

Asian History, Culture and Environment: Vernacular and Oriental Paradigms

**PAPERS PRESENTED AT
International Conference of Historians of ASIA
5-9 DECEMBER 2016**

Vol. I

Patron

Syed Umar Hayat
Officer Incharge, NIHCR

Editors

Sajid Mahmood Awan
President IAHA

Dr. Rahat Zubair Malik
Secretary General IAHA



*National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research
Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University (New Campus)
Islamabad, Pakistan
2016*

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Preface

With the Grace of Almighty Allah, the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (NIHCR), Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad has come up to honour its commitment to host an International conference on Asian History. This commitment was basically a distinction won by one of our colleagues Sajid Mahmood Awan in the previous conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA) when he was elected the first ever President of IAHA from Pakistan for a term of two years 2014-2016. Eventually, the NIHCR is honoured to host the 24th IAHA 2016 international conference on “Asian History, Culture and Environment: Vernacular and Oriental Paradigms” in Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan from December 4-9, 2016. Previously, NIHCR has been organizing international conference every year on different aspects of the history of Pakistan and South Asia particularly, and covering global history in general. One of the objectives of the NIHCR is to engage national and local researcher organizations as well as universities in its endeavour to explore the rich historical and cultural fields of various regions of Pakistan. With the present conference, NIHCR has widely enhanced its horizon, expanding its focus from national history and culture to Asian History and culture adding environment in the main theme of the conference. This was done due to the changing patterns of weather and other problems that are being exacerbated due to increasing pollution and influencing the human ecology, society and culture. Being the national institute, NIHCR decided to play its role to keep the environment human friendly for which many papers are received and are adjusted in the conference programme accordingly.

I am personally thankful to all the participants in the 24th IAHA 2016 in Islamabad, Pakistan. To the best of my knowledge, the IAHA had been contributing to the promotion of research on the discipline of history all across the world through Asian prism, since its establishment in 1960. Organizing an international conference every alternate year is one of its important features. In this pursuit, the first IAHA Conference was held in 1960 in Manila and then onwards it has become a permanent commotion of academic activities of the International Association of Historians of Asia. The last IAHA Conference (IAHA 23) was held in Malaysia in 2014.

The call for paper of the present conference was circulated around the globe wherever some of the scholars were linked with the Asian History, Culture and Environment. Having quite a healthy

response, I am glad to publish the papers approved by the Conference Review Committee (CRC). This publication provides a comprehensive knowledge about almost all the dimensions of Asian history, culture and environment. We tried to place the individual papers with similar themes into specific panels. Consisting of all the papers accepted for presentation in the conference, the present publication is divided into three volumes; each volume covering the proceedings of one day. Actually, we clustered all the papers with similar themes into different panels which were devised thematically and chronologically.

The present event initially seemed impossible as we selected 180 papers out of 250 among which 60 are from international scholars. To make arrangements for boarding, lodging and other things, it could be a hard target to achieve. NIHCR alone was facing problem in organising such a mega event so it sought partnership. One of the major collaborators in organizing the conference is the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan which has always patronized NIHCR. We are grateful to the Chairman HEC Prof. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed, Executive Director of HEC, Ghulam Raza Bhatti, and Project Manager (R&D) Mr. Humayoun Awan for their support to organize this mega event of Historians of Asia. Our second partner was Shaheed Benazir Bhutto Women University (SBBWU) Peshawar. Its dynamic Vice-Chancellor Prof. Dr. Razia Sultana extended her unconditional support to make this event a real success. People Empowering & Development Alternatives (PEDA) joined us as a volunteer service provider agency. Their expertise helped us settle the complexities of registration, event management, particularly the excursion trips.

It is hoped that the present conference would initiate a positive, academic dialogue about the History, Culture, and Environment particularly with reference to vernacular and oriental paradigms. It will provide to the academics, researchers, students and Asian historians a forum to exchange their ideas and find out new avenues of researchers with reference to Asian prism. It is hoped that this venture will bring about closer cooperation and integration between various historians of Asia belonging to different countries; bridging the intellectual gap.

Such international events cannot be carried out successfully without the support of others, particularly when the required finances and logistic facilities were not always at hand. A number of dignitaries took special interest in the successful organization of the conference. First of all, I want to pay my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Javed Ashraf, Vice

Chancellor, and Prof. Dr. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, for their guidance and support throughout the process. Heartiest regards and thanks to Dr. Sajid Mahmood Awan, President 24th IAHA 2016 for winning the office of the President of IAHA and getting an opportunity for the NIHCR, Pakistan to host this commendable event. The support extended by Prof. Dr. Razia Sultana, V.C. Shaheed Benazir Bhutto University, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, played an important role to organize this Event. I owe a special thanks to the Executive Director of Peoples' Empowering & Development Alternatives, Mr. Mujahid Hussain whose support regarding organization of the event is commendable. I am thankful to all the faculty members of NIHCR Dr. Farah Gul Baqai, Dr. Sajid Mahmood Awan, Dr. Himayatullah Yaqubi Dr. Altaf Ullah, Dr. Rahat Zubair Malik, Mr. Akhtar Rasool Bodla, Mr. Muhammad Hassan, Mr. Noor Jamal, Ms. Iffat Humayun Khan. Very effective role and help of Mr. M. Mushtaq-ur-Rahman and Mr. Azhar Javed of NIHCR gave me much relief. With reference to the handling of the finances and management, we are grateful to Mr. Atlas Khan (Accounts Officer). Continuous support and efforts of Mr. Muhammad Munir Khawar (Publication Officer), Mr. Adnan Yousaf (Admin Officer), Mr. Khalid Mahmood, Mr. Zahid Imran and Mr. Sher Afgan Javed along with professional input of Mr. Rao Tahir Hussain, Mohammad Saleem and Mr. Muhammad Ashfaq made the work easier. The role played by the Focal Person of the conference Mr. Hazoor Bux Channa is also very valuable. As a matter of fact, all other officials of the NIHCR deserve heartiest thanks and gratefulness due to their continuous help and support in making the event a success story. I am also thankful to all the delegates who agreed to participate and present their papers in the conference. Their contribution in research is of immense importance. I am thankful to the organizing committees of the NIHCR, SBBWU and PEDDA for their continuous effort to make this conference fruitful. I am deeply obliged to all those whose names remained unmentioned as the list is very long.

(Syed Umar Hayat)

Introduction

Nothing is permanent but change! The world is in perpetual transition, eventually the discipline of history remains in persistent progression. Till the time world is in transition the discipline of history may certainly not cease to evolve. The modernist perspective of history intends having uniformity, homogeneity and conformity to human ideas and wants to put a full stop with an absolutist explanation. Contrarily, the postmodern perspective aspires documenting diversity, heterogeneity and infirmity of ideas. The initial histories were written in comparatively simple manner but the transformation of thought and growth of human ideas have added versatility to perspectives. The division of world into the white, black and yellow nations on one side and its compartmentalization into First, Second and Third Worlds on the other or with reference to its geographical location as Eastern and Western World; the worldviews or the thinking patterns have been shifted from simple to complex and unusual ones. Increasing complexities of the ideas and every day changing patterns of thinking with reference to historic interpretations of the past events invite historians to define, refine and redefine what has happened in the previous times and the way it was reported beforehand. The present Conference on “Asian History, Culture and Environment: Vernacular and Oriental Paradigms” is an attempt to decipher the changing patterns of historic events and multiple approaches to understand the phenomenon of change and growth.

The conference owes its geneses to the International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA) which decided to hold 24th IAHA Conference in Pakistan to be hosted by the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (NIHCR), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Venue of the IAHA conferences keeps rotating all around Asia, along with the office of the IAHA president. President of the IAHA is elected democratically through a majority vote of all the conference delegates for a term of two years. Election of the president is arranged by the IAHA Secretariat after every two years right on the last eve of the conference. During the 23rd IAHA Conference in Kedah, Malaysia, I was elected as President for a term of two years eventually the Islamic Republic of Pakistan had been given the chance to host this conference. This indeed is a landmark victory for Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam University and the NIHCR as this is for the first time that any one from Pakistan has won this

distinction. Hence, the present conference is declared as the 24th IAHA 2016 conference.

The incremental course and gradual discourse of history witnessed the evolution of human thought from Ancient Philosophy (Greek, Hellenistic and Roman Philosophy) to Medieval Philosophy (Patristic and Scholastic Philosophy), to Modern Philosophy and finally to Contemporary Philosophy (21st Century—Postmodernism) was theoretically a paradigm shift from theocentrism to anthropocentrism and practically from cosmocentrism to logocentrism. The conventional course of modernism followed through Rationalism (Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Malebranche, Pascal), Empiricism (Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, Hume), Idealism (Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer), Materialism (Feuerbach, Marx), Positivism (Comte, Mach), and Existentialism (Kierkegaard and Nietzsche). The teleological evolution of history shows that the process of history is not arbitrary, but it has an end or purpose that can be anticipated. The German idealists tried to discover the rational scheme behind the empirical historical events. They believed that the '*telos*' [Greek: Purpose] of history was freedom of man and his society. Actually, the evolution of civilization through the course of history was indeed a way to the human freedom. Teleological thought itself seems to be the source of utopianism in the modern social theories. For instance, George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) declared that the end (*telos*) of history is the final reconciliation of the idea with its self, i.e. the history that knows its self. Auguste Comte (1798-1857) claimed that the fundamental purpose of history was the positivist society and the scientific civilization of mankind. Karl Marx (1818-1883) assumed that the human being was the actor of history that drives it to its end through the social transformation i.e. revolutions. To him the ultimate end of history was the classless society. Thus the modernist perspective of history intends having uniformity, homogeneity and conformity to human ideas and wants to put a full stop with an absolutist explanation. The End of History (1992 book 1989 Article) by Francis Fukuyama and The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order by Samuel P. Huntington both were rigorous efforts in this regard.

Contrarily, the postmodern perspective is distinguished by the idea that there is not one but many truths and that the notions of truth are culturally and historically relative constructions. Fundamental principle of postmodernism is to put all assumptions under scrutiny in order to reveal the values that underlie all systems of thought, and

thus to question the ideologies within them that are seen as natural, so the idea of authenticity is always in question in postmodernism.

The transformation of thought and growth of human ideas have made perspectives more complex. Even more than the classification of world into the white, black and yellow nations and its compartmentalization into First, Second and Third Worlds the geographical location as Eastern and Western World has determined the palatial and spatial value of the world as vernacular and oriental.

Before arguing about vernacular and oriental paradigms, I would like to contest some of the aforementioned argument which refers to an overview of the world history. However, it is necessary to investigate and deconstruct the notion of 'Asia' that how it has been treated in past two – three hundred years.

Focusing down to Asia the largest and most populous continent stretching on 17,212,000 square miles (44,579,000 square kilometres) is home to more than 4.4 billion people containing around 30 percent of the world's land area and 62 percent of the world's population. It is the only continent which is bordering two continents of Africa and Europe and even sometime touches the third one of North America through the frozen seas. It not only has the most varied landscape rather can be declared to have the greatest diversity of all kinds including religions, races, cultures, and languages. It has also the distinction to host the ancient civilizations of the world namely Sumer Civilization in Mesopotamia (7000 years old) and the Indus Valley Civilization in Pakistan (6000 years old). The most populous country of the world that is China and the largest country of the world i.e. Russia are also situated in Asia. Both the highest as well as lowest point of the World—Mount Everest at 8,848 meters (29,029 feet) and the Dead Sea at -395 meters (-997 feet) respectively lie in Asia. With such a diversified variety of its land and people the Asian continent is generally divided into five major of North Asia, Central Asia, Middle East, Southeast Asia and South Asia. All the major religions of the world including Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism, Islam and Sikhism were produced in Asia.

However, talking historically, the idea of Asia is not a vernacular construct but an oriental one. It can be traced in European enlightenment thought when knowledge formulation and transcendence of theories of state, race, linguistics, historiography, epistemology, hermeneutics, philosophy and natural sciences were constituting the new world map. The ideas of Europe and Asian were debated in the context of world history under new knowledge

conditions. Adam Smith, Montesquieu, Hegel and Marx constructed the idea of Asia in difference to Europe and incorporated Asia in a teleological vision of history. The European configuration of the characteristics of Asia can be explained as multi-ethnic as compared to Europe's monarchical and sovereign, nomadic and agrarian modes of production differing from European industry, trade and urban life, political despotism as opposed to Europe's political and legal system, etc. In other words, the European nation-states and expanding of capitalist market was considered an advanced stage or ultimate objective of history, meanwhile Asia and its aforementioned characteristics were subsequently labelled to a lesser stage of history.

In this framework, Asia was not merely a geographical category, rather a civilization *viz-a-viz* the European nation state system and capitalism passing through a transitional phase between an unhistorical and historical stage. This derivative discourse offered a framework to European intellectuals, philosophers, theorists, revolutionaries and historians to represent Asian societies to reform policies, establish revolution and most importantly to make sense of its past and future. During most of the 19th and 20th Centuries, the idea of Asia was contained under universal European discourse on modernity which provided a similar narrative framework to colonizers and the colonized. In the 19th Century European intellectuals' work on history, religion, state and law ironically presented Asia as the 'centre' of all nations in the world and "starting point" of world history (Hui 2010). Hegel (2012) argues in the *Philosophy of History*:

"The History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History, Asia is the beginning... The East knew and to the present day knows that one is free; the Greek and Roman world, that some are free; the German World knows that all are free. The first political form therefore which we observe in history, is despotism, the second democracy and aristocracy, the third monarchy."

Such a generalized perspective of history was appropriated on the cognition of expanding European colonialism. European knowledge gained the so called objective conditions to develop a worldwide comparative methodology and outlook. For instance, Hegel was inspired by the connections between European languages and Sanskrit 'discovered' by some European linguists, and he linked this historical linguistic connection with the other two discoveries of the 19th Century Europe—the theory of race and historical geography. Hegel says that it is a great discovery in history.

Asia existed in the orientalist's imaginations and discourse in difference to Europe which is at different stage of history while 'centering' the idea of state to define and evaluate stages. In orientalist imaginations Asia had no state and was not yet a full subject of history, it was the beginning of history, or an unhistorical or non-historical period. It can be inferred from this argument that when Asian regions become states, Asia will not be Asia anymore. The catchphrase "Departure from Asia and Joining Europe" advocated by Japanese intellectuals in the 19th Century should also be analysed in the context of this line of thought, i.e., that of how nation-states were formed.

Thus, the slogan "Departure from Asia and Joining Europe", was raised in a short essay by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), published in 1885. It tells about the time when Japan started colonization and made material progress on Industrial lines and reproduced similar orientalist constructions. "Departure from Asia" reveals a determination to get rid of the Indo China centered world and its politics and ideology, and "joining Europe" means to establish Japan as a European-style national state. Similarly, it can be observed in Russia after 1917, when it faced the question that either they should associate themselves with Asia or Europe (Hui 2010).

This discussion on Asia reveals that how it was discursively constructed in orientalist thoughts and reproduced and appropriated with modernity. This legacy was institutionalized with European colonial experience and reconstructed the Asian past purposefully. These consistent practices are hint to understand the constitution of subjectivities of the colonized subjects, what Said argues as the political subjectivity in his works.

However, this conference is an attempt to investigate the concepts of oriental, imperial, colonial, vernacular, indigenous, knowledge, power, geography, culture and ideology in relation to what Edward Said's "rethinking of what had for centuries been believed to be an unbridgeable chasm separating East from West". (Said 1977).

On one side, orientalism or oriental paradigm is that fixation that Europeans in general and European scholars in particular had in their minds and across in their works about Asian countries—about the difference these cultures have from the Occidental cultures (European) for being mysterious and religion, behaviour and lifestyle.

In other words, Orientalism is a discourse concerning the Orient, compiled over time by regimes of interpretation; qualifications for acceptable knowledge; and the consequent regularities of image,

identity, metaphor, and analogy—all of which are structures of comparison” (Said 1977). Orientalism is constituted predominantly by these structures of comparison between the Occident and its other Orient. The other which has been constructed by the West is not just a mere discourse construction but it is controlled by the same West. This complete authority of the West over the Orient construction allows them to disintegrate the Orient identity empowering the colonial regime. So it can be said that this is the power which entertain the accumulation of knowledge and it is the same power which constraint it, thus allowing the Occident to be superior to the Orient. So, according to Said, it is the Occident which not only controls its own identity but also it has power to control and manipulate that of its others. “The people of the Orient are subjected to the colonial powers that know, describe, and classify them in precisely the same manner as they are subjected to colonial or imperial rule by Western powers.”

On the other side, the teleological debate on the notion of vernacular corresponds to the “native to an area” with an indigenous identity as a particular innate entity distinct from the modern, national or a standard character. A vernacular history, culture and environment are supposed to be natural, nonstandard and home grown. In Latin vernaculus refers to domestic, native, indigenous; pertaining to “home-born slaves”. For all human action is after all a domestic product—a creation not of scholars and professional but of unschooled and uneducated. The scholars and educationists however may cultivate and enrich it but not at the cost of its novelty and deep rooted genuine identity. The figurative meaning was broadened from the diminutive extended words vernaculus or vernacula for female and male slaves. In the whole of Europe Latin had dominated all the vernacular identities. Even the Christianity could not penetrate in different parts of Europe until the Bible was not translated into vernacular languages. Even science could also be popularised in vernacular. An early user of the vernacular was Galileo, writing in Italian c. 1600, though some of his works remained in Latin. A later example is Isaac Newton, whose 1687 Principia was in Latin, but whose 1704 Opticks was in English. Latin continues to be used in certain fields of science, notably in biology, while other fields such as mathematics use vernacular. Similarly, in India, the 12th Century Bhakti Movement led to the translation of Sanskrit texts to the vernacular. Quite similarly, Islam gained its popularity in vernacular. However, some societies have both a classical form and various vernacular forms, with two widely used examples being Arabic and Chinese.

Owing to such compartmentalisation and polarisation of approaches the Oriental-Occidental clash or paradigmatic inability to reach out and understand one another is getting stronger day by day. Without indulging myself in this complex debate, I leave it upon the honourable key-note speakers of the conference which we have selected very carefully. One is purely vernacular with his native thoughts and legacy i.e. Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir. The other one is foreigner coming from Western Michigan University, USA. Prof. Dr. Mahendra Lawoti, a Nepali by birth but an American by nationality, happens to be an oriental. With their respective approaches both the key note speakers will add variety of flavour to the course of the conference.

Then onwards the Conference will provide you all a dynamic platform to take this debate further in the pleasant environment of Islamabad to warm you up in the chilly December.

Main objectives of the conference include: to provide scholars in different countries an opportunity to come together for an exchange of views, ideas, and information regarding what was being done in their respective countries towards the extension, improvement, and refinement of historical knowledge relating to the national and regional wants of Asian peoples particularly with reference to the vernacular and oriental perspective. The conference further aims to find ways and means through collaboration and networking among academics and international scholars for fruitful information with a view to discard myths, fables, and stereotyped claims appearing in the guise of facts in history books and for solving common problems in research as growth of history under vernacular and oriental paradigms. The conference also aspires to strengthen the IAHA forum, having as its main objective the augmentation of written history as an instrument for the promotion of world peace, goodwill, understanding and peaceful co-existence. The conference will also help strengthen the position of NIHCR-Pakistan as a competitive and world-class higher institution of learning. It will also reinforce the networking between educational institutions, government agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), media and other related institutions.

Venue of the conference, the capital city of Pakistan, Islamabad is of a particular significance with the antiquity and historicity of its location in the northwest of the country in Potohar Plateau. This area has been significant in history for being a part of the crossroads of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The city was built in 1960 to replace Karachi as the capital city of Pakistan, which it has been

since 1963. The site of the city has a history going back to the earliest human habitations in Asia. This area has seen the first settlement of Aryans from Central Asia, ancient caravans passing through Central Asia including the massive armies of Alexander and Tamerlane. To the North of the city one can find the Margalla Hills. Hot summers, monsoon rains and cold winters with sparse snowfall in the hills almost summarize the environment of this area.

The conference is open to all academia, educators, civil society, media professionals and practitioners extending their contributions corresponding to the main scope and themes of the conference. Researchers, national and international students of higher education are also encouraged to avail the opportunity. In order to accommodate the vernacular language of the host county the conference was declared bi-lingual with the announcement that papers may be written either in English or Urdu. Having such a healthy response, we had to run parallel session. We had to place the papers in ten sessions; each session was carrying three panels, counting in total thirty parallel sessions. Placement of the papers was made chronological as well as logical. Same is the pattern of this publication covering all the papers to be presented in the three academic days of the conference dividing this publication into three volumes.

With all these dispensations, the 24th IAHA 2016 is a unique Conference in its scope, goals, and history in many ways. It lays the groundwork for a continuation of the effort to provide a platform for academics and consultants on the Asian History, Culture and Environment: Vernacular and Oriental Paradigms. Significantly, the conference will also serve as a forum for discussion and debate about the challenges and future of Asian History and Culture and the impact of Environmental change on the life and culture of the Asian community.

(Sajid Mahmood Awan)

President

International Association of Historians of Asia

An Analytical Approach to the Asian Historiography

Dr. Saud-ul-Hassan Khan Rohilla*

ABSTRACT

World's biggest continent, Asia is combination of various sub-continent like South Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, Middle East, Asia Minor etc. Each of these sub-continent possesses unique qualities and socio-cultural phenomena. Asia has large number of nations, communities, religions and societies and each of them has its own history. History writing originated from Asia (The Zuo Zhuan of China of 5th century B.C) and spread through the world. Asia produced a large number of varieties in this field and probably all nations and groups contributed in this process. So, Asians have their own works written on different approaches of history like political histories, social histories, religious histories, cultural histories, biographies, autobiographies, narrative histories, economic histories, family histories, long histories and brief histories etc. Chinese, Arabs, Persians, Indians, Turks, Malayans etc all contributed in this sphere of knowledge. The Asian Historiography possesses some special features in comparison with other continents specially the Western Historiography. For example, Asia produced the largest number of histories in the world but none of the philosophy of history originated from Asia. Mostly the Classical Asian

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histories are universal histories without any biasness and free from prejudices of race, colour and language. The Asian histories are more public than western histories. There is less gendered discrimination in Asian histories however; Asian historians are much influenced by religious attachments. It is also a quality of the historians of Asia that they become easily influenced by western thoughts and methods of historiography. Asians have public histories as well as private histories. During Medieval period, the Asians composed large historical encyclopaedias on histories of dynasties, cities, personalities, medicine, economics etc. It is also a unique feature of Asian Historiography that, long before western attempt, Asians produced works on Book writing, History writing and Historiography, despite the fact that Asians never founded any school of thought on this discipline.

Introduction

Historiography is the study of the way history has been and is written—the history of historical writing. It does not mean to study the events of the past directly, but the changing interpretations of those events in the works of individual historians.

Historiography is the study of the writing of history. It applies to studies of significant historians or their writings, i.e., the identification and interpretation of major historical texts, with inquiry into the cultural forces and other factors which shape the assumptions and methods of such works and their authors. It also refers to the so-called “philosophy of history,” i.e., theoretical and epistemological discussions of historical writing as an intellectual activity as well as grand schemes of the meaning of history as a universal process.

Historiography denotes the entire body of research devoted to a particular theme or historical period, or the entire body of historical works that have an inner unity on the basis of social class or nationality.

In ancient times, even before the appearance of writing, historical concepts and some elements of historical knowledge existed among all peoples in orally transmitted tales and legends and in the genealogies of ancestors. The origin of classes and of the state increased the need for historical knowledge, and the emergence of writing permitted the beginning of the accumulation of such knowledge. In early class societies some conditions for the development of historical cognition began to arise, including the elaboration of various systems of chronology.

The first historical records appeared at this time, such as the historical inscriptions left by kings and pharaohs and yearly records of events. Religion exerted an enormous influence on the description and interpretation of historical events, all of which were explained as the “will of the gods.” Such historical concepts were consolidated in “sacred books,” such as the Bible. But such things may not be called as History; these are just auxiliary sciences to history.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ASIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Origin of Historiography

It is important that History as a discipline is originated from Asia. Different nations claim to be the originator of History such as Chinese, Hebrews, and Persians etc. Whatever the case, the Pentateuch of Hebrews or the Chunqiu of China, the historical text is from Asia.

Start from first Human

The Asians start their history from first human being and try to cover all nations in genealogical form. They do not give importance to any non-human event, such as foundation of specific city or creation of soul etc. Their centre is Human being.

Different forms of History Writing

Asians have different forms of historiography. Some may be discussed as under:

Annals are a year-by-year arrangement of historical writing. In Asian historiography, annals generally begin at the birth of first human being (Adam or Barhama or Kumerith). Proper annals include whatever events were of importance for each year

A monograph is a comprehensive work on a single subject. The monograph could be written about a single event, a technique, rhetoric, or one of any number of other subjects.

City histories means "From the founding of the city", these are mostly the local histories.

"Court History" describes history written by or with information from a courtier. Such histories are generally particularly informative due to their "insider's" perspective

Asian historiography is also very well-known for non-subversive writing styles. The information in the Asian histories is not often communicated by suggestion, innuendo, implication and insinuation but by historical facts.

Asian historians wrote for the sake of writing. They did not write in an effort to convince their audiences. In their works, propaganda is never considered as important matter

Asian historians traditionally had moral baggage and their accounts were written with the specific moral agendas.

Asian historians wrote pragmatic histories in order to benefit future statesmen. The philosophy of pragmatic history treats historical happenings with special reference to causes, conditions and results.

Religious Historiography

Asians also have religious aspect of historiography.

It developed a special technique to treat inspired and sacred writings. It was concerned mostly with explaining the ways of God to man, and hence it was not interested in secular matters. Its approach was not objective but subjective. It was not based on reason but on faith and belief. It obeyed not any law that could be explained by logic, but a divine law

which has a fixed course of action, and whose destiny is best known only to God.

No Churchmanship in Asian Historiography

Defects in Chronology

Asian historiography is highly defective in chronology.

Secular and Religious Historiography

Asian historiography falls into two heads, religious and secular. Religious history was based on the assumption that human history was guided by God. The other name for such a religious history is patristic history. Secular history was known as pagan history, which received greater attention in later years, although religious history still maintained its ground.

Criticism in Historiography

In Asian historiography, the historians gained a wider scope to comment on the events. They raised their voice, while the empire was in the process of decay, against administrative inefficiency, corruption, increasing taxation, social derangement, economic strain, breakdown of law and order and the barbarian invasions.

Universality

Asian historiography is often universal. Most of the classical works covers the histories of all nations of their contemporary world.

Gender Neutral

Though Asian societies are also dominated by male sex, however their histories are not sex biased histories. Gender discrimination is hardly found in classical works, and most of the biased remarks are later forgery.

No Philosophy of History in Asia

It is very interesting that Asians produced thousands of classical historical works during ancient and medieval period but they produced no philosophy of history or even laid down scientific principles of historiography. In this field, modern Asians follow Europe and Western research approaches are highly appreciated. Asians are highly influenced by West in this area.

