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The Urdu ghazal in performance

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The ghazal has a dominant place of pervasive importance in the world of Urdu-speaking people. This importance extends far beyond literary circles and scholarship, into the minds and hearts of people of every background and occupation. Perhaps unique, this situation is certainly unparalleled by other living literary high cultures, even within the South Asian culture area.

How can a poetic genre hold such a central place in the expressive culture of a language community, highly segmented by stratification and regional differences and, more recently, by political division and emigration? The answer, clear to participants in the cultural life of Urdu speakers everywhere, can be summed up in one word: performance. This presents a paradox for the Western literary tradition which has encoded its own separation from its oral roots in the mutually exclusive categories of 'literate' and 'oral'. For the Urdu ghazal is as much oral as it is literate and literary. True, ghazals are enshrined in *dīvāns* and literary magazines, read by scholars and connoisseurs, but their primary communicative channels have traditionally been oral, and even today they are most widely disseminated in sound, an aural, not a visual experience which is shared between performer and listener and, equally important, shared among listeners. No wonder Bausani called Urdu poetry 'il dizionario dei analfabeti';[1] ghazals can arouse mass sentiment, and poets can attain fame before their works are published.[2]

Unlike its written version, the ghazal in performance has its meaning embodied in sound and its form becomes integral to its content. What sustains this integration and gives it life is musical sound. For in performance the 'musical' qualities felt to be inherent to the ghazal genre[3] become manifest in actual musical settings[4] of remarkable diversity and beauty. The goal of this paper is to examine the ghazal as an aural experience and thereby to gain an expanded perspective on the unique cultural impact of this poetic form.

Implied in this approach is the serious consideration of ghazal repertoires which are widely used in performance, even if they are of variable poetic quality — for instance Sunni and Shi'a religious verse, as well as what one might term the 'entertainment ghazal'. This is justifiable

even to the literary purist, for it is precisely the breadth of use of the ghazal form and idiom that nourishes the receptivity towards its most outstanding artistic manifestations, just as the reverse process, more generally recognized, is also true. Turning thus toward the ghazal's *Rezeption* means taking in account its place in the wider world of the living Urdu word, a world to which Ralph Russell has devoted an untiring commitment. I would like here to acknowledge with gratitude his early encouragement and his contribution, through his pragmatic study of *'arūz*,[5] to my understanding of Urdu verse structure

The ghazal exists in the form of six distinct musical genres identified most clearly by their traditional occasions of performance. These genres belong to two major cultural domains, the secular and the religious, and to two major musical categories, chant or 'recitation', and song, and may be represented schematically as:

	Secular	Religious
Chant	1) *tarannum*	2) *nauha*
		salām
		mātam
		3) *na't*
Song	5) ghazal art-song	4) *qavvālī*
	6) recorded ghazal	

1) *Tarannum* is the solo chanting of poems, mainly by poets reciting their work in the musha'ira, a poetic symposium with an audience including both the sophisticated and the untutored.

2) *Nauha*, *salām* and *mātam* are three hymn types chanted in the *majlis*, the commemorative assembly of Shi'a Muslims which is convened for mourning the martyrdom of Imam Husain and the tragedy of Karbala. Vocal accompanists may support the solo reciter; in addition, regular chest-beating by all participants accompanies *mātam* only.

3) *Na't* is a ghazal in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, chanted in the *milād*, the devotional assembly of Sunni Muslims, which is often held to celebrate the Prophet's birth. Here too, vocal accompanists may support the solo reciter.

4 *Qavvālī* is the song genre performed at the *mahfil-e samā'*, the Sufi assembly held for achieving mystical experience. A singing group is accompanied by the barrel drum (*dholak*) and harmonium (*bājā*), and by regular clapping.

5) The ghazal art-song is sung in the *mahfil* or *mujrā*, the traditional élite musical entertainment which is associated with feudal courts and courtesan salons. A soloist, traditionally female, is accompanied by the bowed sarangi and the tabla (two-piece drum), and more recently also by the harmonium.

6) The recorded ghazal is the song genre for 'playback' entertainment,

also associated with films (*filmī ğazal*). Most often a male singer is accompanied by tabla, harmonium, sarangi, and other melody instruments.

Of these six, the three secular genres are linked by a shared textual repertoire of standard traditional poetry. Thus the same poems which their creator may recite in *tarannum* in a musha'ira can be sung in a *mahfil* or *mujrā* as an art-song, and can also be turned into a recorded playback song.

