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ANARCHISM: CHAOS OR PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT

MOHAMED SALAH HARZALLAH

SOUSSE, TUNISIA

ABSTRACT

This article attempts to show that anarchist thought radically transformed our understanding of not only politics but also the economy and society. Contrary to many anarchist thinkers, it revisits the theoretical foundation of anarchism while drawing upon a wide range of evidence showing that anti-statism could lead to chaos and disorder in societies. Accordingly, it tries to show that the anarchist dream of a society without a state is bound to be purely theoretical. Moreover, it challenges the anarchist ideological assumption that political, moral, economic, and social changes in societies could happen outside the scope of the state power structures. Though it outlines the inconsistencies of the anarchist thought, it defends the view that anarchism brought about positive changes in societies. The theoretical discussion of anarchist thought, its inconsistencies, and its role as a driver of progress and change is supported by examples of anarchist experiences from different countries.

KEY WORDS

Anarchism; Anti-statism; Violence; Arab Spring

We are all anarchists. Anarchism in its different forms seems to embrace all aspects of our life. There could be no real academic community without a rejection of the old or maybe a redefinition of all the accepted wisdom in society. Anarchist thought is also echoed in the public rejection of state control of citizens as it takes many forms such as public discontent about the government's policies, uprisings, revolutions, etc. Though philosophical anarchism is ideologically appealing, anarchism in practice is often associated with violence.

It is worth noting that there is a rich tradition of anarchist thought that includes major thinkers such as Michael Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Paul Goodman, Noam Chomsky, and others. The works of these thinkers are politically and morally

inspiring for those who advocate the replacement of the role of the state by voluntary forms of cooperation in society and the liberation of thought from old and worn out practices.

The major objective of anarchist thought is to challenge the established power relations and all forms of restrictions and authority in society. Anarchists dream of a stateless society in which human freedom is not limited by authority. Classical anarchists mainly focused on the challenge of the structures of power established by the state and its institutions. Anarchism emerged in the context of the debates of The International Workingmen's Association known as the First International which was founded in 1864. Radical members of the working class and thinkers actively debated major issues related to the status of the working class and workers' rights. The working-class movement included both anarchists and Marxists who struggled for the defense of the workers. However, the divergence of views between Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin resulted in the expulsion of Bakunin from the First International by Marx in 1872 at the Hague Congress. This led to the birth of anarchism as a distinctive movement.¹

Richard Falk states that there is a misunderstanding of anarchism today. Therefore, he makes a distinction between two perceptions of anarchism which are 'public' and 'academic'. According to Falk, the public wrongly understands anarchists as proponents of violence and chaos in society. He ascribes the negative public perception of anarchism to media which demonizes anarchist political thought and dismisses anarchists to mere "political romantics whose presence turns otherwise peaceful demonstrations into violent carnivals of anti-state behaviour, conveying the image of anarchists as radical activists with no serious policy agenda".² The 'academic' perception of anarchism, however, outlines the peaceful nature of anarchists whose role is inspirational and enriching to political thought.³ Despite the wide range of definitions provided by academics and activist anarchist writers, they seem to understand anarchism in positive terms while dismissing the popular perception of the anarchists' role as being equated with chaos.

There has been a recent scholarly interest in reviving the anarchist tradition as a desirable way of life. Some scholars combined their activism as anarchists with a contribution to the academic debate on anarchism. Uri Gordon, who is both an academic and an activist anarchist, defines anarchism in his book *Anarchy Alive!* as "a family of shared orientations to doing and talking about politics, and to living everyday life".⁴ He perceives anarchism as a comprehensive concept and a political action challenging all forms of hierarchy and domination. Apart from the resistance to the state, anarchism is manifested in art, music, dress, diet, and shared political language.⁵

Even though modern anarchist thinkers outline the virtues of anarchism, violence seems to represent an integral part of anarchist thought. Many anarchists including Peter Kropotkin outline the importance of revolutions in achieving social change. Their attitude reflects their disillusionment and disappointment with the performance of the state which is perceived as a symbol of oppression.⁶ During the anarchist congresses of 1879 and 1880, anarchist thinkers defended the use of violence as a method of propaganda and suggested the formation of secret societies to carry out acts of terror.⁷

The anarchist rejection of all forms of authority is reflected in the activism of its adherents who sometimes bring about chaos and disorder in society. The latter often embrace violence as a form of opposing the state's authority. The devices used by anarchists are similar to those used by terrorists. Anarchist activists used Molotov cocktail in their confrontations with the police in countries such as Canada and Greece. They also used fire-bombings against non-police targets. Moreover, they organised assassinations of police chiefs and key political officials in Europe and North-America.⁸ Among the groups that claimed responsibility for their terrorist attacks in Greece, we find the Gangs of Consciousness, Lonely Wolf, Wild Freedom, Instigators of Social Explosion, and Cell of Revenge. These groups have claimed responsibility for 527 arson and bomb attacks in 2012 and 254 attacks in the first half of 2013.⁹ In 2001, around 2500 anarchist protesters attempted to stop the meeting of EU leaders in Sweden. The vicinity of the summit witnessed a high scale of violence due to the clash between the Swedish police and the protesters who smashed the windows of shops and used the chairs of cafés for fighting.¹⁰

Instead of condemning violence among anarchist circles, modern anarchist thinkers draw a comparison between the scale of violence perpetrated by their activists and the one perpetrated by states. They argue that conflicts between states resulted in about one hundred million deaths in the twentieth-century while anarchist violence is very limited in its scope.¹¹ Therefore, violence does not seem to be ideologically objectionable. It is rather considered as a driving force of change. While anarchism embraces violence as a form of protest against mainstream society, it regards the state as a criminal institution as it forces individuals to submit to its authority.

The anarchist claims that popular self-organisation could efficiently undertake the functions of the state outside the confines of its bureaucratic procedures are somehow difficult to realize. Though anarchists claim that the challenge to the state authority could lead to a free society where individuals can enjoy different forms of self-management, the weakening of Arab states during the so-called Arab Spring led to the emergence of religious fundamentalism. Some Arab countries witnessed

bloody civil wars between different religious factions resulting in chaos. The absence of a real state authority and the bloody religious conflict in Syria led to a massive exodus and unprecedented levels of suffering inflicted upon the Syrian people. The Syrian case, undoubtedly, represents a real human tragedy the death toll of which is unprecedented. The UN Refugee Agency states on its website that 5.6 million Syrians fled Syria as refugees and 6.6 million have been displaced internally since the beginning of the conflict in 2011. It also states that 13.1 million people live in wretched conditions.¹² In Libya, the ousting of Kaddafi set in motion a process of violence that involved religious and non-religious antagonist groups. More importantly, how Kaddafi was removed from power was a barbaric event reflecting the people's thirst for blood and revenge. After being captured, Kaddafi was beaten to death and sodomised with a bayonet.¹³ Libya today is a country of disorder and violence. According to a recent report from the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the number of people in need of urgent help reached 823 000 in 2019.¹⁴

Tunisia has also witnessed the emergence of fundamentalist groups challenging the state authority while wanting to establish a society based on sectarian religious ethos. On 7 March 2016, there was an attempt to seize Ben Guerdane, a town on the southern border of the country, by a Salafist group paying allegiance to Al Qaida.¹⁵ Contrary to the utopian belief of anarchist thinkers, the absence of state authority brings about chaos.

Though antistatism is a source of chaos, the anarchist challenge of hegemony and hierarchy brings about a positive impact on society. Anarchism, for example, challenged the hegemonic order of many states such as Israel. During the period of the second Intifada, the Israeli anarchist movement opposed the building of the wall isolating the Palestinians. In 2003, anarchists founded a solidarity action called Anarchists Against the Wall to support the villages in the West Bank. Moreover, they took part in the Arab Jewish initiative Ta'ayush which sought to protect the rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories. In this context, many solidarity actions were organised to provide food to the people in the besieged towns. They were also actively involved in the defense of the Palestinian peaceful farmers from the Israeli settlers.¹⁶ On 28 August 2018, a group of anarchists in Greece climbed into the compound of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and left a bag in which they put pictures of murdered Gazans along with the Palestinian flag.¹⁷ Their action could be understood as a rejection of the energy and military cooperation between Greece and Israel. It also shows their sympathy with the plight of the Palestinians who were subject to the oppression of the Israeli state in the occupied territory.

Additionally, anarchism played an important role in defending the colonized subjects. Since its early days, it stood against imperial domination and the oppression of imperial forces. In his book *Statism and Anarchy* (1873), Michael Bakunin called for the abandonment of nationalism as he feared that a great Slavic empire would lead to the enslavement of the Slavic people. He also proved to be highly critical of what he called 'imperial Europe' which resulted in the enslavement of millions of Asians "Two-thirds of humanity, 800 million Asians asleep in their servitude will necessarily awaken and begin to move".¹⁸ Peter Kropotkin defended the right of the colonised nations to overthrow the authority of the imperial powers. He argued that the rejection of the hegemonic order of imperialism represented a fundamental step towards the implementation of anarchism. The Scots-Irish Margaret Noble, Kropotkin's friend, propagated Kropotkin's ideas among the Indian revolutionaries who resisted British imperialism.¹⁹

Anarchist thinkers have also criticised the neo-colonial forces which adopted the same strategy as the old colonial masters.²⁰ Countries such as the USA colonised parts of Africa and Asia. US colonialism today took a new form manifested by the rhetorical call for the extension of liberal democracy to developing countries such as Iraq, Syria, and Libya. Strangely, enough the word democracy is never mentioned in any of the constitutions of the different states of the USA.

It is worth noting that anarchism seems to share common principles with libertarianism which preaches anti-statism in different forms notably in the field of the economy. Many libertarian thinkers believe that people should not obey state authority and pay taxes. All forms of state intervention in the economy are seen as undesirable and ideologically objectionable. While some libertarians believe that the government is 'a criminal enterprise' because it imposes taxes on the people, they embrace a limited version of state interventionism allowing the state to be in charge of common defense, police, and courts.²¹

Anarchism questions the role of hierarchical institutions and social patterns and seeks to achieve radical transformations in societies. Because anarchists perceive inequality as a reflection of domination and hierarchy, they object to its different manifestations such as differences in income and wealth. Beth Hartung contends that "anarchism generically begins with the assumption that patterns of domination—including classism, racism, sexism, and heterosexism—can be traced to the hierarchical imposition of authority".²² The various forms of domination in society are the outcome of the institutionalised hierarchies. Economic exploitation, for example, is the result of the institutionalised hierarchies manifested by the domination of the owners of the means of production and the distribution of goods or the capitalists of the powerless majority in the economic system who are the

active producers of goods or the actual providers of services. Bakunin perceives the contractual relationship between the capitalists and the workers as being one of slavery.

And once the contract has been negotiated, the serfdom of the workers is doubly increased; or to put it better, before the contract has been negotiated, goaded by hunger, he is only potentially a serf; after it is negotiated he becomes a serf. Because what merchandise has he sold to his employer? It is his labour, his services, the productive forces of his body, mind, and spirit that are found in him and are inseparable from his person – it is therefore himself. From then on, the employer will watch over him, either directly or using overseers; every day during working hours and under controlled conditions, the employer will be the owner of his actions and movements.²³

Bakunin's statement shows the objection of anarchism to the capitalist power structures as the liberty of individuals is traded off for slavery in the labour market. Workers are forced to accept exploitation to meet their life necessities and those of their dependents. The objection to the hegemony of the economic elite was portrayed in the events of the Arab Spring in Tunisia. In 2011, a youth-led revolution objected to the costs of capitalism which widened the gap between the rich and the poor. Though nobody claimed to be anarchist during the events of 2011, the public reaction to the ruling political and economic class was marked by anarchist practices. The Tunisian revolutionaries mainly challenged the economic and political power structures that brought about severe inequalities in society. One of the major mottos which were used by the revolutionaries in most of the demonstrations was "the public wants to oust the regime".²⁴ The protests in Lebanon, which broke out in October 2019, also reflect the public rejection of the hegemonic nature of the corrupt political and economic elite. Hundreds of thousands of protesters swarmed the streets chanting "Give back the looted money". The unprecedented public demands challenging the political and economic elite of the country made Prime Minister Saad al-Hariri resign from office despite the reform package that he presented to the public. The nationwide protesters made radical political and economic demands to end corruption in politics and the economy.²⁵

Moreover, anarchists such as Emma Goldman consider individualism as being part of the ideological construct of the capitalist market and hegemonic democratic states. Instead of serving the interests of the individuals, individualism reinforces the hegemonic power structures in society "Rugged individualism has meant all the 'individualism' for the masters, while the people are regimented into a slave caste to serve a handful of self-seeking supermen".²⁶ Though Goldman critiques

individualism, she champions individuality as the essence of anarchist thought for she believes that individuals should question the values and norms of their own societies.

Contrary to most liberal democrats who defended the right of citizens to be treated on equal grounds in the field of politics, anarchists challenged the liberal democrats understanding of equality. They have provided an understanding of equality as being equated with social justice while outlining the social and economic impact of this understanding. The anarchist understanding of equality contrasts sharply with the principles of the French Revolution which guaranteed equal rights before the law for all the citizens regardless of their social class. Anarchists believe that the architects of the French Revolution failed to address material and social inequalities affecting people in society.²⁷ Therefore, they insist on the primacy of material equality among people over political rights which are seen as a reflection of the injustice of the state. In 2019, the Yellow Vests movement in France outlines the importance of social justice as the protesters' demands mainly focus on the improvement of the economic status of the poor class while urging the government to generate its revenues from the taxation of the rich. It represents a serious challenge to the hegemonic role of French President Emmanuel Macron and the members of his government who chose overtaxing the poor class to increase the wealth of the rich class.²⁸ Ironically, the anarchist promotion of social justice seems to recognize the role of the state as an agent of change to narrow gaps of inequality. Though the Yellow Vests challenge the hegemonic power structures of the political and economic elite, they recognise the role of the political institutions to undertake radical changes in society. The movement urges the French government to ensure a minimum income for all the employed and retired citizens. It also calls for the limitation of temporary and precarious jobs to end the exploitation of the working class.²⁹

Despite its objection to state authority, anarchism perceives the unrestricted freedom of capitalists as a system of domination, exploitation, and coercion. There have been many anti-capitalist demonstrations organised by anarchists in different parts of the world urging governments to end the capitalist system and protect the needy in society. The first major anti-globalisation and anti-capitalist action was the 'Battle for Seattle' which took place in November 1999. The main reason for the protest was to prevent the World Trade Organization meeting to negotiate new trade arrangements. Though the protesters came from different backgrounds including anarchism, they held a shared belief that the global hegemonic powers represented by both states and companies resulted in the degradation of human life manifested by the poor status of the environment, worsened living conditions

of people in the developing countries, inequality, injustice, etc. Due to the fact, the number of protesters was huge amounting to about 100000 people, serious confrontations took place with the police leading to the arrest of 500 protesters.³⁰

Central to class oppression in capitalist societies such as the one of the USA is the racialization and the stratification of peoples into superior and inferior races. Racism largely helped the expansion of capitalism. Instead of collaborating with the black working class to end all forms of capitalist oppression, white workers do not question the privileged class status that they are enjoying in the American capitalist system. In this regard, they contribute to further exploitation of the non-white races. The accumulation of capital through the exploitation of the black race is supported by the maintenance of the racial status quo. Black workers are paid low wages because they are relegated to a lower racial status. One of the black thinkers, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, argues that whiteness enables white workers to enjoy better racial status in society regardless of their wages.

It must be remembered that the white group of laborers, while they received a low wage, were compensated in part by a sort of public and psychological wage. They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white. They were admitted freely with all classes of white people to public functions, public parks, and the best schools. The police were drawn from their ranks, and the courts, dependent upon their votes, treated them with such leniency as to encourage lawlessness. Their vote selected public officials, and while this had a small effect upon the economic situation, it had a great effect upon their treatment and the deference shown them.³¹

Dubois' statement reflects the mood of the period which was marked by the predominance of racial inequality in American society. Despite the abolition of slavery in the 1860s, racism remained an integral part of American society. It was openly practiced as blacks were discriminated against in restaurants, public transport, schools, etc. Though significant steps were taken in the 1960s to end discrimination on different grounds such as race, gender, and religion, racism has survived up to the present day. A study undertaken in 2015 has shown that Arab Americans still suffer from discrimination in housing and workplaces.³² Moreover, ethnocentrism in Myanmar resulted in various forms of discrimination inflicted on the Rohingya. The poverty rates of the latter represented almost double of the national average. The outbreak of violence in 2017 forced the Rohingya outside the country and brought about the chaos which culminated in the mass murder and torture of thousands of people.³³

Anarchism contributed to the evolution and refinement of religious practices. It extended the rejection of state authority to a critique of the religious centralization

of authority. Anarchists questioned the role of the priests and the centralization of authority in the hands of an absolute supernatural master. Bakunin rejected not only the state's authority but also God as an absolute supernatural authority. He showed a vehement opposition to religious beliefs arguing that supernatural authority should be challenged by human beings. He also states that religion is a creation of the human mind.

All religions, with their gods, their demigods, and their prophets, their messiahs and their saints, were created by the credulous fancy of men who had not attained the full development and full possession of their faculties. Consequently, the religious heaven is nothing but a mirage in which man, exalted by ignorance and faith, discovers his image, but enlarged and reversed—that is, divinized. The history of religions, of the birth, grandeur, and decline of the gods who have succeeded one another in human belief, is nothing, therefore, but the development of the collective intelligence and conscience of mankind.³⁴

Bakunin's rejection of religion rests on a questionable understanding of the supernatural which is perceived as a source of inequality and injustice. His attitude reflects the long-standing radical tradition which opposes organised religion. In the nineteenth century, classic anarchist thinkers perceived religion as an obstacle to the liberation of humanity from the bonds of the church. According to Goldman, the church enslaved people and crippled progress and change in societies. The priests controlled the minds of people who falsely believed in the unknown supernatural master.

The Church is an organised institution that has always been a stumbling block to progress. Organised churchism has stripped religion of its naiveté and primitiveness. It has turned religion into a nightmare that oppresses the human soul and holds the mind in bondage kept them in fear of the unknown supernatural master.³⁵

Goldman's attitude must have been informed by the church's role notably the one in the middle ages when priests made the people pay money to guarantee a place in heaven. Undoubtedly, the church conspired with the monarchs over the people who were kept in ignorance and aloof from political power. The Roman Catholic Church's wealth and power derived from the enslavement of the people's minds.

According to anarchist thinkers such as Max Stirner and Saul Newman, morality is perceived as a form of domination. They argue that ethics should be understood and discussed in terms of singularities rather than commonly accepted abstractions imposed on the members of the social group. Therefore, they reject all forms of moral authority and advocate an individually defined morality. They believe that the

people who defy the moral codes of their societies should not be regarded as being immoral.³⁶ This suggests that new modes of social relations are to be established in society on voluntary self-accepted association rather than socially imposed bonds and obligations. In their rejection of moral authority, anarchists seek to enjoy moral freedom meeting the needs of the individuals rather than abiding by the rules of society.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Goldman called for a new social order without marriage. She was highly critical of the social norms preventing women from being free and active in society. The institution of marriage makes a parasite of woman, an absolute dependent. It incapacitates her for life's struggle, annihilates her social consciousness, paralyzes her imagination, and then imposes its gracious protection, which is, in reality, a snare, a travesty on human character.³⁷

Goldman's views represented a challenge to the commonly agreed social values and norms at the beginning of the twentieth century. The anarchists were among the first to call for the replacement of the institution of marriage by a free union. Though this form of relationship is a common practice in western societies today, Goldman's criticism of marriage represented a radical attitude by the standards of the time. It was a period when births outside marriage were associated with the stigma of illegitimacy. Goldman even reflected on love and sex in marriage and concluded that women should enjoy "free love" outside "the bondage" of marriage.³⁸

Goldman's ideas were further developed by twenty-first century anarchists who questioned the power structure of sexuality. Michelle Campbell argues that women should refuse to take part in the hegemonic order of patriarchy which is marked by women's subjugation in sexuality. Moreover, Breanne Fahs posits a critique of sexual liberation while arguing that women are still subject to sexual repression despite their sexual freedom. She contends that gender equality could only be achieved through asexuality as a lifestyle.³⁹ Undoubtedly, asexuality challenges the status of the partnered sexual relationship as being the primary form of establishing a society on family and kinship relations. It also provides other alternatives for understanding individuality. However, anarchist thinkers calling for asexuality as an extreme form of liberating women from the patriarchal order fail to recognise the natural human need for partnered sex whether in a free union or marriage. This raises questions on whether asexuality could be understood as a model of a choice of sexual orientation or probably a sign of health problems.