**Intransient Colonial Paradigm? Patterns of
Development and Urban-Administrative
Centrality in the Peripheral Multan
1885-1985**

Muhammad Shafique*

ABSTRACT

The nature of Colonial development in its relation with the postcolonial state and society is an issue extensively debated in recent academic discourse. Focusing on the system of irrigation, settlement and communication/transportation as three main reflections of colonial development, the paper intends to explore the pattern of the emergence of new urban centres and shift of colonial administration from traditional towns to these new cities. The paper shall aim at the evaluation of nature of colonial development as well as its continuity in post modern politics and administration. The paper evolves around the theme that colonial paradigm and patterns of development are intransient and even post colonial patterns of politics of urban-administrative centres is following the same paradigm. For, the paper focuses on late nineteenth century urban-administrative configuration of Multan district. It will attempt to determine that how traditional centres Mailsi, Shujaabad, and Sara-i-Sadho became victim of colonial patterns of

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development How Lodhran survived in the colonial wave of development and how new administrative centres such as Kabirwala, Khanewal and Vehari emerged as urban-administrative centres.

Introduction

The impact of colonial modernity on South Asian development occupies a central place in the academic discourse on the nature of socio-political and economic discourse. Having a clear cut stance on the negativity of 'imperialism/colonialism', still a large number of intellectuals represent British Imperialism as a 'lesser evil' than the other Imperialisms functioning in the history of mankind.¹ In the recent debate, three major schools have potentially contributed to the evaluation of British Imperial impact on India.

Postmodernist anti-Imperialist Americanized school of social scientists believes what the British had been doing in the empire was an 'illusion of permanence', 'rhetoric of empire' and 'masks to conquests'. To achieve its colonial ends the British destroyed the indigenous system and culture and developed 'colonial forms of knowledge'.² They owe the debt of socio-political and economic miseries to the British. However, inspite of all attempts, the British failed to establish a permanent empire and left a permanent impact. There was a resurgence and revivalism among colonized people which ultimately destroyed the British Empire. This view traces the genealogy of post-colonial socio-political, cultural and constitutional problems or 'Ghosts of Empire' to the British.³ The long standing and most destructive territorial dispute between India and Pakistan on Kashmir is also considered legacy of the British Indian Empire. Lakshami Iyer concludes that 'areas that experienced direct [British] rule have significantly lower levels of access to schools, health

1 Joshua Keatin; Olumide Abimbolas

2 Cohen, Felix S. 1986. *Felix S. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law*. 1st ed. [Place of publication not identified]: [Five Rings Corp.].

3 Black, Jeremy. *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*. 1st ed.

centres, and roads in the postcolonial period. The quality of governance in the colonial period has a significant and persistent [and often negative] effect on postcolonial outcomes."⁴

The Modernists and so called 'Civilization Missionaries' believe that it was 'white men burden to make the world civilized' and the British imparted 'useful knowledge 'and extended the fruits of western civilization, science and technology to the uncivilized world. The liquidation of the British empire was not a failure of the civilization mission.⁵ It is the globalization of British Imperial civilization and the empire is still ideologically intact in the form of the 'British Commonwealth of Nations'.⁶ The British had left a strong institutional, cultural, economic and political legacy.⁷ The British claim the credit of the introduction of western modernity and global citizenship or globalization to the empire.⁸ Fareed Zakariya asserts that postcolonial system 'owes much to the institutions put in place by the British'. British had relatively a temporary presence in other parts of the world than in India. The British 'built lasting institutions of government throughout the country-courts, universities, administrative agencies...even more importantly...[the] first generations of post-independence leaders, who nurtured the best traditions of the British...'.⁸

The Subaltern Studies School has very sharply criticized the creation of centrality and marginality by the British. The difference was not only institutionalized rather was customized and culturalized. The subaltern took up the

4 Iyer, Lakshmi. "Direct Versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-Term Consequences". *SSRN Electronic Journal*. doi:10.2139/ssrn.1295481.

5 Carrington, Charles. 1961. *The Liquidation of the British Empire*. 1st ed. London: Harrap.

6 Nicholas Mansergh, 2013

7 John Dreyer, 2008

8 April Biccum, 2012; Naill Ferguson, 2012

cause of 'sub' and 'alter' without challenging the mainstream imperial/colonial paradigm.⁹

In this perspective, the impact of colonialism is not only highly debated issue, rather through the discourse on the nature of impact of colonialism, a sort of historical lessons to extend control by some powerful new 'Economic Empires' and to develop 'Economic Imperialism' are being derived. For, the levels of evils are also being constructed to make justification for the acceptance of 'Imperialism/colonialism' as a lesser evil to make the world 'civilized' or in now current jargon, to make the world 'more democratic'.

Thematic Framework

Focusing on some prominent means of Urban-administrative centrality such as what Karl Marx pointed out as the means of production, sources of communication/transportation and class structure, the paper explores the pattern of the emergence of new urban centres and shift of colonial administration from traditional towns to these new cities. The continuity and impact of these new centres in the postcolonial structure of time and space mark the major part of analysis. The paper revolves around the theme that colonial paradigm and patterns of development of urban-administrative centrality and marginality are intransient and even postcolonial patterns of politics of urban-administrative centres are following the same paradigm. This continuity can be in multiple theoretical perspectives.

Thematically, one can trace the irony of historical process while discussing the nature of the British impact. The idea of the purity of blood and race and even singular lineage of institutional and constitutional bodies is foremost rejected in the resent theories.¹⁰ Simultaneously, the concept of historical process develops a belief in the permanence and continuity of historical actions and compounding nature of historical results wherefrom the impact of British in the

9 Guha 1988; David Arnold & David Hardiman 1982-1989

10 Foucault, 1978

formation of the modern history cannot be repealed. Likewise, Ibn khaldun¹¹ and A.J. Toynbee¹² believe in the parental relations between priory and posterity cultures, civilizations and empires in the bio-sociological frames of chronologies. Fundamentally, the dialectical theories of all sort are establishing same sort of relationships within the chronological frame of development. In this context, theoretically and philosophically, digression of British from the formation of modern world especially in South Asia, is not possible. In this theoretical perspective, any idea of the post colonial state and society free of colonial perspective must be considered a blunder-sum assumption. The post colonial state and society is not only a continuity of the colonial paradigm, rather the resistance to the colonialism has emerged from within the colonial paradigm, which reflects the intransient nature of British paradigm of urban administrative development. In the South Asia, the British institutions almost radically changed the political culture, economic culture, class structure, education, literature, language and even the concept of modernity. Even the resistance movements and intellectual movements were and are being run by the westernized political and intellectual elite. Subaltern, alternate and parallel structures are not challenging, the colonial paradigm, rather, are focusing on the marginalized which were also set by the colonizers.¹³ For this theoretical construct, the paper focuses on late nineteenth century urban-administrative configuration of Multan division. It tries to determine that how traditional centres such as Mailsi, Shujaabad, and Sara-i-Sadho became victim of colonial patterns of development; how Lodhran survived in the colonial wave of development and how new administrative centres such as Kabirwala, Khanewal and Vehari emerged as urban-administrative centres.

11 Muqaddima, 1375, 1971

12 Study of History, 1936-68

13 Shafique, 2008

Following the theme of Sheldon Pollock that one 'cannot know how colonialism changed South Asia if [one does] not know what was there to be changed'¹⁴ the study assumes that colonial impact can be understood through a thorough reading of history of British developments in the British Multan. The nineteenth century British debates had a lot of arguments and plans for how to make the colonized 'civilized' in western British sense and those plans and ideals were systematically applied to the development of regional administrative centrality and marginality.¹⁵ For T. B. Macaulay, Europe was the best civilization in the world, which was at its best represented by the British, especially the English. Macaulay wanted to impart western institutions and patterns of development in South Asia and same model was applied to the regional development frame work. In his speech in the Parliament in London in 1835, he explained:

I have travelled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and, therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native self-culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation.

Same sort of argument he took up in the letter to his father.¹⁶

The theme is dealt in threesome approach: First; the traditional structure of urban-administrative centrality; second; the formation of new British Administrative centres and continuity of British urban-administrative paradigm in Postcolonial Pakistan with reference to Multan.

14 Pollock 2004: 19

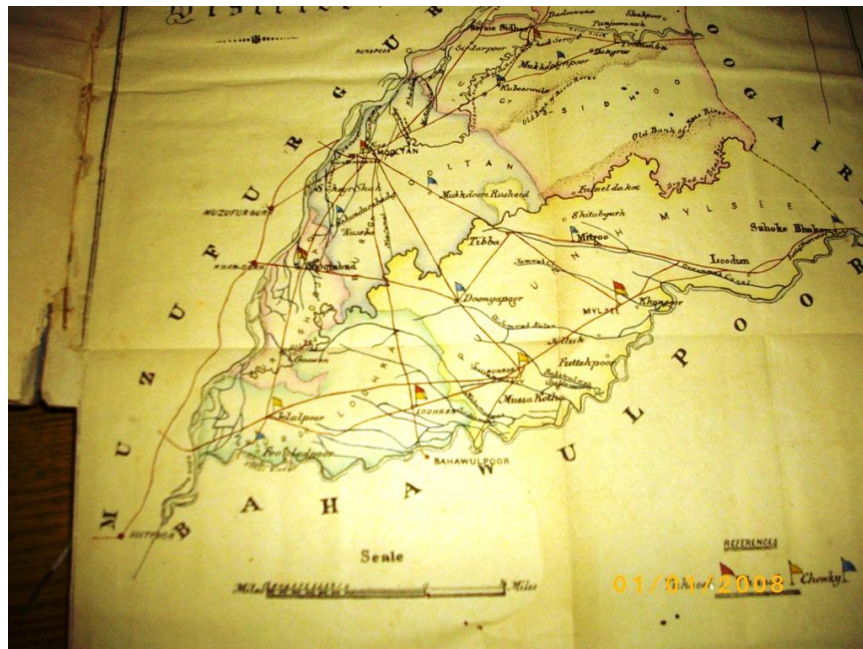
15 Shafique 2008

16 Letter to Zachary Macaulay, dated October 12, 1836 in Thomas Pinney, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 193.

Traditional Structure of Urban-Administrative Centrality in Multan

Traditionally, like other areas of Punjab, Multan had inherited a Mughal feudal administrative structure, based on rural economy and revenue administration with the exception of a few very small towns inhabited around the centres of the feudal administration and mostly working with the feudal administrators on the bases of caste and clan. Only one major city could be expected as provincial Headquarter. During the Sikh period, before the British, the same sort of structure continued to work. When the British conquered the Multan region, it was considered a centre of 'Multani' Language and culture with a tradition of incorporating different races and castes, Indian, Middle Eastern and Central Asians, into one homogeneous and harmonized society. The British declared Multan not only as a District headquarter rather Divisional Headquarter. The District was also divided into Tehsils, sub-Tehsils and Mouzas, mostly with rural base.

Establishment of British Administrative Centres



Emergence of Sara-i-Sidho as an Administrative Centre

The historical importance of the town seems to be more significant than its geo-demographic space in the region. In the nineteenth century, it appears to be emerging as an administrative centre against the traditional centre of Tulamba in the East of Sera-i-Sidhu. This emergence appears to be due to the shift in political elites of the region.

Traditionally, the region had been a strong hold of Muslim political elites since centuries.

During the Mughal period, the region, well known for its agricultural produces, had been administered from the centre of Tulamba and it was a part of Multan, either as an independent state or as an Imperial province.¹⁷ After the independence of Multan under the Afghans, the region became an important part of new state. However, under the Sikh, the Tulamba lost its status as administrative centre and Sara-i-Sidho emerged as a new administrative centre.¹⁸ It was not only due to Sara-i-Sidho's importance on the trade map of the region, but also due to the revenue it was generating. As most of the revenue was being generated from this region, therefore, a centre in this region could be most suitable for the administrative purposes.

On the other hand, by the change of political regime, the conflict of loyalty to old and new regimes became sharp. Tulamba as a traditional centre of politics was considered a centre of old political regime. Therefore, for the new regime of Sawan Mal of Multan, the shift of administrative centre was inevitable. The new suitable centre was to be not only well-connected with the trade routes and revenue generating areas of the region, but also had to provide a political support to the new rulers. Sara-i-Sidho suited the new political elites in this context well. Other than being located

17 See Muhammad Azhar Iqbal, *Tulamba tarikhī Tanazar Mein* (Tulamba in Historical Perspective) M. A. thesis, Department of History, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan, 2001.

18 Lala Fateh Chand, *Multan Kay Zila Ka Geographia*, (Lahore: Mufeed –e-Aam, 1888), pp. 44-5

on the trade routes and River crossings, it could provide communal support to the new Hindu and Sikh elites also.¹⁹

The area around Sara-i-Sidho was well venerated in the local Hindu mythology. The myth was constructed around the characters of Ram, Lakshman and Sita. The River Ravi flows down a distance of nine miles in a straight canal in this region. According to local Hindu mythology of the time, this position of River Ravi was ascribed to the miracle of Ram and Lakshman. According to local Hindu mythology, one day, Ram and Lakshman were taking bath in the Ravi and there was no one to watch their clothes. While swimming they desired the river to flow straight so that they could watch their clothes. They swim about nine miles and the river began to change its course and became straight according to the wishes of Ram and Lakshman.²⁰ Another story relates that Ram was watching Sita who was sitting on the bank of River Ravi (at Sita Kund) and was washing her clothes.²¹ Ram wanted to watch her beauty and the river respected his wish. After swimming nine miles they came out from the river: Ram on the Left bank and Lakshman on the right bank. Two sacred places began to be known as Ram Choutra and Lukshman Choutra and were well venerated among the Hindus of the region. Temples were erected on the spots and an annual fair was used to held on these places in the month of Besakh (April). Dewan Sawan Mal of Multan not only rebuilt the temple of Ram Choutra but also erected a temple in Sara-i-Sidho which is still being used as a school.²²

In this perspective, the town could provide an ample support to the Hindu rulers of Multan. The Hindu rulers also supported religious activity which made Sara-i-Sidho a

19 J. H. Morris, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Mooltan District in the Mooltan Division*, Lahore: Punjabee Press, 1870). Also see Lala Fateh Chand, p. 44

20 Lala Fateh Chand, p. 46

21 Lal Chand, *Geography Zila Multan*, (Multan: Lal Chand Publishers, n.d.), p.18

22 Lal Chand, p. 79.

central administrative place in the region, yet it was not a big demographic or trade centre as compare to historic Tulamba.

Sara-i-Sidho as a Tehsil Headquarter

Sara-i-Sidho took more important position during the early British period. After the conquest of Multan by the British, the British did not change the administrative centres immediately, rather reorganized the administrative structure. The new administration was based on a hierarchical structure in which District was the most influential unit. Districts were divided into Tehsils, Tehsils into Purganas/ Tauluqas or sub-Tehsils and then was the status of Mauza or revenue-collection-unit village.

Sara-i-Sidho became a Tehsil headquarter under the British with a space of more than 1700 square miles. Its population in 1870 was more than 42000²³ and in 1888 more than 80000.²⁴ It was a fast flourishing region of Multan district and was further divided into four administrative units of Purganas or Taulaqa: Sidhna, Tulamba, Sara-i-Sidho and Sirdar Pore. Tulamba and Sirdarpore were two major centres in the sense that they had been affiliated with the traditional Muslim elites.

The Tehsil was stretching from the North West of Multan to the Extreme East of Multan having its boundaries to the District of Jhang in the North, to District of Googera in the East, with the Tehsil Mailsee and Tehsil Multan of Multan District in the South. In the West Sera-i-Sidho was separated from Muzzaffargarh District by river Chenab on the junction of River Ravi and River Chenab.²⁵

The Tehsil had no city in its extremity rather it contained a few towns or Qasbah. Major Qasbah's were Makhdoom Pure, Tulamba and Sara-i-Sidho. However, by the 1890s Khanewal, Salar Wahan, Mamdal and Dadwana had begun

23 J. H. Morris, p. 22.

24 Lala Fateh Chand, p. 48

25 See Map

to emerge as new parallel centres of trade, commerce and revenue.²⁶

As a Tehsil headquarter under the British, Sara-i-Sidho was granted the placement of an Assistant Commissioner and Tehsildar along with other functionaries of revenue administration, education, health and policing. Simultaneously, an Anglo-Vernacular middle school and a Deonagri Girls School had been established in Sara-i-Sidho along with a hospital by the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.²⁷ The two establishments made Sara-i-Sidho a central place in the region for the people who were ready to accept British as ruler; and a centre for the modernization project of the British at the junction of two rivers. The people belonging to all of North and East of Multan district and who were influenced by the modernization project of the British, had to move for their official work, judicial cases, revenue cases, health and education to Sara-i-Sidho. The establishment of an Anglo-Vernacular school at an early stage of colonial rule provided the region an opportunity to develop a consciousness of new system and Western modernity, fast encroaching in the traditional society. The people coming into contact with the British institutions adopted the western themes and models immediately and got employment under the British system. Therefore, the region found a reasonable representation in the services open for the indigenous people.

British Pattern of Development and the Formation of New British Administrative Centres

The space of Sara-i-Sidho in the imperial administration of the region began to change by the new colonial establishments, especially by the development of new irrigation and communication system and the rise of communal politics.

26 Lala Fateh Chand, p. 48

27 Nand Lal, *Geographia Zila Multan*, (Multan: Saraswati Press, 1884), pp. 14-16

I- Kabir Wala and Khanewal.

The north-Western part of Tehsil Sara-i-Sidho was well known for its agricultural products and natural system of irrigation. It has more than 290 natural Kusses (small water channels) linked with the river to irrigate the region.²⁸ However, this status became unimportant due to the emergence of new canal system, especially by the establishment of Sidhnai Canal and Nala Koranga. In 1873, the Council of India passed Northern India Canal and Drainage Act VIII which was applied to the system of land settlement, water management and revenue collection in the region. New regulations under this Act were devised and new areas were brought under cultivation through the rules and notification to regulate the Sidhnai Canal including Koranga Fazal Shah and Abdul Hakim Canals.²⁹ This system generated a new activity in the region and began to develop new centres of trade and commerce such as Abdul Hakem, Khanewal, Kabirwala etc.

Simultaneous rise of communal politics in the Indian politics and British policy to win the support of the Muslim masses generated a need to shift the centre of administration in the region to a newly emerging place. Kabirwala and Khanewal emerged as two new centres of trade, commerce and administration to replace Sara-i-Sidho as an administrative centre. Both towns were located on the new system of roads; Kabirwala linking Multan with Head-Sidhnai, Shor Kot, Jhang and with Northern Punjab and Khanewal a new junction on the Railway Line linking Lahore with Sind and Balochistan. The new road link and agricultural economy of new settlement in the region was the root cause of this shift. Establishment of Railway link through Khanewal Junction minimized the importance of Sara-i-Sidho.

28 J. H. Morris, 24

29 See for details *Rules and Notifications under the Northern India Canal and Drainage Act No VIII of 1873, Applicable to the Sidhnai Canal including Koranga Fazal Shah and Abdul hakim Canals*, (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1903).

The plan of shift of Tehsil administration offices to Kabirwala was made in 1870s. However, it was materialized in 1890s. Simultaneously, a new Tehsil out of the territory of Tehsil Sara-i-Sidho was also established in early twentieth century. After the shift of centre of administration to these new towns, the flow of socio-political and economic development began to turn to Kabirwala and Khanewal. Currently, against 17000 population of Union Council Sara-i-Sidho, the population of Kabirwala is more than 70 thousand and population of Khanewal city is more than one hundred and sixty thousand. Both the cities are well linked with the sources of communication and have all the facilities of the modern times. However, Sara-i-Sidho did not survive as an administrative centre and therefore as a centre for modern developments.³⁰

30 See the census report 1998

Mahabharata as a Source of Historiography of Ancient South Asia

Jehanzeb Khan*

ABSTRACT

Historiography refers either to the study of the methodology and development of history (as a discipline), or to a body of historical work on a specialized topic. Exploring the purpose, means, methods, tools and process of the writing of South Asian history or historiography in ancient time is the objective of this paper. The sources of ancient historiography of South Asia are mostly religious literature. Other sources are also found, i.e, stamps and coins, Archaeological remain, account of foreign travellers and historians can also be considered as source of historiography of ancient south Asia. These sources are not generally considered as authentic. Therefore, most of the historians rely on religious books to understand ancient historiography of South Asia. Through the study of these religious literatures it is revealed that ancient historiography of South Asia was mostly story telling of wars as described in Mahabharata and Ramayana. Besides its epic narrative of the Kurukshetra War and the fates of the Kaurava and the Pandava princes, the Mahabharata contains much philosophical and devotional material, such as a discussion of the four goals of life or

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purusharthas of new generation of Indians, Hindus as well as Muslims. Thus it appears from above that Mahabharata is a source of Ancient South Asian historiography and reveals very good information about Hindu culture and Society, traditions, customs and Wars.

Introduction

Asia is a land where almost all messengers of God arrived for guidance. Though that area is part of Arab territory and is now-a-days called Saudi Arabia and Israel and located in Middle East. It shows that Asia is a region chosen by God to spread the light of knowledge and wisdom throughout the world where as at that time Arabs were living in dark age. The major part of South Asia is dominated by the countries like that of Pakistan, India, Bangladesh which as a whole was called Sub-continent. This area remained without proper guidance. However, since ancient times, in Sub-continent, Hindus trusted Mahabharata as a trusted book for their guidance, though there are no set of rules and regulations but a story of War, however this books provides guidance to Hindus how to lead their life in the light of story. Later in the history of Sub-continent, Buddha appeared as a reformer of Hindu religion who proposed several reforms in Hindu society like abolition of Sati, Prayers before idols, etc. but left no long lasting impacts on Hindu society. His actions and preaching looks like a messenger but he had no revelation. There appeared some other small efforts to reform the society but did not prove fruitful. But Hindus continued to seek guidance from Mahabharata.

South Asia, though not blessed with messengers of God but the whole area is lighted through the teachings of Sufi saints like Shah WaliUllah, Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti, Bu Ali Qalandar and several others. The area is also lighted through the teachings of some noble men like that of Buddha, Guru Nanak, etc. A considerable part of population of Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka consists of Buddhist. Even Afghanistan at a time had Buddhist culture as it is shown through the remains of old Buddhist civilization and statues

of Buddha found at many places in Afghanistan. India is main country of South Asian region which is dominated by Hindus. Hindu culture dominated the whole sub-continent and the main source for their guidance remained the epic story of Mahabharata. Brahmins had the responsibilities to interpret Mahabharata and they usually appointed Brahmin Pundits for the interpretation and for performance of religious rituals.

There is no authentic document to describe the ancient history of India. The ancient Indian literature is vanished from the pages of history. There are many reasons for disappearance of Hindi literature and some of them are as follow; 1. Due to changes in atmosphere, temperature and seasons, lot of Hindi ancient literature vanished. 2. Due to passage of time, the old ancient monographs prepared on raw material were badly damaged and cannot be used as an authentic source. 3. The ancient literature destroyed due to changes in governments and due to rivalry between Brahmins and Budhists and their internal wars also played a critical role in this. 4. It is also important to mention that ancient historian did not bother themselves to write about their national leaders and heroes. The only reliable source left for understanding ancient Hindi historiography was religious literature. The Hindi religious literature included (i). sacredveed, (ii). Bhramin Gharanth or upnishad, (iii). Puran, (iv). Ramayana and Mahabharata, (v). Dharam Shastar. All these books provide some understanding about the history of ancient India.¹ Inveeds which are four, there is interpretation of religious philosophy. However, there is description of historical events also. Upnishad describes ancient Hindi religion and its rituals and also about Hindu society. Purans have a lot of information about historical events. Mahabharata and Ramayana are classical Hindi epic poetry. It describes religious feelings, mental attitudes and

1 Dr. Prof. Hameedullah Shah Hashmi, History of Ancient India (Lahore; MaktabaDhniyal, 2008) p.12.

about different traditions and customs prevailed in ancient India.²

In ancient times, there was no central government in South Asia. The whole area was divided into small states which were ruled by different princes. No authentic record is available to describe the history of the Sub-continent or South Asia as the term historiography tended to be used in a more basic sense, to mean simply “the writing of history”. Furay and Salevouris have defined historiography as the “study of the way history has been and is written, the history of historical writing. When you study historiography you do not study the events of the past directly, but the changing interpretations of those events in the works of individual historians”.³

But unfortunately, in the Sub-continent, no one tried to consolidate history and historical events and their interpretation. Further as Sub-continent was divided into small states ruled by Rajas, court (durbari) historian wrote some paragraphs of praise in respect of Rajas which are usually false or biased. Major part of historical record either destroyed due to the weather influence or destroyed by some natural calamity. Though there is available some record, which mostly consists of religious literature. It is important to mention here that almost all civilizations have historical record intact like that of Greek, Persian, Arabs, etc. But unfortunately ancient South Asia has only few historical material and religious literature only to depict the ancient history of the region. It will relevant to mention here that almost all religions have religious books. These books describe past events or history of the nations like that of Bible, Torah, Zabur, and Quran. But at the same time the followers of these books, wrote different books which revealed the history of their time which is a good source to understand about them. But in Sub-continent no such

2 Conal Furay and Michael J. Salevouris. *The Methods and Skills of History: A Practical Guide*. 3rd ed. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2010.

3 Dr. Prof. Hameedullah Shah Hashmi, *History of Ancient India*, pp. 12-15.

authentic book is written by the historian of this region other than religious books like that of Rig Veda, Bharaman Ghranth or Upnishad, Ramayan and Mahabharata. In order to study the life of Indian people in the past, we have to rely on different sources of Indian history. Although there is an absence of any historical chronicle, it does not mean that Indians lacked in historical sense. The information derived from literary sources and corroborated by archaeological evidence helps us to form a complete picture of our ancient times. The sources for the reconstruction of ancient Indian history can be studied under three broad headings namely (1) Literary Sources (2) Archaeological Sources and (3) Accounts of the foreign Historians and Travellers.

Thus most of the literary sources of ancient Indian history were predominantly religious and contain less factual data that can be considered as authentic historical source. Some of the oldest sources include the Puranas, the Vedas and epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata. These sources focus more on the civilization and culture of that age instead of the political scenario. Rig Veda, the earliest amongst the Vedas, provides information about the Aryans, their relocation to India, and their interaction with other clans. The Vedas generally offer detailed facts about the Aryan civilisation. The Puranas, which were prepared during the Gupta era, contain historical facts about the royal lineage and their reigns. Whereas, the Upanishads notify about the religious part of the Vedic period. Furthermore, various Jain and Buddhist literatures and religious texts contain historical materials for reference. The Buddhist literature, which was written in Pali, contained information about Lord Buddha and various kings of that era. The Jain texts, written in Prakrit, provided facts about trade and traders in India. Buddhist Dwipavamsa, Mahavamsa and the Jain Parisistappravana are a few texts that supply some historical resources.

The Manu Smriti, Vishnu Smriti, Narada Smriti contained references regarding rules related to the law of the land and duties of kings and other bureaucrats. Arthashastra, a law book, written by Kautilya, states about the economic and

legal issues present in the society, during the Maurya Empire. The grammar of Panini and Patanjali, GargiSamhita also includes adequate historical sources.

