NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Urdu is usually written in the calligraphic right-to-left *nasṭalīq* script shared with Persian and derived from Arabic, whereas Hindi is preferentially written in the left-to-right *devanāgarī* script, also commonly used now for Sanskrit, as well as other languages, such as Nepali. Hindi and Urdu can be represented in either script, and are frequently written (though not usually published) in various forms of the Roman alphabet, especially on the Internet, mobile devices, and product labels.

2. Urdu meter is quantitative and based on particular patterns of syllables of certain lengths (not stress, as in English and German). Hindi meter is also based on syllable length, but focuses on the number of syllables of particular lengths in a particular line with less attention to fitting them into a particular pattern.

3. The ghazal consists of two-line couplets, where the second is usually an answer to the first. They are generally not connected in a linear narrative but rather a thematic one, in which they address the suffering and experiences of a lover pining for an unnamed beloved, who could be human or divine.

4. Iftikhar Dadi's study of "South Asian Muslim Modernism" similarly points to the complexity of that genealogy in the visual arts. He describes the variegated "tradition" of the Pakistani artists he describes as involving a "genealogy [that] includes fragments from Persianate humanism, Hindu and Buddhist mythology, the orientalist construction of the discipline of Islamic art, colonial governmentality, nineteenth-century theological and modernist reform, modern pan-Islamism, twentieth-century metropolitan and transnational artistic modernism, and mid-twentieth-century nationalism and developmentalism, and contemporary debates on race, gender, and globalization." Iftikhar Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 2.

5. For a discussion of Sufism in Urdu and Persian poetry, see the work of Annemarie Schimmel, especially *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982). For a discussion of the problematic equation

of "Sufism" with mysticism and a view of Sufis as social actors, see Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

6. Two recent compilations that showcase the current state of research are Peter Brooker, Andrzej Gasiorek, Deborah Longworth, and Andrew Thacker, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Modernisms* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2010); and Mark Wollaeger with Matt Eatough, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Both also have fine introductions. For a 2009 evaluation of the state of modernist studies, see Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, "The Changing Profession: The New Modernist Studies," *PMLA* 123, no.3 (2008): 737–48.

7. I take this apt term from the Brooker et al., "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modernisms*. They clarify, "This doesn't mean that the aesthetic, which was championed in different ways by various modernists, as well as by such influential critics as Clement Greenberg and Theodor Adorno, has been bracketed off or jettisoned [in modernist studies since the late 1980s], but rather that it is no longer assumed to be the principal issue at stake in discussions of modernism and its legacies" (2). For an excellent discussion of New Modernist studies in relation to previous literary criticism, see Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, "Introduction: Modernisms Bad and New," in *Bad Modernisms*, ed. Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 1–18.

8. As the enthusiasm for modernism spills over into South Asian literary studies, other work will hopefully expand both the study of its aesthetic and of its social and cultural history. We can hope that more studies of the little avant-garde magazine, so central to modernism in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and elsewhere, will become a site for more extensive research, as well as of cultural heritage preservation. For an example addressing Hindi, see Alok Rai, "Reading Pratik through Agyeya: Reading Agyeya through Pratik," in *Hindi Modernism*, ed. Vasudha Dalmia (Delhi: Manohar, 2012), 17–29. There is strong work on the emergence of print culture in the colonial period that will hopefully get extended forward through the twentieth century (e.g., Ulrike Stark, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in South Asia* [New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007]).

9. N. M. Rāshid, "Tamhīd," in *Īrān meñ ajnabī aur dūsarī nazm̈eñ* (Lahore: Goshah-e adab, 1957), 25.

10. N. M. Rāshid, *Māvarā* (Lahore: Maktabah-e urdū, [1941]), 23.

11. N. M. Rāshid, "Tamhīd," in *Īrān meñ ajnabī*, 25. This is a frequent trope also taken up later by traditionalists. See the description of Salīm Aḥmad's reading of Ġhālib versus Mīr as a modern versus a traditional poet in A. Sean Pue, "In the Mirror of Ghalib: Postcolonial Reflections on Indo-Muslim Selfhood," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 48, no. 4 (2011): 571–92.

12. N. M. Rāshid, "Tamhīd," 31.

13. N. M. Rāshid, *Lā = Insān* (Lahore: al-Miśāl, 1969), 21.

14. N. M. Rāshid, *Māvarā*, 29.

15. N. M. Rāshid, *Lā = Insān*, 34.

16. See Laura Anne Doyle and Laura A. Wikiel, eds., *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005). Two other similar terms contend with "geomodernism" in contemporary modernist studies, and these are "planetary" and "global" modernism. Following the lead of Gayatri Spivak, a number of scholars have turned away from the rational ordering of the "global" to consider the "planetary." Gayatri Spivak, *Death of A Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). Others contend that the "planetary" "conjures the distraction of the interplanetary, whereas 'global' suggests horizons that shift with the curve of the earth and the position of the observer." Mark Wollaeger, "Introduction," in *Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, 5. While none of these terms are particularly satisfying, they all point toward a similar formulation.