It is worth noting that after the 'Jasmin Revolution' or 'the Arab Spring', Tunisia has become the battleground of dissenting voices of anarchist thought. Anarchism oscillated between clear manifestations of chaos and violence in the early days of

the revolution and a fierce debate between the conservatives and the liberals over the extent and meaning of individuality. Left-wing activists and politicians sought radical changes in a society claiming more individual freedom.⁴⁰ The newly claimed rights fit very well in the context of the anarchist subject. They reflect the wish of the academia and human rights activists to limit the scope of the state's role and challenge the established ethos of domination in society. The long-held assumptions of the rightful behaviour in the Tunisian society seemed to be challenged by anarchist thought seeking more freedom for the human subject.

The Report of Individual Freedoms and Equality presented a set of radical demands reviewing the legislative framework and the religiously established values and norms to ensure full gender equality in Tunisia.⁴¹ Regardless of the attitude of the right-wing Islamist party, Ennahdha, and the various left-wing parties and political leaders, the new freedoms suggested by the members of the commission who drafted the report are in defiance of the long-held views and assumptions in society.

More importantly, the resentment to the Report of Individual Rights culminated in death threats to the members of the commission notably its leader. On 16 July 2018, Bochra Belhaj Hamida stated in an interview with the private radio station Mosaïque FM that the Islamic radicals known as takfirists wrongly misled the public opinion while urging the masses to punish her for her challenge of Islamic rules. Among the takfirist allegations, she stated, was the idea that there was a suggestion on banning the call for the prayers broadcast by mosques and the ritual of boys circumcision.⁴²

Central to anarchist thought and practice is the protection of the workers' rights. Michael Bakunin and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon believed that a class-based and self-managed society should be established as a substitute for the state's institutions. Bakunin, however, held a different perception from Proudhon regarding how the objective of the rejection of the state should be achieved. He called for a revolution led by radical unions to prepare for the implementation of a new social order. Unlike Marxism, anarchism seeks to replace the bourgeois class by self-management while annihilating the state. Marxism, however, seeks a class-based revolution to establish a state with expansive powers. It is worth noting that huge syndicalist unions such as the Spanish Regional Federation (1870), the United States's Central Labour Union (1884) and the *Mexican Congreso* defended anarchist ideas. Apart from fighting class inequality, syndicalists fought racism in their unions and promoted equality among the working class. In South Africa and Australia, syndicalists fought racist practices and laws.⁴³

Additionally, anarchism contributed to positive changes in education. Though anarchism posits a critique of the state and its hierarchal institutions, anarchists wanted to establish their own educational institutions. In her book *Anarchism and Education*, Judith Suissa finds that anarchists provide a confusing perception of education. While anarchism seeks anti-statism, it accepts the establishment of anarchist schools.⁴⁴ This, undoubtedly, shows that anarchism is not a coherent ideology as it is supported by disparate groups. Anarchists wanted to reform education by putting an end to the teacher-centered hierarchal institutions. They supported a wide range of educational experiments challenging the formal education of state schools.

On 8 September 1901, the radical anarchist Francisco Ferrer established the first anarchist school *The Escuela Moderna* in Barcelona in response to the dogmatic educational system dominated by the teachings of the Catholic Church. Ferrer also established the League for the Rational Education of Children. Contrary to the church's teachings and nationalist education, anarchists established a form of rational education in schools to provide children with cognitive skills. Unlike state schools, there were neither prizes nor punishments in the *Escuela Moderna*. Moreover, Ferrer neither included exams nor rigid timetables in the school. Pupils enjoyed a high degree of freedom regarding how they attended the teaching which focused on the practical aspect of education.⁴⁵ By our modern standards, the anarchist schools largely contributed to the personal development of the pupils as the teaching was not focused on theories.

This article has shown that the events of the so-called Arab Spring, marked by the weakening or absence of state authority, have proved the failure of anarchism to achieve peace in a stateless society. Contrary, to the claim of some anarchist thinkers, it has shown the validity of the Hobbesian thesis as far as human society is concerned. Though philosophical anarchism provides a valuable foundation for progressive thought in the 21st century is a time of great disillusionment with the political institutions, its argument for a peaceful society without a state seems to be difficult to achieve. Strangely enough, the anarchist challenge of capitalism and its sympathy for the plight of the needy in society requires the interference of the state. Such inconsistencies in the anarchist thought and practice seem to be justified as anarchism is not a monolithic ideology. More importantly, the article has outlined the extent to which anarchism brought about changes and pointed out the forms of injustice caused by the power structures in different fields such as the economy, society, race relations, religion, morality, gender, and education.

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MAKING OF THE INDO-ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL TRADITION IN THE UPPER GANGETIC VALLEY: MIGRATIONS, SETTLEMENTS, ADAPTATIONS AND 'CRISES'

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ABSTRACT

The region of Awadh evokes several memories of the pre-Turkish times to its becoming a major strategic headquarter during the thirteenth century a centre for the further eastward expansion of the armies of the Delhi Sultans. The twin cities of Kara and Manikpur with the massive forts at the confluence of the river Ganges became major military stations for the Sultans of Delhi in their eastward campaigns. Apart from the strategic importance of the region, it was also one of the three places to have been the seat of the *Shaikh-ul-Islam*, the two others being at the capital of the Sultans namely Delhi and Multan. A large number of migrant families from Central Asia, who came to Delhi after the Mongol devastation, too have moved towards this eastern region, making it an important 'cultural hub' for the intellectual traditions and orthodox Islamic learning. It was this region that was to become part of the *Sharqi* kingdom with its capital at Jaunpur, where no less a person than Farid (future Sher Shah Suri) got his education and training. It was due to the cultural and intellectual developments of the *Sharqi* period that the region acquired the reputation of being *Shiraz-i Hind* by the mid-seventeenth century when the classical period of the Mughal Empire was still at its zenith.

KEY WORDS

Shaikh-ul-Islam; dialect; Sharqi; Awadhi; Migration; Intellectual tradition

Within this region, a dialect of *Hindavi* known as Awadhi was in vogue, in which Kabir, the great monotheist composed his verses. Similarly, a number of poets, mainly belonging to the Chishti-Nizami Sufi order, had developed a literary genre of *Premakhyan*, in tune with the Persian *masnavi* tradition. It should also be added here that the famous poet Tulsidas composed his *Ramcharitmanas* later on, in the same tradition, by using the same meter like that of the famous epic *Padmavat* of Malik Muhammad Jaisi (d.1540). Hence, it could be asserted that for a variety of reasons, the region has acquired a distinct 'cultural personality' of its own. It emerged as a major centre for a variety of traditions: Buddhists, Brahminical, and Islamic. This tradition continued in the latter times as well, hence we find it as the centre for Shi'ism, of Wahhabis, the Sufis, and the Salafis.

MIGRATIONS AND MAKING OF THE INTELLECTUAL TRADITION

The making of the intellectual tradition of the Indian sub-continent owes much to the migration and settlement of the people from outside during medieval times. Initially, the Arab traders, merchants, theologians, scholars, and Sufis came to settle in the coastal regions M'abar, Sindh, and Multan. Following the havoc caused by the Mongol conquest of Central Asia and Iran, the city of Delhi became a place of asylum for the refugees fleeing from the cities devastated by the Mongols during the reign of Iltutmish (1210-36). The historian Mihaj-us Siraj Juzjani, who served as the chief Qazi during the reign of Iltutmish's son Muizuddin Bahram Shah (1240-42), very specifically says:

The kingdom of Hindustan, by the grace of Almighty God, and the favor of fortune under the shadow of the guardianship of the Shamsi race, and the shade of the protection of Iltutmish's dynasty became the focus of the people of Islam, and the orbit of the possessors of religion.¹

While Isami in the next century, in his *Futuhus-Salatin* says, that the Delhi Sultanate has become a 'miniature' of the Islamic east, a place of refuge for the scholars, theologians, craft persons, and everybody who was anybody, before the Mongol devastation. He says:

Many genuine Saiyids have arrived from Arabia, the traders of Khurasan, many learned men from Bukhara and numbers of Sufis and ascetics from every town and every race have gathered here. Scholars well versed in the Unani system (of medicine) have also arrived from Rum. These people have gathered in the city of Delhi like the moths gather around the candle.²

These people arriving from the various Central Asian cities and towns brought the elements of 'Islamic Culture' with them. Due to their presence in the city of Delhi and various parts of the Indian sub-continent, several *maktab* and *madrasa* were established in these towns and other centers to cater the need of the increasing Muslim population.³

The hundreds of migrant families settling in the small towns and important centers of the region, which later on came to be included in the Mughal *subas* of Awadh and Allahabad, were mainly those who had moved further from Delhi and its environs to the east. Most of these were from Central Asian towns and Khurasan. They further carried the elements of 'Islamic culture' to the small towns and the remote parts of the realm. At every such place, they now established a number of *maktabs* and *madrasa* to cater to the needs of the Muslim population. Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi, while writing about the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, very specifically says that:

In each town and region, where the forces of Islam have gained an upper hand and have become popular, *masajid*, *jam'at khana* and *khanaqah* were established and the capable people were appointed in the *maktabs* and the *madrasa* as the *mu'allim* and *muddarris*. In these institutions, the *umra'* and their sons and the sons of the soldiers acquired knowledge and busied themselves in the prayer and meditations. Those who could afford discharged their duties in the way of God. The institution so established trained the inmates for the emerging needs of the administration and the bureaucracy, the *Qazis* (judicial officers), the expert accountants, scribes and other state functionaries were the products of these institutions.⁴

At the same time and almost simultaneously a number of *Sufi* centers, representing various *silsilas* were also established in this region. Places like Dalmau, Kara-Manikpur, Sandila, Bilgram, Zafarabad, Sahali, Salon, Nasirabad, Khairabad, Laharpur, and Jais emerged as the major centers of Islamic intellectual life and *Sufi* tradition. An early incident suggests that the teaching-learning process was considered to be a noble and virtuous act as seen in one of the *majlis* of Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud (d. 1356) known as *Chiragh-e Delhi*. A *danishmand* from Sahali (in Awadh) had come to visit the Shaikh. The Shaikh recalled that the people at Sahali are pious and most of them have matrimonial alliances here and the women of that place are more pious than men, the Shaikh also inquired the *danishmand* about his profession.

On being told that he teaches the children, the Shaikh said:

This is a virtuous act, engagement with the sinless entities and engagement with the *Quran*. In addition, since you remained in the mosque, you are with ablution on for the entire day, it is a nice work and a good engagement.⁵

The students trained at these centers of learning were directly absorbed in the administration and given postings at the various places of the regime. They were assigned land grants, either instead of some services or for the maintenance of a certain institution. The well-known incident recorded in *Siyar-ul Auliya*, about the outburst of one of the class fellows of the famous *Chishti Sufi* Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (d.1325) also substantiates this point.⁶

The region had acquired a considerable reputation as the center of Islamic intellectual tradition as the places above named were the major centers providing the service gentry and the intellectual elite to the various provincial kingdoms and even to the Mughal Empire.

The strong intellectual and academic tradition of the region became quite proverbial and people nostalgically recalled it even after its heydays were over. Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami (d. 1761), while paying glowing tribute to the cultural life of the region, has said that "this eastern region since the olden days (*qadim-ulayyam*) has been the cradle of knowledge and center for the scholars (*Ma'adine ilmwa'ulema*)". According to him the Mughal *suba* of Awadh and Allahabad enjoyed special status as compared to other provinces of the empire in the sphere of intellectual activities. There were innumerable intellectual centers and numerous scholars, and that these two *suba* had "a major settlement of Muslim intellectual elite (*shurufa wa najaba*) at every 5 to 10 *kroh*". They had been well-provided by the earlier *salatin* with cash and *madaad e maash* grants.⁷ This had facilitated the establishment of mosques, *madrasas* and *khanqahs* all over the province, where the teachers of all disciplines were busy in the dissemination of knowledge. The students trained at these institutions went to other parts of the country and established and strengthened this intellectual tradition further. It is important to note that Azad Bilgrami specifically says that the well- provided section of the society took extra care of the requirements of these scholars and considered serving them an act of great benefit (*sa 'adat-e 'uzma*) for themselves.

Awadh had become so prominent during the time of Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (AD 1628-58) that he proudly referred to this region as *Shiraz-i Hind* (*purab shiraz-imamlakat-i ma ast*). However, the situation in this region had

undergone a drastic change, especially with the establishment of the rule of the Awadh Nawabs. The old educational establishments did not enjoy the same degree of patronage available to them during the earlier times. In fact, Azad Bilgrami criticizes the early two Nawabs, Sa'adat Khan (d.1739) and Safdarjung (d.1754), for resuming the cash and land grants (*wazaif o- suyurghalat*) 'of the old and new families'. As a result of this, he says, "the Muslim learning suffered very heavily in both Allahabad and Awadh provinces"; especially in the small towns and *qasbas* he has named above.⁸ This situation forced the people to abandon their scholarly pursuits and take up the army profession, a significant statement that establishes the invariable link between the classes of scholars with the army men throughout these periods. The two professions closely complemented each other in the expansion and the consolidation of the emerging power structure throughout this period. Consequently, the educational institutions of long-standing with strong scholarly tradition ceased to exist; and Azad Bilgrami laments that the intellectual tradition established in the Awadh region over centuries came to a sad end.

Bilgrami goes on to add that when Safdar Jung succeeded to the seat of Nawabi rule and got the additional charge of the *subadari* of Allahabad, the grantees of this *suba* too became victims of the policy of resumption. This grim situation continues until the time of the writing of Bilgrami's book (AD 1761). After Safdar Jung was appointed as the *wazir* of the Mughal Empire by Emperor Ahmad Shah (1748), the situation of the grantees further worsened. By way of an optimistic note, Azad adds that despite all the havoc inflicted on the grantees, the tradition of rational sciences (*m'aqulat*) continued to be patronized here in such a way that was not seen anywhere else in India. Some of the greatest scholars of the time continued teaching these subjects in some of these seminaries.

However, collaboration to the indictment of Azad Bilgrami has come from the writings of two English military officers, *Travels of the Lt. Col. Allen Macpherson and John Macpherson (between AD 1764-1787)*, while undertaking marches from Dinapur to Oudh (between December 1772 Oct. 1773). While on a military expedition, the author and his company had halted near the township of Bilgram on 30th May 1773. His observations about the township are worth recording:

This town (Bilgram) has been a very large one, and there are still the remains of an immense number of Brick Buildings. The place was famous for Persian and Arabic Academies and there are still some few. They were formerly supported by *Jaggers*, or pensions from the king, but Shuja ul Dowla has deprived them of everything of the kind, and the masters now live upon what they receive for educating children.⁹

However, it was precisely during this period that the famous seminary of Sunni orthodoxy, the house of Firangi Mahal had emerged as a major center of religious learning at Lucknow. Mullah Nizamuddin Mohammad (d. 1748), the third son of Mullah Qutbuddin took the family tradition to new heights and made it into a great center of learning. The credit of devising new syllabi for the *madrassa* graduates goes to him; it came to be known as *dars-e Nizami*, emphasizing *m'aqulat*. There was a reduced number of essential readings which lessened the burden on the pupil by prescribing only two primary texts on grammar, philosophy, *fiqh*, *kalam*, and exegetical sciences, while the new syllabi made only one text of *hadith* essential with little emphasis on literature.

The family was the recipient of the *madad e maash* grant since the time they were settled at *pargana* Sihali, where their predecessors Shaikh Hafiz Ullah along with Qazi Fatehullah were bestowed a land grant of 26 hundred *bighas* by Akbar in one of his earliest known *farmans* of 1st December 1559. While the family received the same imperial favors when they had shifted to Lucknow. Emperor Aurangzeb had granted a fresh grant of 112 *bighas* to Shaikh Nizamuddin and others on 22nd September 1696. A large number of the members of the other branches of the main family also freely accepted bureaucratic posting and served the empire with distinctions, mainly as judicial officers, namely as *Qazis* and *muftis*. It was only during the 18th century that we notice some wavering in the fortunes of the family, forcing Mullah Abdul Ali (d.1819), also known as *Behrul 'ulum* to shift his *madrassa* first to Shahjahanpur, then to Rampur then to Buhar (district Burdwan in West Bengal) and finally to Arcot, Tamil Nadu. However, it is worthwhile to note that despite Mullah Abd'ul Ali's exit from Lucknow, *Firangi Mahal* continued to be the main seat of the family tradition.¹⁰

Azad Bilgrami, who had to visit Mullah Nizamuddin on 19th *Zilhij*, A.H. 1148, remembers him as 'one of the most learned and pious person' and says that the scholars (*'ulema*) throughout Hindustan are mostly his pupil. Initially, he was initiated in the *Naqshbandi* order by Shaikh Ghulam Naqshband of Lucknow, but later on became the disciple of the Qadiri Shaikh, Saiyid Abdul Razzaq of Bansa (d. 1724), a Sufi order with which the family continued to maintain the spiritual linkages.¹¹

Thus, it becomes crystal clear that the making of the 'high elite' Muslim culture owes much to the migration in the Upper Gangetic Valley mainly after the Mongol devastation of Central Asia and Khurasan. This is not to say that the region had not witnessed migration before the rise of Chengiz Khan, but the fact that the mass

migration of the families of the notables and scholars had taken place after this great catastrophe is very significant for the development in this region. There are numerous local histories (compiled only in the 18th and 19th centuries) and the historical documents available in the Colonial records, tracing the saga of the migration of the families of various scholars and Sufis to most of the parts of Awadh and Northern India that invariably links their arrival in the regions of their settlement to this period only. At the end of this address, I have tried to trace the fortunes of a scholarly family, having strong mystic predilections based on the official records as well as the chronicles. It might open up a window to trace further the fortunes of such other families from this region. Undoubtedly, they have made use of the local dialects and the pre-existing rituals and traditions of the region in the most imaginative manner, so much so that some of these rituals were gradually incorporated as a part of the Sufi rituals, especially those of the Chishti, an order considered as one of the 'most Indianised Sufi orders'.

LINGUISTIC ADAPTATIONS AND ADJUSTMENT WITH PRE-EXISTING PRACTICES

After the establishment of the Turkish rule in parts of the Indian subcontinent, certain vital changes took place in the cultural life of the people. Some dialects were now spoken from Multan in the north to Gujarat in the west, down to the Deccan. These dialects were the major vehicle for the transmission of ideas, but they were yet to become full-fledged literary languages, as they had no formal recognised system of script/s. The Sufi intervention contributed to the development of these dialects into a literary language, especially during the 13th century, when Baba Farid (d. 1265), the famous Chishti Sufi, started writing poetry in Multani/Saraiki (which was later incorporated in the *Adi Granth* compiled by the fifth Sikh Guru namely Guru Arjan Dev). Similarly, Amir Khusrau (d. 1325) is also said to have written some compositions in the Awadhi dialect. Several Chishti-Nizami Sufi centers were established in various parts of the Indian Subcontinent; the Sufi masters at these centers were adopting local dialects and using Persian scripts to compile their writings and poetry.

A major exercise was undertaken by the Chishti Sufis in the area where Awadhi dialect was predominant. The genre of *premakhyan* in line with the Persian *Mathnavi* tradition was practiced and developed by these Sufi poets in the Awadhi dialect, mainly by those who were associated with the Chishti-Nizami tradition of *Sufis* in Awadh. The characters they have used in their poetic narrations are mainly those who were popular in the countryside and were remembered as the 'the heroes of certain caste groups'. This new genre was used to propagate the Islamic-

Sufic ideology in the local dialects. Perhaps, it is too obvious to point out that such tradition became extremely popular in the localities like Dalmau, where Mulla Daud (d.1370?) composed *Chandayan*, using Lorik and Chanda as the main characters of the story, while Malik Mohammad (d.1540) wrote *Padmavat* at Jais using Padmavati and Ratansen as the main protagonists of his narration. This tradition continued through out, with poets like Shah Qasim (d.1731) composed *Hans Jawahir* at Dariyabad, while Hafiz Najaf Ali Shah wrote *Prem Chingari* at Rewa in around 1860 AD.