The three religious genres share a functional basis of articulating the devotional religious practice of the three major religious groupings among Urdu-speaking Muslims. While *majlis* and *milād* poems differ in topic and personage addressed (Imām Husain, Hazrat 'Alī and other martyrs for most *majlis* hymns, the Prophet Muhammad for *milād* hymns), Sufi song texts can be shared with *na't* and also with some Shi'a *salām* hymns.

All of these performance idioms result from the intersection of the ghazal tradition with that of Indo-Pakistani 'light' music. The relationship between the two is, in an overall way, governed by what may be called a cultural ideology regarding the poetic word which derives ultimately from the supremacy of the revealed word of God in the Quran. Based on the Muslim approach toward the Quranic word, and reinforced at least since the thirteenth century by the Sufi emphasis on poetic expression, poetry has been the approved cultural form for the heightened articulation of significant communication — expressive, cognitive or didactic. Poetry as an art is subject to high formal and aesthetic standards, and its originator, the poet, is highly regarded.

Music, according to the same ideology, is on the other hand at best an ambivalent cultural form, for it articulates emotion through sound experience, but that sound lacks inherent cultural content. Its powerful expressive potential needs therefore to be controlled and directed, most appropriately by a text, so as to infuse it with content. While this is possible acoustically in vocal music, the purely sensory-emotional impact of instrumental music can only be controlled indirectly, through contextual association. Conceptually, this concern has been embodied in a categorical distinction between singing with instruments on one side, and musically enhanced recitation, or chant, on the other. Terminology succinctly articulates this separation between the two vocal categories: the first is 'singing' (*gānā*), the second 'reading' or 'reciting' (*paṛhnā*).

The intersection of the two cultural traditions of poetry and music results in a clearly definable relationship between the ghazal and its musical setting. In accordance with the clear supremacy of the text, the words and their message must remain intact; the music must therefore be subordinated to these priorities. In concrete terms, this means that features of music must be constrained directly by features of the text.

All ghazal musical settings share a strophic form, corresponding exactly to the form of the couplet. The binary structure of the couplet is

represented musically by the *asthāyī-antarā* complex. The *misra'-e ūlā*, the initial, non-rhyming line with its opening statement, is always set to a higher pitched, open-ended tune, the *antarā*, whereas the *sānī misra'*, the rhyming line with its concluding statement, is set to a lower pitched, conclusive *asthāyī* tune. Unlike the *antarā* which requires melodic completion, the *asthāyī* tune is self-contained which also makes it an appropriate setting for the opening line of the *matla'*. The formal correspondence between text and music is thus:

Text		Music
a (rhyming line)	=	A (*asthāyī*)
a (rhyming line)	=	A (*asthāyī*)
b (non-rhyming line)	=	B (*antarā*)
a (rhyming line)	=	A (*asthāyī*)

At the same time, parallel endings between the two tunes are common, so the musical setting is capable of emphasizing contrast as well as parallelism between verse lines (e.g. Fig. 1). Within the *misra'*, the rhyme scheme of *qāfiya-radīf* is often highlighted melodically or marked by a melodic cadence. Likewise, the caesuras that occur naturally in the lines with an extended *bahr* are represented by the musical phrase structure within the *misra'* (e.g. Fig. 2b).

The rhythm of the tune corresponds to the poetic metre by representing the long-short pattern durationally, be it with or without reference to a musical metre. The large number of diverse poetic metres result in equally diverse rhythmic patterns which in turn generate a number of different metric arrangements. In accommodating asymmetrical or irregular metric groupings of a *bahr* within a musical metre, a considerable variety of interpretations results, based on the choice of the downbeat and on the variable musical duration allocated to long syllables *vis-à-vis* short ones (2[+n]: 1). This may be illustrated by the different musical rhythms which occur in the figures below, corresponding to a single *bahr*:[6]

In general, metric rather than semantic groupings determine groupings of musical rhythm. In fact, there are favoured musical arrangements of poetic metres in the form of tunes which have become transferable between poems of the same metric structure and even between ghazal genres. Such stock or 'pattern-tunes' (*paiṭarn dhun*) can also serve poets to cast their inspiration into the mould of their chosen *bahr* (Fig. 1 is a widely known pattern-tune).

Also subordinated to the text, finally, are features of acoustic articulation which serve to preserve the declamatory integrity of the poem. This is mainly reflected in the consistent enunciation and weighting of consonants as well as in the differential tonal representation of long and short vowels, of voiced consonants, and of the '*nīm-fatha*' (represented by ɔ in transcription). A pace slower than that of speech is another feature common to all ghazal music.