Mahabharata is written and composed by Sage Vyasa. However, it is assumed that the author of this long epic is some unknown person but Vyasa compiled it. Mahabharata (partly religious and partly secular) throw a flood of light on different aspects of Hindu society before sixth century B.C. It is basically an epic poem. It is a story of War like that of Persian War written by Herodotus. It is a recognized as a longest epic in world literature (100,000 or 88,000 2-line stanzas) making it eight times as long as Homer's Iliad and Odyssey and over 3 times as long as the Bible. The main subject of this epic is war between Pandavas and Kauravas. However, myths and teachings dominated the main subject. Mahabharata can be used as source of ancient historiography of India as it revealed a story of different gods like river goddess, Ganga and as majority of ancient sub-continent was Hindu who believed in different gods so it revealed the religious beliefs of the people of ancient India. There are many stories along with different sub stories. Mahabharata revealed beliefs, religion, moral values, habits, customs, culture and political organization of that time. The people of ancient time strongly believed in magic as a power which dominated their lives. Almost all population at that time was Hindu. The people of ancient times strongly respect moral values and they knew the difference between good and evil. They followed traditions, customs and habits of their ancestors and basically ancient India was a traditional society. Politically, this region was ruled by small princely states as shown in Mahabharata and these states usually fought with each other and rival of each other. An ancient woman of India may marry many men. The practice of magic was very common and became part of their culture. Socially, the society was dominated by idea of revenge and people waited for long to complete revenge. The importance and power of vows are evident throughout the epic. Brahmin dominated the society as stated in the epic.

Once stated, a vow becomes the truth and must be fulfilled, no matter what else may happen. The epic further revealed that the society was dominated by rich people and poor were hated by rich men. Like as shown in epic, *“the young princess must be given children, but who can father them? There was no other man in the family besides Bhishma, and he had renounced women. So Satyawati, the king’s second wife, asks her first-born son, Vyasa the poet, to give children to the two princesses. He goes to them, but the princesses dislike him, for as an ascetic who had taken a vow of poverty, he was filthy and smell”*.

Mahabharata described that magic is considered a power and the people recited mantras to recall gods. Pandu who was king of Hastinapura came to know that he could not have children. He resigned from the throne and went into a jungle with his two wives. Kunti, his first wife, informed him that she possessed a magic formula. She could invoke a god at will and have a child by him. The mantra’s power was put to the test and three sons were born to her, Yudhishtir, the son of the god Dharma, Bhima, son of god Vayu who was god of wind and Arjuna son of god Indra. Madri also used this magic mantra and gave birth to twin sons, Nakula and Sahadeva.

According to Mahabharata, the ancient Hindu society followed the strict rule of caste and society was divided in castes. A woman might be shared by different men like for instance when Arjuna announced to his mother that he had won the prize, Kunti told him to share with his brothers. Like an irrevocable vow, her statement, even by mistake, could not be undone, so all five brothers marry Draupadi, the daughter of Draupada.

Mahabharata reveals that Pandavas kingdom became wealthy and Kauravas were jealous. This epic is a history of downfall of Pandavas and how they regain power. It is a story of Draupadi who married five Pandavas princes. In it, there revealed the harshness of the Kauravas and humiliation of Draupadi. This epic shows that Pandavas

believed in righteousness and in moral obligation. It is their righteousness due to which they were exiled for twelve years when they lost game of dice in which other party cheated. It is a story of greed of Kauravas also. We learn through this epic that there appeared a war between Pandavas and Kauravas during the thirteen year of the exile of Pandavas.

Bhagvad Gita reveals Hindu belief regarding life, "Do not worry about death, which is only one small step in the great and endless cycle of life. One neither kills or is killed. The soul merely casts off old bodies and enters new ones, just as a person changes garments. Death is only illusion."

The epic shows gentleness of Pandavas. Pandavas Prince Yudhishtira went to his teachers who were bound to fight on the side of the Kauravas. He states: "O invincible one, I bow to you. We will fight you. Please grant us your permission and give us your blessing." For this sign of respect both men prayed for the victory of Pandavas. This epic reveals that in ancient times, gods used their powers to destroy the evil men or forces. The major weapon of war was arrow. There was use of celestial weapons in the story of war. Sacrifice for gods was very common in ancient times like throwing a man or women into fire, etc. Magical mantras were very common, especially during war. Revenge is main theme of the epic. It shows that some very cruel acts were also performed during the war like when Bhima knocked Duhsasana to the ground with his mace and rips opened his chest. He drank his blood and said that it was better than his mother's milk. At the end of epic it is revealed that the war ended but all those on both sides died in the war except the five Pandavas. The war resulted with a moral that war is an evil thing.

Mahabharata reveals in ancient India truth is highly valued. Kings revere Brahmins. Woman was respected. Cow is considered as a stair that will lead to heaven.

Conclusion

Thus it can be concluded that Mahabharata can be used as a source to understand the ancient Indian history. Though it is part of religious literature but provides information about the different aspects of life of the people of ancient India.

**Philanthropy for Royal Merit:
The Making of Cities in Siamese Colony,
Case Study Payap Circle 1899-1932**

Pinyapan Potjanalawan*

ABSTRACT

This article will examine the phenomenon of the construction in the cities colonized by the Siamese government in Payap circle, the Northern territory of Siam relates to the local supporters in the view of philanthropic construction for “Royal Merit”. This campaign was not officially projected but emerged due to at least three factors. Firstly, the lack of budget of Siamese government, its expenditure mostly focused on its construction of the capital, Bangkok which was considerably set up to be the civilized space to show off both westerners and Siamese subject; meanwhile the outside major cities were abandoned. Secondly, the public construction owed their roots from the Buddhist concept about the part of accumulation of merit for a better life in the future. So, it was not the absolute new practice. Thirdly, the collaboration to the new regime, Siamese Absolutism, from the Siamese vessels and other groups like merchants and officers in Payap circle especially after the Tesapiban Reformation in 1899 and the Shan rebellion in 1902 when the Siam expressed their might. This all turned the centre of

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government and legitimacy of the local leader from local prince to Siam monarchy. After that Siam government continued with soft power by the construction of the citizen mind to its subject. Therefore construction for Royal merit was the part of unofficial campaign of Siamese government that provided the physical transformation of the cities by the cooperation among Siam government and its subject which can be called "Collaborative Colonialism".

Introduction

Payap circle was established to be the political unit of Siam state in the turn of 20th century. Previous studies were discussed through the political system¹ and the change of economic role of Siam over these areas². Some approach Siam was also one of the colonists like British and French empire³. This article argues the relationship between Siam and Payap circle was not only the greedy colonist and the victimized colony but also the compromised procedure between them. This paper focuses on construction in the public of the cities in Payap circle.

Comparing to Bangkok, the provinces were paid too few budget for construction for public works. Even though, Siam elites and their families afforded new palaces like new grand palace at Dusit, Bang Pa-In at Ayutthaya, Sri Chang islands at eastern coast. The provincial construction in public were managed by the head of each city, who took resources from the old system of labour and tax by themselves. However, Siam government started project for maintaining the city in the name of Sukhaphibal. (almost municipality but cut off the

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- 1 Tej Bunnag. The provincial administration of Siam 1892-1915: The Ministry of the Interior under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (Bangkok: Thammasat University Press), 2005 and Saraswadee Prayoosathein. The Administrative Reform of Monthon Payap (B.E.2436-2476), Master's thesis, Srinakharinwirot University, 1979.
 - 2 Chamaichome Sunthornswat. A Historical study of forestry in Northern Thailand from 1896 to 1932, Master's thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1978.
 - 3 Thongchai Winichakul. Siam mapped: a history of the geo-body of a nation (Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press), 1994

part of participation of people) The first Sukhaphibal was Ta Chalom at Samut Sakorn province in 1905. This system grows slowly. In Payap circle there was only one Sukhaphibal at Chiangmai that started in 1913.⁴

Transition to Modern Philanthropy

The studies of modern philanthropy focus in the turn to Industrial Revolution era. Thomas Adam's work in approach of transnational and transatlantic history among the cities in United States, Britain, Canada and Germany in 1840-1930⁵ points the new understanding of philanthropy as social tools to include and exclude groups of social people which leads to form the hierarchy in modern society. Philanthropy is not only campaign for good sake but also reflects the requirement of economic elites that will shine their outstanding role and their status in the equality society like United States. Not everyone of leisure class have time enough to join the philanthropy project. This project is the important key to determine the identity of the elites. Philanthropy projects in western world which got the attention were museum, art gallery and housing for poor.

To see philanthropy is the progressive movement to manage the society is so wrong. The consequences of these practices often cost the problem. In case of Boston elites who lose their chairs in city hall to the Irish they retreat to their stronghold in philanthropy institute to use their political power indirectly. It was found that some philanthropists did not support the Women's suffrage. Some countries philanthropists support the racism campaign such as Germany chose to help only German but refuse to support people from Poland as the immigrant labours. Thus philanthropy is the practice field of the social elites mostly Nouveau riche who sought their space from excluding by the old elites.

4 Easum, Taylor, p.229

5 Thomas Adam. *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transitional Perspective, 1840s to 1930s* (Indiana: Indiana University Press), 2009.

In Asia context, Preeti Chopra studied the philanthropy in Bombay, west coast of India around 19-20th century⁶. Previous philanthropy related to the public construction such as well or tank⁷, sooner it changed to contemporary public building like library, building in university and low cost housing. These practices empowered them with British India government, the colonists. This approach argued Anthony King's colonial cities that said about colonial cities were established by imperialism and the European colonists alone⁸.

For Siam, philanthropy played important role as the latent power of public works and physical space in the cities after the decline of conscription system from people to attend duty for state. However, philanthropy motivated people by religion ideology. So, this process is up to the sacred dimension.

In upper Chaophraya river basin or Payap circle, it was found the practice of philanthropy frequently in Buddhist practice and text. The doctrine of Buddhist taught people to make merit by support the philanthropy in many ways leded them to accumulate Boon and Kusol (goodness) as much as they can for the utopian world "nirvana". Even though, they cannot grasp goodness enough in next life they will be born in a good condition. As it was found many inscriptions revealed the pray of the donators of temple construction. At least in 19th century there were sacred books described about the results of making merit in donation for monastery construction or maintenance⁹. The religion activities also represent the royal patronage to the monastery. The more wealth the king was, the more donation monasteries received. This showed that the monarchy was the major

6 Preeti Chopra. *The City and its Fragments: Colonial Bombay, 1854-1918*, PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2003.

7 *Ibid.*, p.60-61

8 *Ibid.*, p.43

9 Phramaha Sutit Apakaro (Obun) *Study of the body of knowledge and the local wisdom appearing in Lan-na Buddhist literature: A Case Study of "Anisamsa" and Scriptures Preached on Various Occasions in Lan-na*. Ph. D Dissertation, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, 2005.

merit maker who had legitimacy to rule the people. For instance, the inscription of Wat Pratat Lampang Luang in 16th century was written about the chief of Lampang donated for monastery construction and prayed to be “Arahan” (Buddhist saint) in next Buddha era.¹⁰

Philanthropy for Royal Merit and Public Works

The centralization of Bangkok, Siamese capital in early 20th century not only focused on political and economic aspect but also related to merit making and the new structure of monk’s administration. Previously, authority of Buddhist administration was under the local power. The becoming to modern society was not neglecting concept of sacred being but transferred them from local power to Bangkok metropole. The Sangha act in 1902 represented that the sacred power belonged to the monarchy.

“Royal Merit” was not the new term. it was used for royal ceremony in many occasion such as Buddhist ceremony, royal birthday, royal funeral, etc. Although, these ceremonies were just only domestic in royal family relating to religion belief. Since Rama V reign, there were several royal merit projects than previous and they related to outsider of palace. The starting of phrase “Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol” (Giving for royal merit) related to Siamese absolute monarchy which emphasized the role of the king. Instead of the king was not sacred being and far from reach like the king in pre-modern state, in modern state he was the centre of faith and the sacred of state. The most obvious project was Rama V statue in 1910s which systematically solicit from people to donate for their king. *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* also had a character that represent the hierarchical status that people in the lower rank sent their stuff to the upper rank.

The active groups who paid attention for royal merit projects were merchants and local elites. This paper explores the process of building the physical space in province by the cooperation with those who were mentioned earlier in the

10 Easum, Taylor, *Ibid.*, p.245

concept of *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol*. There were at least 3 conditions related to this idea. Donators, objects or money for donation and when it was done, there would be recognized by the king such as letters or responses from the government such as royal gazettes, more over in the documents would have phrase *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol*. The previous public donations did not mention the phrase like this.

The earlier philanthropy did not specify to give the merit to the king. It just announced the merit making of royal family and elites to public. For instance, donation to Mahatat Wittayalai (monk college) in 1892 by Prince Butri, Ja Sang, Sai, Khun Worakijpisarn and Khum. These activity was announced in royal gazette.¹¹ Donation and announcement started to relate common people. For example, Siamese officers and people in Chantaburi together donated for supporting 5 local schools in 1899.¹² The name and place of donators were mentioned in royal gazette.

Next step, the annex concept of Buddhist and absolute monarchy together. It led to centralize the people's Buddhist merit making to absolute monarchy regime under *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* phrase.

The oldest document that mentioned *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* phrase in the royal gazette is the collection money from 86 people to build bridge cross Tam River near Pone Mor temple in Nongkai. This philanthropy led by Phraya Prathumtewapibal the governor of Nongkai and the bridge project across canal Ban Kod sub-district Chonburi by 303 donators led by a sheriff and chief of sub-district both were built in 1899¹³ when Siam had reformed new administration through Tesapibal system and circle system.

11 Royal gazette, Vol.9, 1892, p.76

12 Royal gazette, Vol.16, 1899, p.586-595

13 Royal gazette, Vol.17, 5 August 1900, p. 218-219

Public works as roads and bridges in Payap circle

When the settlement and cities was changed from the previous composition to the new one which the government office and social organization were important space that made cities more complicated. The new space like these also required the city's maintenance and building differently from the past.

The important Physical space which link to many points was the roads. The roads not only the way for trade but also the route for centralize the political power to Siam. The land transportation before train focuses on road. Thus roads and bridges were the important mean to make the travel continuously. The problem was the improper condition of those physical space. For instance, by 1919 there was mentioned to road in Phrae which was muddy in rainy season and covered with dust in dry season¹⁴.

After Shan rebellion in 1902, Siam recognized the important of communication and transportation between capital and the provincial area. The telegram alone was not enough anymore. They need the effective transportation.

The limit of building the transport infrastructure was labour and budget. Most budget government spent for Bangkok and royal family sake. The method that Siam usually used was letting local society manage themselves in the name of philanthropy. The expansion of *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* in Payap circle helped upgrade the status and connection between the donators and Siamese government. Especially, local elites gradually declined from political and economical power. On contrary merchants, new elites replaced the old elites from their wealth. Monks were the last group who influenced the society. Some of them confronted Siam or represent of government and the concept *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* directly.

14 N.A., R6 KK.6.1/6, Ministry of Transportation, Royal merit for roads building in Payap circle (7 October 1915-30 August 1918)

Philanthropy in Payap circle could be categorized in two types. First, public works in everyday life such as roads, bridges, wells and public rest-house. Another one was government building. Principally, these constructions should be budgetary supported by government but huge budget was spent practically for Bangkok the capital of the state. Thus, most building had to depend on erstwhile system that demanded labour from lay people and their money. Despite this labour system was changed dramatically by three labour acts in 1900¹⁵ and 1913.¹⁶

Even though first labour act cancelled the conscript system to be the king's labour or nobleman's labour, its exception still yielded for three activities. First, building and maintenance the road, water way and local dam. Secondly, instant government task such as bandit suppression or war and welcome ceremony for king, royal family, representation of king, high rank town's guest and state task which paid wages¹⁷. The second act in same year emphasized the exception of conscription labour to defend the country. It also maintained chief power in village and sub-district level to call villagers to complete some mission such as bandit suppression and fire fighting¹⁸.

The law which abolished labour system and collect their money instead was unfair and not made sense. When government still called for their labour and money to build and maintain public infrastructure which was the state's duty. This labour problem shown the transition from totally traditional labour system to new semi labour system in name of volunteer for public interest.

From documents of ministry of public works and royal gazette, it was found the *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* phrase

15 Royal gazette, Vol.17, 29 April 1900, p.27-29 and Royal gazette, Vol.17, 13 January 1900, p.594-595

16 Royal gazette, Vol.30, 21 September 1913, p.287-288

17 Royal gazette, Vol.17, 29 April 1900, p.27-29

18 Royal gazette, Vol.17, 13 January 1900, p.594-595

in Payap circle since 1901. It can be plotted in the table as seen in table 1.

Table 1: THE CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE PUBLIC WORKS SUCH AS ROADS, BRIGES, WELLS AND PUBLIC REST-HOUSE WHICH WERE MENTIONED THE TAWAI PEN PHRA RAJA KUSOL PHRASE IN PAYAP CIRCLE BETWEEN 1901 TO 1920. ¹⁹

Year	Amount of Philanthropy	Year	Amount of Philanthropy
1901	8	1911	3
1902	4	1912	12
1903	2	1913	5
1904	5	1914	4
1905	6	1915	3
1906	6	1916	4
1907	8	1917	3
1908	7	1918	2
1909	7	1919	7
1910	16	1920	4

From the table, it can be summarized that the philanthropy had started steadily from 1901. Secondly, by 1910 when king Chulalongkorn died the number philanthropy was up to 16 projects. Some documents mentioned king Chulalongkorn specifically to be the receiver of royal merit. As same as the projects in 1912, in the following year of the royal cremation.

Philanthropy did not depend on the government agency like ministry of public works directly. This volunteer job provided the effective leaders which can be divided in 4 groups.

1) Local princes: The participation in philosophy of this group leaned on their status which turned down deliberately.

¹⁹ From N.A., R5 YT.9/65, Ministry of Public Works, Bridges in Payap circle (10 August 1901-17 July 1910) N.A., R5 YT.9/76, Ministry of Public Works, Roads and Bridges in Payap circle (12 February 1901-5 May 1910). N.A., R6 M.15.1/11, Ministry of Interior, Bridges in Payap circle (15 February 1910-22 August 1919). N.A., R6 KK.6.1/6, Ministry of Transportation, Royal merit for roads building in Payap circle (7 October 1915-30 August 1918). N.A., R6 KK.6.1/19, Ministry of Transportation, Bridges building in Maharat circle (10 July 1919-25. August 1920)

The more they donated the more loyalty that they shown to Siam for bargain some power that they had lost.

After Shan rebellion, Princes of Nan were the important donators. Suriyapongparitdej, great prince of Nan, maintenanced five roads by convict labour and lay people who lived nearby the road. In addition, he also hired labour to constructed the roads in 1903²⁰. He and his family and government officers collected money to build two bridges in 1906²¹.

The death of King Chulalongkorn in 1910 was the great opportunity for merit making. There were active figures who shown their loyalty by donation. Some projects they mentioned directly to give the merit to previous King. Bunyawat, great prince of Lampang collect money from his family, government officers and lay people to build road and bridge in 1912²². Chao Uparaj of Nan hired labour to build the unfinished bridge and mention directly to previous king and current King, King Vajiravudh²³.

The extreme philanthropy case was Suriyapongparitdej, Chao Uparaj as interior officer, Phraya Ramadej chief governor of Nan collected money from themselves and government officers and Nan people in 1915. They got the budget of 10,200 Baht and 62 Satang for hire contractors who had skill built four bridges. There was a document which described the reason why they donated that because they want to show their loyalty and mourning for their merciful death king. This merit cost Suriyapongparitdej 5,903 Baht, over the half of the donation²⁴.

20 N.A., R5 YT.9/76, Ministry of Public Works, Roads and Bridges in Payap circle (12 February 1901-5 May 1910)

21 N.A., R5 YT.9/65, Ministry of Public Works, Bridges in Payap circle (10 August 1901-17 July 1910)

22 N.A., R6 M.15.1/11, Ministry of Interior, Bridges in Payap circle (15 February 1910-22 August 1919)

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*

At the beginning, it was found the construction by labour from lay people under their control. Later the labours were paid for their jobs. This change was related to the new labour law which made old local elites could not use their power to call their subject to finish their tasks. Even though the local elites tried extremely to support government, Siamese government absolutely decided to reduced their power anyway.

2) Representation of Siamese government: Sherriff, chief of sub-district and chief of village were the agency who practiced in small space and remote area from the town. Their duty was the construction and maintenance in the area when they discovered the problem. They used the local resource such as labour, money and things which could found in their environment. This policy could have compared to the old system of conscription labour. Even though these activities did not abuse the law. But it shown that the conscription labour system was never abolished.

The first group focused on the construction that facilitated the transportation for example the great road project in Lampang city. Eleven roads were built, in the same time the canals were dig and finished in 1901 by voluntary labour and merit concept²⁵. The reason from these government agency was to develop the town and for the public interest this project was the royal merit project. Thoen administration office asked lay people to build road and highway in town for eight roads in the same year²⁶.

In case of high commissioner commanded by himself, Suraseewisittasak offered Lampahun administration office to build road then they Phraya Wang Khwa to be manager to build roads and bridges in 25 places. The budget came from collection when labours came from conscription in 1905.²⁷

25 N.A., R5 YT.9/76, *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*

The asking for donation was general method to fix the problem of lack of budget. They used term Bok Bun (Offering merit) like the old tradition donation in religion sense. It was found in building ten bridges at Mae Chai in 1912²⁸, building 27 bridges at Chiangrai in the same year²⁹ and six bridges at Fang in 1913³⁰. Some case they used lay-people labour and conviction labour worked together or used people's private equipment to build. It was found that government office in Phrae asked people for cart to help carrying stone to build road in 1919³¹.

The labour conscription and asking for donation was the reduction of people's benefit. It was considered that the mention of merit in religious sense and the royal merit would reduce people's discontent in the same time they constituted the hierarchy order by Siam's absolute monarchy over their subjects.

3) Merchants: Most of them were foreigners who were not in the Siamese labour system. Thus, they had the opportunity for accumulate wealth and capital. They also understood the wage labour. Not surprisingly, they always donated money to hire the labour and bought material for construction or gave money to some government agency which were their own duty. It could be divided into two major groups such as Chinese merchants and westerners and British subject both Burmese and Shan people.

First group, the merchants both donated all by themselves and be the leader to collect money to build public works in the town they lived in and facilitated their business. Luang Wichitchamnonvanij at Phare donated his money to build two bridges across canal for philanthropy cost 1,200 Baht in 1901³². He again still donated on behalf of Kim Seng Li

28 N.A., R6 M.15.1/11, *Ibid.*

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*

32 N.A., R5 YT.9/65, *Ibid.*

company in Phrae to build two bridges³³. Kimchian, Lampang merchant built bridge that cost 350 Baht finished in the same date of Royal Cremation of King Chulalongkorn³⁴. In the same year, Khun Anusarnsuntorn gave 1,100 Rupee and collect 225 Rupee from the famous people to build bridge in 1911³⁵.

Second group, the timber merchants and companies, they helped government to build roads and bridges in the remote area to facilitate their timber business. For example, Roi Kam Ja donated 450 Rupee to build bridge at Lamphun in 1901.³⁶ Shan people who named Roi Sangwong Sangja asked for permission to remove the timbers to build rest-house nearby Yom river cost 805 Baht in 1902³⁷. Burmese people named Roi Kampuk collect 4,168 Baht from himself, Shan and Burmese people to build bridge at Nan in 1918.³⁸ It was found that East Asiatic Company in Phrae donated money and timber to build nine bridges in 1919.³⁹

4) Monks: They were one of previous leaders who called for money, things and labour donation to build or maintenance public works. In this period even fixed the building of their own monastery still related to *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* project depended on the spread of absolute monarchy regime.

Besides philanthropy construction somebody tried to ask Siamese government permission to build the roads and collect the money from users. It was found that by 1917 there was people who asked permission to build 2 roads in Chiangmai by themselves and they wanted to collect the fee for passing. However, the government did not allow except for philanthropy.

33 *Ibid.*

34 N.A., R6 M.15.1/11, *Ibid.*

35 N.A., R6 M.15.1/11, *Ibid.*

36 N.A., R5 YT.9/65, *Ibid.*

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*

39 N.A., R6 KK.6.1/19, *Ibid.*

This reason reflects two dimension. The first dimension shows that roads were public works which facilitated the mass. The second shows that state wanted to monopoly public service and manage by itself instead of letting private sector sought for their benefits. However, the philanthropy projects declined gradually. It did not mean the public works were good enough but the concept of royal merit did not relate to the concept of building physical space anymore. Because of the systematic road project started in late 1910 when royal railway department in charge the highway of the country.

Town building without Philanthropy

The donation also came to other projects without *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* phrase. These projects were about government building that its concept of space was different from philanthropy projects. The latter signified the public usage which had root from the past especially from the Buddhist legend that the donators would received merit from the public works construction. However, it cannot take it for grant that this idea was the public awareness like the happening in western idea.

On one hand the government building obviously belonged to Siamese government, on the other hand the public works such as roads and bridges still was ambiguous. For the latter even it was built in state property which Siamese claimed their right but they were used by lay people to transport at the same time they also took part to build and maintenance them occasionally. Moreover, government had not enough man power and money to take care these spaces. The government building and their areas were controlled more strictly than roads and bridges. This donation was often called the donation for government's belonging.

The distinction of local princes as landlord was land donation. For example, grand prince of Chiangmai donated land that was next to commissioner resident in 1903⁴⁰. By

40 Royal gazette, Vol.20, 10 January 1903, p.698

the same year Suriyawongparitdej, grand prince of Nan, gave two pieces of land and five houses for government⁴¹. Prince Rajabhakinai also donated land in the Lampang's city wall for the same reason in 1904⁴². Bunyawatwongmanit, grand prince of Lampang, gave land nearby his palace for building government court building in 1914⁴³.

Another group was government officers as the agency of state. The more they earned their contribution for the building government building the more they succeeded. This was the way they would be promoted to the higher rank.

Chao Rajasampantawong, assistant commissioner paid 1,618 Baht 50 Satang in 1911 to build Sobyao district officer with district naming board surrounding by wooden fence. His purpose was to give this building belong to government⁴⁴. Likewise, at Sobprab district Phraya Chaiyasongkram, farm head officer donated 1,224 Baht cooperating with 200 baht from Sobprab sheriff, they hired the contractor to build Sobprab district office from the blueprint which Payap circle sent out. The wooden fence was made of wood from sub-district chief and village chief in the same year.⁴⁵

The constructions of district office were known that it came from the donation of the officer and people in their own area such as Sa district (Nan) in 1913⁴⁶. Moreover, there was the building the resident of government with a kitchen at Denchai district (Phrae) to accommodate them and people when they needed to rest among the rainy season in 1917⁴⁷.

Moreover, there were also the cooperation between local princes and government officers. Bunyawat, grand prince of

41 *Ibid*, p.699

42 Royal gazette, Vol.21, 17 July 1904, p.238

43 N.A., R6 M.6.1/4, Ministry of Interior, Giving land for government (4 January 1910-18 October 1924)

44 N.A., R6 M.6.1/2, Ministry of Interior, Building district office and government resident (2 November 1910-4 October 1924)

45 *Ibid*.

46 *Ibid*.

47 *Ibid*.

Lampang, Ngao government office, sub-district chief, village chief, merchants and lay people of Ngao donated their money to build Ngao district office instead of old declined building in 1913⁴⁸. The one exception that mentioned *Tawai Pen Phra Raj Kusol* like the building of public works was Bunyawat and governor and officers of Jaehom district build new office in 1912⁴⁹.