The use of local dialects for the propagation of the *Sufi* ideas, as well as the singing of these compositions at the *sama' gatherings*, were often disapproved by non-Chishti Sufis and the Orthodoxy. An incident, attributed by Mulla Nizamuddin (d.1748), the founder of the house of Firangi Mahal to Shaikh Muhammadi (d.1696) confirms this opposition and plurality of views existing within the Sufi orders. Shaikh Muhammadi was a well-known *wujudi* scholar of his time and was ideologically associated with the famous Shaikh Muhibullah of Allahabad (d.1648).¹² Mulla Nizamuddin reports the matter as it was said to have been reported to Saiyid Abdul Razzaq of Bansa (d. 1724), the famous Qadiri Shaikh:

Once in the *khanaqah* of Shaikh Pir Muhammad of Salon (d.1687), *Sama* was in progress and compositions in *Hindvi* [Awadhi?] were being sung. Those present were in the state of ecstasy [*hal*]. Sheikh Muhammadi also reached there. When the *raqs* and the *wajd* of the Sufis was over, he stood up and recited a few *Quranic* verses in the best of accent, but it had no impact on any of those present; neither *raqs* nor *wajd* overcame them. [Observing this] Shaikh Muhammadi said;

It is strange that on listening to the Quran none became excited while the compositions in Hindvi, which contradict Quranic themes (emphasis mine), get you excited'. Upon hearing this, Saiyid Abdul Razzaq expressed his pleasure and approval of the conduct of Shaikh Muhammadi.¹³

While the original narrator of the story remains unnamed, it is highly unlikely for Shaikh Muhammadi, who himself was a *wujudi*, to have made such an incomparable comparison between the recitation of *Quranic* verses and Sufi Awadhi poetry when sung with instruments, for both were supposed to have a different impact on the audience. Hence, the reported incident *per se* becomes secondary. However, it is quite clear that a section of the literary elite was definitely against the use of *Hindavi* by the Chishti Sufis even for their own specific rituals.¹⁴

The adoption of particular customs, rituals and other prevalent practices by the Sufi institutions can be described as an ongoing process, especially at places where large landed properties were attached by the way of *waqf* or *madad-i mash*, more particularly in matters of succession and inheritance.¹⁵ Moreover, in the adoption of rituals and ceremonies observed during public gatherings and other solemn occasions, an eclectic attitude was generally displayed, for it was 'this sphere' that brought about a sense of belonging among the participants of such events. Such 'innovative flexibilities' were aimed at capturing the imagination of the masses and ensured sustained participation for a longer duration as well. The elaborate details of these rituals lent a 'sanctified halo' to them, while somehow, a punctual religiosity in their observance created an 'aura' around these ceremonies. Apart from the ceremony of *gagar*,¹⁶ another 'Indianised' ceremony which was very popular at the Chishti centers in northern Indian is the practice of *sandal*. It involves the pouring of sandalwood paste over the grave of the Shaikh whose death anniversary was being celebrated. Sandalwood is an important substance used by the Indian *yogis* and *sadhus* in their religious rituals and practices and its paste is believed to be a cooling agent. It is also used to relieve irritations and for other medicinal purposes. Such a practice was generally adopted by those *khanaqahs* which were situated in the midst of an overwhelming Hindu population.¹⁷

It should not be assumed that such 'innovative flexibilities' met the approval of the '*ulema*', whose disapproval ranged from mild criticism to an all-out denouncement, often bracketing them with *bid'at* (innovations in religion). But the orthodoxy never or seldom targeted the intrusion of local customs in matters of inheritance or succession of the landed properties, confining their attack to the 'external displays' popular among the masses. This was mainly because the class of '*ulema*' too was appealing to popular sentiments to win over the same constituency from the hold of the *Sufi* institutions. Their opposition to certain practices and rituals may not have been without some merit, but it is to the credit of the *Sufi* institutions that they could withstand such persistent onslaught from many quarters. The *Sufi* institutions neither thought of abandoning their allegedly 'un-Islamic' practices under the pressure of the orthodoxy nor retaining that part of their constituency which was certainly going over to the 'other side'. Here lies the crux of the matter: the Sufi institutions firmly believed that the rituals and rites at the elaborate ceremonial details adopted by them were representatives of their ideological commitment to the philosophy of *Wahdat-ul wujud*, rather than just expediency or catering to popular demand or sentiments.

Sama' had been one of the major issues of contention between the Sufis and the orthodoxy in India, ever since the days of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (d.1325). Neither had the orthodoxy reconciled itself to the very idea of *sama'* nor did the Chishti Sufis ever give up this practice. They have been using the compositions in the local dialects quite freely even *Vishnupads* were recited at the *khanaqah* of Shaikh Noor Qutb e Alam (d.1415), an important Chishti-Nizami *sufi* at Pandua in Bengal. This he carried on in spite of the objections of the orthodoxy, to which the Shaikh reportedly observed that when the '*Quran* has verses having a description of Nimrud and Fir'aun (Pharaoh) and they are recited with equal reverence, why anybody should object to the singing of the *Vishnupads* in my *khanaqah*?¹⁸

It was in the Pandua tradition of Chishti branch that another notable from Manikpur, Shaikh Husamuddin wal Haq (d.1470), the chief *Khalifa* of Shaikh Nur Qutb-e Alam emphatically argued that the earliest Sufi was Prophet Shish and Sufism as a creed existed since the time of the creation i.e. from the time of Hazrat Adam.¹⁹ This way he has predated the history of Sufism to that of Islam. Hence, by implication, he was trying to incorporate all the pre-existing traditions and idioms of the Indian sub-continent as legitimate expressions and forms of worship. Therefore, the Sufis whose creed predates the Islamic creed could become the inheritors and upholders of the earlier traditions of the Indian subcontinent as well without any condition. Thus, we find that Chishti Nizami branch in the Upper Gangetic valley, from Pandua (in modern West Bengal) to Awadh, has adopted most of these traditions as a part of the rituals and irrespective of the criticism by their contemporaries, they have carried with these traditions.²⁰

The study of the Indian scriptures and the literary works in Sanskrit was also undertaken at the Sufi centers, although we have no direct reference to this. Still, the interaction with the *yogis* and other holy men was a known fact. We have clear evidence that at the *jam'at khana* of famous *Chishti* Sufis namely Shaikh Baba Farid (d.1265) the *yogis* were very much present and they used to interact with no less a person than Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya himself. It is quite likely that the texts on Indian *yogic* tradition were also consulted by the Sufis, especially of the order of the *Shattaris*, established by Shaikh Ghaus of Gwalior, who has appropriated many *yogic* practices in his teachings. As is apparent from his *Jawahir- i Khamsa*, a text which describes the *yogic* practices in Persian and the manner in which the Sufis were supposed to practice them. Similarly, Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh's (d.1537) *Rushd Nama* and Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrami's (d.1608) *Hakayat-I Hindi* were the early attempts to present Indian classics in Sanskrit to the Persian knowing audience. Akbar must have laid the foundations of these translation projects by

sultans to an example through this translation bureau. For Akbar, *Mahabharata* was quite central; hence it is quite likely that the *Vaishnavite* face of Hinduism was more prominent at Akbar's court than the *Shaivaite*. Similarly, the *Upanishads* and the works of Shankaracharya were not represented at all. It was left to Dara Shikoh to add the *Upanishads* to the translated-Brahminical literature, through his Persian translation, *Sirre Akbar*.²¹

The inmates of the *khanaqah*/Sufi *jama'at khana*, in addition to their acquiring knowledge in the tenets of theology and higher discipline of 'Islamic Sciences', also acquired the knowledge of other religions/scriptures of the other religions and had some interest in the natural sciences as well. It is said that the founder of *Madariya* order Shaikh Badruddin Madar has memorized *Taurah* and *Ingil* (Old and New Testament) and has also learned *kimiya*, *simiya*, *himiya* and *rimiya* (Chemistry and other Natural Science?). In fact, it was said of him that he was the only person expert in so many branches of knowledge in his times.²²

THE INDO-ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL TRADITION IN THE AGE OF EMPIRE

Attempts have been made to understand the nature of the 'intellectual tradition' of Indian Islam. It has been suggested that with the 'establishment of the Delhi Sultanate (1206) what India received was post-Ghazalian Islam'. The Arabic corpus of Arabic-Greco philosophy and sciences became available to it; but with some exceptions notably in medicine, this heritage was under severe censor. It has also been suggested that Sultan Mohammad Bin Tughlaq (1325-1358) caused great annoyance by his patronage of philosophers; as 'these evil men, who were immersed in and addicted to the rationalist ideas (*m'aqulat*) installed the rational sciences within the heart of the Sultan, although it is the cause of one's losing faith in Orthodox Doctrine and the source of the subversions of the injunctions of the 1, 24000 prophets'.²³ Essentially, it is suggested that the classical scientific tradition was gradually disappearing; access to the original or translated Greek texts seems to have been at the decay. Al-Beruni (1030's) in his *Indica* has been able to cite numerous Greek texts (which Joseph Sachau has listed). While, Abul Fazl (1604), in spite of his anxiety to display his command over the wisdom received from the ancient could cite only three texts from the Classical and Theoretical writers. It appears that Abul Fazl was quite conscious of this marginalization of the classical intellectual tradition. His strictures on the contemporary situation are quite severe. For he says,

the blowing of the heavy wind of taqlid (tradition), and the dimming of the lamp of wisdom. Of old, the door of "how and

why” has been closed; and questioning and enquiry have been deemed fruitless and the act of a pagan (kufr).

Whatever one received from one’s father, teacher, kinsman, friend and neighbor were considered the wherewithal of Divine favor; and the holder of the contrary opinion was accused of heresy and impiety. Though some of the enlightened have tried a little to pursue a different path, yet they have followed the path of (correct) conduct no more than half-way.²⁴

Elsewhere, it has been argued that the scientific ideas and advances in the modern concepts were also available in the corpus of Persian-Arabic studies in a limited manner. We know that prior to Copernicus (1540 AD) who argued against Ptolemy for the movement of the earth around the sun) Amir Khusrau in *Ijaz-i Khusravi* asserts that ‘people move around the man in authority as the earth moves around the sun’ surely such notions might have been known to him through the Arabic Classics. Over the period, an engagement with the works of Indian classics (like the works of Amir Khusrau) had also become almost redundant: otherwise, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1998) would have never written the treatise on the notion of the stability of the earth and rotation of the sun (*Risala Qaul ul Matin dar Ibtal Harkat-e Zamin*). Although it must be noted that within two years, he had retracted from his argument by writing another treatise on the subject. It is quite obvious that by this time Classic scholarship even in Persian has become restricted and extremely limited.²⁵

It is crystal clear that the regions covered by the Mughal provinces of Awadh and Allahabad had numerous intellectual centers, imparting instructions in the rational and traditional sciences of the highest order. The scholars trained in these institutions could be found throughout the length and breadth of the Indian subcontinent. The contribution of some of these scholars in certain branches is readily admitted, as in the statements which acknowledge that but for the Indian ‘Ulema the study of sciences could have stopped at all.²⁶ In the period of the early Nawab Wazirs of the Awadh Kingdom (AD 1722-1775) and despite their ‘very harsh administrative measures’ against the ‘old establishments and centers of learning’ and resumption of the ‘cash and land grants’ (*wazaif-o-suyurghalat*), the study of rational sciences (*‘ilm m’aqulat*) flourished to the highest level. People still flocked Awadh for acquiring perfection in this branch of study. The Khairabadi School of logic occupied an important position throughout the 19th century.²⁷ The commentaries on the text of logic, especially by Mulla Mahmood Jaunpuri and Maulana Fazle Imam of Khairabad still retain their importance in the Indian *madrasa* system.

It goes without saying that the colonial administration, after the failure of the Uprising of 1857, adopted some atrociously harsh and negative measures against the class of the *ma'afi dars*; thus depriving the institutions of higher learning of their support base. It was a development, which ultimately resulted in the marginalization of the traditional Muslim intellectual elite, as well as the earlier institutions of learning. This single factor had the most devastating impact on the fortunes of the centers of knowledge and spelled a death knell of the Indo-Islamic intellectual tradition which had been flourishing for several centuries.

Some detailed area studies on this issue have yielded enough data to argue that these 'revenue grantees' were subjected to very harsh and arbitrary treatment by the administration of the East India Company, even before the Uprising of 1857. The example of the Bengal Presidency can be cited as a representative case study. The region had a large segment of the revenue grantees since the Mughal and Nizamat times. However, in the course of the proceedings of Inam Commission (AD 1828-1846), their fortunes dwindled to the extent that, to quote no less a person than W.W Hunter himself, "the entire class of theirs was not only reduced to paupers, the institutions of learning they maintained based on these grants were also deserted and destroyed with them". Hunter says:

lands held free by Musalmans or by Muhammadan foundations special courts were created, and during the next 18 years the whole province was overrun with informers, false witnesses, and stern pale faced Resumption Officials...' As a result this gigantic exercise 'an outlay of £ 800,000 upon resumption proceedings, additional revenue of £ 300,000 a year was permanently gained by the state... a large part...²⁸

The result of such policies was on the expected lines:

Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Musalmans which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants received its death blow. The scholastic classes of the Muhammadans emerged from the 18 years of harrying, absolutely ruined...

Similar data have emerged from the study of a Sufi *khanqah* from Awadh, where the *ma'afi* grants were treated in a manner that destroyed its public standing and made it an almost redundant institution during the two decades of the British rule. Such case studies can be multiplied by the detailed examination of the family papers and other records.²⁹ However; one feels that it is time to look beyond the

‘paradigms of colonial’ impact, which was indeed a major factor in the disruption of the ‘Indo-Islamic cultural world’.

The evolution of print culture and the development of Urdu journalism during the 19th century are well known developments. Such developments have been often hailed as a harbinger of modernism and leading to a horizontal spread of literacy and learning among the masses. Perhaps, it is a time to reassess this received wisdom, in the light of other developments which were also making their presence felt in the society along with the rise of ‘the print culture’. The rise of sectarian debates/controversies within Sunni Islam also emerged almost simultaneously. It was in addition to the already existing polarizing Shi’a Sunni divide amongst the Muslims. Perhaps, the easily available polemical literature in Urdu and other vernacular languages further sharpened and intensified these sectarian and even sub-sectarian divides. On one hand, the newly emerging controversies fragmented the sectarian identities, and on the other hand they also resulted in the decline of the rigors of the earlier textual tradition. These new challenges contributed to the decline of the earlier traditions, as well as to the marginalization of the earlier elite/elites. We can take up these issues for separate examinations.

No doubt, the printing technology, and the Urdu print culture have revolutionized the system of transmission of knowledge.³⁰ Now, a large section of the population was literate, but it was, as I have said earlier, was to a large extent a horizontal growth only. They were literate but not knowledgeable. They knew things at the general, peripheral level but were not interested in the in-depth intellectual debates associated with several of the subjects and around the primary texts of those subjects. The new trend of the translations of the standard texts and the consequent publications made the earlier collections, magnificent libraries of the manuscripts, etc. almost redundant. Now, the people were not interested in engaging with the texts by way of commentaries and glossaries; the translations eliminated this part of the study.

We can see this aspect differently as well. Over centuries, Arabic and Persian languages developed as the languages of serious intellectual discourse. They have developed and adopted terminologies to express rational, scientific, and other highly advanced concepts. The Urdu translations either adopted these terms without any explanations or have tried to offer poor equivalents. Suddenly there appeared a situation where there was a break with the past intellectual discourse.

Thus, the earlier intellectual heritage almost lost its importance over a period of time.³¹

THE 'CRISES' WITHIN THE SUNNITE ISLAM

The sectarian debates within the world of Sunni Islam especially during and after the moment of Saiyad Ahmad of Rae Bareilly (d. 1831) produced enormous polemical literature, which focused on the criticism of the 'others' or the 'perceived others' and started the discourse of '*bid'at* versus pristine/or pure Islam. The sectarian debates around this question occupied a large space in the landscape of Urdu print culture. Not only these debates, but also the oral debates (the traditional form of *munazira*) on these questions consumed the energies of the 'Sunni world of Islam'. This factor also resulted in the marginalization of the textual tradition and the earlier traditional learned elite. Now, the institutions of learning were being established on these polemical and sectarian lines. These new institutions were interested in producing the graduates subscribing to these narrow sectarian ideologies rather than independent scholars who specialized in the 'old textual tradition'.

It would be of some interest to us trace the important landmarks in the life of religious or scholarly activism of a major figure in the intellectual life of the region, namely Maulana Fazl-e Haq Khairabadi (d.1862). He was an ideologue and an important member of the Revolutionary Council of the rebels in the city of Delhi, during the Uprising of 1857. After the fall of Delhi in Sept.1857, he moved further eastwards to join the rebel forces. He was an eyewitness as well as a participant in many military events at Lucknow, Bareilly, and Shahjahanpur. He was arrested, put to trial, and finally transported to serve a life-term at the Andaman Islands (*saza-e habs-e dawam ba 'ubur dariya-e shor*). Maulana Khairabadi, besides being a representative of the 'Khairabad' school of logic had a chequered career involving teaching, polemics, debates, as well as serving the British at Delhi in various capacities before AD 1857. His stay in Delhi as the *sarishtadar* at the English Residency coincided with the activities of Maulavi Shah Ismail (d. 1831 at Balakot) whose controversial text *Taqwi'at ul Iman (The Strengthening of the Faith)* has created a fissure amongst the Sunni Muslims. By raising purely hypothetical and logical issues related to the Prophet, like that of the question of *Shifa 'at* (intercession by the Prophet on behalf of the sinful members of his community with God on the Day of Judgement) and *Imkan un Nazir* (the possibility of the creation of another Prophet by God), Shah Ismail has advanced the Wahhabi ideas of Abdul Wahhab of Najd (d. 1797) as well as of Taqi ud din Ahmad Ibn Taimiyya (d. AD

1328). These ideas were anathema for the Sunni Muslim followers of Hanafi *Fiqh*. Hence, these ideas were rebutted quite forcefully by scholars, among whom Khairabadi took a lead. His famous text on the issue was published in AH 1240/AD 1824 entitled *Tahqiq al Fatwa fi Abtal at Taghwa* which was published within eight months of the publication of Shah Ismail's controversial text. Khairabadi also wrote couplets in Arabic where he severely criticized all the arguments of Shah Ismail by describing him, as an 'illiterate and a blind follower of Najdi's ideology which led to 'dissensions within the community' and his movement for *jihad* against the Sikhs as a fight for 'amassing the war booty' and his followers as 'the people who were following the path of Satan'.³²

It is quite interesting to note that several leading contemporary poets like the famous poet Hakim Momin Khan Momin (d. 1851/2), the poet laureate Sheikh Ibrahim Zauq (d. 1854), and many others were sympathetic with Shah Ismail's movement and were highly critical of Khairabadi's criticism. Momin is well known for his *Jihadiya Masnawi* where, being a disciple of Syed Ahmed of Rae Bareilly, he has espoused the cause of *jihad*. He had also openly criticized Khairabadi for opposing the same. He says,

Gah junoo kehta hai Ishq ko; Gah kufr wa haram;

jehl karne kopade themere naseh ne ulum.

On occasions you describe love [jihad?] as madness, and also as heresy and forbidden; O Preacher! Have you acquired knowledge only to spread ignorance?

It has also been suggested that since Shah Ismail used to deliver sermons at the historic Jama' Mosque of Delhi, attended by thousands, were stopped for about two months by the English Resident at the behest of Khairabadi. And that when Shah Ismail was prevented from delivering sermons at Jama Mosque, an influential Punjabi Muslim businessman Maulavi Husain Baksh constructed a mosque and a *madrasa* in the same locality where he invited Shah Ismail to continue with his sermons. This institution remains an important centre of the *Ahl-e Hadis* ideology even in modern times.³³

Khairabadi is most remembered for his reading of the events during 1857-9, the causes of the failure and the atrocities committed by the British during and after the events. The account is in chaste Arabic prose, written in the most figurative style, and, hence, is often difficult to understand. The manuscript of this work: *Risala as Saurat al Hindiya* was written secretly and smuggled out of the Andamans by a fellow detainee Maulavi Inayat Ahmad of Kakori, who was freed

before the completion of his term as he had helped the jailor in translating a unique Arabic text. The manuscript was carefully preserved by the family and could not see the light of the day till 1947!³⁴ It is strange that such a unique text has remained most unnoticed in modern historiography, despite remaining one of few texts which provide an insight into the rebel's point of view.

