lok phāṇ pai jānī nū.²

Karam 'Alī go to the town of Batala, people (here)
are worrying my life.

Again:-

Ā pīr husain dikhāī ditti hass hass kadamā de val
natṭhī
Karam Alī lā sīne maī suttī, vasā shai-har vaṭāle dī
gaddī.³

Pīr Ḥusain came and manifested himself, laughing,

1. Khīyāl 60.

2. Khīyāl 41.

3. Ibid 32. He refers to Batala as the seat of his Master in several others poems, for example, in Khīyāls 47 and 68.

laughing I ran to his feet; Karam 'Alī, taking him to my breast I slept, I reside at the seat of Batala.^{1*}

At the end of almost all his poems Karam 'Alī tells us that the dark veil of his ignorance was shattered by the bright light of real knowledge imparted to him by Ḥusain, for example:-

Karam 'alī huṅ vāre, vāre, pir husain ne tāre tāre dukkh gaye huṅ sāḍe sāre, hoye sattgurū meharbān kure.²
Karam 'Alī now is a sacrifice³ a sacrifice, Pīr Ḥusain has saved, has safed him. All our⁴ troubles have now disappeared (because) the true-Gurū⁵ has been merciful, o girl.

There is no indication of his time in the verse. The Faqīrs say that he lived during the reign of Ranjīt Singh. Not doubting what the Faqīrs say, we think that he lived long after the Sikh rule in the Pañjāb. It may be 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 alī cal shaihar vaṭāle baiṭṭh phalaur dī rele.⁶

2. Khīyāl 14.

3. A sacrifice for his teacher.

4. Meaning mine.

5. Ḥusain.

6. Khīyāl. 65

1* Karam 'Alī, it seems, lived for some time at the spiritual seat of his gurū.

Karam 'Alī go to the city of Vaṭālā (Batala) sitting in the train (bound) for Phillor.

His enthusiastic manner of mentioning the train shows that he was still living when railways were started in the Pañjāb.

The poet most probably was a Qādīrī because in one of the lullabies written for his ^{son,} Saiyid Jalāl he calls Abdul Qādir Jīlānī one of the protectors of the child.

Nabī Alī va hasan husain, aur pāṭavē hazrat fātimā haī
kamāl

Gaus al-ʿāzīm shāhe jīlānī huai tum par ab diāl.¹

The prophet, 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusain and fifth the honourable Fātimā are perfect, they and Shāh Ghaus al-A'zam² of Jīlān now are 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 different religions, though Islāmic thought predominates and occupies a higher place than the others. Krishna is praised in one poem, his playing with the Gopis³ is described in another, but in another that

1. Lorī 12 in the Khīyāl.

2. One of many names of Abdul Qādir.

3. Even the poet becomes one of the Gopīs and invites him to come to play the game.

follows these Muḥammad is praised as the best and the cause of creation. Karam 'Alī, therefore, is a typical example of popular Ṣūfīs flourishing in favourable conditions and in normal times.¹ Besides these few hints on his life, all that we know is that Karam 'Alī was an earnest seeker after God and after his initiation into Ṣūfīism by Ḥusain passed most of his time in singing the praises of his Hādī and through him his God.

II.

The Khīyāl of Karam 'Alī comprises four kinds of poems. Khīyāls are nothing but Kāfīs composed to be sung in different musical measures. Khīyāl 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 moments were gathered together and named Khīyāl. The Khīyāls being more in number than the other poems, the manuscript was named Khīyāl. These Kāfīs, 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 Panjābī Ṣūfī before Karam 'Alī wrote Ghazals. These lyrics

1. There is a good deal of contrast between Fard Faqīr and him. One lived in difficult times and the other in happy times.

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 which fact clearly proves that his knowledge of Urdū was limited.

Lorīs. These lullabies are twelve in number and probably were 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 can 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 Khīyāl 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 often there are poetic flashes. Karam 'Alī mostly employed popular metres and refrains for expressing his ideas and this fact is responsible for a good deal of poetic beauty imparted to his mediocre thought. Save Lorīs the poems are full of Ṣūfī effusion of a popular type, which makes room for all doctrines but Qur'ānic tenets crop up through the surface. The sayings of the Qur'ān, though

engraved in the Pañjābī verse, yet lack that charm which they have in the poetry of 'Alī Haidar.

That Karam 'Alī wrote any poetry besides the Khīyāl is rather improbable. In any case this is the only work known to us. Now we proceed to give a few khīyāls to show their poetic beauty and the Ṣūfī thought.

Pīr worship is the most conspicuous element of Karam 'Alī's poetry. Like any other popular Ṣūfī he does not differentiate between the Beloved (God) and his teacher. His Hādī to him is the Beloved and ever remains so.¹

Rondī nū mainū muddatā hoīyā kade
 deve ān jamāl, dil nū tāb nahī
 ā pīr husain dikhāī ditti hoīyā 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 Pīr Husain came and made a manifestation; (thus) Karam 'Alī, I became satisfied; the heart has no peace.

Again:-

1. A seeker in Pañjābī Ṣūfīism is supposed to drown himself in the Pīr and then meet God but once he finds God then he becomes one with God. A popular Ṣūfī, though he talks much of One-ness, is unable to feel it or understand it and it is for this that his pīr ever remains God and *the* Prophet for him.

2. Khīyāl 78.

3. This is the refrain of the poem.

Karam 'Alī lai pīr husain shāh
chej bichā ke soīyā nī¹

Taking Pīr Husain Shāh (with him) Karam 'Alī
spread the bed and slept,² O friend.

The above shows the attitude of the popular Ṣūfī 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 any doubt concerning the truth of our statement.

Koī lavo nī pīā nū mor, minntā kar karke

Is de badale merīai māe deo hor kise nū tor minntā kar
karke

haulī haulī tusī karo nī gallā tusī pāo nā saiyo shor
minntā kar karke

pīr husain sivā nā koī, karam alī dā hor, minntā kar
karke.³

Let some one make the beloved come back;⁴ with many entreaties. In his place my mother send somebody else

1. Khīyāl 79.

2. Meaning that having accepted Husain as his pīr he is fully satisfied and is living without any further search of the beloved.

3. Khīyāl 73.

4. Or change his mind to go on voyage.

(with many entreaties).¹ 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 Pīr Ḥusain Karam 'Alī has no other of his own; (with many entreaties).