Even though Siamese government designed Sukhapibal system, Sanitary Municipality, to managed the space of cities but it was lack of effectiveness because of being deficient of human resource and budget. There was only one Sukhapibal in Payap circle at Chiangmai in 1913⁵⁰. The purpose of this setting was the management of cleanliness, protection of decease and maintenance the local roads by local tax. Compare to their failure, Chinese merchants played important role of development the town space such as the construction of private building. Especially the rapid growth in 1920s from the railway system which attracted Chinese people in Bangkok or Nakhon Sawan to emigrate to the town for their business investment in Payap circle. Finally, Chinese population and business influence came over British subjects who were the important merchants. The construction of new community for Chinese made the cities more complicate such as Chinese school, shrine, mills, sawmills and etc.

The Challenge of *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* and the Decline of Absolute Monarchy

The great change in 1930s was the road and bridge construction without *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* phrase anymore. The cause of this change might be the deterioration of sacred status of the monarchy after the critical moments such as the critics from newspaper about the government's work and the effect from great depression

48 *Ibid.*

49 N.A., R6 M.6.1/18, Ministry of Interior, Grand prince of Lampang gave new Jaehom district office to government

50 Royal gazette, Vol.25, 13 September 1908, p.668-673

in 1929⁵¹. Moreover, it was found that the ministry of commerce and transportation substituted the role of public works response from the monarchy. So they were the representation of the state to send the donators congratulations for helping government to build public works. For example, there were the labour conscription for 2,310 in Konkaen by 1929 to build the road without the mention of any *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* phrase. The new division of Siamese administration would have made it make sense for denial of the relation of this phrase.

The limited resource made the state and local power mostly invested in public works since 1900s. The monasteries were abandon to maintenance. However, it did not mean there were not the construction of this kind of building. Wealthy British subjects like Burmese and Tai and Tong-Su (Karen) constructed the monasteries at the old temple by their own cultural style. These monasteries were such their own properties than the community's temple. While the rise of these new culture style was shown up, the old local monasteries was neglected. This shown the weak of the local monks and their influence who used to be spiritual leader. In previous day, the monks and local princes together patronized the monasteries. Siamese government also intervended the local monk task. Chief of Lampang monks was dismissed because of the reason that he acted like lay people walking along the road⁵². The influence of Siam appeared on art style in monastery especially the important temple like wat Pra That Lampang Luang.

In this context, there was a monk who called Kruba Sriwichai. He was only marginal monks in Lee district, the remote area of Lamphun. His role as the leader of construction of the monasteries established the religious connection that trans-provincial area. It should be said Kruba Sriwichai made their own local Buddhist colony. On one hand, this religious leader leaned to old tradition about the

51 Royal gazette, Vol.46, 12 May 1929, p.411-416

52 Royal gazette, Vol.33, 25 June 1916, p.767-768

merit leader who made his mind to gain more merit that he could to reach the ideal of Buddhist as the Enlightenment and Nirvana. On the other hand, this leadership made the government not so comfortable. The merit leader who transform to rebellion in 1900s was still haunted the Siamese elites. Besides the local princes declined from their political and economic power.

The Kruba Sriwichai's work spread in Payap circle. Especially the major significant monasteries such as wat Phra Singh, wat Suandok in Chiangmai, wat Phra That Haripunchai in Lamphun, wat Phra Kaew Dontao in Lampang, wat Sri Komkam in Phayao. The construction also included the forest monasteries. By religious condition and the mass participation made him in high status as Ton Bun (Merit being). Who donated or made merit with him they would receive great merit in return. In addition, he also built road and bridges. Not surprisingly, the construction of road to wat Phra That Doi Suthep was the legendary tale. Although the public works were not the main projects of him.

The philanthropy project of Kruba Sriwichai was in the context that Siamese government gradually declined. The problem was the people who believed him would went wrong for state disobedience. Thus Kruba Sriwichai was the status like Northeast Phee Bun (Merit evil) in 1900s that became rebellion. His influence seemed compete the Siamese government at least the high patriarch who was the head of monks of Siam. His accusation of being illegal monks represented this relation between Kruba Sriwichai and Siam power.⁵³

While the all resistance in Payap lost after Shan rebellion in 1902, Kruba Sriwicahi and disciples represented the last resistant power not by arms but merit and philanthropy in religious realm. The command to take him to Bangkok for investigation shown the state power over the local power.

53 Sopha Chanamool. Kruba Srivichai TONBUN of Lanna 1878-1938, Master's thesis, Thammasat University, 1991.

Even though the elite monks in Bangkok believed or not about his resistance to Siam.

Conclusion

Philanthropy as state projects was a form of collective colonialism that Siam worked with Payap circle as a colony. Under the concept of religious, the previous philanthropy was not the tool for centralization to the capital like Siamese did. So Siamese government used Buddhist as soft power to request for volunteer and donation. Moreover, the most construction budget was spent for Bangkok, Siam's capital and royal family's project. The lack of money made Siam elites required the local people to support the construction of public works. Moreover, the term of royal merit, *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol*, helped the annex of absolute monarchy's political ideology and Buddhist ideology together. Finally, the decline of absolute monarchy also lead the *Tawai Pen Phra Raja Kusol* to the end.

Post Modernist Approach and the Discipline of History

Akhtar Rasool Bodla*

ABSTRACT

The enlightenment era in world history is considered to be an important watershed in the history of intellectual development. The era marked the establishment of the reason over dogma. The idea of human perfectibility was propounded by the enlightenment thinkers which called for that human knowledge had been reached to its zenith and no further development is possible. The enlightenment philosophers attacked on every discipline from critical perspective and tried to expose the irrational elements in it. The discipline of history is no exception. Long before the enlightenment era, during the medieval times the approach of history writing was Theocentric which means; the historical developments were controlled by divine power, thus human will, was denied. The intellectual developments during Renaissance and Reformation challenged such assumption and propounded that man is responsible for every historical development, making the history's approach anthropocentric. Enlightenment era completely rejected the theocentric approach in the history in favour of anthropocentric history. In this way the historical knowledge

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became secular in nature, the reference of God and divine intervention were removed and replaced by other neutral words.

Positivism was an outcome of the enlightenment thought and subsequent emergence of scientific revolution which culminated in the superior authority of science on other disciplines of knowledge.

The positivism is the belief in the facticity of the past: historical evidence can be discovered, evaluated and objectively constituted as facts. Beyond the simple level of events positivism spurs some historian to seek out the infrastructural laws, that guided, constrain and/or determine human society and its progress.¹

The positivist thinkers thus were of the opinion that true knowledge was that which based on the scientific methods. In this way they rejected that knowledge which could not be verified by the scientific method. The main characteristics of the positivist thought was to stress on the accuracy of historical facts, the emphasis on the objectivity and an attempt to discover the universal law that govern the historical developments. This thought gave rise to the speculative philosophy of history and the philosophies of Hegel and Marx were the outcome of that thought.

The dawn of twentieth century brought the massive destruction to the humanity thanks to the two world wars. The widespread destruction of the human marvels by the scientific weapons of mass destruction and subsequent hunger and destituteness of the people put a serious question on the ideal of enlightenment and positivism which stood for the objective truth and knowledge. The so called progress of scientific knowledge brought about massive destructions rather peace and prosperity to the world. The faith on human reason and logic which was the hallmark of

¹ For detailed discussions on the perspective see, Alan Munslow, *The Rutledge Companion to Historical Studies*: (London: Rutledge, 2006), p. 199

the previous intellectual thoughts could not save the lives of the people. This thought gave rise to other new theories of philosophy and social science, Existentialism and post modernism were among such theories. The present article is an attempt to through light on the post modern theory and its impact on the discipline of history and historiography. Some important historiographical concepts will be discussed and an effort is made to relate such concepts to theory of postmodernism. The paper also attempts to analyse the postmodern critique on such concept.

There is no single and precise definitions of postmodernism, various scholars have different viewpoint regarding this term. The Modern-day Dictionary of Received Ideas says that "this word has no meaning, use it as often as possible".² Postmodernism is a complex maze of ideas and subjects that may not be fit into a all encompassing definition, but according to Arran Gare, "signifies participation in the debate about whether there has been a radical cultural transformations in the world, particularly within western societies, and if so, whether this has been good or bad. It is to characterise the present age and to assess how we should respond to it".³ Post modernism is a challenge to the enlightenment modernist conceptions of reason, objectivity, and the idea of progress and human perfectibility. It rejects the previous history as mere a collection of fiction which does not represent the truth and reality. Post modernist challenge emanates from literary criticism and linguistic which is to say that the language has its on cultural constructions so it cannot represent the reality. In this way it throws light on the nature of relationship between history and literature. Post modernists also challenge the concept of metanarrative and reject the quest of unearthing of universal rules which govern the pattern of history. Jean Francois Lyotard is of the opinion that the post modern condition as

2 Arran Gare, *Postmodernism and Environment Crisis* (London: 1997), p.4

3 Gare, Arran, *postmodernism and the environmental crisis*, (London: 1997), p.4

“the incredulity towards metanarratives.”⁴ The critique on the validity of the metanarrative is indirect critique on the idea of progress and human perfectibility which is enshrined in the modernist thought. So it can be assumed that the postmodernist challenged the very ideals of enlightenment and modernism which had so far stood for the human emancipation and progress. This movement also alter the course of history and in next part of the paper an attempt will be made to highlight the impact of postmodernism on history and historiography.

Postmodernism and History

The post modernist attacked the discipline of history with so many critical questions on the very nature of the subject. They are of the opinion that all past narratives are based on politically or personally motivated agenda, hence all historical accounts are fabrications or written with particular agenda. Beverly Southgate defines Postmodernism and its relation to the history in following word:

“Postmodernism implies-especially a challenge to those conventional certainties- such as ‘facts’, ‘objectivity’, and ‘truth’ – in terms of which much history has in the past been (and read). The sceptical approach of postmodernist theorist questions the absolute validity of such concepts; it can conclude that there can never be one single privileged position from which the story of the past...”⁵ The historian cannot neutralise himself from the circumstances and environment in which he is living, therefore, it is impossible to write a neutral or objective history. The concept of objectivity on which the edifice of modern historical thought is based upon, is considered to be the myth. Now we will, one by one, discuss some important characteristic of post modern theory of history. But we shall start with the post modern critique of the enlightenment.

4 Steven Best, *The politics of Historical vision*, (New York: The Guilford press, 1995), p.25

5 Beverly Southgate, *History: What and Why? Ancient, modern and postmodern perspectives*, 2nd edition. (New York:2001), p.8

Enlightenment

The enlightenment placed the man to be on the centre of historical stage and considered it a universal category. The postmodernist challenged it and instead propounded that the very concept of the centrality of man is the invention of the enlightenment. For postmodernist thinkers such as Foucault and Derrida, man is not a universal category as the philosophers of enlightenment believed. Both the philosophers denied the possibility of developing a science of man based on human nature. They were of the opinion that knowledge produced so far is not better than the knowledge produced earlier. For Foucault, the enlightenment project did not free or secularise the knowledge of history, as it was mistakenly held by scholars. So there is a need to revisit it. According to his thought, "historical inquiry cautiously tries to grasp the point where change should take; this means that the historical ontology of ourselves must turn away from all projects that claim to be global or radical."⁶ He further elaborated that accumulation of knowledge cannot be equated with progress. "Foucault and Derrida bracketed their rejection of humanism's belief in Epistemological progress (growth of knowledge) with the similar rejection of belief in social-historical progress."⁷ The enlightenment thinkers had strong belief in the continuity of knowledge and therefore professed that the development of human knowledge would ultimately pave way for freedom of humanity. Foucault, contrary to that argued that to achieve the real knowledge one need to transgress to challenge the universal assumption of enlightenment. He says, "in what is given to us as universal, necessary, obligatory, what place id occupied by whatever is singular, contingent, and the product of arbitrary constraints? The point, in brief, is to transform the critique conducted in the form of necessary limitation into a practical critique that takes the form of

6 Michel Foucault, *What is Enlightenment?* (New York: Pantheon Press, 1984), p. 46

7 E. Siridharan, *A Textbook of Historiography 500 BC to AD 2000* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2004), p.283

transgression”.⁸ The Hegelian theory of dialectic is testimony of that assumption of enlightenment era. But the postmodernist threw dialectics and progressive character of history overboard and saw the end of history not in Hegelian sense of culmination and fulfilment but in the Nietzschean sense of dying.

Truth and Objectivity

The next important concept of history which was challenged by the post modernists is objectivity. Objectivity is defined as the state of truth, during the positivism an attempt was made to make the discipline of history as objective as possible. Therefore, a greater attention was given to the historical facts. It was proposed that only objective facts can construct an objective history. The postmodernist challenged this basic idea of objectivity and claimed that knowledge is unavoidably subjective, partial and relative. Embracing a sceptical and relativist viewpoint, they consider all interpretation equally good and bad, relevant or irrelevant and reduce the historical facts to fictional constructions. They were of the opinion that tough historical events have no independent status beyond linguistic fiction of the writer. According to Steven Best, “influenced by Nietzschean- Foucauldian critique of the modern will to truth, postmodernists regard the real significance of the truth and objectivity as their political functions of legitimating scientific and political authority.”⁹ In this way the postmodernist believe that all “objective knowledge” was produced on political basis and meant to subdue the human will accordingly.

Post modernist thinkers hold that sources, on which a historian constructs his history, are written from somebody’s point of view with a particular purpose. So in reality there is no authenticity in it as the historian who consulted the already constructed material. So the account of a poet and novelist are all forms of discourse treated equally. Hayden

8 Foucault, Enlightenment, p.45

9 Best, *Historical vision*, p.24

White a famous postmodernist says that “Confronted with the chaos of the facts the historian must carve them up for narrative purposes. In short, historical facts, originally constituted as data by the historian, must be constituted a second time as elements of verbal structure which is always written for a specific purpose.”¹⁰ Jenkins another towering figure of postmodern theory informs that to have an objective truth one need to “get into the mind of the historian than the mind of the people who lived in the past.”¹¹ Postmodernists made the objectivity relative and propounded that no single truth can encompass the whole reality. So the truth and reality is relative to time and space. This part of the paper is concluded on a quotation of Foucault which signifies the postmodern perspective on truth and objectivity.

“The demagogue is obliged to invoke truth, laws of essences and eternal necessarily.”¹²

Critique on Matanarratives

Another important point which postmodernists consider irrelevant to the history is their critique on matanarrative. Metanarratives are also a legacy of enlightenment, which tries to search universal laws and patterns which govern the historical processes. The speculative philosophies of Karl Marx and Hegel which tried to explore the universal laws in history were repudiated by the postmodernists. “The progressive story of man told by speculative philosophers of history is understood to be simply a fiction now bankrupt, a dead metaphor from a defunct rhetoric. Philosophy conceived as the account of nature of man is itself part of this fiction...”¹³

Under the influence of scientific revolution, the social scientists were also trying to uncover absolute laws that

10 Hayden White, *The Historical Text as Literary Artefact*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1978), p.55

11 Richard Evans, *In Defence of History*, (London: Granta Books, 1997). p.97

12 Michel Foucault, *Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. by Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), p.157

13 Evans, *Defence of History*, p.97.

could determine the human behaviours. It was culminated on the attempt of positivists to construct a science of the society and man. But an outspoken postmodernist, Lyotard, rejected totalising perspectives on history and society, what he called grand narratives like Marxism which attempt to explain the history in class struggle or Hegelian paradigm which elaborate the historical process as the uncovering of idea.

The post modernist also rejects the modern schemes that aim to rational transformation of the society and humanity. The application of French revolutions ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and social engineering theories of St. Simon and Comte, and the catastrophic outcome of the Bolshevik Revolution are some of the pertinent examples which postmodernist give to substantiate their claims. All such examples are meant to reject the modern activist programme based on abstract, utopian, global, or elitist visions of change.

The metanarratives articulated by Leibniz, Kant, Turgot, Condorcet, St. Simon, Comte, Hegel, Marx, and Habermas are no longer credible in the wake of the deformation of reason in history and philosophical critique of assumptions concerning the unity of history, the perfectibility of humankind, and the teleology of reason and freedom.¹⁴

Continuity in History

History is considered to be a continuous process with cause and effect relationship. All the enlightenment philosophers had been trying to create some sort of continuity in historical process. They had a beginning and the end of the history in their minds and they tried to connect various historical developments into a systematic order to search for meaning in it. "The notion of continuity in history is based on the belief in the continuity of thought and the conception of time in terms of tantalisation of the moments of consciousness."¹⁵ But the postmodernists also challenge the very idea of

14 Best, *Historical Vision* p.25

15 Bajaj, *Recent trends in historiography*, (New Delhi: Anmol Publication, 1988), p.103

continuity in history. Continuity in the historical process which is only visible superficially, but beneath one finds rupture, contingency and discontinuities. "It is these internal structures that must receive the attention of the historian, because history unfolds itself in the form of irruptions and events, and not in the form of stable structures."¹⁶ The postmodernists are of the opinion that people think of their present is reached by ordered progress, but past is not orderly, but haphazard conflicts. According to Foucault:

Man's past is not in general agreement but incessant struggle. Struggle is unavoidable since individuals remained caught up in webs of contingency from which there is no escape. As human life is rooted in contingency, discontinuity, inequity and incessant struggle, so are history, knowledge and the human subject.¹⁷

Language and History

The relation of the language and history is as old as the invention of writing. History is written record of the past. Every historian write history by using some distinctive language and every language has its distinctive socio-historical constructions and has some internal structures which cannot be understood by anyone having different socio-cultural background. History has been receptive to the philology. This influence centred on the problem of internal consistency of documents and text, and their consistency with other documents originating at the same time. In short it is a question of the reliability. But the linguistic turn of twentieth century brought about disturbing and damaging consequences to historiography. The postmodernists are concerned with these inconsistencies of documents and propounded that due to such inconsistencies an objective account of history is not possible. Marry Fulbrook explains this phenomenon in these words:

.... there are some extreme proponents of the 'all world text' variety –or, to use Derrida's now popular formula in French, '*il n'y a pas de hors-texte*' - who suggest that all we have in history is a series of

16 *Ibid.*, p.101.

17 Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, (London: Tavistock Publication,1972), 154

constructed texts commenting on constructed texts commenting on constructed texts, in a seemingly endless circle of constructed meanings which cannot be directly assessed against an unmediated real past. The past is on this view simply not available as an objective criterion for adjudicating among discourses.¹⁸

So according to the post modernists we can never get to the real past, rather we have just interpretation of it. The problems become more complex when we come across different narratives and interpretation of the same historical event but with different texts. How does language represent reality? Is a question which has immense relevance to the discipline of history. The linguistic turn in postmodernist theory and its relevance to the history can be traced back to the theories advanced early in the twentieth century by the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure. "Saussure thought that the relation of words to their meanings was usually completely arbitrary, or that words or what he called the signifiers were defined not by their relation to the things they denoted, the signified, but by their differential relation to each other."¹⁹ So according to the Saussure the language does not follow reality, and it does not reflect the phenomenal world addressed by it. This idea was further elaborated by French linguistic theorist Roland Barthes, who in his famous essay 'Historical Discourse'²⁰ attacked the nature of history. Barthes was of the opinion that the theory of Saussure radically undermined the positivistic history as an authentic record of the past. The written history was only "an inscription on the past pretending to be a likeness of it a parade of signifiers masquerading as a collection of facts."²¹

To cope with the above mentioned problems of text and its relation to history, French linguist philosopher Jacques Derrida propounded the concept of deconstruction. In one of his essays, '*Structure, Sign and Play in discourse of Human Sciences*', he elaborated a method or rather a strategy, of

18 Marry Fullbrook, *Historical Theory*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), p.19

19 Quoted in, E. Sreedharran, *Historiography* p.295.

20 Historical Discourse 1968

21 Evans, *In Defence of History*, p.94.

reading texts that he called deconstruction. Deconstruction is a literary activity of making critical readings of texts of historians, philosophers and writers. Such activity reveals the metaphysical assumptions and brings out the unperceived contradictions that undermine the coherence and cogency. Derrida deconstruct such contradictions and distinctions as those between speech and writing, mind and body, male and female and so on. 'Then he shows that although these distinctions or oppositions are supposed to be obvious and value-neutral, their use suggests that in practice one pole in each of the pairs is privileged over the other.'²² Derrida's deconstruction reveals such anomalies as hierarchies, for instance, male and female- where to be female is to be non-male, thus defining the women in terms of their absence of maleness. In this way Derrida tries to capture the reality from text by putting the opposites together and then by reading and deconstructing the text.

Implications of Linguistic Theory for the Discipline of History

Language does not represent the reality; the claim of the postmodernist has serious ramifications for history. The theories of Derrida and Barthes are a direct attack on the nature of the subject. The theory that language cannot represent the reality except itself means that history which has been written cannot construct the past. Since the past does not exist so it can only be comprehended by the documents, text and material remains. Since the post modernists considers the text of the historian is as arbitrary as the text of the historian who use it. In this way texts only reflect other texts. In this way it was the reader's choice that whatever meaning or interpretation he infers from the text. By implication, it gives the reader an uncontrolled freedom to interpret that text according to his understanding. Meaning or interpretation may change every time and according to post modernism every meaning and interpretation is equally valid. In this way the linguistic turn demolishes the very

22 Sreedharan, *Historiography*, p.297

foundation of the discipline of history. "There cannot be any meaning in the study of the past, if meaning is put there differently by different historians, if the facts of the past are indistinguishable from fiction, if texts do not reflect reality but only other text."²³ Enmity to the discipline of history is the main characteristic of post modern thought. Can history stand firm in the wake of this frontal attack of postmodernism?

But the conventional historians are not silent spectators to this attack. The voices have been and are being raised and many historians are trying to repel the attack. The conservative historian, Geoffrey Elton, 'reviled post modernist ideas in copious terms';²⁴ Arthur Marwick has declared that postmodernist ideas were a 'menace to historical study';²⁵ the socialist-radical historian, Raphael Samuel, said that the linguistic, deconstructive turn teaches people to look upon history, "not as record of the past...[but] as an invention, or fiction, of historian themselves."²⁶ Indeed the left-liberal historian, Lawrence Stone, "has called upon the historians to repel the new intellectual barbarians at the disciplinary gates."²⁷

The Impact of Postmodernism on History

If we see the impact of postmodernism on history and historiography, it is many folded. Although the postmodernist denied the nature of historical knowledge, yet it opened up new vistas for history and expanded the scope of the history. The succinct criticism on the methodology of history enables the Clio to rectify many of its methodological discrepancies. In a very short time the postmodernist has developed its own distinctive genre on historical studies. The main features are discussed below:

23 Evans, *In Defense of History*, p.95-96

24 *Ibid.*, p.6-7

25 *Ibid.*, p.7

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*, p.7

Local Narrative

To counter the metanarrative, which is considered to be hegemonic tools in the hands of people in power, the postmodernists propose local narrative to understand the historical process from the perspective of 'The Others'. These perspectives are generally found in the marginalised segment of the society. These include; prisoners, peasants, students etc. these perspectives are subjective in nature and do not claimed to be objective of universal validity. But the viewpoint of the marginalised has never been highlighted in the historical narratives. Nevertheless, post modern theory considers that it is mass of such local narratives that must constitute history.

Extended Scope of Historical Knowledge

The postmodernism extended the scope of the history by denying the basic premise of the conventional history; it opened up new avenues of research. The postmodernist undertook the research on unconventional themes such as; the History of Sexuality, History of Sea Routes, History of Madness and History of Prison etc. Again, post modernist critique of social history has had liberating effects in that, it has shown that there are other aspects of social inequality other than class i.e., gender and ethnicity. As Richard Evans rightly concluded, "that works for history in which postmodernist influence is already evident have not only extended the range of historical writings but breathed new life in some old and rather tired subjects."²⁸

Re-Establishment of the place of individual in History

The post modern theorists dethrone the big actors from the history. They are critical of the role of the people and individuals who are at the helm of the affairs, but they re-established the role of little known man of ordinary life. In this way it re-established the individual at the centre of the history. Evans writes:

28 Evans, *In Defense of History*, p.243-244

One of the very great drawbacks of generalising social science history, with its reliance on averages or statistics, was its virtual elimination of the individual human being in favour of anonymous groups and trends. To reduce every human being to a statistic, social type, or the mouth piece of collective discourse is to do violence to the complexities of human nature, social circumstance and cultural life.²⁹

Conclusion

Postmodernism is a critique on the enlightenment and positivistic ideas. While these two movements made the human knowledge systematic and secularise, the post-modern approach further expended the base of knowledge. The post modern approach according to my viewpoint is the revival of Socrates methods of asking critical questions and with this way try to search new horizon of knowledge. The postmodernist also raised questions on almost every academic discipline from literature to sociology, from arts and architecture to humanities, thus affecting the entire academic world. The discipline of history has been more affected than any other academic discipline as the postmodernists challenged the very foundations of the Clio. The concepts of Objectivity, search for universal laws of history, the speculative philosophies of history, and the quest for matanarratives all came under attack from postmodernist onslaught. But this onslaught further enhanced the scope and significance of history. The historians set their own house in order and corrected some of their mistakes. The unconventional histories and episteme created new interest in the historiography. The postmodernism also takes into the account the role of human body and its psyche in the history, thus try to go into the deep structures of mind to uncover attitudes which is helpful to understand its effects on historical developments.

The concept of power which was propounded by Foucault further take the analysis of all historical developments to a new peak, where everything can be determine by this

29 *Ibid.*, p.189

concept. The deconstruction of Derrida created new methodology to read the text and improved the methodological side of history. In essence the postmodern thought is the natural outcome and response to the mechanisation and search for uniformity of knowledge propounded by modernity. Postmodernist approach to history does not recognise this; rather it called for acceptance of diversity and relativity. Truth and reality is not absolute as the modern epistemology holds, rather postmodernist believe that truth and reality is relative. The influence of Einstein's theory of relativity is evident on postmodernism as Newtonian influence can be seen on the modernity. At the end it can be assumed that post modernism is a leap forward in the realm of knowledge is helpful in its further expansion.

Futuristics as Future History

Dr. R.M. Ikram Azam*

ABSTRACT

1. Defining and Delimiting Futuristics.
2. Main-Major Schools of Thought.
3. Futuristic Paradigms and Fallacy.
4. Futuristics and Social Change.
5. Theories of Social Change.
6. History as Wisdom.
7. Creating a Peaceful Future.

Introduction

This is not a traditional research study, but my original contribution to the discourse.

Defining and Delimiting Futuristics:

Futuristics is popularly defined as “*future history*”, because it is history in the making and offing. As distinct from the traditional classification of human history as ancient history, mediaeval history and modern history, futuristics is contemporary current-continuous history ambient over the past --- present --- future continuum covering time over place and even outer space, because the human future in space

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has also become the focus of the study of science and technology exploratory futurists who want to colonize space.

Edward Cornish, the former founder president of the wfs: world future society, usa, has classified futures studies (in his modern classic, *the study of the future*) as futurism (theory) and futuristics (real life applications). The pfi follows this classification as conveniently conventional and logical. It (the pfi) has, incidentally, contributed a new school of thought to futures studies as islami futurism and futuristics. Pakistani futurism and futuristics is its natural systemic subset. The department of futures studies, imam khomini international university, iran, has followed suit.