The text talks about the incidents related to the life of the author. His description of his sufferings is revelatory-perhaps the only document of its kind. The account was written at a time when he was trying hard to secure his release. Apart from describing in detail his dejection, isolation, bitterness, suspicions, and sufferings, he makes an important point that since he is a scholar of religion and law and has firm faith in Islam, and because of his staunch and zealous defense of his faith, he has been made to suffer. In this way, the tyrant the British aimed at removing the traces of learning, destroying the banner of knowledge from the pages of paper.³⁵

Thus, the intellectual tradition established in the region, which survived through various social formations, political establishments, and various other pulls over centuries, ultimately met with its decline. The policies of the Colonial State over some time contributed largely to its decline, but the internal churnings and developments within the various Muslim sects, the hair-splitting theological debates aided by the new print culture and translations of the Classics in Urdu, made things much murkier. In making the things to reach such a stage, perhaps, everyone who was anyone has contributed his bid. All these factors contributed to the gradual decline of the learned tradition of this region.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Mihaj-us Siraj Juzjani, *Tabaqat-i- Nasiri Vol II*, ed. Abdul Haiy Habibi (Lahore: n.p, 1954), 642.
- ² Abdul Malik Isami, *The Futuh-us-Salatin or the Shahnama of Medieval India of Isami* (Delhi: Educational Press, 1938), 114-115.
- ³ The primary level schooling was invariably conducted in the numerous *maktabs* which were mostly organized inside the courtyard of a *masjid* or a Sufi *khanqah*. The practice of the *maktabs* had become so popular and well known that the specific terms and the practices used by the teachers there had entered the literature of the time especially in the lexicons prepared by the scholars. Hence, we notice certain teaching practices and terms in the following dictionaries. *Miftah ul Fuzala*, a lexicon prepared in A.D. (1468-69) describes the term *nau amuz* as a child who starts going to school. It also has an illustration of a teacher holding a thin rod sitting and instructing six children, two writing on wooden boards and one of whom is a girl. ff. 286a-286b. c.f. Irfan Habib, "Exploring Medieval Gender History," in *Recording the Progress of Indian History: Symposia Papers of the Indian History Congress, 1992-2010*, ed. Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2012), 263-275.
- ⁴ Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi, *Waq'iat Mushtaqi*, Add.11633, f.18.
- ⁵ Hamid Qalandar, "Khair-ul- Majalis," in *Majalis*, ed. K.A Nizami (Aligarh: n.p., 1959), 107.
- ⁶ On Seeing Shaikh (at some age of his youth) in tattered clothes, this class fellow reportedly exclaimed: Maulana Nizamuddin! What misfortune has befallen you? Had you adopted the teaching work at Delhi you would have become a leading scholar of the time with affluent circumstances'. To this taunt, his *pir* Shaikh Baba Farid(d.1265) advised him to reply with the following couplet,
Na hamrahi tu mara, rah-e kshesh girad baroo;
Tara sa'dat bada mara nagun saari
[You are not my companion, you follow a different path, get along;
May prosperity be your share, while misfortune is my share in life]
Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Life and Times of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya* (Dehli: Idara-I Adabiat Dilli, 1991), 42-43.
- ⁷ Often these grants are described as charitable grants. However, the official documents and the chronicles have never used the words/expressions, especially meant to describe/convey the sense for charity or for the charitable uses, while making these grants. The terms which are used to describe the charity in the Islamic literature, like *sadqah*, *khairat*, *fitrah*, or *zakat* have never been employed either in the Chronicles or in the Archival papers to describe the *madad-i mash* grants. Thus, to place *madad-i mash* under the category of 'charity' is inappropriate. Instead, common neutral terms like *Suyurghal*, *a'imma* and *madad-i mash* or *inam* and in the later period *ma'afi* is invariably used to

describe these grants in the official papers of Mughal and Nawabi periods. Such nomenclature is used invariably irrespective of the religious affiliation of the recipient unlike our modern Indian State which makes a distinction not only on the basis religious affiliation but also on the basis of sectarian affiliations c.f. Shireen Moosvi, "Charity, Objectives and Mechanism in Mughal India (16th and 17th Centuries)," *Indian History Congress* 73, (2012): 335-346.

- ⁸ Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgram, "Mathirul Kiram," in *Maktab'ithyaul ulum e Sharqiya*, ed. Shaikh Shams ul Haq (Lahore: n.p, 1971), 13-14.

This indictment of the policies of Awadh rulers was always dismissed as the figment of Azad Bilgrami's imagination and the examples of the House of Firangi Mahal and the family of Usmani *Qazis* of Bilgram were often cited as the example of the continuation of the land grant policies under the Nawab-Wazirs as well.

- ⁹ *Soldiering in India*, ed. William Charles Macpherson (London: n.p, 1928), 131. (I am thankful to Dr. Sabina Kazmi, of St. Stephens College, University of Delhi for letting me use this reference).

- ¹⁰ This *Madrasa e Jalalia* at Buhar, soon acquired fame far and wide, scholars and students started enrolling themselves at this seminary. We know for certain that the famous Chishti Sufi at Delhi Maulana Fakhruddin (A.H. 1199/1785 A.D.) was at this *madrasa* for about two years to study the texts like *Mussallam*, *Hashiya e qadim and Tafsir-e Baizawi* for which he could not find a person of the stature of *Bahrul Uloom* at Delhi. We are told that the entire expenditure of this *madrasa* and that of the library was met by of the revenue from the *Baees Hazari waqf*. Abdul Qaadir Rahmani, *Nur-e Mutlaq Sharah-e Kalimatul Haq*, trans. Syed Shah Abdul Rehman Mawhid Lucknawi (Delhi: Fine Offset Works, 2011).

While describing the various journeys of the author, the translator mentions these facts as Shah Abdur Rehman himself has benefitted from the scholarship of Shah Fakhruddin Dehlavi, c.f. 12-16)

For the details of the family traditions and their land grants during the 16th and 17th centuries c.f. Iqbal Husain, *Studies in Polity, Economy and Society of the Trans Gangetic Valley: 15th – 19th centuries* (Delhi: Primus, 2013), 43-62 and 103-121.

- ¹¹ C.f. Bilgrami, 212.

- ¹² Shaikh Mohammadi's fame is attributed to his courage in defending, in front of Emperor Aurangzeb, the allegedly controversial points from the famous book *Al-Taswiya*, authored by his Pir Shaikh Muhibullah of Allahabad.

- ¹³ Mulla Nizamuddin Ansari, *Manaqib-i Razzaqia* (Lucknow: n.p, 1313 AH), 14-15; Muhammad Raza Ansari, *Tazkira Hazrat Saiyid Saheb Banswi* (Lucknow: n.p, 1986), 70-71.

- ¹⁴ What is more relevant is the way in which it is used by Mulla Nizamuddin, the

biographer of Saiyid Abdul Razzaq, and later commentators on this namely Mulla Qiyamuddin Abdul Bari (d.1926) and Mufti Raza Ansari (d.1990). Irrespective of the fact that they themselves were initiated into the principle of *Qadiri* and *Naqshbandi* orders respectively, they have compared the *wajd* and *raqs* of Sufis to *tazwir* (simple lies) and *makr wa hila* (hypocrisy).

Also, c.f. "Religious Plurality in the Chishti Tradition: A Case Study of the *Khanqahat* Salon in Awadh," in *Religious Pluralism in South Asia and Europe*, eds. Jamal Malik and Helmut Reifeld (Oxford: University Press, 2005), 219-244. For the specific reference, c.f. 233-234.

¹⁵ *Rawaj-i a'am of pargana* Parshadeipur, *Tehsil* Salon, District Pratapgarh, included in the *Jild-i band wa bast-i awwal* (First volume of the Revenue Settlements) of 1860, recording among other things, the *Kayfiyyat-i abadi wa husul-i milkiyyat* (the details of the Settlement and the Acquisition of the Superior Land Rights).

¹⁶ Literary a small earthen pot, but when used technically, it involves going in to a procession from the *Khanqah* of a Sufi Shaikh to some nearby pond/river accompanied by the musicians and disciples. The participants carrying the empty *gagars* on their head and reciting the *fatiah* on water filled their *gagars* with the water. For further discussion on this practice and the way the orthodoxy had dubbed it as a *bid'at* (an innovation in the religion), c.f. "Religious Plurality in Chishti Tradition," 234-236.

¹⁷ For a discussion on this ritual c.f. Claudia Lebeskiend, *Piety on its Knees: Three Sufi Traditions in South Asia in Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 152-153.

¹⁸ Shaikh Mohammad Ikram, *Rud-i kauthar* (Delhi: n.p, 1991), 498.

¹⁹ Shaikh Husam-al Haque wa Din, in *Anis-ul'Ashiqin'* has discussed this question in four sections. Section one begins with such diverse issues as the origins of the creed of *tasawwuf*; the earliest Sufi with whom the concept of *khirqah* is associated; on the notion of *'ishq* (love) and the definition of *'ashiq*. Here, while taking a note of the different sayings, he shows a clear preference for the opinion that Prophet Shish happens to be the earliest Sufi. *Anis-ul'Ashiqin'*, Ms. ff 2a-4a, Subhan Ullah Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

²⁰ "Sufi Tradition and Popular literature: Chishti ideology, Awadhi dialect and local practices," in *Popular literature in pre- Modern Societies in South Asia*, eds. Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (Delhi: Pearson, 2008), 271-280.

²¹ M. Athar Ali, "Translations of Sanskrit Works at Akbar's Court," in *Akbar and His Age*, ed. Iqtidar Alam Khan (New Delhi: ICHR Monograph Series, 1999), 78.

It will be of some interest to point out that in spite of the fact that Islam as a religion was introduced in the Indian subcontinent since the time of its birth. But its only holy scripture, namely *Quran* was never translated into Sanskrit, either

full or in parts or any other Indian language. Similarly, there are fewer authentic quotations from the authoritative works of Islamic theology. It is only during the twentieth century that full translation of *Quran* in Hindi (Devanagari script) was done under the aegis of *Jamat-e Islami-e Hind* by one Maulana Muhammad Farooq Khan as late as in 1970's.

Similarly, one finds the text like *Satyarth Prakash* of the founder of Arya Swami Dayanand Saraswati, having chapters on Christianity and Islam as late as in 1862 AD. Besides being highly tenacious and provocative; these chapters are factually inaccurate as well.

²² Maksud Ahmad Khan, "Chroniclising the Miraculous: Hagiology in the *Mirat-i Madari*," *PIHC*, (1994): 304.

²³ Irfan Habib, "Reason and Science in Medieval India," in *Society and Ideology in India: Essays in Honor of Professor R.S Sharma*, ed. Dwijendra Narayan Jha (Dehli: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1996), 163-174.

²⁴ Irfan Habib, "Reason and Science," 165-6.

²⁵ Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, "Education and Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval India," *Intellectual Discourse* 20, no. 1 (2012): 31-55.

²⁶ The well-known Egyptian scholar from the famous seminary Al-Azhar, namely 'Allama Rashid Raza (d.1935), the editor of influential magazine *Al-Manar* had said about the hadith related studies that 'it has survived only due to the efforts of Indian 'Ulema. In fact, the contribution of Indian 'Ulema in this field has been duly acknowledged since the time when the eleventh century scholar Abdul Karim Sam'ani wrote his *Kitab ul Ansab*, where he has listed about seventy hadith scholars having *nisbah* from the Indian towns.

²⁷ Bilgrami, *Mathir ul Kiram*.

²⁸ W.W.Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen?* (London: Trübner and Company, 1871), 108-162. The fourth chapter of the book suggestively titled as "The Wrongs of the Muhammadans under British Rule" provides the graphic details of the administrative lapses of the British officials; the policies the British Govt. had adopted which ultimately resulted in the ruin of the Muslim elite in Bengal are discussed in a very loaded manner.

However, it should be added here that the data provided by Hunter was a huge embarrassment to the colonial authorities, who always tried to belittle the importance of this data. This trend of questioning Hunter continues with the modern European scholars, who keep on arguing that Hunter's writings should be examined in the light of 'adopting contemporary official caveats', but in spite of such 'caveats' the data provided by Hunter is too important to be ignored as reflect the actual measures and the impact of these measures on the overall fortunes of the erstwhile governing class and the educational institutions they

maintained. c.f. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 268.

²⁹ Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, *Awadh from Mughal to the Colonial Rule: Studies in the Anatomy of a Transformation* (Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2016).

³⁰ “....One may mention that, though counter intuitive, the introduction and growth of print technology had a negative impact on rationalism as well. Prior to the growth of this technology, Muslim scholars regularly wrote commentaries and glosses on various texts of the rationalist disciplines by hand and in the margins of manuscripts. This produced a diachronic and synchronic tradition of an internal dialectic with texts that was directly responsible for progress within a discipline. The introduction of print technology fundamentally changed the way one did scholarship in the context of the *madrasa*. There were no manuscripts and margins, no reproduction and living engagement with a tradition of argumentation”. See, Asad Q. Ahmed, “Islam’s invented Golden Age,” URL: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/openindia/asad-q-ahmed/islam> (accessed on March 3, 2020).

³¹ Mohammad Ayyub Qadiri, *Urdu Nasr ke Irtiqā me ‘Ulema Ka Hissa: (Northern India up to AD. 1857)* (Lahore: Idare Saqafate Islamia, 1988). In this important work of reference, the compiler has included the biographies of eighty ‘Ulema from the 19th century mostly from the Upper Gangetic valley and has recounted their translations of the classical religious studies and have also enumerated their numerous writings aimed at, either refuting the opponent’s religious beliefs or in criticism of the social practices which according to the respective authors of these works, were ‘innovations’ (*biddat*). These details open of the window for understanding the nature and the reach of the newly created polemical literature within Sunni Islam. Some of these writings have resulted into sharp rebuttals especially the Shias and the other Sunni Hanafi scholars. For the Shia point of view and their rebuttal of the Wahhabi Criticism on the Shi’a practices, See. Farooq Kazimi, *Fitna-e Wahabiyat*, Idarah Tehzeeb wa Adab (Lucknow: Maidan-e Ilich Khan, 1998)

It has been also argued that an important “factor for the decline in the rationalist disciplines was the growth of Urdu as the primary literary language among Muslims. Prior to this period, practically every single text in the rationalist sciences was written in Arabic (and sometimes in Persian). These two languages contained within them an advanced technical vocabulary that had developed over the longue duree of rationalist disciplines. With the loss of languages and the lack of systematic investment in translations into Urdu, the rigor of the rationalist disciplines was also compromised, since the technical baggage of the disciplines was lost with the language that carried it”. See Asad Q Ahmad, “Islam Invented.”

³² Khwaja Manzur Husain, *Tahrik-e Jadd o Jihad Bataur e Mauzu 'e Sukhan* (Lahore: National Book Foundation, 1978).

³³ For details see, *Ibid.*, 632. It is clear that the *jihadi* ideology propounded by Shah Ismail had opponents as well as proponents-a fact reflected in the indigenous literature prior to and during 1857.

³⁴ It is generally believed that a fellow prisoner of the Khairabadi Penal Settlement at Andaman, viz., Mufti Enayat Ahmad Kakorvi at the behest of his British jailor there had translated the difficult Arabic text of *Taqwim al Buldan* and provided the copious notes for him. Apparently, he was able to complete the task with the help of Khairabadi. The English jailor was pleased with him and had recommended his release in AH 1277/ AD 1862. While returning from Andaman, Mufti Enayat Ahmad Kakorvi took the notes of Khairabadi to hand them over to the latter's son, Maulana Abdul Haq Khairabadi. It was the son who edited the whole text and gave it its present shape. A number of copies were made and given to very close friends and students of Khairabadi. As per the testimony of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a copy of the same was sent to his father, Maulana Khairuddin by the editor at Mecca. That is how the manuscript of this volume has survived with the selected few who were in no position to make it public prior to 1947.

The Arabic text with its Urdu translation was published by Maulana Abdul Shahid Khan Sharwani (who has based his edition on the copy which was with Maulana Muinuddin Ajmeri [d. AH 1359]) with copious notes and a useful introduction as Baghi *Hindustan*, Bijnor, 1947. Since then, it has run into several revisions and editions.

Saiyid Muinul Haq has translated it into English with the help of (Maulana) Zikriya Mail as, 'The Story of the War of Independence 1857-58', in *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. V, Pt. I, January 1957, Karachi, 23-57. For the recent attempts to reconstruct his biography and assess his role during the rebellion see, Iqbal Husain, 'Fazl-e Haq of Khairabad: A Scholarly Rebel of 1857', *PIHC*, 48th Session, Goa University, Bambolim, Panajim, 1987, Delhi, 355-65; see also, Jamal Malik, "Letters, Prison Sketches and autobiographical literature: The case of Fazl-e Haqq Khairabadi in the Andaman Penal Colony," *IESHR* Vol. XLIII, (January-March 2006): 77-100. It is interesting to note that Jamal Malik has used Saiyid Muinul Haq's translation of *Risala as Saurat al Hindiya* throughout with no / few comments either on the manuscripts or about the history of the document as it has been traced by Shahid Khan Sharwani.

In 1961, Naadim Sitapuri raised doubts about the authenticity of the text penned by Khairabadi. Sitapuri's comments are mainly regarding the way in which Shahid Khan Sharwani has traced the history of the manuscript rather than on the manuscript itself. According to him, Sharwani has worked out the history of the manuscript

in a rather dramatic manner, which raises doubts about the veracity of the entire narration. See, *Ghalib Nam Awaram*, Lucknow, 1961.

While we know for certain that Kakorvi, the carrier of this manuscript has him written two books while in the Andamans (and these books are still acknowledged as important contributions in their respective fields). In all probability there was no restriction on the writing and it appears that stationery was available to the prisoners. Hence, the very understanding that it was written by 'charcoal on pieces of paper and cloth' has little basis. Moreover, a bare reading of the text reveals stringent comments and harsh descriptions of the atrocities of the British and the character of the Britons—a fact which belies the suggestion that it was ever edited or toned down by his son to avoid the suspicions of the British government. For a detailed discussion on the academic contribution of the prisoners of 1857 in Andaman and Nicobar see an important chapter by Ayub Qadri, *Jung-e Azaadi 1857: Waqiat aur Shakhshiyat* (Karachi: Pakistan Academy, 1976), 429-461. For discussion on Khairabadi and Naadim Sitapuri see, *Ibid.*, 437-48.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

AKBAR'S QUEST FOR UNION OF COMMUNITIES IN HINDUSTAN

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ABSTRACT

This research paper gives a comprehensive appraisal of the aims and the themes of the movie *Jodhaa-Akbar* (2008). A historical and romantic movie *Jodhaa-Akbar* was directed and produced in India by Ashutosh Gowariker, released on 15 February 2008. This paper aims at proving that Akbar, the sixteenth century Emperor of Hindustan, was remarkably successful in his political motives, and all his steps in politics, administration, culture, and religious fields are justifiable by his policy of *Sulh-I-Kul* (to keep peace with everyone). In trying to prove the above thesis statement, this paper juxtaposes Akbar's system of governance described in primary and secondary sources with that propounded by Ashutosh Gowariker in the movie *Jodhaa-Akbar*. In addition to this, withal throwing light on the twentieth century Two-Nation Theory, it aims to highlight the differences between the sixteenth century pluralistic idea of nationalism based on Akbar's concept of *Sulh-I-Kul* (to keep peace with everyone to bring together different communities) and the twentieth century idea of nationalism based on Two-Nation Theory.

KEY WORDS

Jodha-Akbar; *Sulh-I-Kul*; Two Nation Theory; Nationalism; Pluralism

This research paper gives a comprehensive appraisal of the aims and the themes of the movie *Jodhaa-Akbar* (2008). A historical and romantic movie *Jodhaa-Akbar* was directed and produced in India by Ashutosh Gowariker, released on 15 February 2008. Gowariker has created the movie in the context of the enlightened system of governance and radical religious tolerance policy of the sixteenth-century emperor of India who is historically named as Jalal-ud-din-Muhammad Akbar.

This research paper aims at proving that Akbar, the sixteenth century Emperor of Hindustan, was remarkably successful in his political motives, and all his steps in politics, administration, culture, and religious fields are justifiable by his policy of *Sulh-I-Kul* (to keep peace with everyone). In trying to prove the above thesis statement, this paper juxtaposes Akbar's system of governance described in primary and secondary sources with that propounded by Ashutosh Gowariker in the movie *Jodhaa-Akbar*. System of governance simply means 'the action and manner of governing a state'. So, all the policies of Mughal Emperor Akbar related to his pluralistic way of administration are briefly scrutinized in this piece of paper.

In addition to this, withal throwing light on the twentieth century Two-Nation Theory, it aims to highlight the differences between the sixteenth-century pluralistic idea of nationalism based on Akbar's concept of *Sulh-I-Kul* (to keep peace with everyone to bring together different communities) and the twentieth-century idea of nationalism based on Two-Nation Theory. Side by side, it evaluates the alliances of the Mughal Empire with Rajput states and the relation of Pakistan and India after 1947 on the Bogardus scale of social distance. Moreover, it deeply discusses the Two-Nation theory of Quaid-i-Azam in light of the various definition of nationalism.