Here in brief is Karam 'Alī'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, as:-

Masalā kar kar vāz karāūdā, kar kar lokā jamā biṭṭhāūdā
 dīn diā bātā khūb suṇāūdā, kufre islām phāriā hai
 tilak lagā ke matthe bassdā, gal vicc paihn janeu dass dā
 otthe kar bhajan nā rajj dā, paṛh paṛh oh ōnkāriā hai
 kitthe īsāī baṇiā farāngī, kare larāī baṇ baṇ jaṅgī
 haṭth tere hai mandī caṅgi, dhar topī shimlā uttāriā hai?²

Talking of the doctrines You arrange sermons and gathering
 the people seat them, and (then) many matters of faith³
 You tell them, (saying) Islām has shattered the false.⁴

Putting the mark on the forehead You reside, wearing

1. It is the rahāu or refrain.

2. Khīyāl 9.

3. Islām.

4. Non-Islāmic religions like Christianity and Hinduism.

the sacred thread round the neck (You) show, there¹ singing the praise You never get satisfied, studying and reading² 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 the popular Ṣūfī's concept of God's Omnipresence, though apparently not differing from that of an intellectual Ṣūfī, yet in reality is a good deal different. He no doubt like the others sees God in both good and evil, in chastity as well as in iniquity and in truth as in untruth.^{3*} But unlike them he fails to understand that fine but powerful

3* Karam 'Alī who sees God's omnipresence in different religions as shown above sees It even in the dwellings of prostitutes and gamblers as:-

jadō tavāīf de ghar jāvē, utthe kī kī nāz karāvē

When You go in the house of a prostitute what coquetry

You displayed there.

and:-

juai khāne de vicc var var dāo khelē par sāre ḍar ḍar

Entering the gamble-house You bet, but (in all) fear.

These aspects of God are misunderstood by the mystics and their followers alike.

1. In Hinduism.

2. The Hindu religion, i.e., its scriptures.

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 Ṣūfī knows that God in his Own-Self is Truth, right and purity, but when He reflects on Himself then alone He does it equally in good and evil. To understand and see Him both in his personal Self 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 the Truth. Once the Truth is realised in It-self then it is a very easy matter for the seeker to see Him reflected in evil and untruth. Therefore the intellectual Ṣūfī¹ concentrates all his forces to see the Truth through the truth, i.e., by becoming truth. But the efforts of the popular Ṣūfī to seek the Truth through untruth are soon shadowed by ignorance hence the realization of Truth remains an hypothesis and mysticism becomes a body without the soul. Save some rare exceptions the popular Ṣūfīs 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

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1. The orthodox is saved from falling into the lap of untruth and ignorance by his adherence to religious commandments.

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 among all Pañjābīs but more so in the Sikh circles, as:-

Mere sīne vajdī **hūl**

ishk piāre dī

turan phiran thī ājiz kītī laggī kaleje sūl,

ishk piāre dī¹

eh dukkh laggiā sānū kārī hoye arāmnā mūl,

ishk piāre dī

je ikk vārī daras dik-hāve, maīnū sāre dukkh kabūl,

ishk piāre dī

Karam Alī nū deve dikhāī mukkh yār da rabb rasul,

ishk piāre dī²

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)

1. Ishk piāre dī is refrain repeated at the end of each line.

We have omitted it in the translation.

2. Khīyāl 12.

3. The Beloved, i.e., God.

God and his prophet;¹ the face of dear love.

Sometimes Karam 'Alī employs besides musical tunes, even the words peculiar to the Sikh literature, social and religious. Here is an example of it:-

Satt Gurā de carnī lagg piāre satt gurā de²
 be mukkh hoīye mūl nā hargiz bhāvē tāne deve sārā jagg
 sījjiō mūl nā mukkh haṭāiye bharm dātorīye tagg
 hijar farāk de jo kujh andar sītal hove agg
 jivē rājhā banban pālī, hīr de cāre vagg
 Karam 'Alī kar kar arjūiyā dil nū laiye ṭhagg³

Be attached to the feet of the true gurū, of the dear true gurū; though the world taunt thee, get turn not thy face⁴ away (from him). Turn not thy face from worship, break the thread of doubt. Whatsoever is in separation, let that fire become cool.⁵ May he live,

-
1. It can be translated both ways "the face of the beloved which is God and his prophet" or which is like God and his prophet.
 2. The rahāu "piāre satt gurā de" is to be repeated after each line.
 3. Khīyāl 59.
 4. Do not detach yourself from the Gurū.
 5. 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.

who as Rājā becoming a herdsman grazes the cattle of Hīr. Karam 'Alī, by making petitions let us win the heart of the true gurū.

In the above, the musical tune, the words satt gurā, carnī, 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 Śūfī 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 would serve us as a vivid example. He speaks of Krishna and his playing the holi:-

Horī khelo biraj ke vāsī horī khelo
koī urāvat hai lāl gulālī koī phaikat hai pickārī
hamare mahal maikayō nahī āyo lok karat haī hāsī

and

Ṣīr husain ke jāy duāre karam alī jāvē hukh sāre
Govind govind ke guṇ gāre, tere janam kī tuṭe phāsī
horī khelo. etc.¹

Play holi, resident of Brij, play holi, some sprinkle

1. Khīyāl 62.

lal-gulāī¹ and some throw syringe-fuls;² but why have you not come to my palace, the people are laughing.³

And:-

By going to the door of Pīr Ḥusain, Karam 'Alī, all troubles disappear;⁴ sing the attributes of Gōvind,⁵ (thus) the pain of rebirth⁶ will end.

-
1. Red vegetable powder thrown at one another on Holī days in early Spring.
 2. Of coloured water.
 3. People are laughing ironically at me because you have not come to play Holī with me.
 4. Troubles disappear because he teaches the name of God.
 5. Govind, a Hindu name of God but it is mostly used for Krishna the 9th incarnation of the Hindus.
 6. 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 which calls it here hanging or execution. This eternal pain, says Karam 'Alī, ends by singing of the attributes of God which procure salvation.