Futuristics is regarded as future history because it can be influenced to some extent by futuristic foresight, vision, planning, projection and forecasting. The best example of this is the creation of Pakistan, itself. All of its founders from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan onwards, were Islamic pragmatic visionary futurists. They were men and women of islamic enlightened thought and action, especially the creative trio: Allama Muhammad Iqbal, the visionary poet-philosopher, political thinker and politician, the Quaid-E-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the nation, and his lifelong filial and political companion, Madar-E-Millat Mohtrama Miss Fatima Jinnah, the nation's mother. Of course, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, who championed pakistan in his succinct classic, "now or never!", is unforgettable..... is Pakistan, currently, once more at such cross-roads, existentially?..... To my mind, the sign-post dates in Pakistan's evolution are: 1857, 1906, 1940 and 14th august, 1947. The fall of Dacca --- Dhaka and the carving out of Bangladesh in December, 1971, is a traumatizing tragedy from which Pakistan's collective leadership has yet to learn pragmatic visionary lessons in futuristic wisdom, in order to transform Pakistan peacefully --- futuristically.

Democratic Multipolar Pluralism:

Since the future, though influenceable, is realistically unknowable, futurists prefer to talk of it in the plural as

'futures', rather than a singular, unalterable, certain 'future' of certainty. Both theoretically and actually, there are several alternative futures ranging from the possible through the probable and plausible to the preferable or desirable. The first three categories seek to be objective. The last is declaredly subjective and normative. Futures studies fall under the broad rubric of human and social sciences, as distinct from the exact sciences. Their / its time-frames of study are broadly classed as under, depending on the subject of study:

- i. The immediate future: now onwards: one to five years.
- ii. Short term future: 5-10 years.
- iii. Medium term future: 10-15 years.
- iv. Long term future: 15-20-25 years.
- v. The distant uncertain future: beyond 25 years.

In terms of the general social systems theory, systemically the future(s) can be symbolized figuratively as under:

The future as a system:

Input --- throughput --- output

The future(s) is / are regarded as a factorial product of several variable input elements or resources, which are mainly:

- (a) Natural resources.
- (b) Human resources: brain and brawn – skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.
- (c) Economic resources.
- (d) S and t: science and technology.
- (e) Time, above all.

All futuristic planning is time-tuned. Resources being limited, need to be generated as well as conserve and consumed wisely. Uncertainty increases with time, as the variables (resources) change and develop. So, planning becomes risky, even speculative. Thus, the need of alternative and contingency planning, as also problem: prevention, pre-emption and resolution, as well as crisis control and

management. Likewise, disaster management and damage control and repair.

Futuristics is interested both in projecting the future(s) and futuristic planning. The preferred term is forecasting --- not prediction (which falls in the realm of religion).

Main-Major Schools of Thought:

These are:

- (i) Ideological visionaries: moralists, ethicists.
- (ii) Pragmatists: result orientated realists.

(i) The Visionaries:

They are further subdivided into:

- a. Societal Visionaries:
- b. They focus moral-spiritual social change by reforming-transforming society and its core institutions, like the family, the most basic social institution, and the system of education. The stress is on moral values and family values, as well as societal civilizational – cultural values spotlighting peace: peaceful creative-cocreative co-existence and peaceful social change. The political economy and collective leadership are also targeted to serve the abiding national ideology and interest.
- c. Individual-person centred visionaries:
- d. They believe that social reform / transformation must start with the individual in one's filial context and social environment, in order to reform / transform society --- and thereby, humanity, hopefully.
- e. The environmentalists:
- f. Their field of interest is ecosophy: environmental ethics: philosophy, psychology and psychology. They are visionary-cum-pragmatists, emphasizing equally reform and transformational action, in order to combat and cope with the continuing environmental over-kill, they seek sustainable development through eco-economics and altruistic ethical political economy. Such futurists also forewarn against future eco-wars: ecological, environmental and water wars, e.g., between India and Pakistan over Pakistan's water resources in Indian captive Kashmir.

The Pragmatists

They are broadly grouped as:

- (a) **S and T Positive Extrapolists:** Science and technology futurists who believe in the endless miracles of s and t to create a sustainable future.
- (b) **S and T Negative Extrapolists:** Who warn against the limits of growth, and the extremist excesses of s and t, like wmd wars and terrorism. they believe that moral-spiritual values --- the perennial humane and altruistic values --- should be the drivers of social change, rather than s and t and their institutionalized MIC and NATO, etc.

The Client-Centred Futrists

They claim to be value neutral, in serving the planning interests of their clients, whatever the latter's personal values and professional preferences. This is evasive escapism, because nothing in life is value-neutral. There is just no escape from commitment to social responsibility and professional ethics, in order to serve the larger human purpose of life to perpetuate Progress as Positive Perpetual Peace.

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that Futures Studies are concerned with Serving Life on Earth through Sustainable Peace.

Futuristic Paradigms and Fallacy

The foregoing Futuristic Paradigms of Progress as Peace and peace as progress, have their limitations in terms of success. They are idealistic. Ideals seek to influence and change reality for the good and better, but often fall short of their own idealism. That is there inherent inhibition --- which does not invalidate them. Indeed, it is their best justification. Ideals as Utopia are the very stuff of Idealism. Futuristic Literature, as such, comprises:

- (i) The Utopia.
- (ii) Its opposite, the Dystopia, as doom and gloom scenarios, both religious, and lay, warning against

the destructive extremes and excesses of S and T, as negativity, nihilism and anarchism, e.g., WMD War and Terrorism.

- (iii) Science Fiction: both Utopian and Dystopia.
- (iv) Futuristic Journalism.
- (v) Hardcore Futuristic Literature, both research and popular, the latter as fiction and verse.

On Idealism and Ideals:

*“Ideals are like stars
We may not reach them
But like mariners at sea
We chart our course by them!”* (- Anonymous).

*“Good, better, best
Never let it rest
Till the good becomes better
And the better, best!”* (- Anonymous).

Futuristic Fallacy

I call it the *Futuristic Fallacy* because of the inherent limitations of Futures Studies. Despite their very best efforts, futures studies have so far failed to solve the following gut issues of life --- peace as progress:

- (a) Peace, per se.
- (b) Population Proliferation.
- (c) Poverty.
- (d) Sustainability.
- (e) War and Terrorism.

The main reasons for this failure are:

The failed international systems of the political economy, international relations and foreign policy, viz, imperialism-cum-colonialism, capitalism and communism, international corporate capitalism marauding as expansionist hegemonic globalism (theory) and globalization (reality). consequently, only poverty and exploitation, war and terrorism have got globalized. not peace, progress and prosperity.

The failed 20th – 21st century collective leadership: local-national, regional and global. Even the apex un system,

itself, is urgently in need of total transformation, for sheer survival, if not success.

Futurists, at best, are policy influencers --- not policy makers. Therefore, and thus, their limitations and limits to influence social change. Because the future is largely in the hands of governments, including their oppositions --- and their bad --- rather, failed --- governance sold to adhocist statusquoism, critical social change gets stowed away by their drift-wood policies and practices.

All of the foregoing causative factors and forces, in the final analysis, lead to the futuristic fallacy. That is a challenge to the creativity of futures studies --- their innate resilience and circumspect tenacity. The secret of their sustainable survival lies in making common cause with other paradigms of progress as peace, both secular and sacred, e.g.:

- (i) The Global Peace Movement.
- (ii) The World's Great Religions.
- (iii) The Global Civilizational-Cultural Paradigms.

Futuristics and Social Change:

Futuristics, sociology and social change are inherently interlinked and interdependent. The objective is normatively engineered social change by committed activists striving for a perpetually peaceful future for all of humanity. This is done by all available means, institutions and faura, public, academic and specifically futuristic. The focus is on social change through social service, and community welfare work, for social sector development.

The pfi strives to impact normatively peaceful social change by means of education as enlightenment: "*irfan*". That, for total integrative-holistic personality development. The thrust is towards the blss: basic life skills imparted and acquired as bess: basic educational skills. They enable their seeker-student to lead a peacefully successful and contended, as also an economically independent and useful life of service to self, family, society and humanity. Moral values education and integrated family studies are stressed. Creativity and originality are emphasized in creative thinking skills,

democracy, civics, citizenship, alongwith social, people and interpersonal skills. Also, the blss: basic language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing). Literacy is redefined to cover and cater to all of the four BLSs --- not just reading and writing. Master Trainer Teachers are trained in the BLSs and BESSs.

Thus, Peaceful Social Change is the alpine aim of Futuristics.

Theories of Social Change:

Different schools of futuristics use various theories of social change for future history, according to their likes, lights and evolving needs and developing agendas. These theories can be classed broadly as:

- (i) Reformative.
- (ii) Evolutionary.
- (iii) Revolutionary.
- (iv) Totally Transformational.
- (v) Peaceful.

Because of time and space limitations, they can only be short-listed as under:

- (i) The Waves Theory.
- (ii) Consteller – Cluster Theory.
- (iii) Circular Theory.
- (iv) Spiral Theory.
- (v) Grand Theory --- as covering all the major theories, convergently.

History as Wisdom

History, both oral and recorded, begins to be falsified both in its making and recording, by power elite and power influencer bias and prejudice. Even so, its hard-core grain of Wisdom as Lessons of History, cries out loud and clear for respectful recognition and respectable understanding. History does not have to be revised and rewritten, because here, too, human prejudice can creep in for predominance. But history must surely be understood for learning the lessons of its wisdom as:

- (i) Folk Lore.

- (ii) Folk Psychology.
- (iii) Traditional History.
- (iv) Civilizational History.
- (v) Cultural History.
- (vi) The History of War.
- (vii) Peace History.

Individuals and families, nations, societies and their institutions which ignore the wisdom of history, force history to repeat itself. That, for no mystical or mysterious reasons. But because of the corrosive accumulation of blunders becoming complex crises, and not just multiple problems.

In view of the foregoing, all nations and societies must learn to heed history's wisdom as:

- (i) World History.
- (ii) Regional History.
- (iii) National History.

Specifically, the Muslim World, including Pakistan, must learn lessons from:

- (a) Muslim History.
- (b) The History of Islam.
- (c) Pakistan's History.

Conclusion

Creating a Peaceful Future

The various paradigms of progress to perpetuate peace discussed in this paper, need to converge to create sustainable-sustained peace.

The PFI Peace Proposition is *Islam: The Perennial Peace Paradigm and Muhammadi Moral Model.*

The PFI has been persistently practising this Islami Peace Paradigm during the last 30 years of its existence (1986-2016), to exemplify and project it globally --- most successfully, by God's grace! See the Appendices for details.

The Muslim World needs to adopt this Islami Peace Paradigm as the best antidote to Islamophobia, and to present Islam as Living Reality in its true "*Irfani*" light and radiant colours. The rest of the world needs to recognize Islam respectfully as such: Perpetual Peace.

Mamak-Malaysia: Space and Social Interaction

Yanin Wongmai*

ABSTRACT

Mamak stall, or Kedai Mamak, is a type of restaurant which serves Indian-Malay food operating twenty four hours a day. Typically, this kind of restaurant serves various types of food, e.g. Southern Indian, Malay, Chinese, Western and Thai food. It is very noticeable that the spread of these Mamak stalls can be found in urban areas where there are racial diversities in the Malaysian society. Most of researches tend to focus on the fact that, Malaysians from different racial backgrounds are enjoying many kinds of hybrid dishes and services of Mamak stalls, indicating the Malaysian unity as they can sit and eat together. However, most of the previous researches have been conducted based on the belief that Mamak stalls are only designed to be space for people within the multicultural society to be able to interact with each other. Therefore, the focus of this research is to add some contents on the context of the Malaysian society after 1970s when the Malaysian government encouraged its citizens to interact with people from other races. This encouragement resulted in the creation of Mamak stalls in Malaysia symbolizing Malaysia as a country consisted largely of multiracial diversity.

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Additionally, this research is intended to show another dimensions of Mamak stalls that they are used by non-Malays as a space to create sub-cultural identities representing their own races under the trend of being Malaysian unity, for example, language-creating and an Islamic symbol representing beyond the Malaysian's Islamic brand.

Introduction

Malaysia is a home to largely diverse people from different races, religions, languages and culture. This includes Malays, Chinese, Indians, Sabahan, Sarawakian and so on. Indian is one among major community groups in Malaysia, based on February 2010 statistics department, the Indian Malaysians comprises 8 percent of the population of the Malaysian society and Tamils, the majority whom are of Hindus.¹ Cleary, Tamil race make up a majority of Indian populations in Malaysia, mostly are Hindus (1,644,072) followed by Christian (114,281) and Muslims (78,702).²

Among Indian Malaysians, Tamil Muslims have play in a crucial role of food catering like Mamak restaurants, or *Kedai Mamak*, which is sensible to be recognized that eating at Mamak restaurants is not only a part of life activities, but inviting someone to eat considered as letting people know each other more. Mamak restaurants, or *Kedai Mamak*, are Indian-Malaysian restaurants, operating 24 hours a day and 365 days a year, catering variety types of food, for example, Malay, Indian, Chinese, Thai and Western.

These Mamak restaurants can be found in developed urban areas of Malaysia, especially in Kuala Lumpur and Penang

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- 1 M. Rajantheran, Balakrishhan Muniapan and G. Manickam Govindaraju, "Identity and Language of Tamil Community in Malaysia: Issues and Challenges", *Singapore: International Proceedings of Economics Development and Research* (2012): 78, accessed September 1, 2016, <http://repository.um.edu.my/26405/>
 - 2 Wan Kamal Mujani, "The History of the Indian Muslim Community in Malaysia", *Advances in Natural and Applied Sciences* (2012): 1351, accessed September 1, 2016, <http://www.aensiweb.com/old/anas/2012/1348-1353.pdf>

Island, where consisted of multi-racial backgrounds; Malay, Chinese, Indian etc. It is noticeable that the theme of Mamak restaurants is open access space for any race with valuable price for any social classes. This research aims to study how the space of Mamak restaurants functioning to the Malaysian society and how Malaysian people interacting with each other in the context of Malaysian multi-racial society.

Historical Background of Mamak Restaurants

Focusing on the Malay Peninsula as an important maritime trade route, the people of the Indian subcontinent are mainly from trading background (textile, perfume, spices and ceramics), they gradually built up their communities along the trader route and began marry to local people, becoming permanent members of Malay society. A most important role of Indian Muslims is the teaching of Islam; they built mosques of which the oldest ones still remaining include Masjid Tangkera and Masjid Kampung Keling in Malacca, Masjid Kapitan Keling in Penang, Masjid India in Kuala Lumpur, and Masjid India Sultan Kelana in Kelang, in Selangor.³

The 1833 census of Penang Island indicates there are Indians dispersed over Penang Island even before the British Malaya, in which recorded about 11,000 settlers of Indian origin among Penang Island's 40,322 populations, of which 7,886 were Chulias and 1,322 Bengalese.⁴ Actually, Indian populations in Malaysia are not a homogenous group due to different homeland of origins, religions and period of arrival. Prior to the British colonial era in Malaysia, a variety of name-calling; Chulia, Keling and Jawi Peranakan and Penang Malays used to be called the Indian people.

3 "Malaysian Indian Muslim's Oscillating Identity: Swinging between Home and Host Country," Erni Budiwanti, accessed September 5, 2016, http://www.api-fellowships.org/body/international_ws_proceedings/09/P2-Erni.pdf.

4 Patrick Pillai. "Mamak" and Malaysian: The Indian Muslim Quest for Identity", in *Yearning to Belong: Malaysia's Indian Muslims, Chitties, Portuguese Eurasians, Peranakan Chinese and Baweanese*, ed. Patrick Pillai (Singapore: ISEAS – Yusofshak Institute, 2015), p.11.

“Chulia”, in the early record, may have not included a minority of other South Indians such as Tamil Hindus and Malabaris,⁵ while “Jawi Peranakan” are the term for recognizing those Indian Muslims who had married Malay women self-identified as “Keling”, a general term for south Indian Malaysians.

Since the British colonial era in late eighteenth century, it was the time of the influxes of Indians migrant to the Malay Peninsula, those Hindu Tamils whose forefathers came as indentured laborers to work in the rubber plantation, Tamil Muslims were a commercial class of independent urban-based migrant, who dominated sectors such as the import-export business, becoming sole distributors of foreign products, jewellers, money changers, textile merchants, books, stationery, and petty traders.⁶

Still, the history of Mamak food still is unclear, narratively assumed that Tamil Muslims start catering rice, curries and side dishes as many coolies of Penang port seeking something to eat before get to their works. With a result of *Nasikandar*⁷ calling, from the way the rice is being placed inside a wooden basket which gives the rice its distinctive aroma and balance on the shoulder using a pole. The word ‘*nasi*’ in Malay means rice while ‘*kandar*’ or ‘*kandha*’ is an Urdu word which means shoulder.⁸ And the word ‘*mamak*’ is

5 “Tamil Muslims in the Penang Port 1900-1940,” Khoo Salma Nasution, accessed September 2, 2016, <http://www.thinkcity.com.my/penangstory/images/stories/images/khootamil-muslims-in-the-penang-port-abridged.pdf>.

6 Jean Duruz and Gaik Cheng Khoo. “Mamak Anyone? Tamil Muslim Eateries in Malaysia”, in *Eating Together: Food, Space, and Identity in Malaysia and Singapore*, ed. Ken Albala (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015) p.72.

7 Nasi Kandar is a plate of rice with combination of variety of curries poured on the rice, and served with side dishes.

8 Abdul Rais, A.R., Wan Abdul Manan, W.M., Shariza, A.R. and Wan Nadiah W.A., “A comparative study of ‘*nasikandar*’ eating patterns among patrons in the Klang Valley and Penang of Malaysia”, *International Food Research Journal* (2013): 178, accessed September 3, 2016, [http://www.ifrj.upm.edu.my/20%20\(04\)%202013/39%20IFRJ%2020%20\(04\)%202013%20Doen%20Abdul%20Rais%20\(017\).pdf](http://www.ifrj.upm.edu.my/20%20(04)%202013/39%20IFRJ%2020%20(04)%202013%20Doen%20Abdul%20Rais%20(017).pdf).

originally possible from the Tamil word '*maama*' for maternal uncle, also, claimed that since the culture of deference for one's elders among Malaysians encourage children to greet their elders as "uncle" or "auntie", this was polite and respectable form of greeting to Tamil Muslim men.⁹



A Mamak Stall on a street of Penang

(Source: <http://zilzarlife.com/the-merchants-of-kapitan-keling-in-penang/>)

Thanks to New Economic Policy of 1971, resulting in economic growth led to higher incomes for most Malaysians. At this point, it is sensible to acknowledge that of Mamak restaurants continue to develop into the restaurant business, shifting from street food catering on the streets to a restaurant business available 24 hours. For example, Kirudu Muhamed Kuppaikanni, the founder of the biggest Pelita Nasi Kansarchian in Malaysia, he narrates "I was already operating a small shop at Tamil Street, which was the famous *nasikandar* area then. Called Chowrasta Cafe (because it was located next to the bustling Penang Chowrasta Market), the outlet first opened its doors in 1956 but we only served breakfast and lunch. By then, the *nasikandar* peddlers had already traded in their baskets for stalls. Then in 1973, I invested 32,000 Ringgit (which was a considerable sum back then) to renovate the shop and turn it into a 24-hour restaurant serving only *nasikandar*".¹⁰

9 Jean Duruz, "Mamak, Anyone?", 70.

10 "A Truly Malaysian Dish," Chin, accessed September, 4, 2016, <http://emalabari.my/history/kandar.htm>

In addition, Malaysian social context after 1970s has also shaped new lifestyle of urban Malaysians called “eating out” as the growth of the Malaysian economics create a wider choice of eating out suiting to Malaysia’s urban area like Penang and Kuala Lumpur where many people from different race background living together.

Space and Social Interaction in Mamak Restaurants

This sector will examine how Mamak restaurants become open access space for any races and how consumers in the restaurants interacting with each other in the context of Malaysian multi-cultural society.

Space

As considered from early history of Mamak restaurants which mainly caters Nasi Kandar for those working class at Penang ports. The taste of the food is not standardized as purely Indian food but it was specialized suiting to certain people in different contexts. Nasi Kandar appeals to all ethnic groups. The brand “Mamak stalls” can be concerned like where anyone be able to enjoy their eating there.

The design of Mamak restaurants is quite similar as they provide inside and outside of restaurant spaces. When consumers get in to restaurants, they will be at casual atmosphere that is quite attractive to anyone who is looking for quick eating or long hang out with friends. Nowadays, any ethnic can come and eat here because the restaurants cater many types of food for example Malay, Chinese, Indian, Western, Thai and vegetarian. No wonder why we can find Mamak’s consumers from different ethnic background, economic classes and age ranks because of friendly service and affordable prices. From the research on Mamak’s consumer’s attitudes, it reveals that 46% of “Mamak’s” customers are Chinese, followed by Malay, 38.5%, Indian 8.2% and others 7.2%. Most of respondents

are single and students with 67.7% and 46.4% respectively.¹¹

So, it is so common to find Malaysians from different races sitting and eating together, and everyone can enjoy their time in Mamak restaurant even paying only 1 ringgit for a cup of the tarik (Pulled tea).

Social Interaction

It is worth noting the views of Abdul Rahman Embong. He asserts that during the NEP, the new developments created a complex situation for pluralism in Malaysia, opening up spaces for both cooperation and tolerance, as well as contestation and struggles among different groups in society. While collective identity formation among some members of the middle classes sharpened social divisions, others developed pluralist values and new forms of social organization premised on formulas for pluralist tolerance.¹²

Malaysia's post-colonial history certainly provides more illustrations of the divisions within ethnic communities. On the other hand, the context of society after 1957 also shaped how each race created their specific identities as Malaysian citizens. In the new nation state, every race of Malaysia is changing the definition of what it means to be a Malaysian citizen. The NEP was an important factor in encouraging the Malaysians to integrate into general Malaysian society.

The development of the Malaysian nation state thus amounted to a way of organizing communities and dispersing power. When the concept and policies of 'national identity' were launched by the authorities. Malaysian social reality is characterized by a clear distinction between

11 Katina Abu Bakar and Abdul Ghani Farinda, "Consumers' Attitude towards "Mamak" Food in Malaysia", *3rd International Conference on Business and Economic Research - Proceeding* (2012): 1309, accessed September 1, 2016, http://eprints.um.edu.my/13972/1/088_285_PG1304_1316.pdf

12 Abdul Rahman Embong, "The Culture and Practice of Pluralism in Postcolonial Malaysia", in *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia*, ed. Robert Hefner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i press, 2001) p. 65.

government politics and the everyday lives of people of different races.¹³

In Malaysia, the process of acculturation and assimilation among the Malays, Chinese, Indians and other ethnic group in the early 1970s not only unite those ethnic groups culturally, economically but have also added to the potpourri of local foods and created a Malaysian cultural and gastronomical heritage.¹⁴ *Nasi Kandar* has been represented “A truly Malaysian Dish”¹⁵ and “Malaysian Original” as many food cultures evolved into *Nasi Kandar*. Moreover, a dish of “*Mie Goreng Mamak*” is obviously revealed how different cultures (Indian, Malay and Chinese) is adapted and adopted in order to create its own food identity. Since Mamak restaurants have become a part of Malaysian people, the restaurants are catering diverse dishes from different food cultures. *Nasi Kandar*, obviously, is a good sample of mixed cultures indicating the uniqueness of being hybrid multi-cultural society.

Therefore, Mamak restaurants as an example of hybrid plural society, they cater many types of dishes that any race feels familiar with, and the taste of Mamak’s food is cooked by combining different ingredients. The patchwork of localized and diversity of consumption reflects its social dynamics of experiences. It must be pointed out that the identities of the Malaysian Siamese have evolved as part of an on-going process relating to their interactions with other

13 Timo Kortteinen, “Social Hierarchies in Flux: Chang of Social Organisation in Kuala Selangor”, in *New Perspectives in Malaysian Studies*, ed. Mohd Hazim Shah, Jomo K.S. and Phua Kai Lit (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Social Science Association, 2002) p. 210.

14 Nurul Aishah, Mohd Salehuddin Mohd Zahari, Zulhan Othman, Syuhirdy Mat Noor and Mohd Zain Kutut, “Thai Food in Malaysia: Diagnosing Restaurant Operators and Patrons Acceptance Levels”, *International Journal of Business and Management* (2010):143, accessed September 5, 2016, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.688.3644&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

15 “A Truly Malaysian Dish,” Chin.

Malaysians, as well as through their everyday experiences in daily life.

Conclusion

As shown in this article, the Malaysian social context after 1970s has intensively shaped how the people create “Being Malaysians” in the same time to remain the spirit of diversity in unity. The identities of being Malaysians after 1970s clearly related to the social conditions within Malaysia. The political and economic conditions of Malaysian society are important factors that have shaped how the Malaysians have responded in their creation of their identity. Although nation building is not directly related with the creation of national cuisine, but today every country has its own national cuisine. Culinary centralization has contributed to grounding this perception. Mamak restaurants provide hybrid Malaysian foods is transformed by socio-economic contexts, needs and tastes, which reflects Being Malaysians but still retaining each ethnic’s identities, Malaysians have created their identity from everyday experience.

The Composite Culture of India and its Historiography

Sabah Mushtaq*

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to look at the nature of synthesis which developed after the Hindu-Muslim encounter in the Indian Sub continent from eleventh century onwards. This synthesis is generally referred to as the 'composite Culture'. A plethora of literature has been produced over the composite culture of India in the last fifty years or so. There are trends in modern scholarship in India to promote Hindu-Muslim composite culture as the normative better. It has been treated by contemporary historiography, both Marxist and liberal, as a powerful resource to combat different forms of sectarian conflict and communalism in Indian Society. Marxists and liberals have an argument that cultural factors played very important role in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity. In order to enrich and formulate a composite Indian culture, the two cultures exchanged and accepted each other's tenets. I focus chiefly on the cultural composition of Indian Society while looking at its historiography a little more closely. The paper makes an attempt to answer this inquiry that whether the mere presence of composite culture can be helpful for combating communalism and bringing peace in

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the society. I contend that the features of composite culture survived in India before the two sided process of political, social, and philosophical intervention. Once the intervention started - either by the elite or the state or by the representatives of prevailing versions of the orthodoxy - the basic features of composite culture begin to adjourn. The politicisation of life in society made these interventions possible as well as effective.