From the vantage point of the common structural frame of reference for ghazal music, it is now possible to focus on the individual ghazal genres that share this frame, articulating and modifying its features in ways specific to their particular character. For beyond the shared structural features derived from the poem, each ghazal performance-genre has its individual characteristics, or 'distinctive features', which identify it to its audience. These features are linked to the particular function of each genre, its context of use. And that context is embodied in the occasion of performance with which each of the ghazal genres is associated. Using this functional link as a starting point, there follows a brief characterization of the six different ways in which Urdu speakers listen to ghazals in performance.

1) *Tarannum: the ghazal recited in the musha'ira*[7]

Of all chant genres, this is the one with a function most completely centred on the poem, for it serves poets as a means of communicating their work to their constituency of literati for evaluation and public approbation. This purpose may be pursued with or without the help of musical sound, although *taht ul lafz-xwānī*, spoken declamation, is much less favoured by musha'ira audiences. What chant is seen to add to the poem is to enhance or 'activate' its emotional or experiential content, thereby arousing heightened emotional experience of it in the listener and in turn creating in him a sense of identification with the message and with its originator, the poet.

Reinforcement and enhancement of the poetic structure are most strongly present in this genre, whereas purely musical features independent of the poem are severely restricted; they are limited to a rather narrow range of choice regarding pitch and durational choices as well as acoustic presentation. Furthermore, all these choices are linked to the

reciter's personal presentation or individual performance style; but they are also subject to textual structural constraints, most of all the durational proportion of the poetic metre, or, more comprehensively, the bounds of spoken declamation. What is not acceptable for *tarannum* is any autonomous element of musical structure, most of all expansive melody. This correlates with the fact that a number of poets and literati disapprove of *tarannum* altogether, because they consider it inappropriately 'musical', to the detriment of the poetic message. In particular, poets themselves have criticized *tarannum* as a musical 'cover-up' of mediocre poetry, among them Josh Malīhābādī[8] in one of his poignant ruba'is:

گاگا کے مشاعروں کے میدانوں میں
تعریف کی گھاس چَر رہے ہیں شعرا
سینے پہ غزل سرا چلاتے ہیں چھری
کرتے ہیں سُروں سے شعروں کی خانہ پُری

Singing away in the meadows[9] of the musha'iras,
Poets are eating up the grass of praise.
These ghazal-singers (!) are piercing my chest with a knife;
With musical notes they cover up their (mediocre) verses.

Fig. 1: *Tarannum* (Majrūh Sultānpūrī)

matla'

a. Hameh žūr-e-junūh hai ke jis caman meiñ rahe —

a. Nigāha ban ke hasīnōñ ke anjuman meñ rahe —

maqta'

b. Zabāñ hamārī na samjhā yahāñ ko-ī Majrūh —

a. Ham ajnabī kī tarhā apne hī vatan meiñ rahe. —

2) *Nauha, salām and mātam: the ghazal recited in the majlis*[10]

The function for all religious chanting traditions of the ghazal is fundamentally similar: to serve the presentation of appropriate poetry so as to evoke religious emotion while also reinforcing religious solidarity among the listeners. (Because the *majlis* is far more central to Shi'a religious practice than the *milād* is to that of the Sunni, there is a definite '*majlis*-ideology' articulating the function of the performance genre, unlike the somewhat less clearly defined notions relating to the *milād*.) The emotion to be aroused in the *majlis* is intense grief over the tragedy of Karbala.

At the centre stands the *nauha*, melodically simple, having as its main characteristic the elongation of pitches on appropriate long syllables, especially at the end of a *misra'*; also, there is a preference for reciters with a lyrical, expressive 'soft' voice:

Fig. 2a: *Nauha* (Nāsir Jahāñ, ghazal by Āl-e Razā)

ši'r

B — Musā — firat meñ jise be-basī yeh dikhlā-ī

a — Nisā-rā kar diye bacce na bac sakā bhā-yī

The second hymn, the *salām*,[11] is a genre of artful melody, a dimension highlighted by the presence of a vocal drone and of raga-like melodic settings. The function of arousing grief is here taken over by the expressive resources of classical ragas, whereas vocal beauty, paramount in the simple *nauha*, loses its primary place in the functional scheme. At a subordinate functional level, this artful genre also articulates an élite character, an important component in the shaping of the Shi'a tradition in India.[12]
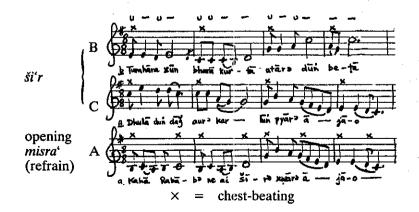
Fig. 2b: *Salām* (Sayyid Razī): opening *misra'*