17. Laura Anne Doyle, "Modernist Studies and Inter-Imperiality in the Longue Durée," in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, ed. Mark Wollaeger with Matt Eatough (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 684–85; Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 186–90.

18. Laura Anne Doyle and Laura A. Wikiel, "Introduction: The Global Horizons of Modernism," in *Geomodernisms*, 3.

19. Muġhannī Tabassum, "N. M. Rāshid: muḳhtaṣar ḥālāt-e zindagī," in *N. M. Rāshid: fikr-o-fan*, ed. Kuñvar Muḥammad Aḳhlāq Ḳhāñ Shahryār and Muġhannī Tabassum (Hyderabad, India: Maktabah-e shĕʿr-o-ḥikmat, 1971), 10.

20. These writings have been collected in N. M. Rāshid, *Rāshid: Rāvī meñ*, edited by Saʿādat Saʿīd and Muḥammad Rafīq (Lahore: Department of Urdu, Government College University, 2010). See also Salīm Aḳhtar, "N. M.Rāshid kā matrūk kalām," in *Maqālāt-e ḥalqah-e arbāb-e żauq*, ed. Suhail Aḥmad (Lahore: Polimar Publications, 1990), 190–217.

21. N. M. Rashed's daughter Nasreen Rashed recently edited and had published a number of their early letters. See N. M. Rāshid, *N. M. Rāshid ke ḳhuṭūṭ, apnī ahiliyah ke nām,* ed. Nasrīn Rāshid (Islamabad: A. R. Printers, 2010).

22. A brainchild of Muḥammad ʿInāyatuʾl-lâh Ḳhān Mashriqī, the Ḳhāksār movement was founded in 1931–1932. Characterized by a commitment to military-style discipline and organization, the movement was organized into detachments, forming a "shadow government" of the local colonial state. Rashed held the rank of *sālār* (commander) of Multan in the movement and commanded a *dāshtah* (detachment) of twenty-five soldiers. With its emphasis on uniforms, marching, and militarization, the Ḳhāksār movement had fascistic aspirations, but they did so while carrying shovels not weapons. Rumors of a meeting between Mashriqi and Hitler, which probably never actually took place, were capitalized on by his followers. Though nominally an apolitical and noncommunal service organization, the Ḳhāksār movement used Islamic symbols and attracted Muslims almost exclusively. As a Muslim movement with political aspirations, it was an alternative to the Muslim League based almost entirely in Punjab. Mashriqi used Islamic titles to characterize his position—calling himself an *amīr*, and his followers *raʿiyyat*

(subjects). Yet he criticized religious authorities, like *maulvīs* and *mullās*, whom he blamed for excessive sectarianism, ritualism, and illiteracy, and also Sufis and their leaders *(pīr)*, whom he saw as pacifistic and held responsible for the decline of Muslim political power. Although a relatively minor organization, largely ignored by nationalist historians, the Ḳhāksārs were still subject to intense surveillance by the colonial state. See Iftikhar H. Malik, "Regionalism or Personality Cult? Allama Mashriqi and the Tehreek-i-Khaksar in pre-1947 Punjab," in *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent*, ed. Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 42–94; and Muhammad Aslam Malik, *Allama Inayatullah Mashraqi: A Political Biography* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

23. In a late interview, Rashed explains his participation as the result of a "psychological crisis." N. M. Rāshid, "N. M. Rāshid se ek muṣāhibah," interview by Nasrīn Anjum Bhaṭṭī, in *Rāshid ba-qalam-e ḳhwud,* ed. Saʿādat Saʿīd and Nasrīn Anjum Bhaṭṭī (Lahore: Department of Urdu, Government College, 2010), 55–56.

24. N. M. Rāshid, "Ḥālāt-o-kavāʾif," in *N. M. Rāshid: ek muṭālaʿah*, ed. Jamīl Jālibī (Karachi: Maktabah-e uslūb, 1986). 9.

25. N. M. Rāshid, *Īrān meṉ ajnabī aur dūsarī naẓmeṉ* (Lahore: Goshah-e adab, 1957).

26. H. R. Luthra, *Indian Broadcasting* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1986), 171–72.

27. N. M. Rāshid, "Ḥālāt-o-kavāʾif," 10.

28. Tehsin Firaqi recently gathered and published these interviews. See Taḥsīn Firāqī, ed., *Ḥasan Kūzahgar* (Lahore: Department of Urdu, Oriental College), 2010.

29. N. M. Rāshid, *Jadīd fārsī shāʿirī: taqrīr az N. M. Rāshid* (Lahore: al-Miśāl, 1969); N. M. Rāshid, *Jadid fārsī shāʿirī* (Lahore: Majlis-e taraqqī-e adab, 1987).

30. N. M. Rāshid, *Lā = Insān*.

31. N. M. Rāshid, "N. M. Rāshid se ek muṣāḥibah," interviewed by Saʿādat Saʿīd, 1969, in *Maqālāt-e N. M. Rāshid*, ed. Shīmā Majīd (Islamabad: Alhamra Publishing, 2002), 385.