Introduction

The composite fabric of Indian Civilization has been woven with strands and shades of differing surfaces and hues. It is no exaggeration to say that since ancient times, India has exhibited a blend of races and societies. From the beginning, it has a pluralistic characteristic. The pluralistic and composite ethos of Indian civilization started developing amid the Vedic period, and it greatly was augmented by the ascent of Jainism and Buddhism, and was strengthened more amid the early medieval period, that saw the early pinnacle in the *Bhakti* Movement. Amid the late medieval period, this composite convention achieved supremacy. Philological and etymological proofs show the consolidation and adjustment of regional elements into the mainstream of Sanskrit culture clearly. Certain sorts of reverberation arrangements, that can be considered the characteristic of the Austric group of languages, discovered their way into the Indo-Aryan speeches.¹ The existence of non-Aryan components, particularly Proto-Dravidian, in vocabulary, language structure and phonetics in Vedic Sanskrit is currently well settled. The later Vedic writings demonstrate a considerably more prominent admixture of non-Aryan words. There has been argued that the Vedic culture was internally different and it was pluralistic. It was a union of Aryan and non-Aryan, including tribal components. Since its earliest reference point Hinduism has been a “mosaic of distinct

1 N. K. Bose, *Cultural Anthropology and Other Essays*, (Calcutta: Indian Associated Publishing Co., 1953), p. 20

cults, deities, sects and ideas".² It is uncovered by most records that totemic dieties, for example, hog, tortoise, and fish were made into incarnations of *Vishnu*. *Shiva* was framed by a combination of the Vedic *Rudra* with some non-Aryan god. *Shiva* in its tribal and people structure is detectable in different parts of peninsular India, including fields of upper east India, especially in Assam - North-Bengal areas. Enough material exists which affirm the way that Brahmanism inundated the gods of tribesmen and 'low-castes. The fame of the saga of Jagannath religion in Orissa and that of Viththala in Maharashtra affirm this. Additionally, serpent love and phallus love, which later discovered their way into classical Hinduism, were taken over from nearby communities.³ Irregular factions and cliques, for example, *Shakta* and the *Tantric* convention, consolidated a few recondite elements from indigenous, including tribal societies. Along these lines, some interrelated basic foundations of solidarity might be portrayed at the pan Indian level. We may arrange them first as the Sanskritic Hinduism at the social structural levels and through an arrangement of pilgrimage centres. At that point we may consider a composite cultural tradition conceived out of the extended collaboration and trade amongst Hindus and Muslims and disciples of different religions through the length and broadness of the country. In this setting one may see social changes and humanistic propensity as exemplified in the Sufi and *Bhakti* Movements. The secular-democratic philosophy, which is revered in the Constitution of the nation and a Gandhian vision of 'Indianness', which was very much established amid freedom movement, are indication and exhibition of composite culture in contemporary India.⁴ Since the late medieval period India saw a creative amalgamation of Muslim and Hindu civilizations and in this manner grew a

2 J. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 101

3 N. K. Bose, *Cultural Anthropology and Other Essays*, p. 34

4 S.C. Dube, *Indian Society* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1990), p. 52

composite convention, a pluralistic synthesis of the Indo-Islamic tradition.

The Presence of Composite Culture

In the course of the most recent fifty years or so, a considerable body of literature both in history and Social Sciences, has been produced. It has contended that the exceptional virtuoso of India attempted to advance, throughout the centuries since the arrival to Muslims into the Indian sub-mainland, modes of living and thinking which are an unobtrusive intermixing or blend of the world-perspectives and living propensities for Muslims and Hindus. In fact, there is a further proposition, where it has been said, that it has been a main characteristic of Indian civilisation as far back as artefact to assume control or acclimatize or blend traits from assorted cultures which interacted with it.

In the expressions of Tara Chand an intermixing and a 'sense of larger allegiance',⁵ and as indicated by Humayun Kabir a 'fusion of mentalities',⁶ came about in the experience of Hinduism and Islam or in the Nurul Hasan's cautiously measured contention, there was 'the advancement of a composite cultural tradition'.⁷ The *Discovery of India* was written by the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, amid his imprisonment at Ahmednagar fort in 1942-46. *The Discovery of India* is considered to be an honour paid to the rich cultural heritage of India, its history and its philosophy as seen through the eyes of a patriot fighting for the independence of his country. This book is known as a major source of this trend of thought. As per him, the period of Muslim rule in India produced a common composite culture.⁸

5 Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* (Allahabad, The Indian Press, 1963), p. 5

6 Humayun Kabir, *The Indian Heritage* (Bombay, Asia publishing House, 1946), p. 50

7 Narul Hasan, Presidential Address, Medieval Period, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Calcutta, 1963).

8 Taraknath Das, "India--Past, Present and the Future". *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 62, No.2 (1947), p. 295-304.

It is argued by modern Indian scholarship that composite culture can contribute significantly to the cause of integration, whereas later on after independence a substantial number of individuals from assorted disciplines and with varying scholarly points of view have been conferring to this sort of thinking a crisp impetus. Even if we take a gander at the landscape of secular cultural practices today, it appears to be obvious that the presence of composite society is underestimated, a sort of a cultural given.

The Philosophical and Historical basis of the 'Composite Culture'

Here the presence of composite culture cannot be denied. I do trust that something in the nature of composite or a shared conviction evolved influencing life at the focal points and that some of regardless it survives affecting social life at numerous convergences. Having observed this, I would prefer not to go into the particular components of what constitutes or constituted composite culture. It is critically important to examine its foundations and try to see what its infirmities were. When it comes to the philosophical basis of the composite culture, the Indo-Muslim stands have meshed into the texture of the national existence of India a rich design of 'composite culture' by entwining the strings of the *Bhakti Marg* (*Bhakti* Movement) with the Islamic Sufi ideals, in this manner making another inter-cultural synthesis, in which the man's values and social morals reflected another ethos.⁹ According to Wendy Doniger, the nature of *Bhakti* movement may have been affected by the "surrender to god" daily practices of Islam when it arrived in India, In turn it influenced devotional practices in Islam such as Sufism, and other religions in India from 15th century onwards, such as Sikhism, Christianity, and Jainism.¹⁰ The moral world

9 Malika Mohammada, *The Foundations of the Composite Culture in India* (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2007), p. 245

10 Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus: An Alternative History* (New Delhi: Penguin/Viking Group, 2009) p. 44

perspectives of the *Bhakti* saints, and the patterns they offered ascend to in everyday living, do propose to us a high degree over substantial areas of meeting up or 'intermixing' or "fusion" of living and thought. From the thirteenth century onwards, Sufi missionaries met with significant accomplishment among the lower strata of the Hindu society, for whom conversion to Islam implied discharge from the mortifying inconveniences of having a place with a second rate social group. Brahmanical formalism could scarcely adapt to present circumstances to meet this challenge of conversion of Islam in the lower strata of the Hindu society.¹¹ In numerous different courses, autonomous of these, in their everyday associations and dealings individuals developed common interests and themes and critical frameworks in their social life that they shared in religious functions, festivals, and ceremonies and got significance and fulfilment from these. These elements of synthesis survived until the intervention from above. Once the intervention started, these features started to dissolve into the existing or parallel neo-orthodoxies propounded by the clergy or the state. It can be argued that the composite culture declined because of its inability to withstand the interventions from above.

It is here that we locate the elusive ground on which the historiography of this type stands. Historians, as political partisans, just posed the question as far as either/or; whether there was and is a composite culture or not. At the point when the inquiry is represented along these lines, there must be wearisome level headed discussion since proof can be collected for the way one may wish to contend. Historians never solicited what was the foundational basis of our composite society and the sort of territory on which it was standing. Presently the issue has been that at these society levels what came to fruition as a mixing or combination or synthesis has been of a pre-reflective kind, that is, it was not thoroughly considered and deliberately appropriated by the

11 *Ibid*, p. 246

general population having a place with various religious customs or by the bearers of society within them. On the other hand, even at the pre-reflective levels, the compositeness that has been here was not adjusted to fighting orthodoxies in a way as to be taken as fundamentally worthy when intentionally contemplated. Once the orthodoxy felt the threat and started interceding, by whatever modalities from above, they pretty much succeeded, and are succeeding, in pushing back or vanquishing the vast majority of these patterns. When it comes to interventions, the first half of the 19th century can be considered a point from where they started. Shah Waliullah and Sayyid Ahmed Bareilly and their followers such as Haji Shariat Ullah and Maulvi Karamat of Jaunpur focused on fundamentalist Islam. It is important to bear in mind that they all were in the first of the 19th century. They can be considered those whose ideas or thoughts greatly influenced by the *Wahabi* movement. High attention was paid to the abolition of un-Islamic practices that were prevalent among the Muslims of India. Shah Waliullah strongly opposed to integration of Islamic culture in the mainstream culture of the sub-continent. He and his intellectual successors aimed to make Muslims realize that they should ensure their distance from it. They all strongly opposed the Sufi veneration of saints, which they likened to idol worship, and were, as mentioned above, outspoken about syncretic practices they believed India Muslims had picked up from their Hindu neighbour: making pilgrimages to Hindu holy places, consulting Hindu astrologers, piercing the noses of women for nose studs, lightening lamps on tombs, laying music and holy places, and celebrating Hindu festivals. Even the practice of eating on banana leaves was condemned.¹² As per Shah Waliullah,

The Health of Muslim Society demanded that
doctrines and values inculcated by Islam

12 William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal: The Fall of Delhi, 1857* (London: A&C Black, 2006), p. 100

should be maintained in their pristine purity
unsullied by extraneous influences.¹³

In the second half of the 19th century, another form of intervention is rightly represented by Sayyid Ahmed Khan. Sir Saiyid's vision was one of a Muslim community, staying away from the emerging struggle against the British. After Sayyid Ahmad Khan's stay in England in 1869-70, he came back to India where he set out to establish a 'reformist' (*islahi*) journal in Urdu that would encourage 'the reform (*islah*) also, progress of Indian Muslims along the lines of 'the refinement and civility of Europe'.¹⁴ Like other North Indian educated people of his period, Sayyid Ahmad Khan talked only about an Indian Muslim culture needing reform and envisioned how the growing accessibility of shabby lithographed writings could be assembled towards this end.¹⁵ He attempted to accomplish rapid modernisation with an conception of Islam in consonance with reason, science and innovation and the demands of the advanced period. This pattern had numerous regional echoes however was particularly maintained in Bengal and was represented by Sir Abdul Latif.¹⁶ As a prominent personality of mid 19th century Bengal, Abdul Latif was the pioneer of Muslim modernization and the architect of the Muslim Renaissance, was one of those great men who appeared as saviors of their frustrated, humiliated, demoralized and disorganized religious fellows under colonial rule. His chief contribution was in the field of education. He was among the first to understand that young Bengali Muslims should receive modern education. He understood that the Muslims of Bengal had fallen behind in

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- 13 I.H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Sub Continent* (Karachi: Bureau of Composition, Compilation and Translation, 1977), p. 215.
- 14 See, for instance, his discussion of both periodicals in Sayyid Ahmad Khan, 'Maqasid-i Tahzib al-Akhlaq', in Muhammad Isma'il Panipati (ed.), *Maqalat-i Sar Sayyid, Vol. 10* (Lahore: Majlis Taraqqi-yi Adab, 1962), pp. 39_51
- 15 David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 206_7.
- 16 M. M. Ali (ed.), *Autobiography and Other Writings of Nawab Abdul Latif* (Chittagong: The Mehrub Publications, 1968), p. 106

everything because of their prejudices against modern education. He devoted his whole life to removing this self-destructive prejudice from their minds.¹⁷ It can be said that he followed the path of Sayyid Ahmed Khan in this regard.

Whatever distinctions which can be observed concerning historical time, internal intentions and thrusts or inspirations, there are common components and outcomes of these interventions from above. The more notable components that can be recognized are, firstly, these interventions looked to bring a shift from the territory or site of philosophical contentions tended to the learned to political appeals to and some type of mobilization of the population on wide subjects. Secondly, efforts were made to provide Muslims the ground on which the new identity of Muslims could stand. Despite of portraying Muslims as a distinct cultural community, the Aligarh and Deoband movements have for quite some time been viewed as the archetypal intellectual adversaries of nineteenth-century Indian Islam, the one addressing “modernist” and the other “traditionalist” ways to deal with education, Islamic sciences, law and theology.¹⁸ Whereas the last stressed “traditional” Islamic education in North India, regardless of the possibility that in the context of an institutional setting demonstrated in part after British education, the former supplemented religious sciences with “English” instruction, and in his own writing, Sayyid Ahmad propelled self-consciously “modern” thoughts that were completely reprimanded by the Deobandi and other traditionally educated Islamic intellectuals (*‘ulama*).¹⁹

The contradictory outcomes involved in this are significant. While these developments were gradually drawing the community of Muslims far from rest of the society, they were additionally gradually bringing them as a people into the

17 Syed Nesar Ahmed, *Origins of Muslim Consciousness in India: A World-system Perspective*. (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991), p. 38

18 Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860_1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 93

19 *Ibid*, p. 93.

public arena as dynamic members, stubborn on being heard. Aligarh and Deoband, typically regarded as incommensurable in their perspectives, as institutions and movements, but 'the public', as Bannon D. Ingram rightly said, was a shared frame through which they envisaged implementing their respective undertakings.²⁰ This was the time when people started becoming the subjects of history. When it comes to developments in the rest of Indian society, the growth of political contentions can clearly be seen. Every position was critically examined and every single philosophical trend was firmly challenged. For instance, the Hindu response to the positions imposed by colonial rule is best represented by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He was the founder of the Brahma Sabha movement which started in 1828. This was an influential socio-religious reform movement which engendered the Brahma Samaj. These moves from both sides are also seen as part of the 'cultural counter-offensive' to overcome the sense of 'subordination and humiliation' as a result of colonial domination, but there is no getting away from this hard fact that these moves also led to the creation of 'the other' in the Indian society.

Communalism and History in India

Among the assortment of factors that characterize the relationship between communalism and revivalism in India, history assumes a focal role. The revivalist thoughts were innate in the religious and social reform movements of the nineteenth century, surrounded as they were within the limits of religious and caste communities. However, revivalism as a persuasive inclination developed just amid the second half of the nineteenth century. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Dayananda Saraswathi and Swami Vivekananda are by and large considered the early heroes of this inclination. Inward looking in their scholarly orientation and occupied with revitalizing Hinduism and the Hindu community. They played

20 Bannon D. Ingram, Crises of the Public in Muslim India: Critiquing 'Custom' at Aligarh and Deoband, *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (2015), p. 403-418

very important role in structuring popular sentiments and responses. It is argued by K.N. Panikkar that all this was more in the nature of internal revitalisation and consolidation in the context of colonial domination, whereas their ideas were more conservative and sectarian in nature than other novelists and intellectuals. As per Vivekananda, all those who migrated to India and their descendants are foreigners and therefore not part of the nation, so he describes Muslim rule in India as a foreign rule. This is how he depicts it:

*The final victory of royal power was echoed on the soil of India in the name of foreign monarchs professing an entirely different religion from the faith of the land.*²¹

When it comes to the British rule, he depicts it in this way:

*“Of course, we had to stop advancing during the Mohammedan tyranny, for then it was not a question of progress but of life and death. Now that the pressure has gone, we must move forward.”*²²

Vivekananda defines ‘Muhammad’ and Islam in this way:

*“Now the Mohammedans are the crudest in this respect, and the most sectarian. Their watchword is: ‘There is one God, and Muhammad is his prophet.’ Everything beyond that is not only bad, but must be destroyed forthwith: at a moment’s notice, every man or woman who does not believe in that must be killed; everything that does not belong to this worship must be immediately broken; every book that teaches anything else must be burnt. From the Pacific to the Atlantic for five hundred years, blood ran all over the world. That is Mohammadanism.”*²³

As per Dayanand, Muslims were brutal who killed people for not being converted to their religion.

21 All citations are from the *Complete Works of Vivekananda* [hereafter CWV] 8 Vols. (Calcutta, Advaita Ashram, 1962), Vol. 4, p. 448.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 373.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

“They have to their charge the greatest sin of killing innocent people. The non-acceptance of Moslem’s religion they call heresy and they hold slaughter superior to heresy; that is, they say that they will put to death those persons who do not accept Islam. This they have been all along doing.”²⁴

This two sided process of interventions from above within the religious groups in India has been a progressing process with numerous and fluctuated consequences. It has not come to an end. In the last two decades, much scholarly consideration has been paid to the approach in which Hindu nationalists have worked with different dichotomies between Hindu India and the allegedly outsider ‘Others’,²⁵ represented mainly by Indian Muslims. The controversy fastidiously constructed over Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid is the most recent case of it. Towards the end of the 1980s, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) gathered behind a common cause: the mosque/temple debate in the north Indian city of Ayodhya. Hindu nationalists asserted that the Mughal ruler, Babar, had ordered the desecration of an ancient Hindu temple that was dedicated to the Hindu god, Ram. Moreover, they had a claim that the Babri mosque was based on the spot previously possessed by the Ram temple.²⁶ More essential, however, was the symbolic value of this dispute, as Hindu nationalists contended that it had been common practice among Muslim rulers to desecrate Hindu temples. The Hindu nationalists claimed that it was the ideal opportunity for the Muslim community to make amends for this historical foul play and to redress the affirmed collective suffering of the Hindu

24 Swami Dayanand, *The Light of Truth* (Tr., Ganga Prasad Upadhaya, Allahabad, 1981), p. 667.

25 Prasenjit Duara, ‘Historicizing National Identity, or Who Imagines What and When’, in G. Eley and R.G. Suny (eds), *Becoming National: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.164.

26 Making India Hindu is the title of David Ludden’s anthology; David Ludden (ed.), *Making India Hindu: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

community.²⁷ These sorts of endeavors to bring together Hindus behind a common cause can also be interpreted in terms of identity politics. The Sangh Parivar looked to characterize and promote a common Hindu identity, along these lines going up against both the Muslim community in India and the political, secular establishment that strongly opposed the movement to reconstruct the Ram temple.²⁸ The organising principle of the politics of the Ram Janmabhoomi temple was not only the privileging of faith over reason, but also the identification of an enemy who acted against the religious interests of Hindus. As a consequence, Muslim communalists showed great concern toward the defence of their history and the idea of community as one with that history.

Conclusion

The political history of India, in the record given by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, the progenitor of the idea of Hindutva, is an account of foreign attacks and Hindu resistance. As indicated by him, there were six major attacks of India, which were effectively met by the Hindus. He portrays them as six 'glorious ages' in which the valour and boldness of the Hindus defeated the external threat. These 'glorious ages' are the times of Chandragupta and Pushyamitra when the Greek intrusions were repulsed, trailed by those of Vikramaditya and Yashodharma who crushed the Shakas and the Huns separately. In envisioning the Hindu nation as a truly constituted political element, this religious perspective of the contention with the "other" or the "outsider" is a major factor. The mobilization and consolidation of the Hindus are the primary goal of the communal construction of history of which Savarkar set a commendable illustration. Towards this political end, a precise endeavour, grasping both the popular and academic histories, has been on the anvil for a long while, especially amid the last two decades. The central purpose of this exertion has been to advance the communal consciousness of history. It can be contended that these political, social, social, and philosophical

27 David Ludden (ed.), *Making India Hindu: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 109.

28 *Ibid*, p. 110

interventions from above are perpetually, unless as a part of the progressive battles of the general population, a ruling elite move. It prompts bifurcation of common interests and concerns. It totally crushed basic legacy. It pulverized convention as an asset with people to re-establish themselves or to unite people. Tradition in such a circumstance turns out to be increasingly a weapon with the prevailing to practice power; and individuals turn out to be increasingly a means for such force to be accomplished. Tradition turns into a prohibitive inconvenience, an authoritarian gadget notwithstanding when not felt by the people in this way. Mass mobilization can be seen everywhere as the politicized and militant form of the re-worked traditions have totally topped off the public sphere.

Representing the Intellectual World of the Indo-Persian Elite: Visions of the New World

Dr. Gulfishan Khan*

ABSTRACT

The late Eighteenth Century was a period of great political upheavals as reflected in the writings of the contemporary mainly the Persian speaking intellectual elite. The educated elite, mainly the erstwhile bureaucrats of the Mughal Empire, during this period characterised variously in the modern historiography as the period of decline, transition, and transformation on the one hand, had to adjust with the economic deprivation that accompanied the decline of the Empire and its succession states. On the other hand, the indigenous elite sought to absorb the new culture as witnessed with the wake of the establishment of the British political ascendancy in the Indian subcontinent. On the other hand, the cultural interaction with the agents of the new regime fostered new modes of thought and reshaped the mental landscape and sensibilities of the traditional intelligentsia. Consequently, the educated Indians, were also destined to be the pioneers of Occidentalism or better called "Orientalism in reverse," as they explored vistas of knowledge about Europe, New World and Christianity as

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practiced in Europe. Despite their critical engagement with the fresh themes and ideas, the new knowledge, as represented by the various facets of British rule, remained marginal to their intellectual concerns. On the other hand, for the administrator-scholars, in a period that marked the beginning of imperial domination, production of historical texts, compilation of biographical accounts called tazkiras, intellectual engagement with the poetics of the classical poets such as Hafiz Shirazi and others, gender discourse and interfaith debates remained the major literary preoccupations and scholarly concerns.

Introduction

The decline of the great Eastern Empires, Indo-Timurids called Mughals, Safavids, Ottoman, Central Asian Khanates and the foundations of modern colonial empires are considered the major events of the eighteenth century. The new researches on the eighteenth century in Indian history have led to interesting historiographical debate styled as the age of darkness versus prosperity and continuity versus change.¹ The transformations of the second half of the eighteenth century unleashed forces resulting in the unforeseen epochal changes in world power. The changes were so deep-rooted that it sent shock waves in the intellectual world of London, Paris as well as Delhi, Murshidabad and Pune. The demise of the centuries old 'Grand Mogul' and the establishment of British on its ruins baffled the contemporary British observers as well as the Indian educated elite. Edmund Burke called the rise of British power in India one of the most 'stupendous revolutions that have happened in our age of wonders.'² In the writings of the contemporary Indo-Persian intellectual elite the period is seen as an era of sudden political upheavals and rapid changes. The educated elite, mostly

1 Seema Alavi, *The Eighteenth Century in India, Debates in Indian History and Society*, Oxford University Press, 2002.

2 Quoted in Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India, The British in Bengal*, Cambridge, 2007.

erstwhile bureaucrats of the declining Mughal Empire had to fine-tune with the economic deprivations that accompanied the weakening of the authority and powers of the Mughal emperor. The rulers of the succession states of Bengal, Hyderabad, and Awadh also succumbed to the increasing pressure of colonial state. For Murtaza Husain Bilgrami (1719-95) too, a member of service-elite family from the historic town Bilgram in Awadh, the world has changed and the political vicissitudes amounted to almost a this-worldly revolution *inqilab-i-dahri* (sudden radical departure).³ However, the best narrative account of an age characterised by revolutions, transitions, and transformations was produced by the Shajahanabad-born historian Ghulam Husain Khan Tabatabai. The author presented a critical assessment of the prevailing contemporary political scenario which included factors for the decline of the Mughal Empire and emergence of succession states and growth and expansion of British power in India. One of the unique features of *Siyar al-Mutakhkhirin* (An Overview of the Modern Times), a magnum opus of the author, is the trenchant critique of the socio-economic impact of British rule on Bengal in particular and India in general.⁴ Ghulam Husain was not an exception rather many other educated observers commented on the contemporary state of affairs which they felt was not favourable to them. Paradoxically, the indigenous elite who were victims of the change were also the ones, who sought to produce discourses of the new culture as witnessed in the wake of the establishment of the British political ascendancy in large parts of the Indian subcontinent. The cultural interaction with the agents of the new regime fostered new modes of thought and reshaped the mental landscape and sensibilities of the traditional intelligentsia. Consequently, the educated Indians, were also

3 For a biography of Murtaza Husain Bilgrami, Gulfishan Khan, *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West during the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, (Karachi: 1998), pp.78-84

4 I.G. Khan, A Book with two Views Ghulam Husain's, An Overview of modern times, in Jamal Malik ed. *Perspective on mutual encounters in South Asian History 1760-1860*, Brill, 2000, pp. 278-98.

destined to become the pioneers of not so “Invisible Occidentalism” rather better termed “Orientalism in reverse,” as they explored vistas of knowledge concerning the West.⁵ Amongst the topics discussed by them were subjects as varied as the geopolitics of the European nation states, the two new continents of North and South America, called New World, its discovery, colonisation and subsequent settlements by the discoverers. Intellectual curiosity and not the xenophobia characterised the Indo-Persian writings on Europe and the New World. Inquisitiveness and genuine curiosity rather than “fear and love” are the most distinguishing feature of the indigenous elite’s perception and discourses on the subject.⁶

Despite their critical engagement with the fresh themes and ideas, the new knowledge, as represented by the various facets of British rule, remained marginal to their intellectual concerns. For the administrator-scholars, in a period that marked the beginning of imperial domination, production of historical texts, compilation of biographical accounts called *tazkiras*, intellectual engagement with the poetics of the classical poets such as Hafiz Shirazi and others, gender discourse and interfaith debates remained the major literary preoccupations and scholarly concerns.

Yengiduniya: Visions of the New World

Prior to a direct contact with Europe in the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century there existed only fragmentary information beyond the ocean in the Indo-Persian discourses and imagination. The Indian scholarly world remained immune to European geographical discoveries, as well as to the changes in ancient geographical concepts and notions. Claudius Ptolemy’s book on geography, known as *Jughrafiya*, and his celebrated work on astronomy, the *Almagest*, were still the leading academic sources for

5 Juan Cole, R.I., Invisible Occidentalism: Eighteenth Century Indo-Persian Constructions of the West, *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 25(3-4), 1992, pp.3-16.

6 Partha Chatterjee, Five Hundred Years of Fear and Love, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 33(22-30 May), 1998, pp. 1330-36.

geographical concepts. The arrival and settlement of the Portuguese on the coastal regions of India remained a largely marginalised affair. Fragmentary information on contemporary Europe was now available to the Mughal élites through the missionaries and travellers as well as the European envoys who visited the Mughal court. There are instances in European accounts of travellers being interrogated by the Mughal nobility and royalty about their countries, societies and their systems of government. Father Antonio Monserrate the Jesuit priest from Portugal was reported to have satisfied Akbar's curiosity as to the geographical relationship between Portugal and India with the help of an atlas. Atlases, globes and maps of Europe were being imported by the European traders into India. In fact, globes formed an important item of import to India to meet the growing demand for this item among the Mughal nobility. But no attempts were initiated to bring Europe's geography into the existing indigenous frameworks or even to indigenize the globes and maps.⁷

The Europeans were known by the generic term *Farang*/Franks and Europe was called *Farangistan* though nothing about its history and societies was explored. For the first time under the auspices of Emperor Akbar, a serious attempt was made to acquire knowledge about Europe, its societies, cultures, and historical past. Emperor Akbar's official historian Abd al-Sattar postulated that two major factors had maintained an iron curtain between the lands of Europe and India: first, the sheer physical distance from Europe, and, second, the linguistic barrier. There was no bilingual expert who knew the two languages (*mutarajjim*: literally, "the translator"). On the authority of Xavier, with whom he produced a number of important studies including a Persian Bible, he noted that in 1085 A.D. the city of Toledo fell to Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon. He was also informed by Xavier that during the re-conquest of the main mosque of

7 Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture A.D. 1498-1707*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992.

the town, the Jama Masjid or Friday Mosque was converted into a Cathedral. The Christian appropriation of the Toledo's major mosque and its subsequent conversion to the Cathedral of Santa Maria is a narrative tour-de-force in Spanish history but Abd-al-Sattar noted the event without any polemical overtones.⁸

The Indo-Persian literary writings provide no parallel to the Ottoman geographer Katib Celebi and his cosmography, *Jahan-numa*, nor to Piri Reis's delineation of the southern coast of America. Given the greater physical proximity, by the sixteenth century, the Ottoman writers were producing chronicles of the kings of France and the conquest of the New World by Spaniards.⁹ The news of the discovery of America was noted by the Mughal historians as an important event of world history though almost hundred years after Columbus discovered the land. It was called "Yangi Duniya" the New World. However, the first written account was provided by a Shahjahani bureaucrat Mirza Muhammad Sadiq Sadiqi bin Mirza Muhammad Salih Zuberi Isfahani Azadani (1609-51) popularly known as Sadiq Isfahani, Sadiqui being his poetical name, briefly noted the news of the discovery of America as an important event of world history, almost hundred years after Columbus discovered the land. He called it, "Yangi Duniya" the New World. Later Persian historians called it *arz-i-jadid*, *alam-i-nau*, *duniya-i-nau* and sometimes *amrika*. "Yangi-Duniya, a region which may be considered as a fourth portion of the world. Several European navigators have gone to that country, of which the air and water is purest and salubrious; but there was neither civilization nor cultivation; nor did any person know of such a region, from the first creation of the heavens and earth until the time when it was discovered, about three hundred years

8. Abd al-Sattar bin Qasim Lahori, *Samarat al-falasafa*, or *Ahwal-i-Farangistan*, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, University Collection, *zamimatarikhfarsi*, no. 28 folios, 10-11

9. Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i-Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana*, Wiesbaden, 1990.

ago; after which, Europeans went in their ships, examined all the particulars of the country, and wrote various books describing it. Since that period, all that nations of Europe have, according to their respective abilities, contributed to the population and improvement of that country; and it has become another, or, as the name Yangi Duniya signifies, “a new world”.¹⁰It is to be noted that Surat-born Sadiq is also the distinguished cartographer of the first important map of the Islamic world.¹¹A map of the world based upon modern cartographical principles was produced by Abu Talibbn Muhammad Isfahani (1752-1806) a literary critic and historian, almost after one and a half century later. It accompanied his synopsis of projected world history entitled *Lubb us siyar-u-Jahannuma* (The Essence of Biographies and the World Reflecting Mirror). The manuscript is dated 1793-4 and it was written at Kolkata prior to authors visit to England.¹² In the last quarter of the eighteenth century a number of educated Indian visited Europe and recorded their first hand impressions of the Western world for the knowledge of their compatriots.¹³ But there is no evidence of a visit by any South Asian to the New World during the period under study when many Indians began to visit Europe and specially the British Isles. But the Indo-Persian intellectual elite satisfied their natural curiosity about the new land through indirect sources. Comprehensive accounts of the New World as part of world encyclopaedias began to be

10 For the information of America see, *The Geographical Works of SadikIsfahani, translated by Jonathan Scott from the original Persian Manuscript in the Collection of Sir William Ouseley the Editor*, Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1832 pp. 56-7. Sadiq Isfahani, *Shahid-i-Sadiq* British Library. (London) Persian Manuscript, Egerton 1016, 331-359.