There exists a heap of academic studies on the life of Emperor Akbar as well as on the different aspects of his era. Similarly, a lot of research work has been done on different features of the Pakistan Movement. Few academic research works on these topics have been mentioned here. The most descriptive and primary work on Akbar is *Ain-i-Akbari*; it is an unconventional history of the sixteenth-century reign of Akbar the Great of the Mughal Dynasty. *Ain-i-Akbari* is the third volume of a much larger Persian document, the *Akbar Nama* composed by Abu Fazl.¹ Akbar the Great Mogul, 1542–1605 is a biography written by Vincent Arthur Smith this book traces Akbar's ancestry and early years; his accession to the throne and his regency under Bayram Khan; his many conquests. His book devotes considerable attention to Akbar's religious beliefs and interests. He disclosed that on several occasions Akbar requested that the Portuguese authorities in Goa send priests to his court to

teach him about Christianity, and the book recounts the stories of the three Jesuit missions organised in response to these requests. By origin a Sunni Muslim, Akbar also sought to learn from Shi'ite scholars, Sufi mystics, and Hindus, Jains, and Parsis.² Andre Wink, in his fascinating biography, "Akbar" (2009) has described glimpses of the great personality of Jalal-ud-din-Muhammad Akbar and his life, whilst analyzing both his role in the history of the Indo-Muslim world and his legacy as an institution builder. This lucid study also contrasts his reign with those of his nomadic predecessors.³ Sunita Chaudhry has mentioned different factors behind Akbar's liberal religious policy in her research paper "Evolution of Akbar's Religious Policy". She has divided Akbar's religious policy into three phases: first from 1556-1575, the second from 1578-1581; and the third from 1582-1605.⁴ Dr. Rukhsana Iftikhar in her work "Genesis of Indian Culture: Akbar Quest for Unity in a Traditional Society" describes that cultural synthesis avoids conflict in a traditional society like India whilst spotlighting Akbar's attitude towards unifying Indian culture.⁵ Delany Meyers in her studies, "Akbar the Great: Pluralism, Stability, and Power", has highlighted the pluralistic approach of Akbar towards all state affairs.⁶ Tanmay Kulsherestha has described that Akbar has a passionate love for philosophical discussions and spiritual quest. He has argued that all of Akbar's religious policies were initiated to gain popularity from the masses, both Hindus as well as Muslims. He has widely discussed that it was one of his notions of *Sulh-I-Kul* (to keep peace among different communities) that gained mass popularity instantly only based on religious reforms and need not introduce several other reforms relating to revenue, military, diplomacy, etc.⁷ Humphrey Milford in his work, "The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J On his Journey to the Court of Akbar, has described Akbar's quest for truth and construction of a common religious-spiritual platform as "Akbar's Eclecticism".⁸

On the other hand, K.K Aziz in his book, *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism*, has devoted a whole chapter to the two-nation theory put forwarded by Quaid-e-Azam in the twentieth century. He is of the view that, "it was the Jinnah, who, for the first time, proclaimed that India was inhabited by two distinct nations, Hindus and Muslims which couldn't live in one state".⁹ Abdul Majid, Abdul Hamid, and Zahida Habib in their research paper entitled "Genesis of the Two Nations Theory and the Quaid-e-Azam" have mentioned that "Integration of Hindus and Muslims was inconceivable, even the Mughal emperor Akbar's effort to unify both the Hindus and Muslims into a single nation had miserably failed. They were of the view that Muslims were in a state of agony at the hands of Hindus and the British as well".¹⁰ Jawaharlal Nehru in his book, *The Discovery of India*, has commented that, "Two close systems, each of them has its strong roots, could develop a healthy

relationship".¹¹ He simply means that interaction among Muslims and Hindus can pave the way to flourish Hindustani Culture. Khalid bin Sayeed in his book, "The formative Phase of Pakistan" has quoted Aurobindo Ghose's view from the editorial *Bande Mataram*, to unleash the animosity between Hindus and Muslims in the twentieth century, i.e., "the groundwork of what may well be called the composite culture of India is undoubtedly Hindu. Though the present Indian nationality is composed of many races and the present Indian culture of more than one world civilization, yet it must be admitted that the Hindu forms its bases and center.... And the type of spirituality that it seeks to develop is essentially Hindu".¹² The above all aspects of researches and many others that are going to be discussed later, the ongoing research paper will discuss the different plural approaches of Muslim Emperor Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar that made him successful in his political motives. It also compares ideas of sixteenth century Muslims' emperor Akbar with twentieth century Muslims' leader Quaid-e-Azam towards nationalism. It is also going to explore the differences between the system of governance based on Akbar's policy of *Sulh-I-Kul* and Jinnah's policy of two-nation theory.

Before going further, it is necessary to highlight the aim of the movie, *Jodhaa-Akbar*. As the relations between India and Pakistan were at the brink of nuclear war after the 2001 Indian parliament attack, the 2007 Samjhauta Express bombings and the 2008 Mumbai attacks carried out by Pakistani militants resulted in a severe blow to the ongoing India-Pakistan peace talks. By depicting the love story of Jodhaa and Akbar with supporting ideas like; promoting a religiously tolerant society, overseeing cultural boom, and consolidating Hindustan with mercy contributed to mitigate the negative emotions between India and Pakistan. By choosing the tale of the emperor Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar and a Hindu-Muslim love story, Mr. Gowariker gave a clear point or described the main aim of the story in Akbar's words in the movie, as he said: "Respect for each other's religion will enrich Hindustan".¹³ In the words of Edwards and Garrett: "Akbar has proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. He was a born leader of men and could rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history".¹⁴

The main themes of the movie *Jodhaa-Akbar* include battles for consolidating Hindustan, forging a political alliance with Hindu Rajputs of Amer, and slowly evolving love relationship between the Mughal emperor Akbar who is a Sufi Muslim (a devotee of Khawaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti) and the Hindu princess Jodhaa, who loves singing devotional songs to the playful Krishna and wants religious freedom after marriage. These two royal characters are played by astonishing actors Hrithik

Roshan and Aishwarya Rai Bachchan respectively. In *Jodhaa-Akbar*, all these themes are portrayed in a sugar-coated way depicting the merciful and tolerant behaviour of Akbar. In addition to the political and religious aspects, of *Jodhaa Akbar*, this movie is also a great asset of making one aware of Mughal's and Rajput's culture and traditions. All these aspects of the movie are discussed below with necessary details.

Jodhaa-Akbar tried to convey very important political strategies of governance of sixteenth-century emperor based on *Sulh-I-Kul* (to keep peace with everyone) to bring together different communities of sixteenth century Hindustan. Firstly, in *Jodhaa-Akbar*, Mughal Emperor Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad's political and religious alliance with Hindu Rajputs by marrying Rajput Princess Jodhaa is depicted as Akbar's first step towards the unification of Indian communities. Sunita Chaudhry has justified that first of all, "Akbar marriage with the daughter of Raja Biharimal of Amer (Jaipur, Rajasthan) played an important role in the evolution of Akbar's religious policy".¹⁵ Dr. K. M. Aggarwal is right when he says in this connection that this marriage was a significant event in medieval Indian History. It led to a firm alliance between the Mughals and the Rajputs as it started an epoch of harmony and goodwill".¹⁶ Akbar gave full religious freedom to the Rajput princess; this step played a significant role in eradicating the enmity between Muslims and Rajputs to a great extent. Akbar gave the title of *Maryum-u-Zamni* to the princess of Amer. Raja Kalyan Mal of Bikaner also offered his niece to Akbar. Later on, he accepted the proposal of the daughter of Rawal Hai Rai of Jaislmer.¹⁷ Akbar indeed married Rajput princesses for political alliances but neither of her wives was named Jodhaa. The daughter of Udai Singh of Mawar was Jodhaa and she was the wife of Akbar's son Salim and not Akbar.

Secondly, Gowariker has shown in the *Jodhaa-Akbar* that Emperor Akbar won the hearts of his people by listening close to their hearts. At one point, he travels in disguise to the bazaar to hear for himself what his subjects are saying, giving them the respect of his deep listening and empathy. Sunita Chaudhry in her work, "Evolution of Akbar's Religious Policy", has described that Akbar abolished the pilgrim tax (1563) and Jaziya tax when he got to know about the sufferings of different communities. This step contributed a lot to bringing harmony between the Hindus and Muslims.¹⁸ As in the movie it has shown that different communities gave Jalal-ud-din; the title of Akbar on knowing that he has Herculean's heart for all people of the Sub-continent.

Thirdly, Ashutosh Gowariker has tried to portray the character of Akbar, as a strong personality, who does not get pressurised into taking any kind of decision and always does whatever he felt is right. In the movie, there is a scene when Akbar

negated Bairam Khan from beheading the accused chief by saying: "A king in captivity is at our mercy, He should be forgiven, not beheaded! He continued: I want mercy to be shown to the prisoners of the war". Though Bairam Khan was a too important part of the Empire's administration Akbar did not care when he came in his way to full his policy of justice for all. According to Sunita Chaudhry, there was a complete ban on making prisoners of war as slaves since 1562. This idea was also a part of Akbar's religious policy based on *Sulh-I-Kul*. As Akbar ordered that prisoners should be treated humanely and should not be compelled to change their religion, it saved Hinduism from mass conversion and won Hindus on his side.

In another scene, when ulemas were talking about moving the Hindu princess out of the fort and negated the idea of constructing a mandir in the palace, Akbar, on hearing Radha singing song left the discussion with ulemas. He answered the Ulemas that he is independent in taking his decisions and left the Diwan-i-Aam and moved to Jodhaa's room. As Tanmay Kulshrestha in his paper "Akbar's religious policy" has described that when Akbar's belief in the orthodox Sunni Ulemas, who were holding predominant positions in state politics, was shaken. He at once removed the *waiz* (the head priest) of the Jami Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri. He mounted himself as a pulpit, read the *khutba* in his own name. It led to the proclamation of Akbar in his capacity as the just monarch, the *imam-i-adil* (supreme interpreter of Islamic law) in September 1579.¹⁹ The ulema fumed with anger against Akbar and started accusing Akbar of having assumed the role of the prophet. Abul Fazl refutes the charge by saying that his theory of divine rights of kingship should not be considered as playing the prophet.²⁰ These events show Akbar's independence in taking decisions.

Furthermore, the Akbar in the movie *Jodhaa-Akbar* is very much concerned with managing administrative structure properly, crushing the rebellions at once, and minimizing the blood-shedding. There are scenes in the movie where Akbar punished Adham Khan (his brother) to death for killing innocent, sent away his wet nurse Maham Angha for convicting Jodhaa & fought with his brother in law because of his rebellion. Sunita Chaudhry has described that Akbar's justice was the same for all. He never considered anyone superior on the basis of religion. All that mattered to him was loyalty to the king and Empire. He started giving higher posts based on merits irrespective of religion and ideology.²¹ For example, Raja Todar Mall (finance minister) and Raja Mann Singh (C-in-C) of the Mughal army both were Hindus.²² This step of Akbar hindered the inhuman practices and also showed his respect towards other religions.

Now, after comparing Akbar's personality depicted in the movie with the one described by historians then it is easy to conclude that Ashutosh Gowariker has

tried to portray a true picture of Akbar the Great in *Jodhaa Akbar*. On comparing all these qualities of a sixteenth-century ruler and the present political environment, political capabilities, and system of governance of our rulers, we will get to know that none of these are present in twentieth and 21st-century rulers. Let just take the example of Muslim representative Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in his speech at Lucknow on 15 October 1937, said that, "The majority community has clearly shown that Hindustan is for the Hindus".²³ Later, in 1947 two countries were created based on religion and language. Moreover, if we just consider the present political policies of Modi government, the BJP and RSS are into following Hinduvata agenda which means, "India is only for Hindus and the remaining Indian, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs are second class citizens who must embrace Hindu culture in order to earn the right to live in India". According to Arundhati Roy, The RSS compares the Muslims of India with the Jews of Germany believing the Muslims have no place in Hindu India. She notes that BJP leaders repeatedly cast Muslims as "treacherous permanent outsiders, whose only place is graveyard or Pakistan". Moreover, Christopher Jafferlot is of the view that, "Hindu nationalists see themselves as the true sons of the soil, whereas they view Muslims and Christians as products of bloody foreign invasions".²⁴ We can say that the twentieth or 21st-century nationalism of India and Pakistan is truly based on religion and far away from the concept of religious plurality. If Muslims got declared as outsiders in India then in Pakistan we have seen the implementation of allegations on Mandir construction in Islamabad and vandalizing of Buddha statue in Mardan district of Taxila. From the above-mentioned facts, we can realize how much the system of governance of recent century rulers is different from those of sixteenth-century rulers.

In addition to the above discussion, in *Jodhaa-Akbar*, the way Mughal Emperor has defined nationalism in the sixteenth century is far different from the definition of nationalism in the twentieth century. Ashutosh Gowariker has shown in the film that Akbar adopted the policy of religious syncretism, perceiving people from all religions as equals and he considered the whole Hindustanis as a nation regardless of religion, colour, caste, and creed. On the other hand, in the twentieth century, throughout the Pakistan movement, the two-nation theory was put forwarded and Hindu and Muslims were considered two nations based on a difference between religion and language.

The modern phenomenon of defining a nation is way more specific to religion. Though, Quaid-e-Azam was not the first to call Muslims of India a 'nation'. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan has already addressed Muslims of India as a *quam*. The Aga Khan, Ameer Ali, and others referred to their community as 'a nation' or a 'nationality'.

But Quaid-e-Azam was the first who, for the first time, gave the clearest and emphatic exposition of the theory. He said, "Hinduism and Islam represented two distinct and separate civilizations and were distinct from one another in origin, tradition, and manner of life as were the different European nations". He added, "In India, there was a major and a minor nation".²⁵ We can also understand this through a letter from Quaid-e-Azam to Allama Iqbal on 21 June 1937, in which he wrote: "Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as a nation entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are".²⁶ Khalid bin Syed has described Sir Abdur Rahim's view about nationalism in his book, "any of us Indian Muslims traveling for instance in Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, and Turks, would at once be made at home and would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow-townsmen lives".²⁷ In short, above all quotations acknowledged that Akbar, like Asoka, was making an effort to patronize common features of all religions and create a unique culture and a unified nation.²⁸ On the other hand, in the twentieth century, Jinnah and other leaders were trying to declare Muslims as a separate nation on basis of religion and culture.

There are few shortcomings of the two-nation theory as well. By analysing deeply the ideology of the two-nation theory, Khalid bin Sayeed has mentioned in his book that; initially, it was a game of minority vs majority. When Muslim politicians found that it is not possible to get power or they always have to suffer because of the Hindu majority, they put forward their agenda of a separate state based on the two-nation theory which invokes the centrality of the religion. Through Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities" we can see that how at once after 1857, it was inculcated inside the minds of Muslims that they are a separate nation and two separate nations cannot live together in a combined territory.²⁹ Anil Seal complete denial about the present nationalism in India put the historians in a difficult position when they get to know that it was all game of power and every nationalist leader such as Nehru, Quaid-i-Azam, etc. was struggling to secure their interests.³⁰ On the other hand, Shareef-ul-Mujahid and Hafiz Malik justify the two-nation theory of Quaid-i-Azam.³¹ Hindus and Muslims were very different since always and they always lived like two separate nations in the subcontinent.

Ashraf Raja has debated that the cultural domain of Hindus and Muslims is overlapping and resistance started in the political domain.³² So, different writers have their points of view with undeniable illustrations. Muslims' demand for a

separate state on basis of the two-nation theory is responsible for the brutal massacre of millions in 1947. As the Muslim league was putting an agenda of two-nation theory to get separate state so, when Hindus and Sikhs counterattacked Muslims with the same agenda to divide Punjab and Bengal as they cannot live together with Muslims in combined provinces, it brought chaos at a mass level. As Wayne Wilcox summed up the discussion that there is a clash of ideologies of Pakistan. Before 1947 Muslims were demanding a separate state on the basis that they are separate enough from Hindus to live together. After 1947, Quaid-i-Azam talked about the rights of minorities and to keep peace with them. So, the nation got confused that to whom they fought to get separate state now we have to give them rights and protection. Pakistan's ideology always remained confused between the religious and secular binaries and each group contested in the post-colonial Pakistan.

If we evaluate the alliance of the Mughal Empire with Rajput's state of Amer on the Bogardus scale of the social distance then we can conclude that the Mughal Empire was closely tied with Amer state. In contrary to these, if we evaluate the relation of Pakistan and India after 1947 on the Bogardus scale of social distance, then it is alarming to conclude that both nations hardly bear having any kind of relationship with each other.

If we will talk about the cultural features of this movie, then it is one of the masterpieces in terms of spectacular scenery, colorful costumes, and enchanting music. Though almost all the scenes of the movie *Jodhaa Akbar* are depicting culture in one or other way but keeping in mind few culturally enriched scenes from the movie like the wedding of Akbar and Jodhaa according to both Hindu and Muslim traditions. Akbar and his courtiers were seen enchanting with the *kalaam* of Sheikh Muinuddin Chishti after the marriage ceremony. Kulshrestha has described that Akbar, in his childhood, came in contact with Sufism, and from 1562, for eighteen long years, he made the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Sheikh Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer.³³ This shows Akbar's quest for religion and truth that ultimately resulted in the construction of *Ibadatkhana* at Fatehpur Sikri.

There is another culturally enriched scene i.e. the entry of Jodhaa in Mughal palace after marriage and her first meeting with Hamida Bano Begum (Akbar's mother) and Maham Angha (Akbar's wet nurse and minister in Mughal court). Few traditional acts were performed at that point in the movie like: posting red handprints on the wall, throwing rice, etc. Ain-Akbari has given a complete description of a new style of dresses that were designed in Akbar's era. Rukhsana Iftikhar in her book, "Indian Feminism" has described that the political and cultural activities of Mughal women were able to accomplish things because they had

money and the resources. She has described that Indian women have to face miseries and problems concerning their social class structure and religion.

The movie *Jodhaa-Akbar* shows Akbar's interest in fighting with Elephant that impressed Rajput's king too. Abu Fazl has described in *Ain-i-Akbari* that there were one hundred and one elephants for the use of majesty.³⁴ This fact justifies Akbar's love for elephant fighting in the movie. Other scenes include Jodhaa singing songs whilst worshipping God Krishna and Akbar respectfully came undone his shoes (before entering her place of worship) and put vermilion on Jodhaa's face. Abu Fazal has described that "Akbar believed that it was wrong to kill cows, which the Hindu worship; he looked upon cow dung as pure, interdicted the use of beef".³⁵ So, these facts clarify his respect for other religions.

Moreover, Gowariker showed in the movie that Jodhaa prepared Rajput food for her husband and Akbar fixed a day in the week for Rajputi's meal. Abu Fazl has elaborated that "Majesty abstained from eating meat sometimes on Friday and sometimes on Sundays".³⁶ So, it can be true that Akbar was into having Rajputi food on specific days. Akbar's visit to Rajput Palace for bringing back Jodhaa is also a cultural depicting scene in the movie where Akbar has seen obeying his father-in-law by accepting him to put vermilion and also respecting his mother-in-law's order that "He must find his bride among women of the palace if he succeeds he gets to stay in his wife's chamber and if he fails he has to sleep under the open sky". This scene depicts the difference between the dress codes of Muslim and Rajput (Hindus). Muslims are wearing white dresses whilst Hindus dresses seem quite colorful. Also, we can see Hindu palace girls wearing saris with their faces fully covered. The whole palace can be seen giving standing obligation on the arrival of Akbar in Palace.

All these scenes depict the sharp difference between the dresses of Hindus (Rajputs) and Muslims (Mughals). Netta Lulla was chosen for designing clothes for the movie characters. After researching enough, she chose old, brown, and beige colored clothes with Zardozi and Kundan types of embroidery for Mughals. She chose yellow, orange, and red-coloured clothes with schematic designs for Rajputs. Apart from these, the dresses of courtiers and the Sufi song singers, the wet-nurses, and the rebellious people under Mughals are designed according to their codified functions in the movie. Additionally, in *Jodhaa-Akbar*, the Hindu women are covering their facades and chest with their head-covers in contrary to these Muslim women are only covering their heads with their dupattas and the difference between headcovers (topis or caps) of Hindu and Muslim men can also be traced.

Jodhaa-Akbar is a source of portraying various traditions and customs like putting vermilion to wife, Ottoman's style of dancing on Sufi songs, the custom of

finding bride among women of the palace. Anyhow, the film is not only filled with frames of beautiful palaces and sceneries, cultural artifacts, and idealized physical environment but also bounced along to a memorable score by A. R. Rahman. (Khawaja meray Khawaja). In the movie, this song has depicted the Sufistic personality of Emperor Akbar, who whilst listening to this song stood in pleasure and being to whirl like other Sufi dancers. Among other songs of the movie *Jodhaa Akbar*, such as “*Azeem-O-Shaan Shahanshah*” on which masses paid tributes to Akbar after he won their heart by abolishing pilgrim tax, etc. the way it is choreographed with different types of dances, which is also enchanting and fills the viewer with pleasure. Also, it has deep lyrics:

Tera mazhab hai joh mohabbat
Your religion is love
Kitne dilon par Teri hukumat
You have conquered so many hearts
Jitna kahe hum utna kam hai
As much as we say for you, it's less
Tehzeebon ka tu sangam hai
You are like the union of etiquettes

These lyrics explain the whole personality and character of Emperor Akbar. *Jodhaa-Akbar* is a magnificent piece of cultural depiction. Ashutosh Gowariker has presented that Akbar used cultural tools to meet political ends. Rukhsana Iftikhar, in her work, ‘Genesis of Indian Culture: Akbar quest for unity in a traditional society’, has described that, ‘Akbar tried to combine every aspect of different communities i.e., he put efforts to relate social norms, customs, traditions, religions, languages, food and arts, literature, painting, and calligraphy of different communities present in sixteenth century India.’³⁷ Among all his efforts to unite communities, the most important and remarkable one is the construction of *Ibadat khana* – the house of worship at Fatehpur Sikri. Where he invited the religious scholars of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Islam. The outcome of these meetings was *Din-i-ilahi*, which was introduced at the beginning of 1582. It was not a new religion, nor did Akbar attempt to play the prophet. His real objective was to unite the people of his empire into an integrated national community by providing a common religious-cum spiritual platform for the meeting ground.³⁸ Abul Fazal has not mentioned *Din-i-ilahi* in Akbar-Nama. Instead, he has mentioned other titles for *din-i-illahi*, namely *muridi* (disciple), *ikhlas-i-chahargana* (order of four), and *tauhid-i-illahi*.³⁹ He ended the religious conflicts by homogenizing different ideas of all religions. In the words of Akbar himself: “My son, I love my own religion... but the Hindu minister also loves his religion. If he

wants to spend money on his religion, what right do I have to prevent him... Does he not have the right to love the thing that is his very own?"⁴⁰ His own words are a clear depiction of his tolerance and respect for other religions through the movie as well as from the literature review.