32. Āftāb Aḥmad, "Rāshid kī yād meṉ," *Nayā Daur* 71–72 (1978?): 272.

33. Ěʿjāz Ḥusain Baṭālvī, "Āḳhirī majmūʿah, āḳhirī mulāqāt," forward to *Gumāñ kā mumkin*, by N. M. Rāshid (Lahore: Nayā Idārah, 1976), *be*.

34. Ěʿjāz Ḥusain Baṭālvī, "Āḳhirī majmūʿah, āḳhirī mulāqāt," *dāl*.

35. Sāqī Fārūqī's account gives the date as October 11. "Ḥasan Kūzahgar," *Nayā daur* 71–72 (1978?): 17. This piece has been translated into English by Rafey Habib and Faruq Hasan as "Hasan the Potter," *Annual of Urdu Studies* 5 (1985): 3–17.

36. Sāqī Fārūqī, "Ḥasan kūzahgar," 17–18; Shahryār Rāshid, "Mere vālid," translated by Intiẓār Ḥusain, in Āftāb Aḥmad, *N. M. Rāshid: shāʿir-o-shaḳhṣ* (Lahore: Māvarā Publishers, 1989), 21.

37. Yāsmīn Rāshid Ḥasan, "Vaẓāḥat," *Bunyād* 1 (2010): 294–98.

38. "N. M. Rāshid kī āḳhirī vaṣiyyat: lāsh ko jalā diyā jāʾe aur merī namāz nah paṛhī jāʾe," *Chaṭān* 28, no. 43 (27 October 1975), 5.

39. Mīrājī, "Raqṣ," in *N. M. Rāshid: fikr-o-fan*, 235.

40. Faiz Aḥmad Faiz, "Nūn Mīm Rāshid," *Kitāb* 10, no. 3 (December 1975), 21–22. This article is a transcript of a commemorative address given by Faiz at the Pakistan National Center, Lahore.

41. Recent English-language treatments of the Progressive Writers Association include Talat Ahmed, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nationalism: The Progressive Writers' Movement in South Asia, 1932–56* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2008) and Priyamvada Gopal, *Literary Radicalism in India: Gender, Nation and the Transition to Independence* (New York: Routledge, 2005). See also Kamran Asdar Ali's forthcoming book, "Surkh Salam (Red Greetings): Communists in a Muslim Land," as well as earlier work by Carlo Coppola, especially "Urdu Poetry 1935–1970: The Progressive Episode" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975).

42. For a thorough discussion of these processes, as well as an insightful reading of the very influential Urdu modernist poet Mīrājī, see Geeta Patel, *Lyrical Movements, Historical Hauntings: On Gender, Colonialism, and Desire in Mīrājī's Urdu Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

43. Āftāb Aḥmad, "N. M. Rāshid," *Adab-e laṭīf* 17–18, no. 6–7 (August-September 1943): 5–13. Its argument is similar to one made by Faiz in 1939, reprinted as Faiz Aḥmad Faiz, "N. M. Rāshid: ibtidāʾī daur-e shāʿirī," in *N. M. Rāshid: ek muṭālaʿah*, ed. Jamīl Jālibī (Karachi: Maktabah-e uslūb, 1986), 80–84.

44. Āftāb Aḥmad, *N. M. Rāshid: shāʿir-o-shaḵhṣ*, 89, 92.

45. N. M. Rāshid, "Muṣāhibah," in *Lā = Insān,* 2.

46. See C. M. Naim, "The Consequences of the Indo-Pakistan War for Urdu Language and Literature: A Parting of the Ways?" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 28, no. 2 (1969): 269–83.

47. ʿĀlam Ḵhūndmīrī, "N. M. Rāshid, insān aur ḵhudā," in *N. M. Rāshid: fikr-o-fan*, 52.

48. Vazīr Āġhā, "N. M. Rāshid," in *N. M. Rāshid*: *ek mutālaʿah*, 184.

49. Muġhannī Tabassum, "Mujhe vidāʿ kar," in *N. M. Rāshid: fikr-o-fan*, 265.

50. Fatḥ Muḥammad Malik, *N. M. Rāshid: siyāsat aur shāʿirī*, 135–44.

51. Fatḥ Muḥammad Malik, *N. M. Rāshid: siyāsat aur shāʿirī*, 10–11, 52.

52. Fatḥ Muḥammad Malik, *N. M. Rāshid: siyāsat aur shāʿirī,* 134.

53. Muḥammad Iqbal, "Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, 29th December, 1930," in *Speeches, Writings, and Statements of Iqbal*, edited by Latif Ahmed Sherwani (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), 3.

CHAPTER ONE

1. While Rashed is celebrated for his decisive break with classical forms, poets had experimented with blank verse over the previous decades. See Ḥanīf Kaifī, *Urdū meñ naẓm-e muʿarrā aur āzād naẓm: ibtidā se 1947 tak* (New Delhi: Uttar Pradesh Urdu Academy, 1982).

2. Aamir R. Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 141.