11 Irfan Habib, Cartography in Mughal India, *Medieval India, a Miscellany*, 4, 1980, pp. 122-34

12 Abu Talibbn Muhammad Isfahani, *Lubb us siyar-u-Jahannuma* (The Essence of Biographies and the World Reflecting Mirror). Bodleian Library, Oriental Collections Persian Manuscript MS Elliott 181, inserted between folios 393-4. See the Illustration at the end of the article, Courtesy Bodleian Library Oxford.

13 *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West, op. cit.*

produced albeit mainly derived from Persian translations of European works. In the late eighteenth century knowledge of Europe and New World in their traditional narratives became a distinguishing characteristic feature of the eighteenth century universal histories. Universal histories or the world histories were an established genre of the Arabo-Persian historiographical tradition. The writers of world histories who had almost the entire spectrum of human culture for their object of study, began to focus on the hitherto little known lands of Europe and America. Murtaza produced a comprehensive account of life in the New World, considered to be one of the most important events in history of human civilisation. The account is primarily based upon a treatise written by the English Orientalist Jonathan Scott (1753-1829), who in turn, was commissioned by Asafuddaula, the Nawab-Wazir of Awadh. Murtaza Husain had brief experience of serving Scott as a *Munshi*.¹⁴ The treatise incorporated in the form of a separate chapter in the encyclopaedic work contains a detailed narrative of the European expansion in North and South America down to 1784. Murtaza Husain provided a wide-ranging account of the New World as part of his world encyclopaedia. America, South and North, were the two Continents which was a new geographical concept, clarified the author and he simply transliterated the new term. He sought to describe the conquest of the New World by the European nations. Thus here America is mainly viewed and described from the European gaze. Perhaps this remains the first narrative account of the New World largely seen from the eyes of the conquerors. America is described as a great landmass called North and South America in the southern and western hemisphere. A dynamic geographic area discovered by the

14 For a biography of Jonathan Scott cf. M.J. Franklin, Jonathan Scott in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online edn., For Murtaza Husain's intellectual and professional interaction with Jonathan Scott see, Gulfishan Khan, Indo-Persian Scholarship and the Formation of Orientalism, *Historicus*, Quarterly Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, No. 4, October to December 2013, Vol. LXI, No. 4., pp. 7-53.

ingenious Europeans where people, ideas, commodities, wealth and natural resources were available to be exploited by the conquerors.¹⁵

Murtaza's account opens with an interesting narrative of the sea voyage and discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 in the manner almost like a school text book. Among the motives for exploration a strong desire of European nations to discover a direct route to India trade was the most powerful inducement to the explorers. Entire Europe was envious to the merchants and princes who dominated the land route to the East and prospered due to trade with the East which they carried with the help of Arab merchants. An irresistible desire to supplant merchants of Italian city-states of Venice and Genoa, was the most powerful factor in European overseas expansion. Murtaza noted specifically that it was European fascination with India and its fabulous wealth which led to the discovery of the New land hitherto unknown to the people of India, Syria and Turkey (*Hind, Rum wa Sham*) and say the entire Seven Climes. The account is prefaced with a biographical sketch of Columbus. Born in Genoa, Italy around 1451 Columbus learnt the art of navigation. He had also acquired extensive knowledge of astronomy, astrology and geometry. To him is also given the credit of being the first among the Christians who discovered the properties of magnet and invented compass. Before embarking upon the sea-voyages to the hitherto unexplored waters he acquired wide knowledge of new navigational techniques. Yet he had to spend years seeking a sponsor and finally found one in Ferdinand and Isabelle of Spain. The indefatigable sailor of Genoa succeeded in convincing Isabella and Ferdinand to finance his voyage across the Atlantic to Asia. He sailed west to find a new trade route to Hindustan but inadvertently he landed in what came to be known to Europeans as the New World.

15 Cf. Murtaza Husain Bilgrami, *Hadiqat al-aqalim*, lithographed edition by Nawal Kishor Press (Lucknow, 1879). pp. 503-23. Bodleian Library Persian Manuscript Pers. Elliott 157 folios 471-501. All the references in the present article are from the Bodleian Library Manuscript.

The newly discovered and subsequently occupied territories were well-populated as the entire region enjoyed pleasant climatic condition and favourable environment.¹⁶

Biographical account is followed by the subsequent voyages undertaken by the enterprising explorer and occupation of the West Indies. Beginning with the discovery of the coral island of Bahamas and Cuba an expedition to Haiti was undertaken which Columbus named Espanola (Little Spain). During second voyage he established a new settlement named *Bagh-i-Begum*, the garden of the Queen Isabella after the intelligent queen who sponsored the voyage. In the course of three voyages the indomitable sailor-warrior reached the mainland of South America near the Orinoco River. Thus the author sought to describe the three voyages of Columbus to Indies in which he explored Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Jamaica and Trinidad. A brief description of his rule in the Indies, and finally an account of the outbreak of civil war in Espanola before his death in 1506 is also provided. Each time he found a new land he became more certain that he had reached the East. Only subsequent explorations by others persuaded most Europeans that Columbus had discovered a new land. Death of Columbus was followed by subjugation and mass massacres in which some more than six hundred thousand natives were killed and many were enslaved. Ironically the New World was named after another navigator not after the first explorer. The author regretted that America owes its name to Americus Vespucci, a pilot of a voyage made in the interest of Portugal. Envious to the wealth these discoveries generated England, France and Netherlands began to establish colonies and trade networks of their own in America.¹⁷

16 *Hadiqat*, folio 488-90.

17 *Ibid*

The Conquest and Colonization of Mexico

Among the numerous nations which occupied American continent at the time of its discovery the two most advanced in power and refinement were undoubtedly those of Mexico and Peru. The Spanish conquest of the Aztec Kingdom of Mexico, defeat of its ruler Montezuma (1466-1520), the inexhaustible riches of Aztecs capital are described graphically. Legendary king Montezuma and his grand capital are the objects of principle focus. The king possessed a well equipped army, a grand palace and a jewelled throne. The palace of king was located in the centre of the capital city of Aztec empire Tenochtitlan [now the site of modern Mexico]. It was an elegant building built with pillars of stone and elegant domes and minarets decorated with intricate designs executed in gold and silver. Montezuma lived in his palace with royal splendour and grandeur. Pomp, show and pageantry were integral to Aztec Emperor's life-style. He usually rode on a jewelled throne/chariot followed by powerful nobility of his empire. The Mexicans had no system of writing but used pictorial representation i.e., the ideograms to communicate through writing. Agriculture was highly developed. Mexico was a major producer and exporter of fruits and vegetables and other agricultural products to Europe. Pomegranate, pineapple, lemon, orange, apricot, coconut and apple were produced in plenty. It has mines of gold silver and these precious metals were exported to the dominions of the king of Spain. The Spaniards took control of the Aztecs fabulous gold and silver mines. Apart from the mineral wealth it had medicinal herbs and plants. Perfume, musk and saffron were also produced. The land has deposits of precious stones and gems such as emeralds, ruby, and pearls. Tobacco, round pepper and chillies are also cultivated at a large scale. Thus exotic products and wealth flowed into Europe specially Spain. The most common crop grown by the Aztecs was maize also known as corn, pumpkin, bottle gourd, beans, avocados, tomatoes, and guava. Mexicans ate chillies, tomatoes, limes, cashew nuts, sweet potato and peanuts. Cocoa beans highly

treasured in Aztec empire are not mentioned. They also had cotton plant and rubber trees. The Spanish had occupied almost entire South America, being the major part of the newly discovered Continent. Through wars and general massacres, the indigenous population was destroyed and the Spaniards occupied the land and many artisans and labourers were brought from Spain and settled in the land of plenty and prosperity. The Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire in Peru between 1530 and 1570 is alluded to in a few words alluded. The rich gold and silver mines of Incas and their occupation by the Spanish conquerors is also noted. The Spanish were followed closely by the English, French and the Dutch.¹⁸

The account is concluded with a description of the customs, manners practices and dress of Indian or the native Americans. It is also pointed out that the people of the newly discovered land had different cultures, languages, religious beliefs and customs. The native American were looked upon as uncivilised heathens and the European conqueror-coloniser set about destroying much of what they found. The entire process of colonisation is described as a process in which stronger European nations exploited the weaker countries by using weaker countries resources and became stronger and richer. It is a story of subjugation of those who were ignorant of the resources and potentialities of the development of their natural wealth and assets. Indigenous population was subjected to mental humiliation and physical torture. Through various means and tactics employed upon the native population the European nations had succeeded in establishing themselves commercially and politically.¹⁹

The keynote is European expansion in the new, vast and enormously rich land. Scott sought to highlight far-spread possessions of Britain under George III. A few years ago a new island had also been discovered [Australia]. He alluded to the Treaty of Paris that Canada, a vast land was in the

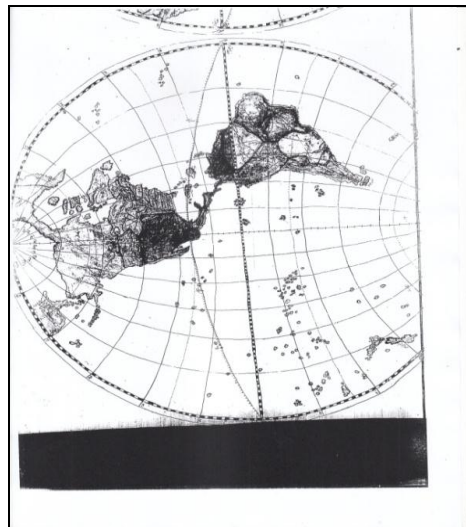
18 *Ibid* folio 491

19 *Ibid* 492-3

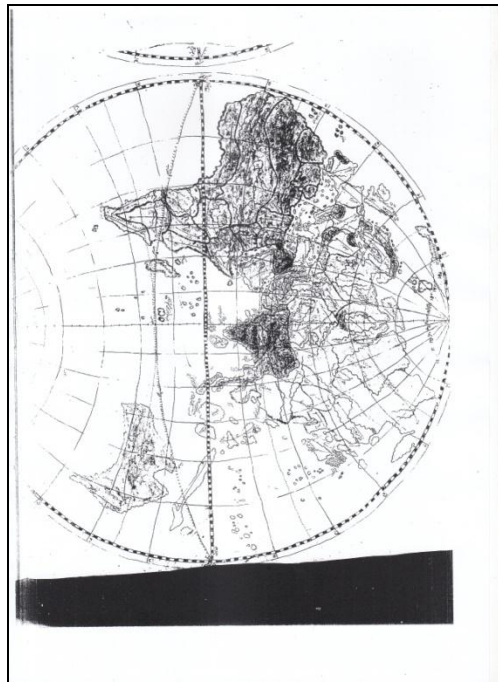
possession of England which was earlier occupied by France. The English occupied Bermudas, the West Indies, Hudson Bay, Canada and Florida. South America consisted of the countries called Mexico, Peru, Espanola, Porto Rico and Brazil. While the North America consisted of New Scotland, New England, New York, Carolina, Jamaica and Bermuda. Finally, the Europeans of various nationalities studded the American landscape. The weather conditions were favourable and the temperature remained moderate most of the seasons. The British colonies were well populated and were growing economically. And at present many British had occupied most parts of North America, either by the outright conquest, and sometimes by treaty and alliance. He sought to describe the Thirteen American Colonies of Britain, and the geo-political configuration of the continent with exactitude. The account included a brief description of the colonies their circumference, territorial extent, main cities, major agricultural and industrial products. Their soil was suitable for raising grain, vegetables, fruit, and cattle. They had easy access to metals sufficient for their needs. They were not without laws, literature or the arts. However, the colonies also produced valuable cash crops and other commodities of trade and commerce. Such was South Carolina and Georgia which produced rice. Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina devoted largely to the raising of tobacco. Tobacco was a great article of commerce. Rice was produced in the South Carolina. South Carolina sent out blocks of indigo-dyestuff. Ultimate control of entire western hemisphere by Europeans led to the transformation of physical and cultural landscape of the new land. People of North America at present are demanding equality with the British (*angrezan*) of Europe and they have revolted against the British monarch as they desired freedom. Thus Murtaza noted most recent event of Euro-American history -the American War of Independence. The narrative was composed in the period of transition between what has been referred to by some historians as the First and Second British Empire when Britain shifted its attention from America to Asia or more precisely the Indian Sub-continent. To be

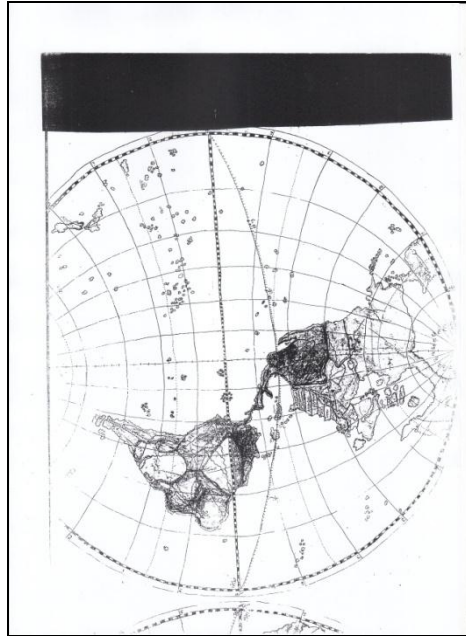
more precise, it was a period which witnessed closing of the first Atlantic Empire and the rise of the Second Eastern one. Murtaza revised his encyclopaedia in 1785 when the Treaty of Paris (1783) had been concluded but he did not mention it. Britain had lost its Thirteen Colonies in North America and United States of America had entered family of nations.

However, other authors writing almost at the same time also took note of the American Revolutionary Wars and had reflections about its impact on the contemporary political scenario on Europe as well as its newly occupied colonies in the East. They also noted down the recently concluded Treaty of Paris and elaborated the outcome of the Revolutionary wars. They viewed it as an internal affair of English colonists and the Americans. There existed no racial differences between the belligerents hence the matters had been settled amicably.” They are themselves of English extraction (*qaum-i-english*) and of English blood they are the sons and children of English.” This was the comment.²⁰



20 *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West* pp.132-138.





Culture and Identity: Implications in Nigerian English Usage

Maurice Enobong Udom*

ABSTRACT

Given the view that as language disappears, culture dies, language therefore is fundamental to construction of cultural identity. The argument on supremacy between culture and language which is led to rest in Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which asserts that language identifies cultural heritage such as food, dressing, technology, celebration, religion and the mode of life of the people is the aim of the paper. When Nigeria was a colony of the British Empire, and English was the medium of communication, the language began to wear a new look. The word “Englishes” came into linguistic currency to describe the varieties of English that depicts the cultural norms that gave other British colonies like India, Pakistan, Ghana, a variety of English that carries the indexical features of their indigenous languages and sociolinguistic realities. Today English has come to stay in Nigeria, though an “orphan”, it has gained much respect in education, business, government, technology and social narratives. The domestication of English in Nigeria therefore is a result of British colonization. With nativization, the indigenous languages compete, intertwine and modify the

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features of the English to reflect the cultural norms of the Nigerian society. Consequently, the paper explores the historical aspects of Nigerian culture, its people and identity to investigate the degree of the influence of Nigerian norms and values in English in the Nigerian environment. With the question of linguistic status of these new ideas within and outside Nigeria, the paper seeks to identify the lexical items that are culture specific and mark Nigerian identity, examine the method of their creation and identify factors that can impede acceptance of these Nigerian English words globally.

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the historical aspects of Nigerian culture, its people and identity to investigate the degree of the influence of its culture on English in the Nigerian environment. When Nigeria was a colony of the British Empire, and English was the medium of communication, the language developed hybridized structures, creating new varieties of English known as Englishes. These new innovations of language came into linguistic currency to describe the new ways of expression that depict the Nigerian cultural norms which gave other British colonies like India, Pakistan, Ghana, Singapore, Sri Lanka, among others varieties of English. These new varieties, which developed through the communicative need of the people, carried the indexical features of the indigenous languages and their sociolinguistic realities. With this development in Nigeria, there is the existence of new codes of expressions which are culture-related, recognized and acknowledged as new and non-native variety of English. This variety of English is known as Nigerian English: this is the fulcrum of this paper.

However, the characteristics language codes of these new ways of expression, in which these varieties used in British colonized regions, are controversial in the sense that they are regarded as inferior by purists. In the light of this, Singh and Mufwene studies of 1998 and 2000 respectively,¹ posits

1 Quoted in Melchers & Shaw, 2003

the argument on inferiority as meaningless, since no linguistic characteristic is common to all and that 'New Englishes' are varieties recreated by users from a mixed pool of features that make all 'new' in every generation.² This paper is of the view that these innovations are certainly true of language phenomenon, because the Englishes of India, Nigeria, Singapore, Pakistan and other British colonized countries do share a number of superficial linguistic characteristic which taken together, make it convenient to describe their new non-native varieties as a group separate from American, British, Australian and New Zealand varieties.

Given the view that language spoken and written carries indexical features of its environment, people, culture and identity of the users, Davis notes that culture, the way of life of the people dies once the language that interprets this culture and norms of the people dies.³ Culture of the people therefore determines who is identified as a member of a society which is transmitted through language. Culture interprets the heritage of the people and its environment in forms of food, dressing, marriage, technology, education, and mode of life. It is the objective of this paper to ascertain how culture and identity of the people and environment in Nigeria have influenced their use of English.

Today, English is a global language. It is the dominant language in the world of politics, academics, governance and social discourse which is mentioned in Bamgbose, 2001⁴ and Bottery, 2000⁵. With English in its dominant

2 G. Melchers & P. Shaw, *World Englishes: An Introduction* (English language Series, Stockholm, Arnold Publication, 2003),229]

3 W. Davies, "Vanishing cultures", *National Geographic*, 196, no. 2(1999) ,62-89].

4 A. Bamgbose, "World Englishes and globalization", *World Englishes*, 20, no.3 (2001) 357-63]

5 M. Bottery, *Education, Policy and Ethics* (London, Continuum Books, 2000) 256]

position because of its growing popularity, Anwar, (2007:1)⁶ notes that the users of English in non- native context develop a transplanted language. The view that transplanted language is culture –related and carries the identity of the people and its environment because the root of the language is completely removed is corroborated in Kachru’s (1986) *The Alchemy of English*, “a language may be considered transplanted if it is used by a significant numbers of speakers in social, cultural and geographical contexts different from the context in which it was originally used.”⁷ The work explains that when a language is transplanted, it is cut off from its traditional roots and it begins to function in new environment, performing varied communicative roles. With these many roles it enters into the process of nativization, where Nigerians start to use English in a way that depicts their norms and tradition.

Accordingly, Kachru adds:

“The nativization must be seen as the result of those productive linguistic innovations which are determined by localized function of a second language variety, the culture of conversation and communicative strategies in new situation and transfer from local language.”⁸

This work uses the theoretical framework of Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as quoted in Eka (2000)⁹ which asserts relationship between language and culture because it suits the ideas of the transplanted language which the research has noted. This paper notes that these linguistic innovations which are culture specific, are expressed in lexical items denoting religion, marriage, dressing, edibles/drinks, relations, technology, and education which are the ways the

6 B. Anwar, “Urdu-English Code-Switching: The Use of Urdu Phrases and Clauses in Pakistan English (A Non –native Variety)” *ESP World*, Issue 17, (2007) 1-2]

7 B. Kachru, *The Alchemy of English* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,1986)30]

8 *Ibid*,21-22]

9 D. Eka, *Issues in Nigerian English Usage* (Uyo, Scholars Press(Nig)Ltd ,2000)103]

people identities are enacted. Using some indigenous languages: Efik, Ibibio, Yoruba, Hausa and Annang as yardstick, this paper examines the traffic between English and indigenous languages to ascertain the creative status in this new non-native variety. The research, a corpus based and qualitative in outlook, identifies culture-related lexical items for analysis and discussion based on Bamiro (1991)¹⁰ categories of lexico-semantic variations such as transfer, semantic shift, analogy, neologisms, acronyms and borrowing; and Adegbija, (1989)¹¹ aspects of pragmatic variation that manifest in the use of euphemism, idioms and proverbs, besides other linguistic methods through which these hybridized structures of new non-native variety is discussed.

English in Nigeria: A Historical Stretch

In southern Nigeria where the British and Nigerian ethnic groups had their first contact at some period before the Atlantic slave trade, Portuguese was probably the earliest European language used not English. Portuguese was the language of commerce and diplomacy enjoyed by Portugal until 1553, when English sailors, Thomas Windham and Nicolas Lambert visited the old Calabar and ancient Benin coastal areas. With the duo in trading activities, Pidgin became the medium of communication. The focus of the trade-boom shifted from trading in gold, ivory and pepper to illegal trading of human beings called 'slave trade'. Some Nigerians had started learning English during the period of a heavy traffic in slave trading in African countries, especially as some Nigerians were trained as interpreters to serve as clerks in European companies in the country.

Ajayi (1965) research work (cited in Udom, (2015) reports that:

10 E. Bamiro, "Lexicon-semantic Variation in Nigerian English" *World Englishes*. 13, no1, (1991)47-60]

11 E. Adegbija, "Lexicon-semantic Variation in Nigerian English" *World Englishes*. 8, no.2, (1989)165-77]

Calabar traders spoke English as their only European language in the 18th century. Notably, these early interactions between European and Nigerian languages resulted in a variety of English influenced by Portuguese Pidgin, English Pidgin and the Anglicization of some Nigerian names¹².

However, the missionary activities in Nigeria took a lead in the development of English. Many Nigerians were trained as interpreters to aid in spreading the gospel in a language understood by local people. Nigerians were taught to read the Bible which was written in English and the language became a basic subject in the schools established by the missionaries to reach out to the people. In 1807 and with the abolition of the slave trade, Many Nigerians returned from their slave abode and began to speak English freely in their new settlements in Nigeria.

The research notes that the English language during the colonial period dominated the curriculum under various sub-heads such as reading, writing, dictation, composition and grammar as indicated by the colonial interest in standard education in Nigeria in the wake of the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorate in 1914. At this time however, the educational policies thrived with the development and promotion of indigenous languages. Similarly, English was for the sciences education, mathematics and official usage, while indigenous languages were restricted to be used at the primary and lower secondary schools. Udom's work is of the view that the journey of English to Nigeria was tortuous because it faced both acceptance and rejection by many indigenous language users but that the role of English in Nigeria cannot be underestimated.

The use of English as the language of education, employment, legislation, media, commerce and social affairs made educated Nigerians familiar with the British western ideas, values and culture like democracy, fundamental human rights, self-determination and independence. With this awareness, educated Nigerians insisted on

12 M, Udom, *Reader's Companion on Use of English* (Uyo, Art-biz Global Effects ,2015)6]

the creation of political parties and demanded self-government. Therefore, with independence in October 1960, English contributed substantially in achieving national integration in Nigeria.¹³

Notably, Eka is of the opinion that English in Nigeria at that time were only spoken by missionaries, traders and colonizers what could be regarded as English, and not the way it is know today. Consequently, he added that English has since remained with us in Nigeria and has developed features which mark it out as an identifiable and legitimate subset of world Englishes¹⁴. This research notes that as English and Nigerian indigenous languages intertwined, a variety of English with Nigerian identity emerged, and entered a long blended process of domestication. Thus, Nigerian people started to express themselves in English that reflects their socio-cultural norms and identity.

Nigerian English Usage

English in the Nigerian environment known as Nigerian English is used to describe the new variety of English as a result of British colonialism during the nineteen century, Crystal (1997)¹⁵, Trudgill et al, (2002)¹⁶, Jenkins (2003)¹⁷ and Ajani (2007¹⁸) scholarly researches and publications are abounding. The question of the existence of a variety called Nigerian English has been supported by scholars, educated speakers/users of the language in the environment whose arguments and facts are backed up in their learned writings as well. Akere, (1982)¹⁹ discussed the emergence of a

13 *Ibid*, 8.

14 Eka, *Issues*, 74.

15 D. Crystal, *English as a Global Language*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press .1997).227].

16 P. Trudgill, et al, *International English: A Guide to Varieties of Standard English* (Arnold, New York: Oxford University Press) 153].

17 J. Jenkins, *World Englishes: A resource Book for Students* (Oxford: Routledge, 2003)233].

18 T. Ajani, "Is There Indeed A "Nigerian English" *Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences*, 1 (2007)7-12]

19 F. Akere, "Sociocultural Constraints and the Emergence of a Standard Nigerian English" In J.B. Pride (Ed.) *new Englishes* (1982) 85-89].

standard Nigerian English. Odumuh (1993)²⁰ recognized Nigerian English as one of the new Englishes. Similarly, Jowitt (1991)²¹, Goke-Pariola²², and Kujore (1985)²³ have made written comments referencing the existence of a variety common to the Nigerian environment.