CONCLUSION

Akbar was remarkably successful in all his political, religious, and cultural motives. His great Empire stood on three pillars; first, he introduced different pluralistic reforms and implemented them wisely. Second, he created balance in bureaucracy by introducing merit base selection and ending the trend of religious and ideological biases in process of selection. Third, he never trusted anyone; though it was his bitter enemy on the other side he never liked blood-shedding. Well, all these pillars of his empire are a true visual depiction of his *Sulh-I-Kul* (peace with everyone) policy. His successful establishment of a pluralistic Indian nation & empire and implementation of *Sulh-I-Kul* policy in sixteenth century Hindustan (home of various cultures) is the best example for the rulers of later Centuries.

Though his policies were best at his times, we cannot criticize the two-nation theory of Jinnah on basis of his policies and system of administration. As in historiography, we historians always consider the theory of time and space. As we all know that extremism has always destroyed societies now and again in the subcontinent. Keeping in view the circumstances after 1857, Jinnah's theory of two-nations seems quite suitable to some extent. Hindus were into taking advantage of being in majority and trying to suppress Muslims in every walk of life. So, at that crucial time, Jinnah's policy was a blessing for the Muslims of the Sub-continent. Even now in 2020, Jinnah's efforts seem more admirable, when we as independent citizens of Pakistan hear about Modi implementing anti-Muslim policies in India.

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ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF BRITISH COLONIAL INDIA (1857-1947): A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

This research article focuses on the historiography which was written between 1857 and 1947 with a focus on the British administrative techniques in India. It also indicates how colonial historians interpret the rule of the British on the Indian territories. Moreover, to give a balanced view both British and Indian historians are included in this research work. This work is helpful to understand the working of various administrative departments including the judiciary and public works under the supervision of British governmental officials after the transfer of rule directly to the Crown in 1858 as the result of the Royal Proclamation. This research article will be helpful to the readers to get familiar with the histories produced by colonial historians such as G. Anderson, Maridas Ruthnaswamy, and William Wilson Hunter in a chronological pattern. Moreover, it also argues that the histories which were written at that time were also used in educational institutions so that the Indians cannot only become aware of the British administrative structure, in which they were now expected to increasingly participate, but also with the western concepts that played a pivotal role for the British rule.

KEY WORDS

Historiography; Colonial Historians; Colonial Historiography; Administrative History

This work introduces the different points of view of the historians studied in this research article. As the result of the Royal Proclamation which was sent to India in 1858, the rule was shifted to the British Crown from East India Company. Afterward, this transfer of rule, the prime interest of historians was to study the transitions in the structure of the British Empire. A second motive behind the

formulation of these multiple histories of the empire was to impart particular views concerning the British Empire among the readers, especially Indians. This was partly to provide specific kinds of information to Indians, particularly regarding the working of administrative departments, as it was expected that they (Indians) would also be able to take part in the activities of the government. That is the reason why most of these works were even taught in educational institutions too. This meant that there was a particular focus on the administrative history of particular departments, as it was expected that Indians would increasingly be employed in such jobs.

Historians such as G. Anderson and M.R. Palande have also tried to achieve this task for general readers giving them a detailed representation of the picture regarding both the ideologies and administrative methods of British rule during their management of Indian lands. Last but not the least, an effort is made by all of these historians to use all the possible sources regarding the rule of the British Empire so that even a minute amount of information cannot be missed. This reflected the increasing attention paid to 'original sources' and statistical data in later nineteenth-century history writing, and the use of British information gathering in India in the writing of histories of empire. The most important example of this is of J.W. Kaye, whose work, *Correspondence Regarding the Comparative Merits: British and Native Administration India* (1868) included the letters written between various administrators who were appointed by the British government to manage India.

J.W. Kaye (British Military Historian) in his work has explained the history of British rule by drawing a comparison between the administration of Indians and British in India. He had also attempted to show why the subjects under the British administration are more prosperous and happier as compared to the subjects of Indian states, thus attempting to justify British rule in India.¹ Kaye formulated his work by collecting the letters from the administrators who were responsible for managing Indian affairs to the British governmental officials interpreting the situation of India. Kaye through this historiographical analysis wanted to make his readers aware, irrespective of their backgrounds, of the conversations made at the official level between the agents of the government to formulate the policies regarding the administration of the state. As mentioned earlier, through the use of comparative methods Kaye managed to portray 'native' rulers and administrations in a negative light, which he contrasted with what he saw as the positive strengths of British administrations. Although it is important here to note that Kaye did not

mention any specific rulers like Mughals or any other race. He made a general criticism of all of the Indian rulers and their administration. Throughout his work, it appears that the Indian administration was much loosely bounded. In other words, it is sluggish and fragile as compared to British administrative techniques.² The prime reason behind this was that the Indian rulers are sluggish in the sense that they only look after their own will while according to Kaye British rule gives much more dignity and respect to its subjects.³

Kaye makes his work more convincing by using data from the statistical records of revenue and population concerning both Indian and British administrated areas.⁴ According to him due to improved socio-economic and prosperous conditions of British administrated areas the subjects under it are happier and increasing their numbers at a fast pace. Kaye has also explained the difficulties faced by the British administration at some points when the masses consider them a foreign race governing their lands.⁵ This fact was highlighted by Kaye through the letter of Sir D. F. Macleod which was written to the Under Secretary to the Government of India.⁶ According to Macleod's analysis when the British administration tried to make laws without consulting the emotions and preferences of Indians their rule faced resistance by them. To tackle this problem Macleod has also suggested a solution that the British administrators must respect the feelings of the Indian population and try to win their trust/confidence through using our logic.

Bowmanjee C. Cowasjee in his work *On British Administration in India: Consisting of Various Events and Innovations* (1876) had addressed the history of British administration as a subject worthy of attention for all readers irrespective of their backgrounds.⁷ He was of the view that the sphere of administration under the role of the British is important because of the introduction of a definite mechanism through which the working capabilities of institutions were enhanced. The writer traced the historical roots of the British Empire in the east. According to him, the British were an alien race in India and the presence of British on Indian territories was a relatively recent phenomenon. The writer remarks that through the aid of the comparison between Indian and British administration made in his work he wanted to highlight a clear as well as concise picture through which he can be able to narrate the history of British (administrative) rule at India avoiding any paradoxical

facts. Moreover, Cowasjee attributes the success of the British administration despite it being a completely alien power in India is because of the strict supervision on India along with the introduction of certain reforms in different realms of the British administration of India. The most important reform includes the restructuring of the judicature that according to him played an important role to solve the conflicts among the masses.⁸ Besides this, the writer has also explained the strengths of his particular work by saying that he has mentioned most noted periods in a chronological format which according to him will be important to catch the attention of readers at a fast pace.⁹ Last but not least the writer says that the history produced under his supervision will play a vivid role to make people aware of things regarding British administrative strategies that were never made public.

J. Talboys Wheeler (Bureaucrat and Historian) opens his discussion in his work *India under British Rule* (1886) regarding British India by explaining the writings of the English novelist, Francis Burney, regarding the wrong decisions and ills of Warren Hastings – “the governor-general of India under the rule of East India Company”.¹⁰ But according to him, besides Miss Frances Burney, there were also individuals who after studying the views of Edmund Burke and James Charles Fox had formed their compact concepts regarding the history of India under British rule. Surprisingly the names of these individuals are kept hidden in Talboys' work for unknown reasons but still, we get a hint about the perception about Warren Hastings and the rule of the company was negative. Talboys explained that in the present times India is not studied as a state but as a place from where revenue is generated through cotton and tea. This critique distinguishes Wheeler from other historians. In his work, Talboys had also remarked that the British in India are not concerned with history but with its administration over it and that is the reason why he has termed his work as *India Under British Rule*.¹¹ Moreover, the story of the 1857 mutiny is also of great focus in the work of Talboys. He is of the view that this mutiny is not just a military conflict among the Indians and British but in reality, it indicates the grievances of the Asians regarding a foreign race for the atrocities they committed. Talboys termed it as a lesson to learn for every Anglo-Indian Statesman.¹² Lastly, Talboys praised the constitutional changes which were taken by the Crown after the mutiny of 1857. According to him because of these constitutional changes, British India was transformed into a school in which the

European nation is the master and Indians were the students.¹³ In other words, by the aid of this statement, Wheeler is highlighting the civilizing mission which was carried out by the Europeans to make Indian society modern.

Similarly, William Wilson Hunter (Historian, Former ICS Member, and Statistician) also try to interpret his views regarding the British administration at India in his historiographical analysis *The Indian Empire* (1893). He in the first place says that his work regarding British India is based on the statistical survey which was conducted in 1869 so that information regarding British India and its people can be obtained in a detailed manner.¹⁴ During the formulation of his work, W.W. Hunter appreciated much the role of Civil Service during the collection of data from 250 districts under British rule in India. This emphasis on statistical data is similar to that of Kaye. Besides this, Hunter also said that his work is much convenient for the general readers who want to know all the facts about the people and administration of India in a detailed way. Hunter also made it clear that he had left much of the topics open to question so different opinions regarding those questions can exist. Another important aspect which Hunter considered during the process of writing the history of British India is the concerns of Orientalist.¹⁵ Moreover, Hunter also termed previous Indian histories controversial because of being incomplete both from an archaeological and investigative point of view as their writers are not fully aware of the circumstances and nature of British rule. But at the same time, he had also appreciated his work by saying that for the first time both the history and modern developments in British India are completely compiled in his writing. Moreover, he also explained that his viewpoints presented in this work will facilitate all the readers for a longer period of time because of adding the up-to-date facts regarding the administration of India in the light of the census report of 1891.¹⁶ In addition to this Hunter has successfully painted the picture of various administrative institutions working in India in a detailed way for the maximum benefit of the readers.

In addition to this R.W. Frazer (Historian) has also in his historiography *British India* (1906) had tried to underline the working of British administration at India. He begins his work with an appreciation of Hunter's *Rulers of India*. According to Frazer, it was because of the historiographical analysis of William Wilson Hunter that urged him to write about British India.¹⁷ Frazer had also interpreted that why

Hunter's work became his inspiration while writing. According to him Hunter's also remained a member of the governor-general council and also was connected with the Indian Civil Service which provided him a better understanding of the British Empire in India. Besides this Frazer has also acknowledged the works of Sir George Birdwood which were based on the material gathered from the old sources regarding the administration of India. Frazer made it clear that his works focus much on the factors that played a vital role in the establishment of the British Empire in India instead of just on the mere military operations that were performed under the British rule. Frazer also studied the aspects of trading between the east and the west.¹⁸ This trade according to him was made possible due to the navigation techniques used by the British, French and, Dutch utilizing the Mediterranean and the Cape of Good Hope attributing the establishment of the Empire to the rise of European science. Later on, this eastern trade formed the basis of the hegemony of the English East India Company.

Frazer has also successfully represented a picture according to which both the collapse of weak rule of latter Mughals along with the administration of Warren Hastings has also been interpreted aptly. Moreover, to give a complete picture of Indian administration to his readers, the writer has been quite successful in showing the working and selection of individuals for civil administration. The unique factor regarding this book is that the writer has explained the working of these administrative institutions. To make specific local terms understandable to foreign readers, the writer used the same terminologies which were framed by William Wilson Hunter, indicating that his expected audience was not restricted to those familiar with the Indian context.

Consequently, on the other hand, G. Anderson in his work, *British Administration System in India* (1920) has also tried to highlight his analysis regarding British India. He further has justified the credibility of his work by saying that to write about British India and its administration he had formally attended the lectures of Mr. John Arthur Marriot regarding the working of the Indian constitution at Oxford University.¹⁹ These lectures according to Anderson proved to be vital primary sources for him to understand the nature of Indian administration under British rule too. Anderson acknowledged other historical works most prominently *Imperial Gazetteer* regarding British India too but at the same time stated that his historiographical analyses of India are far better than those as he has formed his work on by carefully studying the point of views of different individuals like Mr.

Marriot who had a piece of good knowledge regarding the functions of British administrative institutions.²⁰ He also explained the hurdles while composing this particular work. He is of the view that the various governments performing on local levels in India along with the changes cast several great difficulties for him at various points. Anderson claimed that his work was aimed particularly at students who intended to study in detail the administrative methods of the British in India.²¹ In addition to this Anderson has also made it clear that convenient technique has been adopted by him while writing as his primary audience are the students of universities and colleges studying the methods of British rule. Moreover, this work of Anderson has also acquired a lot of importance because of its systematic representation of administration at both the provincial and district levels. Last but not least, the system of police, land revenue, and prisons were also examined by the writer, along with their complete structure. Overall, Anderson's work was intended to help develop concrete concepts regarding the administration of India under British rule after the 1857 disturbances. The use of this work as a textbook indicates that it was widely read.

Ramsay Muir (British Historian) starts his discussion by praising the British race in his historical analysis *The Making of British India* (1923) regarding British India. He is of the view that it is a great achievement for alien British rulers to establish their great empire in India.²² Like Anderson, Muir claimed to adopt simplicity of style while writing because his primary audience was students and it fairly difficult for them to understand British ideologies through complex works. Moreover, he further interpreted that his work was not only essential for the students but also for any individual who even did not have a basic knowledge of Indian history. It is so because besides a detailed description he has also shown the maps and used Indian words in his work.²³ This also reflects Muir's familiarity with India. Muir also highlighted the hurdles faced by him during the process of writing his history of India. According to him, the most specific problem was the presence of an unusual amount of works, either of them is not that authentic which were always present for the subject of British India. The reason behind their inauthenticity is that they are written by the British administrators of India to the Directors to provide justifications regarding their actions without giving any concern to the length.²⁴ Besides this Muir has also given the credit of collection of all sources either

published or not to George Fortress, and stated that these sources played a significant role in the formation of his narrative along with the role of key actors regarding British India.²⁵ Muir also thematically represented in his work that how the western philosophy among the Indians was induced through the systematic function of different administrative institutions. In other words, Muir here wants to say that to either understand or to become a part of British administration it was important to gain full familiarity with the western concepts. Lastly, Muir also underlined the causes that played a significant role in the transfer of Rule to the British Crown in 1858.

Similarly, in writing *An Introduction to Indian Administration* (1937), M.R. Palande paid a lot of attention to the recently approved Act of 1935 under the rule of British at India. He held that the Act of 1935 was important because firstly it was the lengthiest acts passed by the British Parliament for India and secondly because of this act the system of Federation of India comprising of its federating units and princely states was introduced in the territories of India. As this act was new (this work was written just after two years of this act) some time was required for it to settle on Indian soil. The unique factor about this act was that it gave a concept of Federation to the Indians in which all the federating units can live peacefully. Palande also identified some of the ills of this act too. He is of view that although this act was amongst the most detailed documents approved by British Parliament but still faced a lot of criticism by Indians who believed that this new act can endanger the place of minorities that were present in India at that time.²⁶ Palande claimed that his work would be helpful for every individual who was interested to understand how the British administrative scheme in this particular phase functioned. Palande has also underlined the roots of British administration which were closely connected with the process of establishing British control over India.²⁷

This sort of direct linkage between the empire and the administration made his work more vivid. In addition to this functioning of different administrative departments such as the judiciary and the civil service under the direct rule of the crown is also studied keeping in view their respective historical context. In the end, Palande in his analysis of British India had also highlighted the limitations of his work by saying that subjects like Reserve bank and railway authority are not being considered by him.²⁸

Last but not least, Maridas Ruthnaswamy (Educationalist and Statesman), in his historiography *Some Influences that Made the British Administrative in India* (1939) explained how the British administration impacted the Indian state. According to him, this work was the end product of the lectures of Sir William Meyer which were held at the Madras University in 1937.²⁹ The reason why Ruthnaswamy has acknowledged Sir William Meyer's concepts much was that he remained associated with the Indian Civil Service. That's why Sir William had a comprehensive understanding of Indian administrative departments. Moreover, by indirectly saying this he attempted to legitimize the authority of his work too as it was composed by focusing on the views of Sir William Meyer as mentioned previously who had a grip on the administrative strategies of British in India. The writer has also clearly stated that his historiographical analysis is more useful as well as compact compared to any other works. The reason behind this is that even minor sources, whether or not published, were considered by him. For Ruthnaswamy, his prime audience was the students of universities who were eager to get complete knowledge about the functioning of British administration. Throughout the book, it is evident that Ruthnaswamy made an effort to represent broadly all the British actors like political officers, governors-general, and chief commissioners along with their strategies which are involved in this great game of controlling India.³⁰

Ruthnaswamy has also explained the double system of administration maintained under British Rule.³¹ One was settled administration while the second was the diplomatic kind of administration. According to the writer settled administration consists of a complete infrastructure (police and revenue officials etc.) while the diplomatic administration was set up at tribal areas. There were also certain difficulties with this dual administration. For example, in the former administration, a huge expense is spent on the governmental machinery while the latter demands both the expenses and excelling military for effective control over (tribal) lands. Moreover, in addition to explaining the functioning of administrative institutions, Ruthnaswamy also underlined the efforts of the British to make India a modern state through the completion of various public works including roads, railways, and sanitation projects.³² According to his historical analysis of before the direct rule of the British, the Indian population was in a scattered form under later Mughals.³³ But later after 1857, the rule of India was directly taken by the crown.

Afterwards, the crown made different administrative policies depending upon the nature of the land. In short, we can say that Ruthnaswamy has highlighted the policies of the British administrators involved in the great game of framing a new administration system in India. So, we can say that it shows that even though these writers were all part of the colonial educational and administrative establishment, their approaches were not identical. Although the majority of them were admirers of the empire, their view of the empire's past could vary considerably.

Now let us move further to see how the administrative history of different departments including the judiciary, military, police, and public works has been represented in these colonial historiographies. Since 1858, the British rule in India started a series of reforms in various mentioned above departments. The foremost goal behind all this reformation process was to control India effectively through the help of various administrative departments. Various historians belonging from this particular era of British India starting from 1857 and ending in 1947 had explained that certain departments always remained the focus of their work because of the innovations that emerged inside them during the direct rule of the British. In addition to this these historians had also highlighted the working nature along with the limitations (that was tackled through modifications) of these particular departments. This was aimed at 'educating' Indians who were to be increasingly recruited in the administration of the British Empire in India.

The prime function of the judicial branch is to establish an environment of justice on the land by keeping a strong check and balance on the framing as well as implementation of the laws. The just working of the judiciary is in the hands of judges, so the judges need to be independent as well as fearless in the realm of decision making. From the rule of the company to completely dominating the Indian affairs, the British were always eager to introduce certain reforms both to enhance the working capability of the judiciary along with providing a secure environment to its subjects. In the works mentioned below historians have highlighted how the department of judiciary functioned in British India under the role of the crown.

The structure of the judiciary under British rule is firstly explained by J. Talboys Wheeler in his work. Judiciary according to him was divided into three realms i.e. district, high and supreme courts respectively.³⁴ After the transfer of rule from company to crown, the foremost task was to reorganize the judicial branch of India by the introduction of certain reforms. It was essential because the administration of some states governed by the Indian rulers is becoming gradually better by the

adoption of techniques introduced by the British in their early indirect rule. Crown became aware of this fact because of the letter of C. A. Elliot which he had written to the Under Secretary - Indian government in August 1867. He clearly explained that if someone asserts on a point that the Indian administration is more influential than the British; I will reply with an answer that the reason behind their effective administration is because they are adopting the patterns/methods of British administrative strategies.³⁵ So, by keeping in view all the possible points British reorganized their administrative institutions. British crown firstly established a new sort of High courts in 1861 at the presidential towns of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. These higher courts have ordinary jurisdictions within a limited area and they in some cases also dominate the superior court. Along with these high courts were also eligible to sets rules and regulations for the executive. Moreover, these higher courts were linked and supervised by the Supreme Court which was early established under the Regulation Act 1773 during the rule of Warren Hastings. After establishing these higher courts the next step was to nominate the judges who can carry out the trials. Here British administration introduced a unique compound of European and Asiatic (Indian) judges. Although this step was meant to enhance the strength and working capability of courts unfortunately because of the racial difference between appointed judges leads to face certain difficulties in the working realm.