Now we proceed to give one or two specimens of lorīs. Though they are childish and amusing yet they are interesting. 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 alī rakkhvālā
 ghar karam alī de ujālā¹

Hear the lullaby² 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, parḥ parḥ 'wajj hullā' phir
 dassdā

duī vaiham pare ho vassdā, karam alī carḥ anhad bassdā.²

Singing the lullaby the father laughs, and over and over repeats wajj-hulla;³ the foolishness of dvaite

1. Khīyāls lori 18.

2. Ibid. lori 4.

3. Wajj-hulla is the Pañjābī form of *Wajhu'llāh* the Arabic saying meaning *the face of God* that "He (God) is everywhere". The Ṣūfīs of the Pañjāb repeat it, as one of their spiritual practices.

departs¹ 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 sometime 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 ⁴ā gayā, thalle maut paighām
call karam shāh caliye, jhagre miṭan tamām.²

The last moment has arrived, the order of death is downstairs; come, Karam 'Alī, let us go, all troubles will end.

1. Duī in Pañjābī means the fact of being two and it is for this 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 thing as is believed by the exponents of Advaita.

CHAPTER IX.

Some Minor Poets.

I

Karīm Bakhsh.

A Pañjābī manuscript in the library of Dr. Hifz-ur-Rahman caught our attention. On examination we found that it was written in a very neat hand, on old Pañjābī paper. It cannot have been less than seventy-five years old; perhaps it is more.

This work, as Karīm Bakhsh himself states in the preamble, was a Pañjābī translation of Tafriḥu'l Azkiā fi'l Ambīā of Abu'l Ḥasan; most probably the author was a pupil of this Abu'l Ḥasan, though he does not say it, but he has not forgotten to tell us that Abūl Ḥasan was a disciple of Shāh Abdu'l '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 Muḥammadi¹, as it is called by him, amply shows what we said in the introduction, that some Ṣufīs imitated the Vaiṣṇavas and sang of Muḥammad in

1. Bārā-māh Muḥammadi means twelve months on Muḥammad.

the same way as the latter sang of Krishna. Not only that, references made in such descriptions also point to Hindu customs such as going to bathe on festival days and change of dress colours in mourning,¹ etc. The Ṣūfī's Mathura was Mādina and he himself the forsaken Rādhā² while his Gokul or Brindāban was the place of his residence. The Ṣūfī months and their names were Pañjābī³ as was his concept of the weather of each month and he therefore 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 our best to find out the life-history of Karīm Bakhsh we did not succeed. Only as he tells us his Takhalluṣ or nom de plume was Badar.⁴ His custom of using B in the place of V indicates that he belonged either to the Jullunder or to the Hoshiarpur districts. He was a

1. See below the descriptions of the second and twelfth months.

2. 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 when necessity arose.

3. The Pañjābī months are Hindu months. The names, too, are as in Sanskrit, except that they are somewhat corrupted and differently pronounced.

4. Tazkiratu'l Ambīā's preamble.

Šūfī for an orthodox Muḥammadan would not write in the strain in which he wrote his Bārā-Māh.

Bārā-Māh Muḥammadi.¹

Cetar, the first month of the year.

Cetar cinttā har dam camke, taraf madīne jāvā māi
pakaṛā jālī roze sandī ro ro hāl sunāvā māi
bhā bichoṛe biyog vikhāya vasalō pānī pavā māi
je kar yārī kare nasībā badar piā-ang lavā māi

Vesākh, the second month of the year.

Karan besākh taiyārī saiyā ralmil nahāvan jāvan nū
uṭṭh uṭṭh pave palang darindā māi tattī de khāvan nū
māi tattī te tatt bhalattī jamī darad uṭhāvan nū
tere bajh rasūla kehṛa kaḍḍa hāl sunāvan nū

Jeṭh, the third month.

Jeṭhō heṭh gamā de āī darad bichoṛā khādā je
jald 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 māi
dūtī dushman kull zamānā kyō kar jān bacāvā māi

1. Tazkiratu'l Ambīā. pp. 211 and 212.

corī chuppē bhāiyā kolō taraf madīne jāvē māi
oh kehṛā din bhāgī bharyā jad piyā aṅg lāvā māi

Sāvan, the fifth month.

Sāvan saun nā birhō dēdā ro ro cīkā mārā māi
aih maihbūb habīb khudā de kis dar jāye pukārā māi
dushman pāle dūtī vehṛā kīkar umar guzārā māi
āi jān labā te jānī jan tere tō vārā māi

Bhādrō, the sixth month

Bhādrō bhāh bichore bhavakī, jal bal kolā hovā gī
khālī maihal darāvan sāyo, hāju hār parovāgī
ghar de vālī zat nā pucchī, kis agge jā rovāgi
cal madīne khāvind agge hun hatth bannh khalovāgī

Asoj, the seventh month.

Asoj ās nahī kujh bākī māi āsā kurlādī hā
tere dard bichore hazrat khūn jigar dā khādī hā
likkhiā lekh nasīb azal dā ai jholī hun pādī hā
sarvare ālam dohī jahānī terī golī bādī hā

Kattak, the eighth month.

Kattak kaun sune fariādā tū sarvar sultānā hai
tū mahbūb rasūl khudā dā vālī dohī jahānī hai
terī khātir paidā hoyā, jo jimīā asmānā hai
duniā aḍḍar hashar dihare tū merā khamānā hai

Magghar, the ninth month.

Magghar muk̄k rahī hā hazrat āy karo dil dārī maĩ
 lakkh lakkh vārī vārī jāvā ghol ghatā ikk vārī maĩ
 khesh kabīlā ghol ghumāvā ho kurbān nakkārī maĩ
 je ikk khāt measar āve dohī jahānī tārī maĩ

Poh, the tenth month.

Poh mahīne sarvar bājhō jo saṅg mere bitī je
 shālā dushman nāl nā hove jahī bichore kitī je
 kī ākkhā maĩ ishk kavliā maut āpe maṅg litī je
 zaihar payālī ishke vālī miṭ akkhī maĩ pī tī je

Māgh, the eleventh month.

Māhī māgh nā maĩ ghar āye khālī sej darāvegi
 paiyā barafā sardī shurakī, sardī pīr khapāvegi
 belī melī saṅg nā belī badar havelī khāvegi
 āh hazrat didār vikkhāo ṭhok kaleje jāvegi

Phagan, the twelfth month

Phagan bhukkhī sūhe sāde tāi bājhō kujh yād nahī
 guzariā sāl nā sajjan āye jā koi faryād nahī
 aih maqbūl rasūl khudā de bin tere dil shād nahī
 jāy pukārā vice madīne kyō hundī imdād nahī

In Cetar worry is ever lively; I should go to
 Medina; (and) holding the lattice¹ attached to the tomb,²

1. The walls of the tombs of Muhammadan **great** men in India generally have latticed walls, and visitors are not allowed **beyond** them.

