

## Bazaar, Loss and Nation in Reform Poetics of Hali

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**ABSTRACT:** *Bazaar in Hali's poetics emerges as a 'subject' of Muslim nationalism, as the latter is reproduced in and through his poetics of bazaar reform. Contrary to classical poetic tradition, it is privilege trope, though invoked in and through lack and loss of Muslims in India. Bazaar discourse in Hali is conditioned within British colonialism in India. Hali's bazaar reform poetics signifies western imperialism and colonial desire with related colonial constructions of utilitarian functionalism, time and space, peace and equality as much as market notions of possession, work worth, efficiency-waste, hygiene, etc. Muslim absence from bazaar is produced through western domination of bazaar as productive of power and privilege. As west becomes imperial equivalent of Muslim imperial past, India and Indian-ness (or Hindu) signify as source and site of degeneration and decline, suggesting commercial communalism in colonial India. Bazaar is thus upper binary term for its identity with west, and is signifier and constitutive of nation and national power. It is this latter trope that drives Muslim aspiration for world market, economic blocs, Islamic finance, etc. The paper covers mainly reform poetry of Hali with the aim to address its function and role in Muslim nationalism. The study addresses cultural significations of bazaar in Muslim imaginaries.*

**Key Words:** Hali, bazaar, reform, nationalism, colonial India, trade, Islam, imperialism,

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*Maal hai nayab par gahuk hain aksar be-khabar Shehr main kholi  
hai Hali ne dukan sub se alag*

(Merchandise is exclusive while customers are mostly unaware A shop in the city, separate from all, has been opened by Hali)

Altaf Hussain Hali, *Kulyat-e-Hali*, p.236

### **Introduction:**

Bazaar in Hali's poetics emerges as 'subject' of Muslim nationalism. Muslim nationalism is also reproduced in and through his poetics of bazaar reform. However, his bazaar discourse itself is conditioned within colonialism. The study takes up themes related to western imperialism and colonial desire with related market notions of possession, work-worth, efficiency-waste, hygiene, and colonial poetics of literary realism, etc. The paper covers mainly reform poetry of Hali with the aim to address its function and role in Muslim nationalism. The study addresses cultural significations of bazaar in Muslim imaginaries. Postcolonialism and poststructuralism have been employed as approach to articulate the bazaar poetics in Hali, relying more on work of Edward Said and Nasir Abbas Nayyar, besides Foucault, Derrida and Lacan. This work relies on *Kulyat-e-Hali* (2016), a collection of Hali's poetic works edited by Taqi Abdi. The study is organized in the following three parts: i) Hali's Life, Work and Times; ii) Colonial Poetics and Construction of the 'Muslim; and iii) Bazar, Violence and Loss.

### **Part One: Hali's Life, Work and Times**

Born in Panipat near Delhi, Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali (1837 to 1914) was a close associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and contributed to reform project of the latter through his poetic work. Hali became influential voice of Muslim nationalism in India. He wrote his magnum opus *Musaddas* in 1879 and *Risala Tehzeeb ul Akhlaq* published its complete text together in its 1880 publication; though written later, *Zameema* (Supplement) and *Arz-e-Haal* poems are considered sequels to the original *musaddas*. He strategizes poetry for his reform, and bazaar comes in as a critical signifier and discourse of national power: "*mera sauda naqd hai, iss haath lo, iss haath do*" (Hali 897).

Two phases of bazaar poetics of Hali can be identified through his poetic work- his earlier ghazals used bazaar metaphor in the imagery of classical urdu ghazal, though contained elements of what constituted bazaar in his later phase: "*shehr main un ke nahin jins e wafa ki bikri – bhaao hain*

*poochtay phirtay peh kharidar nahin*” (Hali 285). At another place bazaar becomes the signifier of tragedy and loss of Muslim *ashrafia* (aristocracy): “*ae sharafat, tujhay bikna hai agar muft to bik – aaj kal kijiay kia, hai yehi bazaar ka bhaao*” (Hali 290). Same theme resurfaces in another ghazals: “*bikay muft yaan hum zamanay ke haathon – peh dekha to thi yeh bhi qeemat ziada*” (Hali 292). In these and many such other couplets in his early ghazals, Hali deploys imagery and metaphors of bazaar from rich tradition of classical urdu poetry. However, this changed with his second phase, dominated by structured and long nationalist poems, with climax in *Musaddas* (1879/80). In this phase, his Muslim reform project includes bazaar reform. This paper dwells on Hali’s poetry which is modern, reformist and nationalist, and covers last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century and first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century. This period marks growing nationalist causes in India.

His poetic themes, though may be traced back to moral poetry of the Orient in history as Sadi, however were inspired and developed within colonial capitalist discursive field - significant being work, utility, efficiency, time, national loss, peace, equality, profitability and philanthropy. He wrote poems about modern production, western market, classes, occupations, bazaar related knowledges and their practitioners as middle class, beggars, cobbler, peasant, others), and also moral poems for children revealing elements of market rationality as on watches and watchtowers, and value of time. Even his poem ‘God’s Glory’ or *Khuda ki Shaan* represents purposes and productive functions of human body parts and other nature around, indicating the influence of colonial discourses of exploration of nature and its conquest, possession and use for aggrandizement of imperial culture and power. Most critical for this study are Hali’s popular poems – *Musaddas* and its Supplement (*Zameema*), *Arz-e-Haal* and *Shikwa-e-Hind*. Besides constituting bazaar, Hali’s own cultural economy of modern poetics was also implicated in modern bazaar: being itself a product of modernity, his poetics becomes productive and performative in Muslim nationalism. He brings his bazaar reform in a whole ‘bazaar of reform’ in colonial India, claiming that ‘he has opened a shop separate from the rest of city’ (*Shehr main kholi hai Hali ne dukan sub se alag*) (Hali 236).

Bazaar in classical Urdu poetry emerges as imperial aesthetics, a binary of baagh-bazaar, in terms of the statuses and ranks of the social groups under the emperor, where bazaar as a social and spatial category signifies lowly, inferior, ordinary, faceless, unaesthetic, indeterminate, uncertain, chaotic, and even feminized: “feminization devalues not only women but also racially, culturally, and economically marginalized men and work that is

deemed unskilled, menial, and ‘merely’ reproductive” (Peterson 125). However, bazaar in Hali emerges as utilitarian, modern, efficient, productive, and as a site and source of ‘national’ power. Former is aristocratic, metaphorical and aesthetic. Latter is ‘nationalist’; it is material, objective and empirical; it is also realist, functional, utilitarian. For classical, it signifies site of struggle for altruistic vs. exchange relations, for distinction of imperial status as well as human relations; for modern, it connotes ‘nationalist’ struggle. Latter tradition reproduced itself particularly in the poetics of ‘national’ loss. While former tradition has reproduced in moral economy, and modern yet oppressive bazaar, as in the case of bazaar in Progressive Urdu poetry. Both tendencies have converged and diverged along their historical reproduction through *jadid ghazal* (fragmented lyric) and *nazm* (poem).

Nasir Abbas Nayyar in his *Urdu Adab ki Tashkeel e Jadid* (2016) has discussed colonial conditions constituting Hali’s poetry. He refers to modern construction of Indian Muslim identity and reproduction of ‘new national literature’ as a colonial project, and highlights work of Sir Abdul Qadir (1898), Col. FJ Goldsmith (1863) and Anjuman e Punjab, Lahore. English was model, new literature was desired to follow literary realism, and the function of ‘new poet’ was reform of his nation (Nayyar 48), an imagined entity made possible through print capitalism (Andersen;2006). This entity was produced through the colonial politics of difference, through the process of ‘othering’: Muslims vs. others (identity, geography, etc.) were conceived as rooted in Islam, Arabs and imperial history, and India as degenerating factor for Muslim decline. While new literature was grounded in rationality, its ‘subject’ i.e. nation was grounded in religion: both are considered opposite epistemic traditions.