Interpretations regarding the judicial branch are also made in the writings of G. Anderson and M.R. Palande along with the historical backgrounds. In the rule of the company, there were mostly Mayor Courts established at the Presidency Towns that usually decide the trial cases. Later on, Robert Clive set up a 'Dual System' according to which the criminal justice was controlled by Mohammadan judges while civil suits were supervised by the British.³⁶ But this system was not that strong and raised several controversies while making a judgment. Moreover, as I have mentioned earlier because of the passing of the Regulating Act Supreme Court was established along with a Chief Justice and three judges nominated in the name of Majesty at India. Supreme Court worked according to the procedures set up by English Law. Besides this to make the working of the judiciary more effective codification of laws for both civil and criminal cases was completed too.³⁷ It is important here to note that while this codification of the Indian Penal Code; the British try to maintain a balance between Indian and English laws to avoid any

hostile circumstances. Under the Crown rule, the structure of criminal and civil courts is also enhanced systematically.

To make a judicial branch of British India more influential it was important to establish the system of subordinate/session courts as well and this task was soon accomplished by keeping in view the territorial divisions of Indian lands in the supervision of session judges.³⁸ These courts decided criminal cases and award punishment to the offenders. The decision of the magistrate courts can also be challenged in the session courts. After the session courts, there are the subordinate courts of the magistrates lead by magistrates - 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class respectively. On the other hand, to decide about the civil suits, subordinate civil courts are also established under British rule at Bengal and Assam.³⁹ These courts are presided by subordinate civil judges (varying in classes) and *Munsiffs* respectively. Besides this to look after the affairs of revenue, revenue courts were also established under British rule.⁴⁰ These courts are also responsible to look after land affairs. In addition to all of this, a Jury Bench has also emerged so that a fair and clean trial in criminal cases can be conducted.⁴¹ In other words, this Jury bench was structured to assist the judge in certain cases. Yet belonging from two different backgrounds, Palande and Anderson have both in one way or another made a successful attempt to describe the systematic working of the judiciary by its complete structure. Since both of these historiographies were used as a textbook for the students who were studying administrative institutions of India, they are much similar to each other in the terms of interpreting the judiciary along with the nominations of its officials concerning terms and conditions set by the British.

The departments of provincial, frontiers and district administration are also of great importance for British administrators according to the histories written by William Wilson Hunter and M. Rathunswamy. According to Hunter British India was divided into different provinces each having its government.⁴² Lieut. Colonel E. Thomson while writing to Governor General's agent for Central India said that the provisional administration under British is far better as compared to Indian administration.⁴³ He further said that Indian administration is much loosely bounded, there is not that devolution of powers and cooperation among the administrative elements. The active provincial system was explained by the

example of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. These provinces have their executive and legislative councils led by the governor-general/viceroy along with a standing army. Inside the realm of the provincial government, there were two types of provinces i.e. regulating and non-regulating.⁴⁴ Regulating provinces are usually administrated through laws and also according to the Charter Acts but on the other side, a non-regulating province worked according to the simple or traditional laws that also depends upon the circumstances/ conditions of that particular place. G. Anderson in his work claims that the administration inside non-regulating provinces was far better than the administration of the regulating province. In addition to these provinces; quasi-provinces like Burma were also administered by the British. Moreover, the administrative structure and working of non-regulating provinces like Ajmer and Assam, etc have also been highlighted. It is important here to mention that inside the boundary of the non-regulating province the supreme authority resides in the Chief Commissioner, not the Chief Lieutenant. Besides this in a non-regulating province judicial and executive departments work in a compound form inside a single authority. Afterward, the administration of frontiers is also interpreted aptly by Ruthnaswamy. He is of the view that in frontiers under British rule we saw that political, revenue, and judicial authorities are all combined in one person because of the circumstances of these areas.⁴⁵ The individuals who are responsible to control frontiers are termed as the political officers. In other words, these individuals are the officers from the political departments. Moreover, in frontiers, Lord Lytton introduced special political services too in which viceroys chosen persons are appointed to control border politics as well as the tribal relations. Last but not least the provincial administration is incomplete without mentioning the role of the secretariat often termed as the central bureau too.⁴⁶ The prominent departments of the secretariat working under the rule of the British consist of military, finance, agriculture, revenue, and public works, etc. It is important here to note that the individuals who were working on higher posts inside the Secretariat enjoy a comfortable life as compared to the district officers who bear all the burden of duties and geographical conditions as well.

The provincial administration of British was further divided among 250 districts depending upon the resources and population. The prime purpose behind this was to govern India effectively. The district was comparatively smaller than the province yet important. Inside the boundary of a non-regulating province, Deputy Commissioner manages the district whereas in a regulating province Collector

performs this task. The district officers were usually selected by the Indian Civil Service. Here it is important to know the working methods of Indian Civil Service through which officers were selected to manage the districts. While East India Company was always interested in the Indians for business purposes but under the direct role of the crown Indians were employed to administrate the lands.⁴⁷ Moreover, according to Wheeler competitive exams of ICS is the best technique used by the British to select the most suitable Indians for administrative purposes. But becoming a part of this prestigious service is not that easy, only the well-read, as well as the educated individual, is eligible for this service. In 1805 at Haileybury a college was established to provide two-year training to the Indians before joining the civil services after their nomination. But soon in 1853 when the right of appointments for ICS was taken away from the Directors the examination started to be organized on Indian soil. Later on, in 1892, the age limit was increased for ICS to get more suitable individuals among the Indians for the administrative tasks of India under British rule. In the beginning, Europeans were selected for ICS but gradually Indians were also legalized in taking part in it. In short, through the aid of the Indian Civil Service British started to administrate India smoothly. It is important here to mention that initially in the time of Warren Hastings judicial and revenue authority is exercised in a compound form by the British Collectors.⁴⁸ But as time passed British crown realized that to enhance the strength of district administration it is important to adopt the rule of separation of powers (in other words to separate revenue from judiciary). Thus after an adequate time through the aid of power separation technique judicial and revenue authority was separated that later on proved to be fruitful. Besides this, the system of village communities is also highlighted. Inside the village administration there several officials consisting of Patel (headman-collects revenue), Patwari (keeps land records) and Chowkidar (watchman). Through the coordinated work of these officials, the administrative tasks inside villages were performed.

The department of public work is too highlighted specifically by Bowmanjee C. Cowasjee even from the very start of history writing regarding British India. Later on R.W. Frazer also interpreted how these public works proved to be an efficient step in administrating India by the British. According to both of the mentioned above historians, this department was also of great relevance because under its umbrella projects are either completed through the finance either generate from public taxation or private funds. Various public works were constructed not only to

modernize India but also to win the confidence of the Indians. Bowmanjee C. Cowasjee also termed these public works as innovations.⁴⁹ With the help of rail lines, various parts of India were connected, through it the transportation of both goods and individuals was made easy. Similarly, with the help of steam navigation system, the dependence of vessels on air was much reduced. Moreover, the emergence of electric telegraph service also played a vivid role in managing the administrative tasks. The toll system which was disappeared was also again emerged under the administration of the British. Besides this, the construction of 'Periyar Water Project' was also fulfilled by the British administration.⁵⁰ Under this initiative, a dam and several artificial canals were constructed through which both the storage and supply of freshwater was made possible for the Indians.

The system of army, police, and prison also remained important subjects in the British Indian historiography. Let us look in a detailed way that how these departments are explained in the work of different historians. The initial description regarding the work on the Indian army under British rule can be traced down in the writings of William Wilson Hunter. According to him, India at the beginning had three standing armies belonging from Bengal, Bombay, and Madras presidencies respectively.⁵¹ These particular armies were the compound of Indian and European troops led by a commander in chief separately at every region. The Commander in Chief of Bengal is always considered as the supreme one. Troops, engineers, and artillery, etc were always maintained in a great number so that the negative situations can be handled by an iron hand. United Indian army emerged under the sole command of Lord Kitchener with the passage of the time. In simple terms, different units belonging to separate presidencies were amalgamated into one unit controlled by a single commander in chief. The prime reason behind all of this reorganization was to enhance the working capabilities of the Indian British army under the rule of the Crown. The department of police also enhanced its working through various reforms introduced by British rule. In the year 1861, certain proposals were made by the British administration to reorganize the police force. Later on as the result of the meetings held by the commission in 1902 a handsome amount of money is reserved to make the police (under British administration) an effective one.⁵² In every single district, a District Superintendent Police officer along with assistant and deputy superintendents was appointed. The high-rank officers in

the police force were appointed by passing a competitive exam held in England. On the other hand, the deputy rank officers were appointed locally.

The unique factor about the police force of British rule according to G. Anderson is that there were separate police officers along with their team for the protection of railways.⁵³ Besides this, a reserve force is also maintained to tackle any negative situation. It is important here to mention that the police department of India was firstly structured by following the model of the British army.⁵⁴ In addition to this various appointment from the military wing was also done so that the organization and working of newly born civil police under British Rule might be enhanced. Moreover, to get an immense amount of information about the lethal criminal Central Criminal Investigation Department is also established by the British administration. As far as for the protection of villages of India British government continued the legacy of Village Police Force consisting of Police Patels and Chaukidar etc. The British not only improved the system of Police but also the condition of prisons as well.⁵⁵ In the past jail was considered to be a place of mental as well as physical torture where criminals had to bear different punishments for their offenses. But it was John Howard who played a vital role to transform the conditions of prisons. He visited almost every single prison and advised the British administrators to transform the pathetic conditions of jails in India. Afterward, the prisons were reformed with a strong focus on cleanliness and good management. Books, newspapers, and clean food along with water were provided to the prisoners. In addition to this Reformatory, Sections were set up in jails where minor offenders were kept to rehabilitate them. Besides this, the Penal Code was also framed to control the increasing crime in India. In addition to this Indian Penal Code was also framed to control the increasing crime in India.⁵⁶ Before the advent of the Penal Code, no strict punishments were awarded to the criminals, as a result, they started to adopt serious crimes but with the advent of the Penal Code, this entire situation got changed. Strict punishments started to be awarded to the criminals and as a result, the rate of crime decreased at a fast pace.

As discussed above, in their attempt to clarify the system of administration, historians emphasized the transformative impact of British rule on Indian society. However, the value they accorded to different departments could vary. For instance, while Anderson, Palande and Wheeler, and Ruthnaswamy gave priority to the judicial system and penal code, the likes of Frazer and Hunter valued civil

administrative structures such as the office of the District Commissioner. Notably, the two Indians mentioned, Cowasjee and Ruthnaswamy, were the only ones to give the same importance to the Department of Public Works.

In short, this research article has shown how colonial historians have represented the history of British India in their writings. In the first place, I have represented the viewpoints of all the historians from J.W. Kaye to Maridas Ruthnaswamy in a detailed form. All of these historians in their analysis have underlined how the British established their firm rule over India despite being a foreign race – a concern that became increasingly important in the backdrop of emerging nationalist movements. In the process, I have also focused on the fact that how the comparison and differences between the ruling methods of British and Indian rulers have being highlighted by these mentioned above historians. Besides this, the process of inducing western ideology among the locals to establish their hegemony over locals is also being underlined in their historiographical analysis. Moreover, I have also explained in a detailed manner the working of administrative institutions. In 1858, after the royal proclamation, India came under the direct rule of the Crown. Afterward, the foremost task of the British was to reorganize administrative departments so that the governmental affairs of India can be managed through strong hands. That is the reason why a great number of historians focused on this particular era starting from 1858 and ending in 1947, in which certain departments including judicature, provincial and district administrations were reorganized. In addition to this, I have also described the utility of various public works through the aid of which India was transformed into a modern state under the British Empire. In short, this work will be helpful for the readers who want to discover how the histories under the colonial historians were written while focusing on the rule of the British over India chronologically.

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REPRESENTATION OF MUGHAL KINGS IN COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

This article inquires about a significant discourse in history which is Colonial Historiography. This discourse has occupied a central place in the study of Indian history. This article aims at exploring the colonial narrative of Indian history which in turn unfolds the ideology of Colonialism and highlights the fact that how this certain production of knowledge was the part of Colonisers' mechanism of acquiring power over Colonised. The treatment of Mughal kings like its founder Babur and his successor Humayun by the British commissioned Historians stands testimony to it. The Colonial historians have no praise for Babur as a cultured man. They focused much on the political history and wars, presented him as a merciless human being, and ignored other aspects like institutions, administrations, and reforms. The Colonial historians portrayed Humayun as one of the Asiatic despots, a weak king, and a failure with no important contributions. Such Colonial Representations had a long-lasting impact on future historiography and world view about India and Indian history. The Colonial Historiography was then countered by the Post-Colonial Historiography. This article reaffirms the fact that the study of history demands a comparative investigation of different narratives and the history of India cannot be fully understood without comprehending Colonial and Post-Colonial narrative.

KEY WORDS

Colonial Historiography; Post-Colonial Historiography; Babur; Humayun; Mughal Empire; British Commissioned Historians

The representation of Mughal Kings in Colonial historiography illustrates a strong ideology working behind the production of knowledge i.e. Colonialism. This phenomenon is not simply a part of periodization of the world history but instead an inviolable dogma that has affected the world view of millions. This representation also reflects the importance of history as a key player in the development of one idea and the destruction of the other. Today, we read a book on the history of the Mughal period, not knowing about the context of its development. This can perhaps mislead us. So for better understanding and judgment, there should be some know-how of the ideas of both Colonialism and additionally, Post-Colonialism. This article sheds light on Colonial writings on the Mughal kings Babur and Humayun which intern lead us to a fair judgment of history and expose the probable deliberate attempt from the side of Imperial power to distort Indian history.

The core concept to engross here is Colonialism. It is defined as a political, economic, and cultural system in which one country based on its progress in knowledge, technology, and military strength tries to dominate and control another country. These colonisers exploit the controlled country for raw materials and other resources for the benefit of the mother country. In this process of colonialism, the people from the mother country influence the natives of the colonised country through different methods and techniques.¹ The main features of colonialism include force, coercion, cultural domination along political compliance.² If we look at the sub-continent, then the signs of this European colonial system began to appear when the first Portuguese ship reached the port of Calicut under Vasco De Gama in 1498 C.E. After this other European trading companies also made their way to India including the British East India Company in 1600. With time they got permission to trade from the Mughal King and they began trading on different Indian ports and built their factories. Soon they defeated other companies like the French East India Company and began to rule Bengal after defeating Siraj-u-Daula in 1757 C.E and then won at Buxar in 1764 C.E. This trading phase was the first phase of colonialism in India.

The second phase started when the British started looking at India from a political perspective which happened in 1773 C.E when they sent a governor-general to India. From 1773 C.E till 1857 C.E, the British defeated all their opponents and established their control on majority areas. They also began to bring many political, administrative, economic, and cultural reforms in India. Along with this, they established Fort William College in Bengal in 1800 C.E. to educate the colonisers about different aspects of India, their culture, languages, art, history, and epistemology.³ This would help them to better control the natives. This is the

knowledge-power relations which have been elaborated by Foucault. The third phase began after the mutiny/war of independence when the British firmly controlled India.

It took more than a century for the establishment of firm control of the British over India. This process of Colonialism was long and the British used various techniques for its successful implementation. Firstly, they generated a colonial discourse. They portrayed the West as superior, civilized, and progressive in terms of race, language, politics, culture, and tradition than the East. They made this a legal reason for their control over the non-West. They considered it their right to dominate uncivilized societies and make them civilized.⁴ This sort of thinking generated a specific sort of knowledge of the superiority of West, white man burden theory, was accepted by the Indians, and still today, we see this particular mindset in the sub-continent.

Secondly, they seek knowledge about the East and the Eastern people. This project was called Orientalism. British obtained knowledge about Indian history, culture, ideologies, religion, literature, and language. They mock them as illogical, mythical, and full of irregularities that should be corrected. In this way, they became able to realize the natives that they were inferior and they become unable to resist the ambitions of the British. By this, they created a relationship between themselves as Indians as binaries. A British was cultured and an Indian was uncultured, a British was literate and intelligent and an Indian was an illiterate and ignorant, a British was an industrialist while an Indian was an underdeveloped farmer, a British pictured as a gentleman wearing a suit while an Indian wearing a *dhoti* and a *turban* which was considered to be a low thing.

If we particularly talk about the discipline of history then the British presented a static view of Indian history. British divided Indian history into periods based on religion as 'Hindu period' and 'Mohammadan period' and beyond into the ancient period and Medieval ages. It is important to note that the medieval period or dark ages were in Europe when there was dominancy of the Church, unending wars, epidemics, and no progress in fields of knowledge which ended with the Renaissance and Enlightenment. On the other hand, the scenario in India was different. India was not following through with such upheavals and was progressing, especially in terms of culture. However, the British commissioned historians called this dark period of Indian history. It was necessary because, in absence of any such disturbances, the British were in no position to claim government for themselves and all other claims of superiority would become baseless. They represented Indian rulers especially Mughals because they took the government from the Mughals as a second word for oppression. They portrayed them as pleasure seekers, the drug

addict who loved to indulge in merrymaking and those who neglect the state affairs for their pleasure, with no contributions. By this, they found their way to settle the fact for themselves and the Indians that the British came here to reverse all such things and to give Indians prosperity and happiness and above all civilization. The representation of King Babur and King Humayun is also a part of this where they have been shown as 'Asiatic despots'. So, in this way and through such narratives, the British were able to control their minds and hence were successful in prolonging their rule in India. So, we found a different representation of King Babur and King Humayun in Post-Colonial historiography.

The debate does not end here. Like Colonialism, Post-Colonialism is also a vast debate. When we hear of Post-Colonialism, we generally think of the period after colonialism which in the case of India was 1947. However, this is a misunderstanding. The concept of Post-Colonialism started even before the 1947 partition. Post-Colonialism is not just an important ideology but also an important theory to understand the different aspects of colonised societies. The post-colonial study is a critical study of the knowledge that was produced by the colonisers in various fields of knowledge like language, culture, history, literature, etc. The purpose of the Post-colonial writings is to unmask the tactics of the colonial power which they used to manipulate the mind of the colonised. They also reread the sources and research to present a fair picture of the colonised society to place it with that of Colonisers on equal footings. In the case of India, these Post-colonial writers came forward and produces rejoinder to the narratives that were produced by the British.

If we specifically, talk about history then at first the nationalist historians did research and wrote books with reasonable explanations that presented a different picture of Indian history. So, we found a different representation of King Babur and King Humayun in Post-Colonial historiography. However, this is beyond the scope of this article. The damage that Colonial historians brought to the history of India has not been recovered and the process of redemption is still underway. This is reflected in the fact that we still think like what the colonisers made us think despite the fact that the British have long been gone. We still think of Europe as more civilized than the East. With historiography, it is also the same. This is beyond the scope of this article. After comprehending details about Colonialism now we can look at the representations of Mughal Kings that this discourse offers.

REPRESENTATION OF BABUR IN COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

The history produced during the colonial time period in India was an attempt to capture the minds of Indians to prolong the British rule in India. The representation

of Babar in colonial historiography portrays Babar as a great military general and expert who had great expertise in war. The British commissioned historians extolled Babar in terms of his expeditions and relations but depict Babar as a ruthless, fanatic, bigot, and plunderer who came to India to indemnify himself. Most of them obscured Babar's cultural contributions and innovations in India.

Colonial historians represented Babar as a miserable and unfortunate king in his childhood. Babar experienced more unfortunate events in his life such as defeats, cheats, and disloyalties. Wolseley Haig shows Babar as a compromiser who purchased his freedom by marrying his sister as he remarks when Babar was defeated at Sar-i-Pal, he obtained freedom by a promise to marry his sister with Uzbek Khan but Muhibbul Hassan in his book 'Babar the founder of the Mughal empire in India' writes that Babar handed over Sar-i-pal and his sister to Shaibani Khan for the sake of his people and his family.⁵ He says that when Shaibani Khan surrounded the town there was a shortage of food in the town, the poor was starving and even had to eat dogs and asses.⁶ And therefore, he capitulated the town and run out of it with his family and followers.

Babar despite ascended to the throne at a very young age had managed to uphold his man and army. Babar was a great general and profound politician⁷. He had fought many battles with his cousins for his paternal land and according to James Mill Babar was very much enthusiastic about recovering his father's land from his cousins⁸ but he could not succeed in recapturing Fergana. Babar as a warrior fought many expeditions and had very much courage, this courage was visible at his earlier age when he captured Kabul. He encroached his suzerainty up to Samarkand and Bokhara, however, he was forced to return from Samarkand by his cousins to Kabul.⁹ Babar in 1519 moved toward India where he was not defeated a single time. Babar in 1525 became the ruler of India. James Mill refers to his victory because of his bravery and courage as he remarks that Ibrahim had an army with inferior in bravery but superior in numbers but Babar and his men on the contrary were superior in bravery but inferior in numbers.¹⁰ James Mill in describing Babar only represented his war and fights and neglected other important perspectives. Babar's Indian expeditions are a debatable issue because different scholars and historians have varying opinions of his arrival in India. As some scholars believe that Babar was called into India by some native rulers to fight against their enemies. However, James Mill opined that Babar came into India because he had no other options and also, he was a king without a kingdom. He presents Babar as an opportunistic who fully availed the weakness of rulers of India¹¹ and came for indemnity which he could not possess in North.¹² As colonial historians tribute Babar that this victory is so possible because of his military tactics,

competitive leadership, bold use of cavalry charges, and courage of his small army against the massive force of Ibrahim Lodhi.¹³ Colonial historians credit his victory to his bold steps and the courage of his army.