A secondary function of articulating solidarity in mourning is served by the coordinated expression of grief: this takes the form of communal chest-beating which accompanies the third hymn genre, the *mātam*. Musically speaking, chest-beating amounts to sounding a regular pulse of forceful accents which imposes metric regularity on the poem being recited. While all other functional characteristics of arousing grief remain the same, this results in a more regulated rhythmic arrangement as well as a preference for melodic regularization in the form of motivic patterning.

The participation of the audience in the rhythmic pulse regulation reduces their receptivity to new textual content. Instead, in many *mātam* settings, regularity is formalized further, taking the shape of a recurring refrain between verses. Created from the opening line of the ghazal, this formal modification amounts to a distortion of the ghazal's structural integrity.[13] Significantly, it occurs in the *mātam* which serves a function (solidarity) not connected to the text in any direct way — in contrast to the *nauha* and *salām* where the music does articulate textual meaning at least in a general, thematic sense.

Fig. 2c: *Mātam* (Mrs Anwar Husain)

× = chest-beating

3) *Na't: the ghazal recited in the mīlād*

The emotion to be aroused through *na't-xwānī* is devotion. This function is served by enhancing the poem with attractive lyrical vocal quality (*xuš-gulūī*) and through only one strictly musical feature which is, however, not universally found in *na't* chanting: an emphasis on, or extension of high pitches within the contour of the melody, especially the *antarā* setting of the first *misra'* of each couplet. A further characteristic of the *na't* is melodic simplicity, and the absence of individuality in reciting style, both related to the need to cast over each ghazal a feeling of veneration and submission before the most exalted personage in Islam. The *bahr* in the following example is *muzāri'*:

Fig. 3: *Na't* (Mas'ūd Ahmad)

4) *Qavvālī: the ghazal sung in the mahfil-e samā'*[14]

A clearly articulated religious ideology permits the function of *qavvālī* to be identified as the presentation of poetry with the aim of arousing mystical love in listeners with diverse spiritual needs.

The most obvious musical features with a meaning specific to the function of *qavvālī* are those linked to emotional arousal: first and foremost the stress-intense musical metre — played on the loud *dholak* and reinforced by clapping. Sufis identify it with *zarb*, the heartbeat, which witnesses *zikr*, repeated invocations of God. This is the one purely musical feature that lacks any direct link with the ghazal text. Hence there is a concomitant need for a structural-acoustic means to keep the textual message dominant. Thus the music functions consistently to highlight both the formal and the rhythmic structure of the ghazal. As for the acoustic articulation of the words, group singing makes possible a high volume of vocal delivery and the continuity of the verbal utterance through responsory delivery, so that the drum is never heard without text.

The third functional requirement, to address an audience with diverse

and changing spiritual needs, calls for a musical structure that maintains continuity, yet allows for the isolation and manipulation of textual units, especially their repetition. The result is a segmentation, not only of the *ši'r* but even of an individual *misra'* into short text phrases which are then subjected to alternation, repetition, and even amplification through inserted verses (*girah*). However, according to traditional rules, each *misra'* of a *ši'r* must first be sung in its entirety and then linked together, so that the full message of the couplet is conveyed before its parts are subjected to manipulation.

Fig. 4: *Qavvālī* (Islām Ajmervāle)

x = clapping

5) *The ghazal art-song: the ghazal sung in the mahfil or mujrā*

The traditional context for the ghazal art-song is the *mahfil* or *mujrā*, a feudal salon concert which was ideally presented by a courtesan singer and her accompanists. Within this setting, the ghazal-song serves the performance of ghazal poetry in order to evoke sentiments of love in sophisticated patrons.