Bazaar is discursive interpretive category within colonial condition; therefore, it is political and power category rather than being natural, neutral, static and uncontested context as a background, not engaged reflexively with texts and production of their meanings (Pascale 2011). Bazaar emerges in Hali as source and site of domination: power and bazaar are placed on closer, immediate and intimate terms, as embedded in socio-spatial relations. However, his ‘subject’ of bazaar is the Muslim: his disadvantage rather than the relations of bazaar themselves as labor, capital, producers, supplier, consumers, etc. while labor is invoked as national pride in work, instead of labour exploitation by capitalist. Bazaar is therefore, homogenous, unified and centered category, instead of being heterogeneous, fragmented and decentered. Multiple struggles based on class, race, gender, ethnicity and other identities within bazaar, and power

relations of bazaar with other domains of life remain conspicuous in Hali's poetics for their absence.

Hali does highlight however, as to how western bazaar is related with material world and material welfare of the world, both of which he considers urgent moral imperatives. This material anchoring of the religious and spiritual community, this material foundation of the project of power of the divine collective, this empirical grounding of religion-based communal reform enterprise - has been accepted yet remains unrecognized and left under-developed and unattended. Still Hali's poetics is uniquely modern as it takes bazaar from the perspective of power and the political, despite non-political tone and tenor of his reform poetics being composed for community welfare.

Storr (2009) has reviewed the trajectory of social understanding of market. He observes that while Guademan considers market as separate from community and Granovetter views both complementing and embedded, Lefebvre (without directly referring market) understands space to be dialectically and simultaneously a product and a site of social practice: both field and basis of action. "Anthropological and sociological analyses emphasize 'embeddedness' of markets in ongoing patterns of social organization and cultural meaning i.e. economic behavior is not analyzed as an autonomous sphere of human activity, but as inseparably intertwined with a wide variety of social, political, ritual and other cultural behaviors, institutions and beliefs" (Bestor 9227). Peterson (2006

119) refers to Spivak who underlined the cultural complicity of economic values and decisions (Spivak 1987). Bazaar poetics of Hali is embedded in imperial colonial condition, within 'the configurations of power' and 'not as isolated instance' (Said 5-6).

## **Part Two: Colonial Poetics and Construction of the 'MUSLIM'**

### **a. Colonial Poetics of Bazar:**

British colonialism was predominantly utilitarian and based on word/world correspondence, it promoted realist-functionalism in literature around three organizing principles of colonial poetics: rationality, morality and economy: rationality emphasized reason in arts over elements of non-reason (fiction, myth, religion, etc.); it urged for precise, distinct, discreet, identifiable and socially desirable rationality. Morality is about the binary of good, social, desirable, approved, privileged, superior, ideal poetics instead of anti-social classical poetry, as is the case of the character of

Kaleem in Nazeer Ahmad's novel *Toba tun Nasooh*, (Nayyar 103) observes. Economy of poetics required economical use and efficient deployment of words and linguistic and literary devices for precise meaning, purpose, specific social function or emotion: it is evident from realist-functionalist discourse of modern literature imagined in Hali's '*muqadima she'r o shaeri*', Azad's lectures, work of Nasir Abbas Nayyar on *Anjuman e Punjab*'s realist-functionalist literary movement in Urdu, as part of British utilitarianism in particular and western positivism in general.

Centrality of colonial poetics however, lies with the economy for its function of efficiency: efficiency as upper binary of waste, devaluing waste of artistic and literary resources. Efficiency is about production of singularity and unity of meaning, or economy of meaning itself, with which colonial administrators were seriously concerned and privileged literary realism for colonial poetics. Colonial emphasis on literary realism reveals its anxieties of the 'layered and deeper' intents of natives viz. viz. interests of British. Realism also corresponded with administrator-ethnographer's encyclopedic view of the 'reality' of native as an observable and describable 'fact', such as colour of skin (Fanon 1986/1952); and corresponded with colonial genres as gazetteer and novel like Kipling's *Kim* (Said Culture 190). Literary realism served well colonial discourse of worth-efficiency for reproduction of 'new arts' and construction of its 'new audiences' in India. This colonial unconscious reveals through poetics as much through politics: besides numerous moralist and reformist writers (let alone Sir Syed), 'national founders' as Jinnah and Nehru can equally be seen on the centrality of work and worker in their construction of new nations after the departure of British (Malik&Ali 2018;1675-6&1678). Literary realism did not only had correspondence with recording of 'facts' through 'natural' language in sciences, media, official archives, encyclopedia disciplines, etc. but also with new mercantile practices of registering, accounting and auditing, in contrast to secretive, illegible and inaccessible accounting by native revenue officials and merchant groups such as Hindus (Hanif 15).

Within colonial poetics, art is viewed as a machine - with input and output functions: language, words, idiom, proverb, figures of speech, etc. all are inputs, for the output of discreet, unitary, structured meaning of one poem, instead of chaotic, suggestive, plural, indiscreet and proliferating meanings. Cohn observes that "Meaning for the English was something attributed to a word, a phrase, or an object ...that had direct referent to ... 'natural' world" (Cohn 19). However, a native language "was part of a

larger system of meanings” (Cohn 18). Proliferation is critical politically and susceptible colonially, for its character of contagion and contamination, a characteristic viewed by colonizers as oriental, non-western, non-rational, immoral, unhealthy and unhygienic. Poetry thus corresponds with mechanical rational production as already proven success for westerners who themselves stood in awe before scientism and industrialism. ‘New poetry’ promised well with the colonial investments for the reproduction of ‘new communities’ of natives. Reform and new poetics are thus intimately connected.

Colonial poetics was performative as “it attempts to enact its meaning through its own presentation and syntax” (Homer 12). It is not only that poetry was subjected to colonial discipline of realist-functionalist utilitarianism: Hali affirms utilitarianism for his poetic work when he says that poetry should be for ‘good’ (*kher*) of majority while ‘evil’ (*shar*) be hidden and suppressed (Hali, Muqaddima 1928); but also that native was reproduced within and through this poetry - both the colonized poet and his audience i.e. his community which was being reached through and reproduced by colonial print capitalism. New poetry operated in the same way as Scott (1998) provides for other modern state projects as forests, cities, production sites, military organization, etc. with grids of gaze, control and construction, as being productive and ordered. Colonizers had same view of Indian forests, wastelands, and other productive sources (Whitehead;2010) as much as of art and literature. This functionalist-utilitarianism was behind colonial poetics driven modern desire of order for gaze, control and commercial use

John Locke’s *Second Treatise on Government* (1690) is attributed with providing colonial basis to appropriate native lands on the justification of efficiency: native land is constructed as unoccupied and waste (*vacuum domicilium*), calling for work and control, producing worth, allowing the right to rule the native and its lands. It also promoted through cultural practices the imperialist discourse of high profitability of the East for Europeans, as Said has affirmed through his major work *Culture and Empire* (1994). The binary of waste-efficiency preoccupied central place in colonial imagination: waste becomes ‘other’ of work, worth and efficiency and is invoked as central ‘subject’ of national rise/fall binary of Hali (as in his poem *Haqooq e Aulad*) when he moves from ancient to modern history through the play of this binary which itself is produced and pushed by work-waste binary. In Hali’s *musaddas*, ‘historical Islam’ is signified as productive and efficient viz. a viz. world’s hidden resources-both material and human: “muss e kham ko jis ne kundan banaya –

khra aur khota alag kar dikhaya; parri kaan main dhaat thi ik nakammi

– nah kuch qadr thi aur nah qeemat thi jis ki” (Hali; Kulyat 776). Work and productivity become universal human principles defining national rise/fall: national rise/fall was dominant imperial discourse of Hali’s time, with prominent voices as Gibbons and Toynbee; Hali’s own magnum opus *Musaddas* is titled as *Madd-o-Jazr-e-Islam* (Rise and Fall of Islam). However, this discourse comes as upper term of the binary, lower term of it being the ‘lazy native’ for his lack of knowledge and skills, and his unwillingness to be productive, as Alatas observes in his work *The Myth of Lazy Native* (1977). Foucault reminds that by the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, Europe had already put its large populations to disciplined factory labour and was struggling to deal with its delinquents of capitalism outside work community: vagabonds, gypsies, mad, sick, women, children, criminals, etc. (Foucault;1984;129&133) ‘Lazy native’ resonates with these categories. Muslim is constituted in and through the discursive markers lack and loss - of unemployment, poverty, indebtedness, dependence, menial servicemen rather than entrepreneurship, extravagant spending and ceremonial consumption, begging, dislike for work, aversion to ‘sciences’ (*jadeed ilm*). Lack of Muslim imperialism (and potential for nationalism) is absent because Muslims lack a ‘work community’, in Foucauldian terms (Foucault;1980;58 & Foucault;1984;235).