2. Tomb of the prophet.

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 Vesakh my friends¹ make preparation to go together to bathe,² my bed³ 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, with^{out} you, O apostle (Muhammad) whom should I find⁴ to tell my condition to?

In Jeth I am buried under sorrow,⁵ the pain of separation devours me; call me soon to Medina O Hazrat or poor me will die; (smearing) ashes on the head⁶ I, the poor cowherd,

1. Girl friends.

2. In Vaisakh or Vesakh falls the festival of the New Year's day when the Hindus, specially Hindu women, go to the river or some bathing place to bathe. Generally fairs are held outside the bathing places where people enjoy themselves.

3. He imagines that in the absence of the dear one the bed assumes a cruel aspect as if it wanted to eat him up.

4. Meaning, whom could I find greater than you to tell my sorrow.

5. I am buried under sorrow is a Panjābī expression meaning that sorrow has overpowered me.

6. A Hindu yogī practice. Sign of renunciation.

change into a yogī's garb;¹ I am near death, O Ḥaḡrat, every minute pain troubles me.

In the month of Hār, I heave sighs and, crying, sing my tale; the whole age is a back-citing enemy;² how can I save my life; hiding and in secret from my brothers³ towards Medina I go; what 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,⁴ to which door shall I go and call;⁵ enemies whom I cherished, all of them slander me; how shall I pass my life;⁶ ^{life} has come to the lips,

-
1. When Rājhā could not obtain Hīr in marriage he became a yogī or jogī or a Hindu recluse. The poet forgets that he is replacing the heroine and so could not be Rājhā but Hīr. It is due to foreign influence.
 2. The world talks against me behind my back. Between the separation from you and an unsympathetic world, how am I to live?
 3. Here the poet again becomes Hīr and says that like her he goes to meet Rājhā (Rasūl) without her brothers' knowledge.
 4. Muḥammad, whom God declares as his dear one in some Ḥadīs.
 5. For help.
 6. Those whom I loved and gave my care and help have turned out back-biting enemies.

(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 friends¹; a garland of tears will I make; the master of the house² has not asked for me³ before whom shall I go and weep;⁴ let us go to Medina, before my Lord, with joined hands shall I stand.⁵

In Asoj no more hope remains, I, the sinner am wailing; because of⁶ the pain of your separation, O Ḥazrat, I am tasting the blood of my heart; my destiny written in eternity⁷ I am

1. Girl friends.

2. Meaning master of my body.

3. Zāt which literally means caste, species or essence here is employed in a different sense, implying that he has not asked for my person.

4. 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 dear of God, is the husband and so there remains no one to influence him.

5. The Indian and especially the Hindu way of begging pardon.

6. Due to the pain of your separation.

7. How deeply the Karma thought was rooted in the mind of the Muslim mystics, is evident from this.

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;¹ you the beloved apostle² of God, are master of both the worlds; for you alone was created all that is sky and earth; in this world my days are like last judgment, you are my Lord.³

In Magghar I am ending my day,⁴ O Hazrat, 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 friends⁵ and I, worthless one, being devoid of quality, will sacrifice myself; if I get one favourable glance, I am saved in both worlds.

-
1. When you are the only Lord who would dare to attend to my complaints against you?
 2. Prophet Muḥammad.
 3. 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.
 4. I am approaching my end.
 5. There is a custom among the Panjābīs that to keep evil off a person money or something is passed over his head and is given to the poor, or (if eatable) thrown to the animals or birds.

In the month of Poh 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, cold has increased, the pain of cold will trouble me; the friend and companion is not with me, Badar, the empty building will eat me; ah! Ḥazrat, give me a glance of you (or else) the injury will reach my heart.

In Phagan I am hungry,¹ red has become plain,² without you I remember nothing; the year has passed, the dear one has not come, of that I do not complain,³ O God's approved apostle, without you my heart is not happy; shall I go and call in Medina why have not been helped.

1. Hungry for union.

2. An abandoned woman according to Hindu custom is not supposed to wear red (Hindu auspicious colour) and decorated dresses. For her are simple, colourless clothes.

3. Because, himself devoid of good actions, he placed his hope on the Divine Grace.

Bahādur.

A few extant pages of a Pañjābī manuscript in the library of Dr. Rifz-ur-Rahman contains some compositions of a poet named Bahādur. Judging from the language and Ṣūfī beliefs we can place this unknown poet somewhere between the years 1750 A.D. and 1850 A.D. He tells us that being a man of a passionate nature he trespassed against other people which turned friends into enemies and he was daily insulted. Then he met his teacher Fīr Muḥammad who throwing a veil on 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 Gandīlā, or nomad, as:-

Merī zāt gandīlī āhī har dam maṅgdī fazal ilāhī
 asī gāndīle zāt kamīne sabh koī sāthō ḍardā
 maṅgan khair jāīye jis vehṛe dur dur chur chur kardā
 āpe jhirkē āpe dēvē sāthō kujh nā sardā.

My tribe was nomad (and) ever begs¹ God's compassion;
 I am a nomad, low of caste² and all people fear me; in
 in whatever street I go to beg, it says, go, go, away away.³

-
1. The nomad tribes in the Pañjāb often beg.
 2. Nomads are considered to be low by Pañjābīs of all denominations.
 3. The nomads being casteless and then dirty in habits are avoided by people of any street where they go to beg. They are kept at a distance but are given alms.

You¹ yourself reproach me, and you yourself give.² I am capable of nothing.

As is evident from his verse Bahādur was very much influenced by the Vedānta philosophy but rather in a crude way. Other Hindu doctrines, such as Karma, Yoga and Māyā, also show a strong impress on his personal Śūfī convictions. The cosmogony of Māyā, however, was the most cherished conviction of Bahādur. He calls it a Baṅgālan, i.e., a woman magician of Bengal³ and he composed a work on the subject called Baṅgālan-Nāmā.⁴

It would be unwise, after the perusal of the two extant pages of this work, to discuss Bahādur's concept of Māyā. But it would not be out of place simply to refer here to what the poet meant by it. To him it was an imperceptible power which could play with man's physical and spiritual faculties. But it was not necessarily a deceptive malefactor. He

1. Meaning God.

2. The poet wants to say that God in his one aspect scolds him through the people of the street where he goes to beg, and in another gives alms through the same people.