Here no less than in the chanted ghazal, the word dominates, despite the acoustically overwhelming presence of 'pure' music. Hence the musical setting must first and foremost reinforce the textual presentation, both structurally and acoustically, so as to give the textual message primacy. This purpose needs to be emphasized, for to achieve it is essential to being a good ghazal singer, as against being just a good singer. No less than the poet in the musha'ira, the ghazal-singer is sharing a poem with her — or his — listeners, but she is conveying it as a total acoustic experience, by means of music.[15]

Despite textual precedence, in the ghazal art-song music is also acknowledged as an artistic medium for imparting the poetic experience. In functional terms this takes place at two levels, one general, the other specific. At the general level, music serves to activate the mood of the poem by means of melody and also of rhythm. 'Mood' applies both to the sense of heightened emotion not specific to particular poetic content, and

to the particular emotional flavour conveyed by a poem in its opening verse or verses. (As an aside, it may be added that poems chosen for ghazal singing are often those whose individual verses revolve around a single thematic complex, typically that of unfulfilled love.) The musical resources employed to create the generalized mood of intensified emotion are the melodic resources of art music, in particular light ragas of amorous sentiment.

This comes to the fore even more strongly at the second, specific level of expressive function where music serves to intensify the impact of a particular line or text unit. Using raga-patterning to give expressive shape to individual melodic phrases is a purely musical procedure which the ghazal singer places in the service of poetic content. And since the symbolic-metaphoric idiom of the ghazal renders it particularly rich in multi-level meanings, a single verse line can be given various melodic interpretations to highlight different shades of textual meaning (see Fig. 5).

From this text-oriented expressive *musical* rendering emerges a second, *person*-oriented dimension of the function of music in the ghazal art-song which arises directly from the context of its performance. Through musical expression the singer creates a personal identification with the text message, making the text her own utterance, and conveying her own emotional response through melodic structuring of individual phrases as well as through visual expression, by facial miming and gestures. These very 'actions' — the term is used also in Urdu — help the audience interpret the musical expression of text content in a personal way. In addition, since the poem so often addresses, or refers to, a beloved 'other', and since the singer traditionally is female in a male audience, a second kind of identification naturally results in which the listener becomes the character of the beloved in a poem who is being addressed by its protagonist, the singer. This second identification becomes part of the dialogue the singer establishes with her patrons, not just collectively but individually — a special characteristic of the traditional ghazal-song performance.

Herein perhaps lies the musical essence of the ghazal art-song, where all its characteristic musical features get pulled together into a composite, yet unified musical communication, unified by the ghazal text. For what such a dialogue requires is first of all 'freedom of speech', the flexibility to articulate the poem musically with all its structural, acoustic and semantic nuances. Musically, this necessitates a structure akin to that of ghazal-chant as defined for the musha'ira, including also declamatory freedom. At the same time creating communication through the ghazal-song rests on the singer's ability to use musical resources in order to convey the mood and emotional content of the poem. An ongoing melodic character and rhythmic pace established for this purpose cannot be interrupted by declamatory needs; in other words there is a need for declamatory freedom as well as for musical continuity. This is where the true function

of instrumental accompaniment in the ghazal lies: to maintain the melodic integrity of the tune or raga requires both ongoing melody and, most of all, an ongoing articulation of the metric framework. A close examination of the way ghazal accompanists both support and fill the gaps between text utterances shows the functionality of their contribution to the enterprise.

Fig.5: Ghazal art-song (Begum Akhtar, ghazal by Shāz Tamkanat)[16]

6) *The recorded ghazal, sung for 'playback'*

The ghazal-song of the traditional *mahfil* is hardly alive today, because the institution itself has faded out, and because in the meantime a new performance context has developed for the ghazal, the 'playback' of recordings. After being in existence for several decades, the recorded ghazal comprises great musical variety, including adaptations of existing 'live' performance styles (from the *tarannum*-like ghazals of Muhammad Rafi', to the *mahfil*-like ghazals of Iqbāl Bāno and Malka Pukrāj). In turn, the popular recorded ghazal has begun to influence the music of the ghazal sung in traditional performance contexts.

Examining the function of music in the ghazal song recorded for 'playback' on gramophone or tape-recorder suggests that it is to arouse emotions of love, and of pleasure generally, in an anonymous audience whose attention and patronage need to be won.

Music in this genre continues to serve the poetry structurally, both as to form and metre. Acoustically too, it does so as far as enunciation goes, although the microphone has resulted in a changed vocal ideal, which is documented on recordings in the difference between the full-throated voices of early *mahfil* or *mujrā* singers to the effortless, soft, even

crooning voices of professional recording-artists singing ghazals. Another notable feature of structural adherence to the common standard of ghazal music, despite time constraints and entertainment needs, is the consistently slow pace of the singing, even where the demand for popular entertainment results in a fast-paced musical metre displayed prominently by the drum.