Market as material practice of built environment represents another field of imperial culture signified through presidency towns (of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay), ‘new cities’ in old capitals as Delhi and Lahore, and new market towns as Lyallpur and Montgomery in Punjab as Glover notes that colonial urban landscape merged “two influences of British Evangelicalism and the ideology of free trade (Glover;xxii). He also views that economic philosophy, particularly standardization of currency and merchants’ accounting practices developed in Europe, influenced colonial spatial imaginaries. These market imaginaries were reproduced in and through urban layouts in which colonial city reveals its productivity, efficiency and functionality - through order, hierarchy, coordination, etc. while oriental cities are represented with bazaars as crowded, winding, personalized and informal.

The distinct faces of oriental bazaar and modern market also developed through colonial texts: local accounts of built environments of Indian cities as Delhi and Lahore by Sir Syed’s *Asaar-us Sanadid* (1847), Noor Ahmad Chishti’s *Tehqiqat-e-Chishti* (1867) and Latif’s *Lahore: Its History* (1892), and heaps of gazetteers, travelogues, memoirs, official reports,



fieldwork notes, market rules and regulations, newspapers, diaries, reform reports, novels and poetry - all contributed to the reproduction of colonial urban landscape: Dina Nath's novel *The Two Friends: A Descriptive Story of the Lahore Life* (1899) created tension between old and new bazaar, where old city emerges as "a maize, a labyrinth of alleyways", while new Anarkali is "good bazaar out and out" with shops 'clean and respectable' (Grover 196). The structure and template of colonial Gazetteer offers convergence of three colonial practices - orientalism, ethnography and administrative practice: it described and archived trade and commerce of the regions, usually distinguishing past and present, traditional and modern, local and imperial, native and European: Elphinstone's ethnographic details in his *An Account of Kingdom of Caubul* (1815) regarding 'ancient trade caravans' stretching across Turkistan, China, Persia and India offer one such example which is invoked in contrast to west dominated international marine trade propelled by modern technology of shipping and navigation and the Industrial Revolution.

Grids, strategies and practices of production and work have been core themes of Foucault (Foucault; Foucault Reader;1984). Colonial spaces were organized around these practices, as clocks, calendars and maps. Lyallpur built in 1896 signifies such 'gridiron pattern' (Grover;45): a city organized around grids of (re)production - activities, occupations, processes and practices and specialized bazaars, all issuing towards a *chawk* (square) embodying a clock-tower, which not only represented the centrality of market but also of the city. Clock-towers, maps and urban layouts have been western colonial imaginaries for organization, segmentation and disciplining of linear time and space, and subjectivities of the native: the colony and the native as subjects of temporal cartography. Clock-tower installed modernity in the heart of colonial city around the non-European world. In *What Went Wrong* (2002), Bernard Lewis designates Muslim backwardness with their lack of modern notion of time, signified through watches and clock-towers (Lewis;119-121), signifying the privileging of time over space (Westphal;11). Hali reproduces this lack in Muslim consciousness, in this colonial subject, through his reform poetics: his two poems particularly remind this colonial discourse of productive linear and disciplining 'time' – *daulat aur waqt ka manazirah* (Disputation of Wealth and Time) written in 1887 and *gharrian aur ghanay* (Watches and Clock-Towers) written between 1904 to 1908 (Hali; Kulyat;27). Personification of western values such as 'time' as a western character is also obvious choice. Discursive spaces in geopoetical practices of Hali are also constituted within colonial condition: Hali

constructs old Muslim spaces as utopian and ideal, but rarely mentions Indian cities- neither Mughal period nor his contemporary British Indian. His praised cities are either Paris and London or their Muslim equivalents in memory: not from Muslim India, but from historical Muslim mainlands. Both are distant from Hali: either geographically or discursively, instead of his 'now and here' which is wretched. Both space categories – western and Muslim - were 'fiction and folk', imperial fantasies, particularly when Hali had not visited these cities himself, and his source of knowing them was either literature or orature.

Grounded in Lockean principles of economy and efficiency of colonial power, 'peace and equality' emerge as two recurrent and dominant themes in Hali as market-enabling constructs ensured by the British Indian government. Peace and equality are invoked as conditioning freedom of participation in market; however these neglect colonial conditions of market entry, hierarchies and inequities -- of class, race, gender, ethnicity, location (rural/urban), etc. Peace and equality are investing practices of political economy of control, through surplus power i.e. violence itself in terms of Derrida: colonial violence of its founding and originary moment (Edkins;81). Quoting from Noel Annan (1960), Said highlights modern sociological discourse shared by the colonizers that "efficient government in India depended upon the 'forces of social control

...which imposed upon individuals certain rules which they broke at their peril" (Said; Culture;186). Said furthers this strand of imperial theory as a commonplace belief that "the British empire was different from (and better than) the Roman Empire in that it was a rigorous system in which order and law prevailed, whereas the latter were mere robbery and profit". Hali's most references of effectiveness of British government in India echo both themes – of peace and equality, as his *Noha e Qaisera e Hind* :-

*Amn ne khol taraqi ke diyay darwazay Mulk sub ho gia gulzar  
badolat teri  
Ehd main uskay rahay fitnay se mehfooz jehan  
Jaisay mehfooz thi fitnaun se hakoomat teri* (Hali;Kulyat;537).

In musaddas and other poems, he valorizes openness and access of market – being secular - on equal terms to all in an environment of peace: "khuli hain safar aur tijarat ki raahain" (Hali;Kulyat;833) and further "tau hamwar hain kasb e daulat ki raahain" (Hali;Kulyat;833). Hali observes that core responsibility of a 'sultanate' (here refers to British state in India) is ensuring peace for all: "yehi sulnat ki hai kafi e'angat – keh ho mulk main amn uski badolat" (Hali;Kulyat;864). Or in his poem *What does Ali*

*Garh College Teaches?*, Hali reminds British inspired equality: “Khilata hai yeh khana aik dastarkhan par sub ko” (Hali;Kulyat;574). However, Hali qualifies and thus in- coheres with his own public presentation of ‘good’ of the government, silencing ‘other’ voices as vice: his views on political economy in the margins of his translated poem “Zamzama e Qaiseri”, where he differs from his public views, suspecting equal access in market in the name of ‘free trade’ on the ground of foreign/local i.e. racial binary. Though writers as Du Bois (2007/1903) have identified this as native’s ‘double consciousness’ (as examined in detail in case of modern urdu literature by Nayyar (2016), yet such cracks and gaps produced within incoherences of modern reformists have remained in the margins allowing postcolonial practice and politics. Moreover, grounding of modern bazaar in colonial peace and equality are but moments of stability and security, to which Said reflects in his analysis of Heart of Darkness: “all human activity depends on controlling a radically unstable reality to which words approximate only by will or convention. ... What appears as stable and secure ... requires the same continuous (but precarious) triumph over an all-pervading darkness” (Said;Culture;33).