3. 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 due to this that Bahādur calls Māyā a Baṅgālan.

4. Two extant pages of the MS. are in the above-mentioned Library.

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, as:-

Alim fāzil paṇḍit dāne, suṇ suṇ bīn hoye mastāne
 bhul gaī pūjā niyat dugāne, aisī prem jharī sir pāī
 dekkho kaun baṅgālan āī, aisī raskar bīn bajāī
 mīr malik bādshāh unānī, dāve thakke kar naphsānī
 khir khir bāg hoye gul fānī, rahī hukumat nā ikk rāī
 dekho kaun baṅgālan āī, aisī raskar bīn bajāī.¹

The learned, scholars, Pandits and wise men, listening to the flute become intoxicated, pūjā² forgotten, they have now another intention such magic of love has been put on their head;³ see! what Baṅgālan has come and so perfectly she has played the flute. Mīr, Malik⁴ and the Greek emperor⁵ were exhausted with their worldly

1. Baṅgālan-Nāmā.

2. Pūjā here indicates the religious dogmas and not the Hindu cult ritual.

3. Magic words are often blown or whispered on the head of the person who is desired to come under control by the Magician.

4. These are titles of Musalman kings and noblemen.

5. Alexander the Great.

desires. The garden has blossomed but the flowers have faded,¹ not a grain of authority remains. See! what Baṅgālan has come, and so perfectly she has played the flute.

Bahādur's idea of Unity's attainment is expressed in the couplet given below:-

Sāṅg sabar gudelā kalmā gur eh sāz batāyā
kasrat band namāz dhundhāliō rāh vaihdāt de lāyā.

Put on the guise of patience, take the rug of the Kalmā, this method the teacher² has taught me. By the prayers of an ascetic he has brought me out of the fog³, and put me on the road of Unity.

Bahādur's style though apparently simple and easy, is somewhat complicated. He employs words and terms which are common but subtle in meaning, which fact makes the task of literally translating his verse more difficult than usual. He is not very deep, his understanding of Ṣūfīism seems crude

-
1. The kings and emperors, who, says the poet, blossomed and faded like flowers after a short-lived glory.
 2. This indicates the particular kind of dress that wandering Ṣūfīs are supposed to put on.
 3. Out of ignorance.

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 extant pages of a manuscript adds important knowledge to 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 words contain no reference to the author and the time and place of its composition. The only indication of the time of its composition is the style of the language which clearly shows that it was written in the eighteenth century A.D.

The poems are the only ones of their kind, as they expose the Ṣūfī doctrines as they were then understood in the Pañjāb. The author in a poem partly illegible states that the "author of Khamsā knew it." From this we can conclude that the author of this unknown verse most probably was a Qādirī Ṣūfī. Whoever the author may have been the verse is of great value.

The poet explains the four stages of the disciple or traveller.

Cār avasthā jān piāre, har har jāko taur nayāre
 jāgrat supan sakhupat jāno tarayāpad kā sirar pacchāno
 jāgrat ko nāsūt pacchāno, bhī malkūt supan ko jāno
 sakhu pat ko jabrūt pacchano tarayāpad lāhūt ko jāno

Understand the four stages dear, each one of which has
 separate quality. Jāgrat, Supan, Sakhupat and Tarayāpad
 of these know the meaning. The Jagrat state recognise as
 Nāsūt,¹ and know that Malkūt² stands for Supan; recog-
 nize Sakhupat as jabrūt,³ and know that Tarayāpad is
 Lāhūt.⁴

The following poem presents the original Ṣūfī belief that
 when the divine Spirit is infused into the human spirit and
 the latter begins to feel with the former then is attained
 the state of Ana'l-Ḥaqq.

Mahāmāth ko man mē dhāro yānī hak ko hak mē dāro
 jo aisi karānī kare tab jan hak mē kali dhare
 jis ne aisai dhayān lagāyā ho har har mē samāyā.

Establish the Great Essence (Truth) in your mind, that

-
1. Nāsūt or Jagrat is the stage of humanity.
 2. Malkūt is the stage of the angels.
 3. Jabrūt, the third stage, that of power.
 4. Lāhūt, the last stage, that of Divinity.

is to say, put the Real into the real. One who performs such an action fixes his intelligence¹ on the Real. He who thus has fixed his meditation becoming God has entered into God.²

The assistance of a Pīr was indispensable for a Ṣūfī seeker in Islamic lands. In India under the influence of gurū's cult the Pīr was no more sought out for assistance and guidance but in order to represent God to the pupil. Until the disciple lost his individual soul in that of his Pīr he could not merge with the Great Soul. This is explained here:-

Tan man gur mē mār ke gur apanā māro
Mahāmāth mō dār ke auhaṅ³ pukāro

Slaying body and soul in the teacher, slay your own entity and then merging this⁴ in the Great-Essence call

-
1. Kalī or Kal here means citta or the awakened mind.
 2. Compare this with the following of the great Al-Hallāj.

Thy spirit is mingled in my spirit even as wine is
mingled with pure water.

When anything touches Thee, it touches me, lo in every
case Thou art I.

(Taken from Prof. Nicholson's The Mystics of Islam, p.151.)

3. Sanskrit aham in Pañjābī is auhaṅ.
4. Then put the gurū containing you, in God.

"I am".¹

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 faithfully represent the mystic beliefs of the poet.

Jad berāṅgī raṅg banāyā vayfātī ho rūp vikhāyā
berāṅgī se raṅg liyāā dīn kufar ho jang racāyā
jad berāṅgī raṅg gavāī jhagrā jhāhā sab miṭ jāī
bin murshid eh sirar nā pāve mūrakh andh malecch kahāve.

When the Colourless (God) took on colour, becoming mortal (He) manifested Himself. The mortal He brought colour² from the Colourless, Islām and paganism resulted and war commenced. When the Colourless takes this colour away³ then quarrel and struggle all cease. Without a Pīr this secret is not found³ and the fool (seeker) is called blind and unclean.