On one side Babar's clemency and tenderness of heart were famous but on the other side, he was ruthless with his enemies. This character is described by colonial historians Elliot and Dawson that Babar butchered the prisoners and enemies in cold blood and erected the triumphal pyramid from their skulls. The execution was so violent that the grounds were drenched with blood for many days.¹⁴ When Ibrahim's Mother tried to poison Babar, and on detecting the plot, he cut the taster into pieces, the cook was flayed alive and the conspirator was trampled by an elephant but he forgave Ibrahim Lodhi's mother who made this plan to kill Babar. The cold-hearted of Babar towards enemies are highly represented by colonial writers as V.A. Smith writes that he besieged Bajaur and slew its infidel defenders without mercy.¹⁵ These acts of Babar make him alike with the Genghis Khan and colonial historian pointed it out to demonstrate him a cruel ruler and hide his act of kindness like forgave those who deserted him and left him alone. There are not many traces from the writing of colonial historians about the kindness and forgiveness of Babar however, it can be seen in the primary sources that Babar was a very affectionate and kind king for his subjects. As Muhammad Qasim Farishta remarks in *Tarikh-i-Farishta* that when a Caravan of Khutta was hit by lightning in Fergana, Babar ordered to collect all the goods and sent the messenger to Khutta to proclaim the accident and bring the owner's heir to his court and gave them all the goods with the best hospitality. It is noted that they arrived two years later but Babar kept all the goods safe and did not use them.¹⁶ When Babar conquered the district of Dushi his enemy Khusrau Shah who helped Shaibani khan against him surrendered to him, Babar then forgave him and treated him with kindhearted and gave him surety of life and property safety.¹⁷

There are many citations about the Babar by colonial historians that he was a plunderer and he came into India to fulfill the expenses of his soldiers as well as to grant them some posts. This is manifested by James Mill as referring to his invasion in India was in fact, indemnifying himself for the possession which he could not attain in North.¹⁸ Babar had no will to settle in India he came for plundering and pillaging and in 1519 when he was plundering Bajaur and its vicinity he received a piece of news that Kabul was invaded by Tatar of Cashgar and then he headed back to Kabul this act showed that Babar came for plundering and had no affection for India.¹⁹ He plundered and pillaged Makran when conquered. When Jaunpur revolt Babar instructed to terminate them, and Humayun after succeeding march back, after plundering the country.²⁰ However, Wolseley Haig writes that Babar when

conquered he secured the treasure of Agra and Delhi from plundering of his army.²¹ These representations made Babar a plunderer however, in some places he forbade people to do so.

Colonial historians represent the addiction of Babar differently as Wolseley Haig says that Babar was a constant and jovial toper.²² Babar acknowledges his jovial in his memoir he said that we continued drinking till the sun on the decline and we set out. Babar often arranged parties of wine and *ma'jun*.²³ Whereas, Maula Zaka Ullah ascribes that Babar's cousin instigated drinking to Babar and after that, he indulged in drinking. Babar even made a pool from marble which was always filled with alcohol.²⁴ This made him addict to drinking and he spent nights and days drinking. However, V.A Smith describes that Babar vowed with the battle of Rana Sangha that he would never drink wine if bestow victory and he broke his wine cup and afterward kept his pledge.²⁵ Babar was an addict to drugs and alcohol, but this habit never became the hurdle in making the decisions and therefore, it can be said that his addiction was around his circle which never affected his policies and strategies.

The colonial historians represent the unsettling nature of Babar, for instance, Babar since his childhood remained aloof of religious practices and there is little evidence of his religious practices. Babar when he was eleven years, never observed the fast of Ramazan twice in any one place.²⁶ Mostly colonial historians do not discuss Babar's affinity with Muslims however Mountstuart Elphinstone gives some touch of Babar's affinity with Muslims when Babar fought with Rana Sangha in the battle of Khanwa. The Elphinstone considers the battle with Hindus as a religious war as he writes that Babar had to commence a war against Hindus because they are against their usual practices.²⁷ Babar vowed not to drink wine again and pledged to grow his beard and promised to remit the stamp taxes on Muslims.²⁸ Babar was not a conservative ruler who did not come to India for the propagation of Islam but his purpose. However, some colonial historians think his invasion a religious battle. Whereas, Lane Poole writes that when all the Indians were stood up against Babar then the battle was more likely between Hindus from Rana Sangha sides and Muslims from Babar sides. Lane Poole more likely gives this battle between heathens and Muslims and called it *Jihad* a holy war.²⁹ The heathens were the fighting men of the first class while Babar had experienced war but there was disunity among his men like Uzbeks, Afghans, and Turks.³⁰ Therefore, for their unity, Babar used the slogan of Jihad. This was believed by colonial historians that Babar was a fanatic who fought many battles on the grounds of religion and decree fatwa against Hindus. But Gul Badan Begum in her memoir described a different picture.

She describes the letter of Babar to Humayun that was a provocative statement for religious tolerance. The letter state as,

My son! the realm of Hindustan is full of diverse creeds and thanks to Allah that he granted us the Hindustan. And you should cleanse your heart from all religious bigotry and should do justice to each community. And most importantly, refrain yourself and territory where Hindus are in majority, from the slaughtering of cow, in this way you will win the hearts of the people of Hindustan and the subject of the realm remain loyal and devoted to you. And never damage the worship places of any community. Dispense the justice so the subjects remain happy with you and your sovereignty will sustain. The progress of Islam is better by the sword of kindness, not by the sword of oppression. And most important is to ignore the disputations of Shias and Sunni which will weak Islam.³¹

Colonial historians never highlighted the dispensation of justice by Babar. Humayun always practically follows Babar's advice and it is demonstrated by Ishwari Prasad who says that when Humayun went to Kamran his brother, her wife brought beef and curry with mixed vegetables but instead of starving he refused to intake beef.³²

Colonial historians have not even look at the architectural contributions of Babar. They only urged and focused on his political aspects and ignored all other important elements. The architectures have a vital role in the transformation of one's culture to another, therefore, it can be said that Babar acted as a transformer of the culture between Turks and Indians. His role in construction is described by Gul Badan Begum in her memoir Humayun Nama. She says,

Babar commanded buildings to put up in Agra on the other side of the river and a stone palace to be built for himself between the Haram and gardens. He also had one building in the audience court, with a reservoir in the middle and a fourth chamber in four towers. And one of them had chaukandi built. He also ordered to make a tank at Dholpur, ten by ten when it's completed it will fill with wine. But he promised not to drink wine at the battle of Khanwa therefore, the tank was filled with lemonade.³³

S.M Jaffar also encourages Babar's works that led to the transfer of culture between India and central Asia. Babar considered local art and skill and therefore, brought architects such as the pupil of Sinan. He employed 680 persons in his palace in Agra, Sikri, Bianah, Dhulpur, and Gwalior for construction. Unfortunately, most of the buildings are demolished and only two survived one is a great mosque at Kabul Bagh at Panipat and Jami Masjid at Shambal.³⁴ Many gardens were also made by Babar. However, such contributions of Babar are deliberately ignored by

colonial historians. As far as the administration was concerned colonial historians ignored this part of Babar and focused on his political strategies. Babar used to measure when he marched anywhere and in this way, he measured the distances. He fixed one hundred tunabs for one kroh and each tunab was forty guz and each guz was nine hands.³⁵ The guz Sikandari came into India by him and its name was replaced by Babary guz. Babary guz was continuously used till the Jahangir time³⁶. Babar minted different coins in India which followed the central Asian Dirhams in weight and form which were called Shahrukhis. The coins of Babar also minted the Kalima and the first four Caliphs' name.³⁷ A great communication system was also introduced in India by Babar in the North-West province. He also measured the distance from Agra to Kabul and chakmaq was constructed after every 18 miles about 12-yard-high which was surmounted by four doored pavilions that provided rest to postmasters etc.³⁸ Babar introduced central government which he borrowed from central Asian in this form Babar was executive, military, and judicial head of the government but he took the consultation of his Wazirs, Mughal, Turkish, and Indian nobles.

The writings of colonial historians are the oriental project which aimed for white supremacy. In this project, they ignored or degraded the Indians and their heroes. While discussing Babar in their writings they do not discuss the major events of his life. They do not touch on the cultural impacts and transformations of Babar in India. As James Mill highlighted Babar's battles in central Asia and India. As Stanley Lane-Poole remarks that he is the link between central Asia and India however, colonial historians did not touch it. There is no mention of cuisines that was the result of fusion or influx of Indian and Turks. They concealed Bahzadian paintings brought by Babar in India. If we go further, we do not see any comments from the colonial historians on the dresses and fashion that Babar introduced in India. Above all, there is no representation of architecture that Babar erected in India with Turk and Persian style. Zaka Ullah and Stanley Lane-Poole have discussed some of Babar's literary tastes but there is a wide gap that needs to be filled. V.A Smith, Elphinstone and Zaka Ullah discuss his tenderness and generosity but have forgotten to acknowledge his administrative roles and innovation in India and discussed the superstitions of Babar.

Colonial historians have no delight for most of the cultural and reformative aspects of Babar, the reasons could be their oriental projects. They portray Babar as a tender, generous but plunderer and looter who had only one motive to feed him and to feed his people. This picture that colonial historians draw of Babar is similar to the Vikings who had plundered in the vicinity to feed them in the 11th century. They saw Babar as a military man who only knows to fight and to kill but they did

not represent his administration from his childhood to become the king where he upheld his army with him and effectively control them all. But they pictured Babar a ruthless king who killed prisoners in cold blood and erected the pyramid from their skulls. These representations of Babar were encountered by post-colonial historians who patronage Babar by highlighting his contributions as king, as an administrator, cultural figures, and so on. Therefore, for the understanding of Babar's role, a comparative study is necessary.

REPRESENTATION OF HUMAYUN IN COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

The representation of King Humayun in Colonial historiography reflects the wider aspirations of the British commissioned historians and in turn of the British Empire. As far as King Humayun is concerned, if examined closely, one can infer from it a picture of a King who has some good qualities but an unfortunate person and whose mistakes and weakness of character combined with some personal habits lead to his overall failure. This is also highlighted from the fact that various British historians gave comparatively less attention to King Humayun and mostly shed light on wars. Also especially when discussed alongside a strong commander and state man like Sher Shah Suri then the character of Humayun seems to diminish and appear less important or less enough to suit a monarch.

Colonial historians have given less consideration to Humayun as compared to others especially on his life as a Prince. We find one reference from Wolseley Haig who portrayed Humayun as a careless Prince who despite the rewards he received from his father, King Babur after a successful campaign of North India plundered the treasures of his father's government in Delhi.³⁹ As a result of this, Babur condemns this act of Humayun and admonish him. This representation thus lacks the complete reflection on Humayun's life as a prince and his governorship of Badakhshan. Also, his participation in wars along with Babur.

Humayun ascended to the throne in 1530 after the death of Babur. His reign as a king portrayed in colonial historiography was full of conflicts and wars which ended up in his loss of the Mughal Kingdom and exile to Persia. They describe him as a king in the cable to lead and mend the deteriorating circumstances that arose in his Kingdom. Generally, every historian has started discussing his rule with the internal differences among his brothers especially Kamran, and the division of the Kingdom which created difficulties for the new king. Followed by his various campaigns against his opponents including Afghans and Bahadur Shah. His negligence in setting up a firm system of administration and wrong decisions plus hostilities of his brothers which lead to his failure in wars against Sher Shah at Chunar. His defeat made him wander in different parts of India in search of refuge

and his final exile to Persia. The fifteen long years of Persian influence where he was at times humiliated by the Safavids on account of changing his sect and conquests which ultimately ended and he returned to India to conquer it again without much resistance. In less than a year, an unfortunate monarch ended up in his grave as a result of accidental death in 1556 without enjoying his power as a sovereign of India. This pity picture has been drawn by the British commissioned historian generally. In particular, one can also trace out different aspects of Humayun's life personal and public character in these works.

As a person, Humayun was generous and a forgiver both as a King and as a person. He forgave his brothers who deceived him many times also a number of his generals. This much leniency shown to the deceivers was collectively attributed by colonial historians as a weakness of his character which often proved fatal for his position as a King and his rule as well. Also, Humayun as described in the colonial writings was very much addicted to opium. V. A Smith ascribed this much opium addiction as one of the causes of his failure.⁴⁰ He even goes further to say that these Princes from the family of Timur were all cruel and oppressive. He also used the term "Asiatic despots" to describe them.⁴¹ Additionally, British commissioned historians agree with each other on the fact that Humayun was a pleasure seeker. Elphinstone identifies him as a man who leaned more towards ease and comfort.⁴² Wolseley Haig takes a step further and analysed it as Timurid princes were great soldiers who were habitual of wars and tough conditions. The Indian situation made them 'corrupt' as they plundered treasures and spend their time after success in the festivity. Colonial Historians had also given the tag of a time-waster to Humayun. Like Elphinstone discussed it in Humayun's invasion of Gujrat when he was following Bahadur Shah that his 'dilatatory habits' might have caused him to change his plan of confronting Bahadur Shah in time when Bahadur Shah was busy in Chitor.⁴³ Also, Wolseley Haig mentioned that Humayun wasted important months of his life in pleasure-seeking.⁴⁴ Maulvi Zaka Ullah has also pointed out that during the siege of Chunar, Humayun wasted six months in total. This was the precious time that proved advantageous for Sher Shah and he did what he had to do in Bengal.⁴⁵ Thus, Sher Shah's occupation of Bengal was the result of Humayun's waste of time and his nature of slow to act. In this regard, Maulvi Zaka Ullah also used words like *Ghafil* for Humayun which means a reckless person.

As a king, he failed miserably as per colonial historians. Humayun's life was uneasy and troubled by different opponents. Like Babur, he did not give much attention to the consolidation and administration of his kingdom. Wolseley Haig notes that Humayun was trained in such a way as his ancestors in a harsh climate of Transoxiana and Afghanistan where they learned to become a war soldier and not a

good administrator.⁴⁶ This was the possible reason for his failure as a ruler who could not consolidate after a successful conquest. This turned his success into his failure in a way that he lost the lands which he conquered. However, there is a difference between the two. Babur did not have time but Humayun had which he wasted in marry making as per colonial writings. This is also astonishing because we find many mentions of his administration set up in sources like *Akbar Nama* and *Tarikh-i-Farishta*.

As far as his military career is concerned yet colonial historians showed no mercy. King Humayun fought several wars in his lifetime. As mentioned earlier, colonial historians mostly gave attention to the times after the succession of Humayun. So, the important wars in which he participated and won like the first battle of Panipat has not been discussed. More stress was given to the conquest and wars which happened after he became king with Afghans including the decedents of Ibrahim Lodi and Sher Shah and also with Bahadur Shah. Colonial writings have represented Humayun as a soldier not lacking in personal valor and courage but was less energetic, unlike his father.⁴⁷ Some historians have also assigned his failure in the war against Sher Shah due to his lack of skills, ill management, and poor decision making. The same was reflected in his war against Shah Hussain in Sindh.⁴⁸ However, this is half-truth if we analyse his role as a soldier and military commander on a larger scale. No doubt, Sher Shah was a better military commander than Humayun but Humayun did not fail every time.

An important thing to consider in this colonial historiography is that there is no mention of cultural aspects and cultural achievements under Humayun's rule. James Mill in his book did not discuss about any cultural aspect related to Humayun nor did Elphinstone. I also didn't find any considerable discussion on Humayun in the work of Elliot and Dawson. So is the case with V.A Smith. They narrated his death as a result of falling from the stairs of his library which gave him a major injury. However, I find in Cambridge History of India a small paragraph on the cultural side of his reign. Wolseley Haig called him a man who was interested in literature. He mentioned that he heavily relied on astrology and because of this he was interested in astronomy too. He explained it to be as an 'indirect' cause of his death because he was preparing to observe the movement of Venus when afterward he fell from the stairs.⁴⁹ In this regard, Maulvi Zaka Ullah has mentioned many such cultural activities which Humayun conducted later like setting up of a library, establishment of *Din Panah*, presence of mathematician in his court, etc.⁵⁰ If we see primary sources of Humayun like *Humayun Nama* and other sources such as Abul Fazl's *Akbar Nama* and *Tarikh-i-Farishta* then we find many of his cultural

contributions which have been mentioned to some extent by the post-colonial historians and probably ignored by the Colonial historians.

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In conclusion, the works of British commissioned historians draw a picture of an ill-fated king, who had personal courage but no skill of a good ruler. He was an opium addict, pleasure seeker, he wasted time in merrymaking and his forgiving nature proved disastrous for him. In short, he failed as a king, he failed against his opponent Sher Shah and ultimately lost his kingdom. His fifteen years in Persia and then his return to India were interesting chapters of his life. He got back his kingdom, but misfortune followed him and he met with an accidental death without ruling in peace. His life was uneasy. However, this is one perspective. In the later time period, we find different works of Indian authors before and after the partition of India who wrote about Humayun and we got a different perspective to look at Humayun. More research revealed his cultured character, his love for art and architecture, and other forms of culture. Here, a question arises that how British commissioned historians can ignore such important details of Humayun's life. Was it deliberate or the sources were unavailable? These questions are important and need to be answered.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we will like to establish that the knowledge produced in different periods must be studied in comparison to reach a fair conclusion on the topic. The representation of Mughal Kings Babur and Humayun in Colonial historiography stands testimony to it. In every case, there must be a context working behind the production of knowledge that aims to produce a specific discourse for certain purposes. Like in the case of Colonial historiography, there was an objective of dominating the Orients. So a comparative study is a compulsion in such kind of investigation.

The ambition of British Imperial power was to firmly establish their control on India and Indians as well as to prolong it. For this objective, they used different methods and techniques. This included various theories that imprinted on Indian mind the superiority of the West and inferiority of the East. One of such was Orientalism, related to the generation of certain discourses which caged Indians with invisible chains, and they were unable to resist. They began to believe what Colonizers want them to believe. Along with other disciplines, history was also used as a tool to manipulate the locals. The task was assigned to the British commissioned historians. So, from James Mill to Wolseley Haig, all these historians worked on Indian history and represented a terrible picture of the Indian history and their rulers. It was a kind of fault-finding process so that the rule of the British could be justified. King Babur and King Humayun, also unfortunately suffered from this. Colonial historians concealed the important contributions of Babar and his cultural progress in India, presented him as a religious fanatic and bigot who killed slaves and enemies in cold blood. And live a lavish life mostly in intoxication and also represented the nature of Babar unsettle. Then there is Humayun, who has been represented as a failure who was reckless as a prince, totally failed as a king, had personal courage but failed as a military commander. Above all, he had possession of many bad habits like opium addiction, merrymaking, and a time-waster. He contributed nothing to the administration of his kingdom and continuously neglected public affairs. He lacked energy and was slow to act. He also couldn't make the right decisions at right time. His opponents were far stronger than him. His forgiving nature was the icing on the cake which brought about his failure. He lost his kingdom and forced into exile and when the opportunity stroked he got back his kingdom fortunately because there was no resistance. Apart from this, there was no important contribution on his part. The effect of such a narrative was so strong on the Indians that even today this portrayal is reflected in their books.

The people of the subcontinent began to follow such narratives but some also countered it and produced rejoinder against the work of colonial historians, the Post-colonial historians. They represented a picture of India which was different from what the British commissioned historians have produced.

The issue is that the colonisers were successful in their policies for dominating Indians through dominating culture, tradition, and religion. Colonial historiography is also a colonial legacy that we former colonies have been carrying through. If we analyze the findings, we can say that it was probably a deliberate attempt on the part of British Commissioned historians to distort the history of India. Also, the important thing is that its effects have not yet been eliminated.

So in the end, the key component of history writing in the context of its production. Colonialism has played an important role in the development of discourses in Indian history. Colonial historiography has distorted it while the Post-Colonial historiography had tried to remove the defects produced by the British commissioned historians. The process is still underway. This reflects how strong was the technique of Imperial power. This has happened not only in India but all around the world where Imperial power made colonies. This is the evil of the process of colonization which remained as a colonial legacy. Efforts are in progress to reverse it. All this confirms the fact that whenever there is a clash of civilizations or ideologies the discipline of history becomes the first sufferer.

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