Bazaar is placed very low in Indian discourses of decadence and reform. Urdu reform literature of Muslim modernists as Deputy Nazeer Ahmad and others lacks any major Muslim character signified through bazaar. Similarly such literature, neither of Anjuman-e-Punjab, nor of Anjuman-e-Islam - presents Bazar as mainstream and appropriate ‘subject’ of new literature, except for e.g. representation of occupational workers: with two functions – to invoke their miseries or dignity of work, both influenced by western literature or inspired by nationalism. In Nazeer Ahmad, ‘zenana’ is engaged with bazaar: this was the case whether ‘mama’, the maid of Akbari would do groceries and misuse resources, or whether Asghari calls all bazaar men for direct dealings at home. Men are not shown to be dealing with bazaar, for its lowliness, publicness, ordinariness, etc. Men are concerned with high politics and grand projects including Islam, state, society, and arts, as they don’t become heroes of fictional adventures in the world outside.

#### **b. Construction of ‘Muslim’ in/through the ‘lack of Western’**

Hali is ambivalent between universal and communal: West affirms universal, Islam communal; western ‘rise’ is reasoned through the rise of universal human principles, while Islamic ‘core’ is only for Muslim community, as Islam itself attests to universal principles, however, the ‘core’ relates with exclusive community being divine. Hali constructs

modern Muslim subjectivity in decline and decadence, in and through absence of what is Western: modern, European, good, moral, powerful and advanced. Muslim identity is constructed on the absence, negation and lack of western. ‘Historical Islam’ is to prove that the lack is recent, contemporary and even Indian. Afghans, Iranians, Ottoman and Middle Easterners remained unoccupied – were historically and fully Muslim: fully because in India, Muslims continued to be ‘mixed’ with Hindus, mixed in socio-material practices and geo-spatial placement; and also because those ‘Muslim lands’ were considered under control and influence of Muslim power and culture, which was not considered the case with Indian Muslims. It is here that the ‘lack’ of what is Western emerges in the condition of Muslims in India.

Hali identifies India as source of Muslim degeneration: this theme is spread generally across his poetry including *Musaddas* and particularly in his poem titled *Shikwa e Hind*. He identifies Muslims as ‘non-local guests’ in India, who brought greatness to it, however, itself fell victim to it. Very few local signifiers have been taken and instead non-local markers of Muslim memory constitute the valorized Muslim subjectivity: local signifiers come only as degenerators, poisonous impurities, fatal infectants: Muslims have been contaminated, polluted and infected by what is Indian, therefore has drained Muslim vigour, force and health. Indian contamination constitutes lack and loss and therefore becomes ‘object-cause’ of longing of Muslim power. Though inverted strategically against internal/small ‘other’ (Hindu) instead of external/big ‘Other’ (British), this reminds of colonial discursive filed of hygiene and purity (Newell;2016). Classical lyrical poetry had this split of Indian from ‘Turkic’ through the tradition of Persian literature (Ingenito;2018), however the split was more ethnic, secular and even imperial in traditional sense than essentially communal and religious.

Hali recognizes Western superiority, but does not consider it racial superiority: instead he signifies western superiority premised on universal principles of power and ‘national’ success; he recognizes their universality without any unease because these have been used by Muslims themselves in the past. So it is the ‘absence of the moral’, universal moral, that Muslims are in decline, decadence and powerlessness. This ascription of universal moral to the West suppresses any references to its Western imperialism, racial politics and related discriminatory and exploitative market practices. It also ignores control of international trade by the Western powers at the disadvantage of colonized people and their economies. Above all, the trade as world system (in terms of

Wittgenstein's notion of core and periphery) or colonized and colonizing economies, as ordering through subordinate economic tiers and levels, are completely ignored. Hali innocently wants to espouse neutral non-political universal principles of market and power, without realizing that not only power but also selection and privileging of certain interpretations of history, principles, market, etc. all constitute 'the political'; above all, if market is source and site of power, its discourses could not have been neutral, transparent, a-political and universal.

Hali's *Musaddas* is manifesto of Muslim modernity. It is Muslim response to colonial western modernity. It is based on Muslim nationalism in India; Hali's nationalism is weaved in and through his Muslim imperialism. Even his moral lessons use geopoetic significations of imperial Islam e.g. poem '*phoot aur eka*' (division and unity). Memory of power of Muslim imperialism serves as 'equivalent' of western imperialism, even though on the level of poetic plane and discursive field; even though it is within and through Muslim history and memory. Hali despite being conditioned in and through colonialism, creates discursive possibility of anti-colonialism: equivalent becomes alternative, however weak and vulnerable it may be – epistemically and politically; equivalence of two imperialisms and histories. Equivalence is as much imperialist as anti-imperialist: as it normalizes and routinizes foreignness of Western imperialism through Islamic imperialism; while simultaneously, it is also mimicking and menacing (Ashcroft et al; Postcolonial Studies Reader; 2007; 125) against western imperialism. Mastery of the modern is managed through memory; memory of imperialism is invoked to (en)counter the living, everyday imperialism.

Power is productive of Hali's Muslim imperialism, even though its terms are divine and natural: divine in terms of blessings as blind spread of divinity, and natural in terms of rain, clouds, watering barren crop fields, etc. viz. desert topography of Arabia. Hali imagines within binary of Muslim mainlands viz. Muslim India, the latter as its frontier, periphery, border province, and the way this Muslim metropole-margin constitute each other and Muslim imperialism. When Hali looks at India, he is doubly distant from it: he sees India from the textual eyes of the mainland metropole of Muslim imperialism; his gaze travels from India and then turns back on India. This constitutive alienation and split of Muslim/India, in which Hindu is 'small other' (host/guest as mother/child), while British colonizer is 'big Other' (symbolic order, law, language, modern signification, Father in Name, father figure) (Homer; 44); *Musaddas*, *Shikwa e Hind* and other poems have replete references towards this

doubly split identity and consciousness of Muslims. Even classical Urdu poets as Haider Ali Aatish, refer and invoke frequently Muslim regions and culture and motifs outside India, particularly Central Asia while attempting to signify the ‘essence and origin’ of Indian Muslims (Aatish;2008).

Hali takes market as source, strength and status of national economic power. This is imperialist and masculine, as empires were competing with others on the statistical size of their possession, including markets and economies. They also competed for aggrandizing these sizes further-starting with the primary object of imperial desire- geographic size. Said (Said;Culture;6) has quoted Magdoff: “By 1914, the annual (growth) rate (of colonial geographic expansion) had risen to astonishing 240, 000 square miles, and Europe held a grand total of roughly 85 percent of the earth as colonies, protectorates, dependencies, dominions, and commonwealths” (Magdoff:35). Imperial desire was signified statistically in other cases as well – through size of armies, bureaucracy, trade, tax, capital, labour, production, consumption, etc. The discourses of size hide everyday imperialist experiences, being fragmented and decentered, contingent and provisional. Modern market is gendered too, as steeped in power and imperialism - both Muslim and Western. Bazaar of Hali (and all modern Muslim reformers) is male enterprise, as female domain is home and children (bazaar is feminine in classical poetics for its ordinariness, facelessness, etc. or for being in the lower binaries of bazaar –labour/consumer, etc.; not in Hali who advocates upper binaries of bazaar for Muslims). Modern market was constituted in and through imperial culture: imperial desire as libidinal economy drives this imperial culture. Desire or will is pre-oedipal, pre-symbolic (Homer;87), before the fact of empire and instead constituting the facts of Empire. Hali desires to carve niche, a dominant place, in this market for Muslim collectivity, a collectivity constituted in and through imperial desire itself.