When seeker's self is lost in the Self then how he conceives religion is explained here:-

-
1. Means, then say I am, i.e. I am the truth or I am God (Aham Brahm). The poet has given the first word of the formula "Aham Brahm" and leaves the remaining to be added by his reader.
 2. The scanty knowledge which man inherited from his Maker.
 - ~~3. Scanty knowledge having proved disastrous God will take it away.~~
 34. How, after the scanty knowledge is taken back by God, the quarrels and wars finish and the seeker is illuminated can only be known through the Murshid.

Nūre ahmadī kiyā pasārā kyā pirthī kyā ambar sārā
 jab sunnā dā bhurnā bhuriā avval nūr Muhammad uṛiyā
 yānī hai voh khatar-ullāh anfās avval hai kul dā maulā.

The light of Ahmad¹ spread itself on earth and sky,
 when doubt arose about the Sunna,² then first the light
 of Muhammad³ burst out, that is, it is the illumination
 of God but the Primeval Spirit⁴ is Lord of all.

-
1. The revelation made to Ahmad or Muhammad which is Islām.
 2. Practical example or Sunna of Muhammad and other prophets
 who came before him.
 3. Islām.
 4. The Pure and Eternal Soul.

CHAPTER X.

I

The Ṣūfī Poets of the 19th Century A.D.

Before closing this dissertation we will speak of a few Ṣūfī poets of mediocre talent. Those Ṣūfīs who received inspiration from personal spiritual experiences and acquired knowledge by assiduous study of religions and philosophies had begun to disappear in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. In fact the real Ṣūfī had ceased to exist after Hāshim. Consequently the clear flowing stream of Ṣūfī poetry soon became a stagnant pool. The two chief causes of this stagnation were these:-

- I. Political changes eventually followed by a new outlook on life.
- II. The selfishness of the Gaddī-Nishāns and the ignorance of the Ṣūfīs.

In 1801 the Pañjāb proper came under the rule of Ranjīt Singh and remained under that ruler until the year 1839 A.D. In the beginning of his reign Ranjīt Singh was engaged in warfare and it is only towards the end that he began to encourage and patronise arts. But his death in

1839 was followed by confusion and anarchy gave a severe blow to the slowly reviving arts. The confusion was followed by fresh wars and in 1848 the Pañjāb came under English rule. The new rule was the advent of a new age and changed the whole outlook. The Pañjābīs now were whole-heartedly engaged in adapting themselves to the new life and the new cultural and scientific ideas, practicality had ascendancy over everything else and Šūfī mysticism fell into oblivion.

The welleto-do and the intelligent people being engaged in the new matters, Šūfīism became the sole property of the Gaddī-nishīns and the lower classes. The former like any other hereditary incumbents found no charm in Šūfī thought. If they still clung to it and tried to propagate it, it was not for the love of mysticism but because it had become a means of living. 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, entered different trades and professions. Others acquiring new education entered government service leaving the charge of their mystic centres and duties enjoined therefrom, in the hands of paid servants. So the seats of

1. Some of the Gaddī-Nishīns are millionaires but almost all are rich people.

Ṣūfī culture soon plunged into deep ignorance.

The lower classes, however, still remained faithful to Ṣūfīism and Ṣūfī teachers thenceforward came out of these classes. Such popular Ṣūfīs lacked education and culture of an orthodox mystic and intellect and wisdom of the philosopher. To such a Ṣūfī mysticism was nothing more than a matter of a few dogmas. When he had accepted a Pīr, observed the Cilā and had worn a patched mantle and tied a woollen thread round his neck then he was a qualified Ṣūfī. Mental concentration, meditation and intelligent study which formerly occupied the major part of a Ṣūfī's time were forsaken.

Music and dancing often patronised and practised by former Ṣūfīs in the nineteenth century were replaced by Mujrā¹ and hāls.² The natural sequel of this colossal 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

1. A nautch-party. The dancers generally are prostitutes.

2. Hāl in ancient mysticism was a mental state or condition procured through Divine Grace, but in later mysticism it is a sort of eestasy mingled with frenzy. The hāl is played by followers at the Ṣūfī shrines. The person who plays it is believed possessed by some holy spirit and makes prophecies regarding the future, etc.

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 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), there castor tree is chief.

Most of these poets wrote one or more Sīharfīs or a Bāramāh or a few Kāfiā. There is a great number of such poets but we will speak here of a few well known among them.

II.

Ghulam Mustafā Maghmūm.

This poet was born in the middle of the 19th century A.D. The preface of his work entitled Shama'-e-'Ishq contains a few lines of Persian verse in which he introduces himself in this manner:-

"My name is Ghulam Mustafā and my Takhalluṣ or nom-de-plume is Maghmūm. 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 Maghmūm tells us that Lyallpur "is a new town", but then he calls it both a district and town. We know that "Lyallput town existed long before but the district was constituted on December 1st 1904 A.D."²

So it seems that Maghmūm brought out his Shama'-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 it was only towards the end of his life that he collected and published them.³

Shama'-e-'Ishq:⁴ this book contains Pañjābī poetry greatly overlaid by Persian words and phrases. It opens with the Kalmā followed by the praise of God and the Prophet. Then it is divided into three bābs or chapters.

1. Shama'-e-'Ishq MS. p.1.

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Pañjāb Vol.II., pp.219 and 223, 1908.

3. Many Pañjābīs agree with us.

4. This manuscript is the property of Dr. Hifz-ur-Rahman of Lahore. It is not complete. Only seventy-two first pages are intact, the last few were lost during the fire at the owner's house.

The first chapter contains ghazals and kāfīs. The second bāb has a Sīharfī. The third and last bāb of the manuscript is on women's sayings and comprises Kāfīs 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 the wine. These compositions, to speak the truth, are beyond the comprehension of a Pañjābī knowing only his own mother tongue and ordinary Urdū. The poems of the second bāb repeat the same thought in different words and are full of Persian vocabulary. In the third bāb the poet speaks like a Pañjābī woman of his Beloved. There are very few Persianisms in this chapter.

Judging from a literary point of view the verse of Maghmūm is common-place. It lacks individuality and vivacity. All his wailing and weeping for the Beloved does not create any effect on his reader. His poetry in fact is like a body without^a soul. But he seems to be a clever rhymer and possessed a good knowledge of Persian.