The music also continues to serve the function of expressing and evoking emotions contained in the text, but this is embedded in a more general purpose of creating a pleasant, memorable experience that induces re-listening and fame for the recording. Given the standard three-minute time-limit on traditional recordings, in addition to the diffuseness of place and of audience, there is a need to shorten the ghazal-text and to present a musical package, with a good memorable tune, often repeated as a refrain.

Fig. 6: Recorded ghazal (Mukesh)[17]

Ghazal poetry has generated a wide variety of musical performance genres, yet among all these a remarkable consistency obtains in the way poetic and musical structures are related. In both chanted and sung genres, music leaves intact, nay enhances and articulates, the poetic structure in its principal elements. This is obviously a cultural constant which even the recorded *filmī* ghazal is remarkably faithful to. At the most general level, then, there are certain features which are 'distinctive' to the ghazal vocal forms collectively.[18] The most distinctive of all these shared features is no doubt rhythm. Indeed, the amazing constancy and consistency of the rhythmic correlation between Urdu verse metres and North Indian musical rhythm leaves no doubt that the ghazal has considerably influenced the entire domain of light music.[19] In the realm of form, too, the correspondence between distinct tune-sections and verse-lines is significantly consistent. Acoustic articulation, finally, is distinctive in its adherence to the priorities of spoken declamation.

From the perspective of the poem, what all this amounts to is an aural enhancement of structural features — i.e. poetic constants — in the performed ghazal. This reinforcement of poetic constants facilitates the apprehension of the particulars of content, a process common to all ghazal performance genres. Considering now the distinctive features of individual performance idioms, their impact points to content rather than form. Content, less in the semantic than in the connotative sense, is directly invoked by melodic as well as rhythmic means, especially in the religious genres and in the ghazal art-song. In each idiom, however, such reference to content is associated with the function or purpose of the ghazal performance — in other words with the context in which the poetic content is to unfold its full meaning.

Because in performance content is inseparable from context, the relevance of the contextual dimension to the apprehension of poetic content is more easily recognized. Is it too bold to suggest here that to consider a written text as a blueprint for performance, with an implied context, might add to our understanding of the Urdu ghazal?

NOTES

[1] A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura del Pakistan* (Milano 1958), p. 52.

[2] For Ārzū Lakhnavī this is recorded in R. B. Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature* (Allahabad 1927), p. 95. However, this is not to deny the importance of literary publications, nor the influence of the Progressive movement which communicated almost exclusively through print.

[3] Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature* (London 1964), pp. 18 ff.

[4] The term 'musical' is applied here in the Western sense and therefore includes vocal genres which Indo-Muslim culture categorizes as 'recitation', as explained below.

[5] Ralph Russell, 'Some problems of the treatment of Urdu metre', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1960), pp. 48-58.

[6] *Mujtas* is one of the most widely used metres in ghazals. All but one example here have been chosen from settings of this *bahr* in order to facilitate comparison.

[7] For a detailed consideration of this genre see Regula Qureshi, 'Tarannum: the chanting of Urdu poetry' *Ethnomusicology*, 13, 3 (1969) pp. 425-454.

[8] Josh, famous for his outstandingly powerful *taht ul lafz* (spoken declamation) which he later practised exclusively, could nevertheless be persuaded in 1969 to demonstrate the *tarannum* he had himself used in his youth.

[9] *Maidān* of course also means a place of contest or battle, most appropriate for poets competing for approbation.

[10] For a detailed consideration of this genre see R. B. Qureshi, 'Islamic music in an Indian environment: the Shi'a Majlis', *Ethnomusicology*, 25, 1 (1981), pp. 41-71.

[11] Reference to the related form, the *soz*, is deliberately omitted here because its poetic forms differ from the ghazal, although in other respects *salām* and *soz* are quite similar.

[12] This status derives from the dominant role played in the development of Shi'a practice by the Avadh dynasty and other Shi'a ruling élites.

[13] This reveals a clearly discernible leaning toward Hindi song forms.

[14] For a detailed discussion of this genre see R. B. Qureshi, *Sufi music of India and Pakistan* (Cambridge 1986).

[15] As we know, originally this experience included the kinetic dimension, with the singer using dance and expressive mime as well. The *Gesamtkunstwerk* has a long history in India!

[16] Recording: ECSD 2776 (LP).

[17] Recording: TCCKDA 10003 (cassette).

[18] Since similar features extend also to other forms of Urdu poetry (all minor in comparison with the ghazal and closely related to it in poetic form, metre and idiom).

[19] Some Indian writers see this influence extended to classical music, cf. O. Gosvami, *The story of Indian music* (Bombay 1957).