Hali bazaar reform is not about Muslim aristocracy; but losses of Muslim artisans being traditional producers under colonialism did shape his sensibility. But Hindu artisans also had losses; yet instead of Indian loss, it is Muslim loss which figures overwhelmingly in Hali’s reform poetics. One reason could be that Hindus had gained benefits also in different fields in colonial India, in terms of trade, finance and public employments. In modern mercantilist and state utilitarian rationality, their gains were visible and legible in balance sheet accounting and statistical significance: national accounting. Muslims didn’t only lose political power but also lost in modern rationality: material, objective, empirical, statistical

significance. Minority consciousness is as modern as colonial; and not just colonial, it is as much epistemological as political: grounding natives on religion was also epistemological, but grounding them in statistical accounting rationality, and corporate and imperial records and archives was equally modern epistemologically. Epistemology of (national) loss is modern mercantilist archival, accounting and auditing based. Colonial secular equality couldn't hide statistical differentiation among natives having differential size, strength and status: this was achieved through ever expanding, deepening and overwhelming censuses of Indians through integration, disintegration, remixing, purification and reification of ethnographic categories and identities of the natives (Andersen;165). "The fiction of the census is that everyone is in it, and that everyone has one - and only one - extremely clear place (Andersen;166). Census signified this statistical, accounting mercantilist rationality, and provided enumerative projection of salient categories in which Hali and other Muslim reformers saw 'lack' of Muslim community.

Who is protagonist of Hali's Muslim bazaar: merchant, aristocrat, feudal nebab, middle class educated man, some imaginary fictive imperialist, or Muslim state itself? His protagonist of bazar seems Muslim state itself. Hali refers in his poem *Tohfah ul Ikhwan* (1902) that state was benevolent and reformer for its subjects in the past (Hali; Kulyat;969); however, it is 'sultnate' (used for British Indian Government or modern state) which has ensured justice, equality, and open access to all with level playing field (Hali;Kulyat;970), provides the template for his protagonist for Muslim bazaar reform. The use of 'sultnate' signifies Muslim state in India, though Hali here is referring to the modern state.

Indian Muslims were not known to be world traders as a group during the height of Muslim imperialism; merchants didn't take central and leading position in the imaginary schema of Muslim empires, nor of modern muslim reformers; only alternative possibility lies with middle class educated men who might rise up through their effort; Hali does recognize their mettle and allocate them national role: "*Qaum ko hai aas jis ki woh jama'at hai yehi*" (Hali;Kulyat;935); however, modern market finds no signification even in representations of this group. Bazar and mercantile groups don't rise in reform poetics to lead Muslims out of their subjugated condition: their identity only figures in reform poetics as providers of material support to the community – employment and philanthropy. Bazar is placed at a very lowly base of infrastructure of Muslim community; this lowly base is transcended by the imagined reformer and deliverer of the community. This reminds of the model of trader-turned prophet of Islam,

the prophet as deliverer transcending his trader identity. However, in this process, Hali does recognize multiple relations of changing bazaar entity as well, though prefers Muslims on upper terms of bazaar binaries: of class, gender, location, regulation, sector, etc. However, bazaar largely remains ontologically essential and unchanging entity in Hali's imperial historiography, in its pure forms of either rise or fall alongwith empire: both being closely connected. Moreover, bazaar was never a single entity in the first place, as there was no center of Muslim bazaar in Muslim imperialism (as Muslim imperialism itself lacked any center, except Arab empire under Umayyads, when bazaar couldn't be thought of in terms of a centre in this vast empire).

### c. Privileging of Western Bazaar:

Hali throughout his reform poetics has developed a privileged and superior place of the Western bazaar, industry, economy, trades, vocations, and workers. Though his target for decline/decadence in, or absence from, bazaar is Muslim itself, but he demonizes and de-valorizes all Indians in opposition to bazaar and economy of the West. Though he presents western superior bazaar and economy as based on universal practices, he almost reaches to recognition of Western racial superiority. In his poem *Hubb e Watan* (1874) written for Anjuman Punjab Lahore, he narrates rise and fall of Muslims and others, and finally says about British in India: *sub se aakhir pe le gae baazi --- sub se shaista qom maghrib ki* (Hali; Kkulyat;612). And in same *Hubb e Watan* while referring to the moral and intellectual poverty and inferiority of local knowledges and its practitioners, he aspires to raise India to the level of England and France and therefore says: *ilm ko kar do koo ba koo arzan – Hind ko kar dikhau Inglistan* (Hali;Kulyat;617). And further on, he says: *kehye dunya ka jis ko baagh e jinaan --- hai France aaj ya hai Inglistan* (Hali;Kulyat;619). Not only bazaar but anything related to the west emerges as superior, and of Muslims and Indians as inferior. Hali valorizes western market and economy as much he satirizes those Indians who valorize the 'western'. However, target of his satire in this case is fetishistic attitude of Indians towards western products, rather than western education, for example, which he considers as universal, moral. Colonial blessings in management of bazaar are accounted by Hali in terms of fairness and welfare, as in his poem *Manazra-e- Rehm-o-Insaaf* (Disputation of Kindness and Justice): *"karnay paatay nahin gahuk pe dukandar sitam – jins yaan tul nahin sakti yahan miqdar se kum"* (Hali;Kulyat;628).

When Hali was privileging Western market: it was colonial capitalist



which placed natives at disadvantage legally and structurally- legally through means of law as monopolies, and structurally through lack of equity, banking, corporate human resources, technology, world market access, and restricted entry. Hali refers and raises concerns on these challenges to Muslim community; however, he evades coloniality of modern bazaar. He seems more as pleading as much for Muslim niche in this capitalist market as niche of bazaar in Muslim conscious and culture. And not just a marginal niche and peripheral place in the market; Hali does not seem to consider impossibility of pure and exclusive Muslim market, just as is the case with culture (Said;Culture;xxix); as markets engage, negotiate and change with one another, and were deeply interdependent and implicated in colonial and global conditions driven by plurality of centers and strata of peripheries. Still he invokes desirability (and therefore possibility) of such a Muslim market through the construction of its absence, its lack.

In Hali's poetry, privileging of Western bazaar comes in different kinds of binaries, Western bazaar itself remaining upper, privileged and superior part, even when Hali is speaking ironically: a) western bazaar vs. Muslim bazaar (in past Muslim bazaar dominated though), b) western bazaar vs. hindi bazaar, and other binaries as well such as Muslim past vs. western past, past vs. present Muslim bazaar, etc. These binaries reveal modern colonial binarism inherent to the condition constituting bazaar consciousness of reformers as Hali. Two lower binaries of western bazaar - Hindi Bazar and Muslim Bazar are discussed below, after Hali's signification of western bazar. These binaries emerge as moral, alongwith being affective and evocative: western being morally superior. Hali though refers to hidden conflict behind this ascendancy of western market however, he seems unable to reconcile the tension, particularly loss and lack in Hindi and Muslims bazaar under the subordination of western bazaar. The tension of two categories is not attempted to be resolved. Lack of such attempt directs towards Said view about similar tension in Kipling's *Kim*: Said considers the possibility of such tension in Kipling only if he thought India was 'unhappily subservient to imperialism' and instead Kipling considered that 'it was India's best destiny to be ruled by England (Said;Culture;176). In Hali however, tension also persists over how and where three reconcile: western, hindi and Muslim bazaars- Muslims in latter two are doubly marginalizalized and victimized. One can see Hali as sharing imperial understanding of these hierarchical structures and practices of discourse without any conflict or tension.