Maghmūm wrote another work named Qissā Kapaṛā. We have not been able to find any manuscript of this work.

We now give two examples of his Pañjābī¹ verse.

1. By Pañjābī we mean that which contains no Persian words.

Sīn sall vichorē dī jhal ve rahiā
 shamā vāṅg patāṅg jal bal ve rahiā
 suṅ hot balocā khān punnū
 merā dīn islām imān punnū.
 Merā do jag mān tīrān punnū
 huṅ hāmsassī takk ān punnū
 tatī ret thalā tattī jal ve rahiā
 sute naram nihālarī ral ke punnū
 gal dāl bāhī gal val kā punnū
 sutī chadḍ giō val chal ke punnū
 lio sār bimār nā val ke punnū.¹

I am bearing the pain of separation, like light and
 moth, I am flaming and burning, listen O Hot, Biloc
 Punnu Khān, my religion, Islām and faith are Punnu.
 He is my pride and honour in both worlds, Punnu now
 come and see the condition of Sassī. The sand of
 desert is hot and I am hot and burning. We slept
 together in a soft covering, Punnu, encircling our
 arms round each other's necks, Punnu (but) you left
 me sleeping, cunningly deceiving me, Punnu. Punnu,
 you have not enquired after the state of the sick one.

The above is incoherent in thought and misses the real

1. Shama'-e-'Ishq. Chap.III.p.59.

spirit. Here is another poem:-

He hijar bichorē tere dilbar jigar kaleje tāyā
jalbal rahā vajūd tamāmī virhon cikhā macāyā
marne andar shakk nā koī, dam labā par āyā
jām vasal Magmūm 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 has departed thirsty.

III

Ghulām Husain Kelianvala.

This poet was born in the 19th century. Nothing is known about him except that he belonged to Kelianvala 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 ancient but he

1. Shama'-e-Ishq', Chap.II.p.46.

2. The pamphlet works are published all over the Panjāb and can be had from any vernacular book-seller.

rājhā jān de vicc makān merā
 rihā jīv nahī mere vas mā ai
 māhī nāl Ḥusain fakīr hosā
 tere kheriā de sir bhass mā ai. †

Be: enough, give us no more advice, we have understood your meaning, mother. You turn my back to the Ka'aba, according to which Ḥadīs¹ mother tell me. Rājha is the shelter of my life, my soul is not under my control, mother. With the beloved, Ḥusain, I will be a faqīr and on the head of your kherās will be ashes, mother.

IV.

Muḥammad Dīn.

Muḥammad Dīn was a devotee of the Cishtī saint Shaikh 'Alī Makhdūm Hujwīrī² of Lahore.³ His Pīr was Mirā Shāh, who, according to the poet, is buried in Lakkhanwal in the Gujrat district. He was employed as Munshī or secretary but called himself a Faqīr,⁴ being an initiated Cishtī. His secular teacher was one Maulvī Maḥbūb 'Ālam. In the end of

-
1. Muḥammadan traditional law which has various branches and sections.
2. See Introduction, p. 7
3. MS. of his work, Sīharfī No.1.p.7.
4. MS. Sīharfī No.II., p.21.

his aṭhvārā, he wrote a long supplicatory poem for the long life of his teacher and his progeny.¹

In all he wrote:-

Two Sīharfīs on divine love.

One Sīharfī on his friend Muḥammad Ashraf about whom we will speak later on.

One Bārā-Māh, and

One Aṭhvārā.

All these works together with Bārā-Māhs by Muḥammad Ashraf are found in the manuscript² we studied.

Muḥammad Dīn's Sīharfī on Ashraf is unique in Ṣūfī literature, not as a literary or mystic document but as the life record of a fellow Ṣūfī. Its worth is still more because it throws light on the methods of popular Ṣūfī teachers. The teacher Mirā Shāh or his Gaddī-Nishīn locked up Muḥammad Ashraf, an enthusiastic seeker, in Cilā or seclusion and fast for one full year. After a year he unlocked the door and brought him out, as:-

Sīn sāl hoyā cilā vicc sohṇe, sohṇe murshid ne pherā
pāyāi.³

Sin: when for a year the handsome one has been in Cilā, then the handsome teacher returned.

1. MS. p.23.

2. This manuscript in the Library of Dr. Hifz-ur-Rahman appears to be in the handwriting of the author.

3. Sīharfī Ashraf, MS. p.15.

This seclusion or solitary confinement as is natural made Ashraf look different, most probably he looked like a ghost. His very sight 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 seclusion period.

Rannā mard ho gaye bihosh s̄are
mukkh dekhdīā nū lagī s̄āg s̄āī¹

All women and men fainted, seeing the face they received a blow.²

This seclusion, says the poet, procured Ashraf the divine vision and he, becoming a faqīr, began to wander in the streets but soon after he died. His death soon after the cilā is enough proof that he lost his health while in the seclusion but which by his Pīr and fellow disciples was attributed to his sincere anxiety to meet the beloved. This sufficiently illustrates to what low state Sūfīism had sunk in the hands of hereditary successors and popular saints.

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.

1. Sīharfī Ashraf, MS. p.16.

2. Blow with a s̄āg or spear.

We will now quote a few lines from his verse:-

Wāu vakht nizā dā ān pahuncā
 āvī gharī oh sajjanā vāstāī
 tere ishk ne mār khavār kitī,
 kāri kari oh sajjanā vāstāī
 berī thilhī sī ishk mizāj vālī
 pār kari o sajjanā vāstāī
 Muḥammad dīn kaṇḍe kharī sikknī hā
 lāī pār o sajjanā vāstāī.¹

Wāu: the last moment has arrived, come home,⁰ 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. Muḥammad Dīn standing on the shore I am pining, take me across, O friend, for God's sake.³

1. Sīharfī II. MS. p.20.

2. Literally Vāstā can be translated "for the sake" but in fact it stands for "for the sake of God".

3. These lines in spirit, rhyming and words seem to have been borrowed from Fazal Shāh's Sohñī. When Sohñī was drowning in the Chenab she spoke in this strain.

V.

Muhammad Ashraf.

We have already spoken of Ashraf in the account of Muhammad Dīn, whose fellow disciple he was. His sincere desire to attain Union with God led him to accept an incompetent spiritual teacher and guide. He lost his health and sense in a Cilā of a year's duration and so died shortly afterwards.