Western bazaar is invoked iteratively as binary and oppositional force:

“*hunar ka jahan garm bazaar hai ab – jahan aql o Danish ka behwar hai ab; jahan abr e rehmat guhar baar hai ab – jahan hunn barista lagataar hai abb*” (Hali;Kulyat;786). Hali is all praise for the values, agents, crafts, products, konweldges and skills, etc. ascribed to the western market and economy. He wrote a poem in praise of those ‘middle classes’ who grew successful in modern market and economy through their merit and mettle: *Qaum ka Motwassat Tabqa* (Middle Class of the Nation) was written in 1891 for Sixth annual session of Muhammadan Educational Conference held in December 1891. Hali is fully implicated in market capitalism, unquestioned and without any unease. He seems in awe on the way West has transformed the whole world into bazaar: “*banaya samundar ko bazaar us ne*” (Hali;Kulyat;859). Western supremacy, including of market, is considered espistemic supremacy - rise of rationality, as it reveals itself in western sciences which outdated, defeated and dominated oriental knowledge. Hali refers to the power of knowledge, here signifying western modern knowledge while describing this “*ilm*” (knowledge) as “*zor e dast e ilahi*” (power of God’s hand) (Hali;Kulyat;859). This *ilm* has been shown as “*...taraqi kay lashkar ka salaar hai yeh*” (Hali;Kulyat;859) and also “*kaheen dastkaron ka auzar hai yeh*” (Hali;Kulyat;859). Direct and natural connection of bazaar with *ilm* has been repeatedly established by Hali: “*koi be ilm roti ser ho kar kha nahin sakta – nah zargar aur nah aahan-gar, nah baazi- gar nah sauda-gar*” (Hali;Kulyat;916). ‘*Ilm-e-tijarat* (political economy, economics, commerce, etc.) is considered essential for economic success of traders, and therefore of nations. West is seen and signified as a ‘work community’. Western zeal for work and productivity has dominated reformers including Hali’s work-worth and productivity-efficiency discourses. Work emerges as motif of national power and worker as motor of this machine; while Hali also refers to the miseries of labour and working classes. The first emerges in case of western economic commercial power; the second is invoked in case of Indian laboring working classes. Referring to western power and knowledge, Hali echoes the colonial rhetoric that modern market is not just one aspect of power, but as sole site and source of power: “*tijarat ne raunaq hai yeh is se paaee – keh hech iss kay aagay hai farmaan-rawaaee*” (Hali;Kulyat;865). Western market comes into opposition in two more dimensions: privileging of western products by Indians over local ones and dependence of locals over western products (*har ik shae main ghairon ke mohtaaj hain woh*) (Hali;Kulyat;866-867). Even local traders, including Muslim *seth* and *tujjar* have turned into mere auxiliaries of western market (*tufaili hain seth aur tujjar waan sub*) (Hali;Kulyat;867). Hali considers this provisional, adhoc, dependent and even ‘borrowed’

condition of Indian modernity, deeply colonial in its nature, when he says: “*asasa hai sub aaryat ka gharon main* (Hali;Kulyat;867). However, he directly connects this condition as lack of western education, a project of Muslim reform in particular and other Indian reformers in general, hiding critical issues of power and the political. The privileging of western market grows into a metaphor which signifies shift from pre-modern to modern market, to which Hali alludes in his poem *Arz-e-Haal*: “*yaan niklay hain soday ko diram le ke puranay – aur sikka rawaan shehr main muddat se naya hai*” (Hali;Kulyat;876). Market comes to signify even the colonial state in Hali then: *sultanut ne sub ko de rakhay hain haqq dandi ke tol*

–*wazn main palrra nahin koi sabak, koi garaan* (Hali;Kulyat;970). Even his favourite topic of national rise/fall or imperialism gets a tone of bazaar revealing how market has expanded its influence over other spheres and domains: *aik ka hai jo tanazzul, doosray ka hai urooj – iss ka bikta hai makan, tub us ki chalti hai dukan* (Hali;Kulyat;979). Hali indicates the imperial nature of markets (here western market) and refers through bazaar signification as to how markets dominate other markets, instead of simultaneously coexisting and flourishing.

Hindi bazaar emerges as decadent, waste, empty as in his poem *Barkha Rut*: *bazaar parray thay saaray sunsann – aati thi nazar na shakl e insaan; chalti thi dukan jin ki din raat – bethay thay woh haat par dhray haath* (Hali;Kulyat;584);

In this Hindi bazaar his earlier experience is described in the way: *kunjdon ki who bolyan sohaani – bhar aata tha sun keh munh main paani* (Hali;Kulyat;584). The agents of this hindi bazaar are also lowly and lost in his poem *Manajat e Bewah*: “*gahuk, manday bazaron ka*” (Hali;Kulyat;723). Narrating conditions of Hindi bazaar, Hali reminds that workers, artisans, traders and other agents and actors of local bazaar have lost much of their work and activity (Hali;Kulyat;866) and invokes closure and inaccessibility (*huay bund darwazay aksar gharon ke*) (Hali;Kulyat;866). Muslims have particularly been victim of this inaccessibility and closure, thus exclusion. Hali complains that earlier Muslims had hundreds of routes of economy opened to them (Hali;Kulyat;886)- a signifier of both economic openings as well as trade routes accessible to Muslims in India. As this commercial access is invoked in his poem *Shikwa e Hind*, this commercial exclusion also comes in opposition to Hindus taking over bazaar, thus is indicative of ‘commercial communalism’. Hali reiterates dependence of Muslims on petty jobs (“*kartay hain qasd e tijarat to nahin girah main daam*” and

further “*naukri thehri hai le de ke ab auqat apni*”) (Hali;Kulyat;904). It signifies Muslim exclusion from bazaar through popular discourses amongst Muslim reformers, including Sir Syed who in his pamphlet *The Causes of Indian Mutiny* (1873) observed that Muslims were water carrier, coolies, and other menial workers while referring to W.W.

Hunter’s *Indian Musalmans* (1871). Hali too reminds it: “*qaum ka hissa na waan paao get um iss ke siwa – din chhupay qulion ki ak fauj aae gi tum ko nazar*” (Hali;Kulyat;968). This discourse of market inaccessibility and restricted entry by locals and Muslims conflicts starkly with open-access rhetoric of Hali’s western bazaar, without attempting to resolve this tension which helps him move both - his reform poetics and his audiences. This conflict and tension are constitutive of colonial condition of Muslim reform enterprise.

Muslim bazaar as binary of western market is split in Hali’s poetry between past and present Muslim bazaar. Equivalence of Muslim bazaar with western bazaar is invoked as much as between western and muslim imperialisms- bazaar being imperially constituted and implicated in the political rather than neutral, natural and uncontested. However, Muslim bazaar exists only in its absence and loss, as memory of a distant empire seen from its partially converted and controlled frontier i.e. India. Hali’s magnum opus *Musaddas* is built on the binary of national rise/fall and replete with signifiers of bazaar- Muslim vs. Western. Hali repeats that how Muslims taught during their heydays to the world the ways of bazaar: “*sikhaaye maeshat kay adaab unn ko*” (Hali;Kulyat;780) and “*mafaad unko saudagari kay sujhaaye*” (Hali;Kulyat;780) and again “*har ik qom ne un se seekhi tijarat*” (Hali;Kulyat;788). He takes pride in that modern western market can be traced back to the ‘tjariat’ being one of the knowledges and arts (hunn) taught by Muslims to the rest of the world (Hali;Kulyat;795). This is reversed in case of present Muslims and their bazaar, when Hali speaks of how Muslims have become dependent on British for learning the arts of trade, industry, agriculture, etc. (*wohi gur tijarat kay usko sikhaae*) (Hali;Kulyat;864). This Muslim greatness emerges repeatedly through dialectical, oppositional discourses: Muslim power viz non-Muslim world in past and then in present times; even though it keeps appearance of alternations of power among different nations, however it remains inherently dialectical as based on conflict and advancement of each new rising nation – Muslims advanced human civilization when they came to power and so is the case with western imperialism. Muslim bazaar is the subject constituted within and through the memory of Muslim power and imperialism, and both Muslim bazaar

and imperialism are invoked as binaries of western bazaar and imperialism, bazaar being both site and source of power, national power. His Muslim bazaar emerges in nostalgia of imperial spectacle. Imperial geographies emerge as markers of identity of Muslim imperialist bazaar as much as political authority, reminding of pre-modern intercontinental Muslim trade: “*tar o khushk par jis ka sikka rawan tha*” (Hali;Kulyat;790). However, much effort in constituting Muslim bazaar in Hali’s poetry is made on the reverse side: its present viz. western market: “*aur qaumain hain jahan maal e tijarat bechti – yeh wahan ghar baar ke kartay hain korray bar-mla*” (Hali;Kulyat;963). This present of Muslim bazaar is all decline and degeneration. Values and principles, attitudes and mores of bazaar and economy are degenerated. Occupations, knowledges and their practitioners lack both Islamic as well as western, universal, human principles of greatness. Above all, whatever was local and Muslim has become outdated and obsolete in front of western (Hali;Kulyat;614) as his poem “*Hubb e Watan*” refers the role of ‘*ahl e kamaal*’ (the people of perfection) – for two reasons- spatial, for it lacks Islam and instead has become Indian; and temporal, for advanced civilization has made the past cultures outdated. Dependence on western market comes with exclusion of Muslims from new bazaar, and even Muslims traders are seen as merely auxiliaries of western market: “*praaye saharay hain beopaar waan sub – tufaili hain seth aur tujjar waan sub*” (Hali;Kulyat;867), representing deeply colonial condition as dependents and peripheral as Said noted that “The outlying regions of (Third) world have no life, history, or culture to speak of, no independence or integrity worth representing without West. And when there is something to be described it is ... unutterably corrupt, degenerate, irredeemable” (Said;Culture;xxi). Muslim bazaar becomes metaphor of Muslim rise and fall when Hali says: “*bhool jaaen ge keh thay kin daalion ke hum samar – toot kar aae kahan se aur bikay jaa kar kahan*” (Hali;Kulyat;892), while alluding to Muslim trade of fruits from West and Central Asia to northern India. Bazaar thus takes over and penetrates into other domains and discourses, alternating as metaphor and metonymy of Muslim past and present (“*bazaar e jins e ilm o hikmat*”) (Hali;Kulyat;933).

### **Part Three: Bazar, Violence and Loss**

#### **a. Commercial Communalism**

‘India’ in Hali’s imaginaries of imperialism and bazaar has unique place. In Hali’s imperial-nationalist geopoetics, India is constructed as lowly frontier, a periphery of ‘Muslim mainlands’. In literature and culture of

Muslim world, Muslim India was only a frontier, and never a mainland. Hali's India is either passive, static and feminine, or overtly vicious and evil. India is good to dominate but not to associate: its function is contaminating, degenerating. India is 'dirty native' of westerner and uncanny of Muslim imperialism. Muslim desire for 'beyond India' and towards Muslim mainlands may also be attributed to anti-colonial tendency; that is resistance to the dominant Other through the 'desire for original loss which didn't exist in the first place' in Lacanian sense (Homer;90). Through its frontier-ness, India functions also as liminal between Hali's two imperialisms – Muslim/western, where both coincide, collide and contaminate, their *self* and their *other*. It separates and unites them, in discursive field. India is frontier in both; as both lose their drive and energy, and represents imperial exhaustion and fatigue – as both imperialisms could not extend beyond it. Hali's Muslim imperialism is constituted through India as liminal of western imperialism. Hali's bazaar is also caught up and split between Muslim imperial and local Indian bazaar, or Muslim/Indian bazaar vs. western; coloniality is liminal of two bazaars (Hindi/Muslim and western), which divides and unites them.

Hindu is the 'Other' in Hali's imperialism and bazaar. Hali was not asking muslims to take over modern market dominated by British foreign trade and mechanical production -- the domain of the colonizers. As he and his ideologue patron Sir Syed were struggling hard to bring the both –British and Muslims - closer by any means. Instead he found Muslims disadvantageous in the struggle over the domain of bazaar from Hindus, who were not only local market leaders, but were also directly controlling much of Muslim finances, as they did under Delhi Sultans and Mughals, both as public officials as well as private financiers; while other two social groups – Turanis and Persians - provided military and secretarial services respectively (Kumar;2009). However, role of Hindu Rajputs for military service to Mughals as competitors of Turanis makes homogenous Hindu identity as financier and merchant impossible. If long distance traders were Muslims, financial networks had overwhelming presence of non-Muslims as Hindus, Parsis, Jews and others through India, Iran and Turkistans (Hanifi;Chapter1;7), with small share of Muslims. World trade witnessed transformation with the rise of western imperialism and colonization, emergence of new nation-state system, maritime trade and shipping technology and new economic world order with manufacturing, banking and even consumption being dominated by west: India didn't remain isolated.

Ascendancy of Hindu merchant was discursive reproduction shared by

colonial and Muslim discourses. The figure of ‘Hindu’ resonates with ‘Jew’ in Europe then: construction of both of these ‘merchant’ ethnicities had some western origins. Jacques Lacan considers that attribution of *excessive jouissance* to ‘other’ groups keeps communities together: this attribution “then comes to operate as a specific form of theft for the subject” (Homer;63). Muslim nationalists and reformers attributed *this theft* and misappropriation of *their* excessive jouissance to Hindus: in the case of Muslims, the consciousness of Hindu majority further complicated the process. Muslims considered that Hindus have taken bazaar, and power through bazaar, from Muslims. Bayly’s binary of Muslim *qasba* aristocracy vs. Hindu urban mercantilists indicates structural corporate dynamics of Indian communalism: modern market is urban phenomenon; finance and market are critical sources of urban power; Muslims lacked urban power and resources, agriculture being heavily taxed, leaving little surplus to Muslims *qasba* aristocracy which steadily became dependent on urban Hindu merchant groups for financing high consumption (Bayly;349-359). “The ideological concern over identity is understandably entangled with the interests and agendas of various groups” (Said;Culture;xxviii). Despite commercial-communalism, Hali takes western bazaar as ideal because it is superior being modern i.e. advanced and ahead in linear terms, besides being strategically superior, that it is preferred politically to follow western model than old Hindu mercantilism. It also brings equivalence of two imperialisms: Muslims have been dominating long distance trade for centuries, with their imperial power and vast commercial connectivity over continents. As western model is considered worth emulating, discourses of western imperialism help Hali connect to supra Indian links with non-Indian Muslim world, being distinct from and superior to India (signified as Hindu), through ‘commercial pan- Islamism’ which is also being invoked: pan-Islamism as signifier of Muslim imperialism as matching, if not commensurate, with western imperialism.

#### **b. Violence in the Origins:**

Hali hides in his bazaar reform poetics constitutive violence or productive power of modern market as colonial condition. While Foucault considers it productive power, Derrida claims violence to be constitutive of subject, being present in the moment of origin, undecidable and indeterminate origins; Hali ignores the colonial function of violence as constitutive of modern market in colonial economies, being beyond physical violence of war, conquest, depredation i.e. through text, law, contracts, agreements, taxes, bureaucratic procedures, archival and accounting practices, etc. or

what Hanifi has termed as ‘textual oppression’ (Hanifi;Chapter5;5). “Markets always rely on non-market legal and extra-legal coercive forces to facilitate asymmetrical distribution of economic gain and pain” (Tayyab;70). Colonial market is what Pascale (2011) calls ‘localized context’, instead of inert static neutral plane of local context. This violence is surplus and excess and loss is lack; and modern poetics evades the core of this trauma (Homer;87).