Two of his Bārā-Māhs are found in Muhammad Dīn's manuscript. A few lines from the pen of this unfortunate poet will not be out of place here.

Māgh māhī tere bājhō phirniā mast dīvānī jī
uccā kūkā āh vī aisi, sunē nā dil dā jānī jī
sabh jag ālim tere nūrō sūrat dā lāsānī jī
Muhammad ashraf sāī bājho aivē umar vihānī jī.¹

In Māgh without thee, O beloved, I walk intoxicated and senseless, sir. Loudly I wail, and similar is the sigh, but the beloved of my heart does not hear, sir. All the world has knowledge from your light, in appearance you are peerless, sir. Muhammad Ashraf without the Master life is aimlessly passed, sir.

1. Bārā-Māh I., p.11.

Māgh majhī cher savele āvī
 analhakk dī bīn bajāvī
 mukkh tō ghuṅgaṭ cā uṭhāvī
 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-Ḥaqq. 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.

VI

Hadāit-ullāh.

He was born in Lahore some time in the middle of the 19th century and died at the same place in the twenties of the 20th century A.D. He was and is still believed to be a Ṣūfī. Whoever he may have been his poetry is tinged with Ṣūfī 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 Sīharfīs and a Bārā-Māh. Below is a month from his famous Bārā-Māh.

1. Bārā-Māh II. MS. p.12.

Māgh mahīne māhī bājhō, jo kujh

maĩ saᅅg bītī je

Shāla dushman nāl nā hove,

jehī bichoᅛe kītī je.

Kohlū vāᅅg jān tattī dī

pīᅛh ishᅛ ne lītī je

Jāᅅᅅ or eh gall hidāyat,

zahaᅛ ishᅛ jin pītī je.¹

In the month of Māgh without the beloved that 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.²

1. Bārā-Māh, p.6.

2. Positively there is some influence of Hāshim, see

CONCLUSION.

Such were the Pañjābī Ṣūfī Poets from 1460 to 1900 A.D.

The Ṣūfīs who came to India with the object of leading 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 which was more Indian than foreign. Anxious to carry this new thought to the masses they versified it in the language of the masses which had also become theirs. In troubled times, the Ṣūfīs with their preachings maintained 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 18th century A.D. 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 and soon it ceased to be interesting.

The Pañjāb is unrivalled for the number of its Ṣūfī Shrines. Every few miles there are one or two such shrines. There is hardly any shrine which does not possess some

traditional verse of its own. The Kavvālīs there sing of the saints and their poetry. Here the credulous admirers still gather, ~~and~~ in large numbers, to admire and worship the saints who singing of the Beloved were ultimately merged in Him. The Pañjābīs still believe themselves fortunate to have such noble memories and such pious and sweet poetry from which to derive inspiration for the Divine Love.

APPENDIX.

Hīr Rājāhā.

Hīr was daughter of Cūcak, the Siāl chief of Jhang. When still young her father betrothed her to Saidā, the son of Kherā, chief, of Raṅpur. 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 Rājāhā was very handsome and the best beloved of his father. This aroused the jealousy of the elder brothers, who, on the death of the father, turned Rājāhā away with nothing at all. After wandering long in wilds and wastes he reached the river Chenab. He looked around for a boat to take him across when his eyes fell on a lovely barge. He asked if he might be taken to the other bank, but was refused. Being very tired he persuaded the boatman to let him rest in the barge for a while. He, taking pity on the handsome young man consented, Rājāhā, entering the barge, lay on the soft and cool bed and soon fell asleep. But a little later on he was awakened by a noise. Opening his eyes he saw Hīr standing by the bed. She had arrived

and was enraged at the impertinence of the boatman for permitting a stranger to enter her barge. But presently her anger vanished because at the first sight Rājḥā and Hīr fell in love. To keep Rājḥā near her she approached her father and procured for him the job of cowherd. The clandestine meetings 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 loved one.

They were pursued, caught and brought back. They were judged by the priests, who ordered exile for Rājḥā and close custody for Hīr. Immediately after the execution of the orders Raṅgpur caught fire and the misfortune was attributed to the sighs of the lovers. Hīr's marriage with Saidā was annulled, and she was allowed to go with Rājḥā who was recalled. With her lover Hīr 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 Hīr, Meanwhile the brother and uncle of Hīr, who had all along

1. Sahtī herself left Raṅgpur with her own lover the same night. But she managed to escape her pursuers, while Hīr was arrested with her lover half-way.

shown feigned courtesy, told her that Rājā had been murdered. She fell down unconscious. In her state of unconsciousness they administered a poisonous drink and as a result she died.

A messenger was sent to inform Rājā that death had claim Hīr. In haste he came to Jhang to ascertain the truth. He was taken to Hīr's tomb. The sight was unbearable for him, and he fell dead on the tomb of his dear one.

Sohnī Mahīvāl.

Tālā, a potter of Gujrat, had a beautiful daughter named Sohnī. A handsome young merchant of Bukkhara called Izzat Beg when passing through Gujrat fell in love with the potter's daughter. 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 with Sohnī he could not attend to business. The shop was soon closed and he became a menial in the house of Tālā the potter. Pleased with his work and appearance, Tālā after some time ordered him to graze his buffaloes. One day on pasture land he happened to meet Sohnī, to whom he confessed his love for her.

Sohnī, touched by his devotion and smitten by his beauty, promised him her faithful love. Their attachment, however, was soon discovered. Mahīvāl¹ was dismissed and Sohnī given in marriage to a neighbour's son. Sohnī 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 Mahīvāl would swim across the river to meet Sohnī. But once he received a wound and could not come for many days. Therefore Sohnī swam the river on an earthen jar to meet her lover. On coming back she would hide her jar in the bushes on the river bank. The sister-in-law of Sohnī discovered the secret and replaced her jar by an unbaked one. At night Sohnī as usual entered the stream but soon the jar dissolved and she was thrown upon the waves. She cried loud for her friend but in vain. Mahīvāl, 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 Mahīvāl let himself go in the waves and soon joined his Beloved.

1. Mahīvāl literally means a grazier of buffaloes. Izzat Beg came to be known as Mahīvāl after he had taken charge of Tālā's buffaloes.

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