Market is central to the colonial project: even regions developed as penal colonies such as Australia “progressed somewhat into profitability and a sort of ‘free system’ where (western) labourers could do well on their own if allowed to do so” (Said;Culture;xvi). Market has remained significantly there in western culture deeply embedded in imperialism, suggests Said, as he quotes a colonial financier of native mines: “We shall run the world’s business whether the world likes it or not” (Said;Culture;xviii). Pip of Dicken’s *Great Expectations* in a colonial penal colony finally ‘takes on a new career’: “this time not as an idle gentleman but as a hardworking trader in the East” (Said;Culture;xvii). This suggests significance of “Britain’s imperial intercourse through trade and travel with the Orient... In his new career as colonial businessman, Pip is hardly an exceptional figure” (Said;Culture;xvii). The imperial western culture “created an illusion of security and false expectations that high returns would accrue to those who invested beyond its boundaries” (Said;Culture;5 while Said quoted Patrick O’Brien?). Said further assures that imperial “economies were hungry for overseas markets, raw materials, cheap labor, and hugely profitable land” (Said;Culture;7). He further adds: “In the expansion of the great Western empires, profit and hope of further profit were obviously tremendously important, as the attractions of spices, sugar, slaves, rubber, cotton, opium, tin, gold, and silver over centuries amply testify” (Said;Culture;9-10). However, Said sees European commitment to subjugate natives even before and beyond profit. Modern market is imperial colonial in its desire and drive, and it is about exploration and occupation of geographies of native lands and bodies, including market. “The main battle in imperialism is over land” and the right of rule is determined in ‘narrative’ (Said;Culture;xiii) – including legal and poetic. Said even suggests gendered nature of this violence as he refers the French conquest of Egypt as not just “tearing of veil once” (Said;Culture;39). Colonialism hid the constitutive violence of moment of origin of modern market and was reproduced by modern reformers in and through hegemonic discourse of ascendancy of modern market as neutral, innocent, transparent and fair, and equitable system, as universal human



value, ‘allowing all religious and ethnic groups equal opportunities’ being secular, while colonial “power produced an illusion of benevolence” (Said;Culture;xix) and ‘futility of philanthropy’ (Said;Culture;xx).

The violence was physical and structural, legal and political, local and foreign. The nature of violence was what Foucault calls a heterogenous ensemble of practices, procedures, and techniques: from text to tax, from body to body- corporate. Said affirms that “during the 1890s, the business of empire, once an adventurous and often individualistic enterprise, had become the empire of business” (Said;Culture;25). Violence –physical and discursive- is thus constitutive of colonialism: exploration and occupation of ‘new markets’ is critical part of it. It included war and conquest, loot and depredation, monopolies, new laws and procedures, accounting practices, military- corporatism of Company, practices of banking, debt and investment, inequitable tariff structures, systematic deindustrialization, disadvantageous trade restructuring from exports of manufactured goods to raw material, anti- smuggling regimes, systematic crop failures and famines, etc. Native markets had already been militated, much before possible integration with emerging western market.

The colonizers acted as a body-corporate, as colonial interests were strongly shaped by corporate interests and groups in England (Dutt;vii-viii) and it continued even after 1858 as “British merchants still watched and controlled the Indian tariff after 1858” (Dutt;viii). Deindustrialization of India had long been a colonial process: “Long before 1858, when the East India Company’s rule ended, India had ceased to be a great manufacturing country” (Dutt;viii). Textile has been significant case of deindustrialization. During second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the British ‘Parliament inquired how cotton could be grown in India for British looms, not how Indian looms could be improved’ (Dutt;viii). Deindustrialization was also accompanied by dispossession of native land by the colonizers, in line with notions of Locke. “...the East India Company regarded India as vast estate or plantation, and considered themselves entitled to all that the land could produce, leaving barely enough to the tillers and the landed classes to keep them alive in ordinary years” (Dutt;ix). Imperial possession and private property have corresponded historically.

Variety of excessive taxation was also introduced such as taxes on land, salt, sale, occupations, and other excises and cesses. Roy Moxham has documented the colonial condition of disease and famine produced through Customs Preventive Line which divided whole of India from Calcutta to Kohat, for prevention of smuggling of monopoly goods,

particularly the essentials of life as salt (Moxham;2001). Revenue from India largely financed British government: “all the expenses incurred in England, down to the maintenance of the India Office and the wages of the charwoman employed to clean the rooms at Whitehall” (Dutt;xvi) were charged to India. Besides fiscal burdens, wars and mega-projects such as railways, led to heavy indebtedness (Dutt;xv): “Between 1877 and 1900, the Public Debt rose from 139 millions to 224 millions” (Dutt;xv). East India Company pushed its military-corporate interests through exploitative regime of commercial contracts and agreements with local entities, eliminating local autonomies over productive resources and their revenues: tax regime was structured for extension of colonial profit rather than local welfare or equitable distribution.

### **c. Poetics of (National) Loss:**

Violence signifies excess and surplus; loss signifies lack. “It is loss that drives life through desire” (Homer;89): desire of the lack in self, as mirrored in the other. Loss and longing was central to classical poetry of bazaar: bazaar lacked true human relation based on the principles of sacrifice, surrender of self and desire, etc. and personal one-on-one relations. Urdu classical poetics has been poetics of loss of the beloved; bazaar metaphor further deepened this loss of ‘beloved other’: loss and longing as private, personal, affective, and emotive field. With nationalist poetics, it became public and political, historical and collective. History of loss of power, prestige and community was further reinforced under colonialism. Colonial “discourse excludes what has been represented as ‘lost’ by arguing that the colonial world was in some ways ontologically speaking lost to begin with, irredeemable, irrecusably inferior” (Said;Culture;29). The figure of Indian Muslim of Hali resonates with the “orphan” figure of modern west from English realist novels of Hardy and Dickens, constituted in and through imperial loss, imperial as Muslim self, reproduced in and through the same discourse where loss itself is traced and located.

Classical poetry constituted and reproduced the subject/object of love through the poetics of loss and longing; nationalists produced body-politic, social body or even body-corporate through loss of bazaar poetry. With nationalist movements, this classical poetics of loss shifted to national loss. Both traditions have continued in modern urdu poetics and collectively constitute ‘nationalism’ in and through this poetics of loss.

Modern nation is produced within the discursive field of lack, loss and longing; with changes in bazaar poetics, this loss developed

overwhelmingly corporate and commercial dimension, this loss being aestheticized, metaphorized and poeticized within nationalist poetics and through bazaar rhetoric. Muslim nation in South Asia is constituted as subjugated and marginalized, thus creating religious orientation of bazaar, against its secular and political imaginaries: the latter has overwhelmingly prevailed along history and western modernity. It always has been closely linked with imperial power structures, instead of religious nationalism. However, these religious nationalist images of bazaar domination, and bazaar as source and site of domination, further problematize the claims of Hali's branch of reformers who have been asserting that national success and domination is premised on universal human principles shared by whole humanity.

Hali has not only helped shape political nationalism, but also corporate nationalism in Muslim South Asia. Commercial and corporate sovereignty of modern Muslim state in post-independence era has sustained political interest, witnessed in economic and political blocks on religious affinity; Pakistani state locked in its double other: India and the West. Drive has been for separate, pure and exclusive market and economy, besides political mobilization for building blocks for markets and resource sharing, Muslims' own bank (BCCI as example), and Islamic banking and finance in general. Three things are there in post-independence situation: struggle for corporate sovereignty, continued western influence in world market, impossibility of exclusive markets. With reference to western influence, Said reasserts: "Westerners may have physically left their old colonies in Africa and Asia, but they retained them not only as markets but also as locales on the ideological maps over which they continued to rule morally and intellectually" (Said;Culture;27). There had been politics of commercial and economic sovereignty from post independence states emerging out of old colonies. However, "the idea of *total* independence was nationalistic fiction designed mainly for what Fanon calls the 'nationalist bourgeoisie'" (Said;Culture;20). Even though Hali weaves his poetics in and around colonial condition, and therefore is unable to offer 'solutions' for new nationalist Muslims states, he did help generate energy and drive for nationalist 'solutions', including corporate-body of Muslim nation-state.

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