But, Vincent (1974)²⁴ and Salami (1968)²⁵ contend that what have been identified as Nigerian English are in reality 'errors of usage'. They found this departure as derogatory and insulting to refer to such a variety as English. They saw the departure from British variety which was imported to Nigeria as either deviant or incorrect usage. This work however supports arguments of linguists who claim Nigerian English reflects the cultural norms of its people and its environment, and that although the English language has gained worldwide prominence it is not used exactly the same way everywhere. Accordingly, Ashcroft et al (1989) publication, (quoted in Ajani (2007) asserts that:

Although British imperialism resulted in the global spread of EL, the English of Jamaicans isn't [sic] the same as that of Canadians or Kenyans, and that a continuum exists between the various practices constituting EL usage throughout the world.²⁶

He holds a strong belief that history has revealed that change as a result of two or more languages in contact is a phenomenon that has occurred in the past and is still going on today. He is also of the view that Latin, gave birth to the present day Romance languages (French, Spanish, Italian,

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- 20 A. Odumuh, *Sociolinguistics and Nigerian English*. (Ibadan: Sam Bookman, 1993)
- 21 D. Jowitt, *Nigerian English Usage: An Introduction* (Ikeja, Learn Africa Plc, 1991) 277]
- 22 A. Goke-Pariola, "Language and Symbolic Power". *In Language and Communication* 3, no.3(1993)219-34]
- 23 O. Kujero, *English usage: some Notable Nigerian Variations* (Ibadan: Evans brothers Ltd. 1985)
- 24 T. Vincent, Register in Achebe". *In JNESA* ,6 no 6(1974)95-106]
- 25 "A. Salami, "Defining a Standard Nigerian English" *In JNESA* ,2, no 2(1968)99-106]
- 26 Ajani, "Is There Indeed A "N E" 8]

etc) during the Renaissance period. He adds that Arabic gave rise to the various regional dialects in North Africa and the Middle East which gave birth to Egyptian Arabic, Tunisian Arabic etc.²⁷ This paper is in line with these assertions that what is happening in English language in Nigerian environment today is not anomaly but rather a normal and natural linguistic process that takes place in an atmosphere of mobility of language and culture-contact.

Similarly, this work is of the view that nativization of English in Nigeria reflects the peculiarities of Nigerian culture and its people. However, Udom observes the purists' argument which asserts that in spite of the nativization of Nigerian English, there are still doubts in the minds of many Nigerians as to the validity of these innovations²⁸. These divergent views with create uncertainties in the minds of users/speakers of these new varieties are parts of the problems this paper is set to address. On this premise however, Igboanusi asserts the development of Nigerian English to include the integration of loanwords from Nigerian languages and further claims that pragmatic nativization suggests the bending of rules of British English to create a modified variety to suit Nigerian socio-cultural environment. For example, he cites *sorry* as an expression of sympathy to one who has had a misfortune, disappointment or to one who sneezes and *well done* as a greeting to someone at work²⁹.

In Nigeria, there are over 250 ethnic groups with three principals among them viz: Hausa, in the north, Igbo in the Southeast and Yoruba in the Southwest. Similarly, there are other larger minor groups: The Fulani, Idoma, Igala, Igbirra, Kanuri, Tiv and Nupe, all in the North; the Efik, Ekoi, Ibibio, Annang in the East and Urhobo, Ijaw, Edo and Itsekiri in the

27 *Ibid*, 1].

28 M. Udom, Lexical Innovations in Nigerian English Usage, Unpublished Ph. D Dissertation of the University of Uyo, (2007) 18-48].

29 H. Igboanusi, *The Dictionary of Nigerian English Usage*, (Ibadan: Encrownfit Publishers, 2002)20-74]

West. Every ethnic group in Nigeria has its own values, beliefs and ways of living. A shared cultural heritage binds the members of each ethnic group and creates a sense of belonging and identity. Nevertheless, the cultural heritage of each ethnic group varies and is identified in arts, dance forms, music, crafts, food, clothing, celebrations, religion etc. These identities which are strong sense of ethnic allegiance are aspects of culture expressed and preserved in language.

Accordingly, Hale (quoted in Davis (1999) is of the notion that:

Language is fundamental to cultural identity. This is for people everywhere. For Bininj, their unique world is expressed in their language. For this reason, it is important that people keep their own language alive.... The loss of language means the loss of culture and identity. In many societies throughout history, the suppression of the languages of the minority groups has been a deliberate policy in order to suppress those minority cultures. As a result, a large number of the world's languages have been lost with the processes of colonization and migration. *Language therefore is an instrument that propels the people's cultural identity. Culture is dynamic, it develops and changes as the belief systems and ways of life of people in a given society changes, so thus the language systems, to interpret the new ways of life. Language in this case becomes a repertoire, an inventory of the group of people's customs. It carries the indexical features of the group and spells the direction for their ways of life.*³⁰

The culture of Nigeria defines features of Nigerian people's identity. It contributes to how Nigerians see themselves and the groups with which they are identified. Nigeria is a multilingual society with about 400 indigenous languages spoken and a greater number written. These languages of the various ethnic and cultural groups preserved the cultural heritage and identity of its people.

The notion that identity is linguistically constructed and negotiated is unquestionable. The relationship between language and identity is mutually constructed because language with important symbolic values plays a crucial role

30 W. Davies, "Vanishing cultures", *National Geographic*, 196, no. 2(1999), 65].

in identifying one's role in the society. For instance, one's social status is influenced by social variables such as educational background, class or ethnicity. An interaction between language and identity is obviously to construct identity. Meaning which is elicited from language gives users/ speakers a sense of their own identity, explaining who they are and where they belong. The culture of the people determines where they belong. Hall is of the notion that when two people belong to the same culture they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other³¹.

It is the view of this paper to look at language as a symbolic practice within a given culture in which meaning is expressed as belonging to the group. That is to say that cultural context gives meaning to things of the group rather than a thing having meaning in itself. Similarly, Zou summarizes thus:

Language constructs a certain identity for us and gives meaning of belonging to a culture or maintains identity within a group of people³². Without language the ways of life of a community cannot be expressed or preserved. Language cut barriers and makes integration of other's peoples ways of life possible; it fosters unity and love among people who share the same language codes. Language is like a mother of quintuplicate who gathers her offsprings in her care giving to one what he needs depending on one's request. Language interprets the cultural artifacts because it bears the meaning of the cultural artifacts using language. For instance, a child may request for toys and another for food. These items are in the storehouse of culture but the people's identity, and it is made manifest in language codes.

31 S. Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," in Stuart Hall: *Critical Dialogues in cultural Studies*, D. Morley and K-H Chen, Ed. London; Routledge (1996)411-40]

32 H. Zou, "Language Identity and Cultural Difference" *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, 2, no. 6 (2012)465-67]

Similarly, identity is viewed as a continuous process of discursive construction involving voluntary acts of self-differentiation through language. Notably, Joseph, views language not only as the medium of identity negotiation but also as the source of identity interpretation of others and by others. Strongly embedded in Joseph's notion is the idea that language is the site of identity construction which is the main background for its negotiation³³. For the facts that Nigerians have realized their identities through language choices and construction of utterances, and that the languages that they speak create a sense of belonging and reality for them because it reflects their belief systems, besides that the semantic and pragmatic elements which they used for their self expression navigate within different systems of social realities within their language community are therefore the objectives this paper will assert by generating lexical items whose meanings have connections with the Nigerian people and its environment in form of cultural codes which interpret their identities. Thus these emphasize the points that language is not passive but actually helps shape the society itself.

With the coming of English with colonization, English is today an official language in Nigeria. Given a well-known socio-linguistic fact that when two or more languages and cultures come in contact, different forms of varieties emerge or even birth of languages take place the question of whether there is Nigerian English should not arise since it is a known fact that in language contact situation, second language (L2) is bound to be influenced by its linguistic environment.

Another pertinent issue is that of intelligibility which has been dealt with by speakers/users of the NE. Accordingly, this paper has noted that NE is indigenous to Nigeria and its basic usage is intra-national. But on the question of

33 J.E. Joseph, Linguistic identities: Double-edged Swords [Electronic Version]. *Language problems & Language planning*, 30, no.3, (2006), 261-267]

international intelligibility, (Ajani 2007) contribution is immense.

Standard NE is to a large extent intelligible and that whatever difficulties encountered along those lines are not peculiar to NE alone, but also to the users of all the other varieties of EL worldwide. The difficulties encountered by the NE speaker communicating with an American English speaker will be similar in many respects to that encountered by an Australian English speaker communicating with a New Zealander.³⁴

This research, therefore, notes that there are linguistic scenarios which are bound to validate the many new ways of expressing the people's way of life given the many roles and important of culture as peoples' identity. These linguistic features are phonetics, phonology, syntax, lexis and semantics, discourse, speech acts and stylistics levels. However, this work limits its analysis on lexico-semantics features.

Culture-Related Lexical Items in Nigerian English

Nigerian English is used in different cultural contexts and social situations. There are notable changes in their phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. These linguistic characteristics are the yardsticks to determine validity and acceptability of this language. This paper limits its scope to the lexical items that are culture-specific, an area which has not been dealt with extensively in the non-variety of English in Nigeria.

Selected Lexical Items in Nigerian English (NE) Usage

1. White wedding (N+N) – Wedding rites performed in the church.
2. Traditional marriage (Adj+N) Marriage done according to ethnic customs.
3. Bride price(N+N)- Amount of money paid to the bride's family by the groom
4. Tarry night (N+N) Prayers done throughout the night plus other church activities

34 Ajani, "Is There Indeed A "N.E", 3.

5. Native doctor (Adj+N) A traditional medicine practitioner.
6. Examination Malpractice (N+N) Various forms of cheating/misconduct during examination.
7. Palm wine (N+N) local wine collected from a special palm tree.
8. Tapping knife (Adj+N) A knife used in tapping palm wine.
9. Kitchen stool (N+N) A small seat meant for use by women in the kitchen.
10. Chieftaincy Title (N+N) A traditional honour of a chief.
11. Environmental Sanitation (Adj+N) Compulsory clean- up exercise introduced during Buhari Military regime.
12. Youth Corper (N+N) A university graduate/National Diploma holder who has undergone a paramilitary training for three weeks and his enlisted to serve her/his country for one year to qualify him/her to be employed in Nigeria.
13. Pepper Soup (N+N) A special delicacy with much pepper especially prepared with goat meat, water and other recipes like onions. It is usually used when one is drinking beer or used in when eating rice prepared without oil.
14. Edikang Ikong (Adj+N) A special kind of soup prepared with pumpkin leaves and water leaves plus other recipes. It is a special kind of soup originated from the customs of the Efik, Ibibio and Annang. It is expensive to prepare and it is usually best eaten fresh. It is not palatable to eat after refrigeration even when it has been preserved.
15. Bamboo bed (N+N) A special kind of bed made of a collection of dry branches of palm wine trees.
16. Illegal structures (Adj+N) Buildings (stores, houses etc) built by individual citizens that are not approved by government and are usually demolished once discovered.

17. Cut-off -point (V+Prep.+N) The bench mark for admission set by the University examination body on entrance examination into the tertiary institutions in Nigeria.
18. Resource Control (N+N) Quest to control minerals by states in Nigeria.
19. Transport money (N+N) Fare for journey/transport fare.
20. Dubious character (adj+N) Bad Character/deceitful person
21. Tight friend (Adj+N) Close friend
22. Head tie (N+N) Hair dress usually worn by women as part of dress.
23. National Cake (N+N) Natural resources belonging to all Nigerians.
24. Fried eggs (Adj+N) Scrambled eggs
25. Careless driver (Adj+N) Reckless driver
26. Danfo driver (N+N) A driver of a particular kind of vehicle called *danfo*
27. Common Man (Adj+N) Peasant class
28. Raffia bag (N+N) A special kind of beg made of raffia.
29. Town man (N+N) kinsmen
30. Home people (N+N) Members of an extended family
31. Four-one – nine (Det.+Det. +N) A dupe or a fraudster, tagged after the Nigerian penal code #419
32. Mechanic village (N+N) A large expanse of area where car maintenance and repair works are done.
33. Area boys (N+N) A group of jobless youth who constitute themselves as nuisance in an area.
34. Cash madam (N+N) An influential and wealthy woman
35. Bottom power (N+N) A situation where a woman uses herself as sex mechanic to achieve her desires.
36. Sexual harassment (N+N) When sex is forcibly demanded to achieve ones aims it can be from male or from female, usually as a “quid pro quo”

37. African time (N+N) The tendency to be late for occasions.
38. Essential commodities (Adj. +N) Good that are scarce.
39. Ice block (N+N) Ice cubes
40. Okada riders (N+N) commercial motor cycle riders.
41. Motor park (N+N) commercial car garage
42. Pure water (Adj+N) A litre of water packaged in a cellophane bag and approved by NAFDAC – National Association for Food, Drugs Administration and control
43. Waterproof bag (N+N) cellophane bag
44. Husband Snatcher (N+N) A woman who forcibly lures another woman's husband to herself.
45. To take in (idiomatic)- pregnant
46. Intended- fiancée
47. Go-slow - traffic jam
48. JAMB (acronym) for Joint Admissions & Matriculation Board
49. Matrimonial home – marriage; the marital family.
50. Yellow fever – traffic warden
51. Cow meat –beef
52. Introduction- first visit about marriage enquiry/ prenuptial enquiry
53. Market women- common women traders
54. Chewing stick - A special stick chewed mostly in the morning for oral/dental gloss.
55. A second burial- Funeral rite traditionally conducted after the dead was buried. It is usually performed with merry-making rather than mourning.
56. Invitee- Guest
57. Duper- Dupe
58. Gossiper- Gossiper
59. Arrangee – a person who is assigned a role, using illegal deals.
60. Runs man- (idiomatic) a person used in shady deals
61. Machine – A person employed to write examination for another, illegal deals.

62. Lesson teacher – a teacher employed by parents to teach their children after official school hours.
63. To chase a girl – To woo a girl
64. Escort –see off
65. off-head – off hand
66. free barber- infection that cuts the hair

Discussion of selected culture-related lexical items

Transfer

The substrates (indigenous languages) usually are transferred as loans for want of better terminology to fill in the gaps in NE variety. Adegbija, (1989)³⁵ is of the opinion that transfer occurs when a meaning foreign to English is directly translated into English. This paper identifies the following types of transfer (i) Transfer of meaning (e.g. *bush meat, pure water, escort, tight friend, to chase a girl, free barber, off-head,*) (ii) transfer of culture (e.g. *matrimonial home, bride price, introduction, traditional marriage, Kitchen seat, home people, chieftaincy title, town's man, market women, native doctor, etc*).

Neologisms

Neologisms constitute coinages of entirely new forms. These new words can be grouped in three categories, examples: **(a)** The ones that are hybridization of English and indigenous lexical items. Examples: *Okada riders and Danfo driver*. These terms are used to refer to persons who are riding the motorcycle or driving the lorry on commercial purposes respectively; *Raffia bag, Bamboo bed*, as technologies *Atama soup, egusi soup, ewedu soup, Afang soup* as traditional food; *etighe dance, makossa style* as dance steps; *wooden gong* as musical instruments. **(b)** The existing lexical stock in substrate forms, examples: *edikang ikong, amala, dodo, akara, eba* as traditional food; *agbada, adire*, as clothing **(c)**The existing stock in English, examples are

35 E. Adegbija, "Lexicon-semantic Variation in Nigerian English" *World Englishes*. 8, no.2,(1989)165-77]

area boys, go-slow, intended, essential commodities, cash madam, husband snatcher etc.

Analogy

Analogy arises when new ideas are formed on the basis of partial likeness or agreement with the existing words in either a source language or English (Adedimeji, 2007:9)³⁶. This analogical usage in NE are (*invitee, arrangee, lesson teacher, gossip, duper, runs man, hair-tie, house boy, gate man, machine, etc*).

Acronyms

Acronyms which are formed from the combination of the initial letters of phrases are creation a phenomenon in language development. Examples are:

- WAI (War Against Indiscipline)
- JAMB (Joint Admission & Matriculation Board. By semantic extension it refers to both the examination body and the examination).
- NUC (National University Commission)
- NYSC (National Youth Service Corps, a compulsory paramilitary exercise meant for fresh university graduates. It is usually shortened *Corper*.)
- T P (transport money).

Speaker A: I am not attending church service today.

Speaker B: Why now?

Speaker A: I do not have TP talk less (let alone, BE) of collection, (offering, BE).

Loanshift

Loanshift occurs when the meaning of a word or a phrase from target language (English) is shifted or extended to cover a new concept or idea. Examples are:

- *expo* (leaked examination questions, the idea here is that the examination questions have been exposed before the

36 M.A. Adedimeji, The Linguistic features of Nigerian English and their Implications for 21st century English pedagogy, Paper presented at the 24th Annual Conference of NESAS, University of Ibadan, 2007.

actual time of writing. When a candidate is found with these exposed questions, he/she commits an offence under what is called *examination malpractice*, a coinage in NE.

☞ settle (bribe)

Speaker A: Oga, settle us before you pass.

Speaker B: How much?

Speaker A: Anything is Ok.

Speaker B: I have only 200 naira for you.

☞ Sorting (money given as inducement to influence award of examination scores)

☞ See you (bribe), a common parlance by students when soliciting for marks.

Student: Please sir, I want to see you.

Teacher: Yes, what for?

Student: Please sir, I did not do well in my examination. I want to settle you.

Teacher: Ok

Note: At the end of the discussion, the money used in the transaction is called *sorting*.

☞ Drop something (money)

☞ Ten percent, kola (bribe) - commonly used by businessmen/elderly people during transactions involving money or when a younger person requests for assistant from the elderly.

Boss: Gateman (gatekeeper, BE) open the gate, I am leaving for work.

Gatekeeper: Yes sir, but Oga, there is no bread for breakfast this morning?

Boss: I have *dropped something (money BE)* with the house boy (House keeper, BE).

Gatekeeper: *All correct* Sir. (Thanks, BE).

☞ To form- to pose

Lexico-semantic duplication

Lexico-semantic duplication refers to a situation where speakers/users of NE made use of superfluous elements which at time result in redundancy even though they create

emphasis in the context of use. Examples include: *reverse back, repeat again, comprise of, discuss about, extreme corner, blue colour, vigil night*) some cited in Adedimeji, (2007).³⁷ We observe that the second elements are redundant though they also signal emphasis.

Euphemisms

Euphemisms are expression which mask reality and give it a better face. They are expressions that present uncomfortable or lowly situations in elevated manner, (Odebunmi & Olagunju (2001)³⁸. This paper notes euphemistic expressions that mask reality and are understood by NE speakers/users. Examples:

- To sleep with her- To have sex with her
- To ease oneself- to urinate
- Sleep in the lord- dead
- Travelled to the land of fore-fathers- dead
- Toast/ Brain a girl- seek her hand in love/ to cajole a girl
- Chase a girl- woo
- Shade tears - cry
- Do it –have sex/ fondle a female’s breast.
- Not safe- in a menstruation

Speaker A: (female): Please madam, the laboratory attendant touched me.

Speaker B :(Principal): Lab. attendant, is that true?

Speaker C :(Attendant): What about the biology teacher who always touched you?

Speaker A: (female): So, did I ask you to *do it*?

Male: Hi Sweetie, you promise to *do it* today.

Female: Dear, I am *not safe* today, let it be next week.

- Sleep around – prostituting
- She has not bathe- she is stinging, emitting body odour
- Shine the Congo- to have sex.

37 Adedimeji, "The Linguistic features," 2007.

38 A. Odebunmi & S. Olagunju, "Euphemism in English Usage." In Afolabi, D. (Ed) *Reading in the Humanities*. Ilesha: Jola Publishers, (2001) 48-51

(It is often used with ellipsis, that is omitting the required word to make the meaning complete.)

Example:

Speaker A: Well, finally she visited after much postponement.

Speaker B: So you lastly *shine* her? (Have sex with her?).

Speaker A: NO, she complained that she was *not safe*. (in a menstrual period)

The paper notes that word *Congo* is a loan from a popular dance style, makossa, where female from Congo Brazzaville danced nude. Thus the item, *Congo* is attributive. It is also used in a semantic extension sense to refer to female with attractive and large buttocks. It also connotes an unmarried lady.

Idiomatic Expressions

In NE, there is the tendency to coin idioms to express Nigerian cultural sensibilities which meanings are rigid and their word combinations cannot be altered. Udom, (2015)³⁹ notes that idioms are phrases whose meanings are different from the literal meanings of the individual words they contain. Examples:

- To take in (in relation to a woman)– to be pregnant
- To take light –power failure/ power cut
- Not on seat – not immediately available
- Bad people – criminals
- Overseas – abroad
- Put to bed –to be delivered of a baby
- Swallow – types of food taken in small rounded balls which are dipped in soup and then swallowed without chewing. This act is commonly noticed when eating *pounded yam, amaala, tuwo, eba* and *fofoo*.
- Don't mind him – disregard what he says

Speaker A: Good morning Ma, what do you have for breakfast?

39 Udom, *Reader's Companion*, 148-149]

Speaker B: Rice *pepper soup* is ready.

Speaker A: No *swallow* yet?

Speaker B: *Edikang Ikong* with *fofoo* will be ready soon.

Speaker A: I need *eba*.

Speaker B: What! Have you not heard the *garri* is *essential commodity* now?

Speaker A: What about *amaala*.

Speaker B: It does not go well with *edikang Ikong*, I am not ready to prepared *draw soup*, may be later.

Proverbs

Proverbs constitute greater usages in NE. They are statements of experiences in life and words wisdom usually handed down traditionally from generation to generation. They are the pride of Nigerian culture. They are used to convey messages during important conversations. It is believed that these sayings are from the wise. They are mostly used to advise a child or a youth.

Examples:

- Make haste while the sun shines.
- The taste of the pudding is in the eating.
- Only a fool tests the depth of a river with both feet.
- If a child washes his hands he can eat with elders.
- Rain does not fall on one roof only.
- Mouth which eats does not talk.
- He that digs up a grave for his enemy may be digging it for himself.
- It takes a whole village to raise a child.
- The sun will shine on those who stand before it shines on those who knee under them.
- Looking at a king's mouth one would not think he sucked his mother's breast.
- Ears that do not listen accompanied the head when it is chopped off.
- When two elephants fight it the grass suffers.
- A man who pays respect to a great man paves the way for his own greatness.

Conclusion

The spread of a variety of English in Nigerian environment since the advent of English in the country is unprecedented. Given the view that English has been nativized, acculturated and twisted to express concepts and modes of interaction where English does not have the required expressions and nuances, and speakers/users of NE are compelled to communicate using peculiar expressions that are most apt for Nigerian context, NE will then foster the much needed unity and sustainable development with its multilingual and multi-ethnic diversities. Similarly, codification which has been referred to as language engineering process, which embraces orthographization and graphization is recommended as this will put NE as national language which would also allay fears of ethnic domination since all culture-related items will be adequately represented in the lexicon.

With a commitment towards the preservation of NE using appropriate cultural artifacts as investment will nullify geographical boundaries by introducing homogeneous language patterns that are desirable for improved communication. The implication in NE usage is that the people will continue to be interested in learning the language since most lexical items will reflect their cultural identity. The global spread of English and its association with economic modernization and industrial development may put Nigerians behind in development since their mastery of the English is shallow. With the set of English as global language, educational planners should inculcate varieties where NE belongs in school curriculum for learners and language instructors. This way the Nigerian varieties of English used in Nigeria will be harmonized with the Standard English and international intelligibility of the domesticated language will be attained.

The paper has provided linguistic analysis of lexical features of NE indicating how Nigerian culture has enriched the language. It has observed that NE is not deviant but deviation which as a variety departs from BE usage and is

tagged essentially productive and adoptable in Nigerian environment, in examples such as not on seat, walking in the sun, escort a friend, cut-off point as neologisms. In addition, NE usage is creative which signals a lot of sense by educated speakers because it is highly productive and opens to lots of interpretations in examples such as chase a girl, shade tears as euphemisms. This work notes that creativity is one of the ways culture of the NE people and its environment have enriched the new ways of expression that is culture-specific.

Muslim Identity in Multan between Empires: Comparing Narratives and Experiences

Prof. Diego Abenante*

ABSTRACT

Muslim identity in Multan has been defined for centuries by the relationship between ecology, social structure and the cult of sufi saints or pirs. This crucial intersection has been narrated mainly through traditional literary genres such as the malfuzat and maktubat literature linked to the sufi traditions, as well as through local biographical histories (tazkirah), folk stories, songs, poetry and proverbs. While part of this material was translated from the vernacular into Urdu during the 19th century, some will come to the surface under the British rule with the Census Reports and Gazetteers of the late 19th and early 20th century. Through this material we may see a narration of the social and political changes that have interested the region with the passage from Mughal to Afghan, to Sikh, and finally to British rule. This process brought multiple changes. Moving between empires, Multan saw a shift not only in the political structure, but also in the ecology, with the introduction of large-scale irrigation, and in the social landscape, with the transformation of the relationship between nomad and

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settled worlds. The aim of the paper is to discuss the impact of this transformation on the religious scene in Multan. In particular, the paper will highlight how the emergence of ideas of religious reform interacted with the traditional, 'mediatory' religious style, which had been dominant for centuries in the region.

Introduction

The study of the dynamic interaction between the “local” and the “universal” in Islamic culture has been the object of a vast literature in the social sciences. The process which has seen the Islamic revelation, born in 7th century Arabia, taking roots in so many different societies from western Africa to Indonesia, interacting with local cultures and adapting to them with great flexibility, has fascinated generations of scholars. As it is widely known, all Muslim societies through the centuries have developed their own model of Islamic institutions, producing what Ira Lapidus has termed “varieties of Islamic society”;¹ each of them has developed a specific way to put the religious message into practice in the spiritual domain as well as in the political and social spheres. These different local variations – particularly the Ottoman, the Safavid and the Mughal - have produced specific responses to the question of how to create an Islamic social order, in societies characterised by pre-existing religious traditions and socio-political organizations.² At the same time, all Islamic societies have experienced a dialectic relationship, sometimes even a tension, between two separate processes: the tendency to develop large political entities – “empires” – inspired by the model of the ideal Islamic State, and the resilience of local socio-political organizations, often indebted with pre-existing traditions. As we know, it is exactly in the ability to mediate between these two dimensions that rested one important reason for the success of those

1 I. M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 541-47.

2 On the theme of shared culture between Muslim Empires see, for example, F. Robinson, “Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems”, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 8, No. 2 (1997):151-84.

Empires. Despite the vast amount of scholarship, however, we still have a partial knowledge of the way in which the relation between the universal and the local has been mediated. A promising approach is given by the analysis of the interaction between the narratives produced at local level, and those produced by the larger political entities³. With the expression “local narratives”, in this context, we refer to all those sources which have been produced by such actors as religious families, members of local governments and administrative structures. We also extend such term to vernacular narratives as popular songs, proverbs, folk stories. The larger narratives we are referring to are the Indo-Persian historiography, chronicles and gazettes which were produced by the Muslim states between the 13th and the 18th century. Of particular importance, of course, are the works produced under Mughal rule; of these, the *A'in-i Akbari* of Abul Fazl is certainly one of the most widely known. These larger narratives obviously included the literature produced by the British colonial government, which offered its own depiction of the local society and of its intersection with the dimension of the Empire⁴.

These sources were obviously not distinctly separated. In the effort of producing its own narrative of the local society, the British government used and filtered a variety of local sources, ranging from oral histories and tales to written vernacular sources. This process emphasised the intersection between the various narratives. The literature produced under the colonial government was not only

3 This area of research is currently attracting considerable attention by the scholars; see for example the Panel “Locality, narratives and experiences: Muslim past and present in South Asia” convened by M. Raisur Rahman and Razak Khan for the 24th European Conference in South Asian Studies (Warsaw, 2016), and the contributions to it by the various scholars (<http://nomadit.co.uk/easas/ecsas2016/panels.php5?PanelID=3758>).

4 On the literature produced by the colonial state, see: N. Dirks, “The Ethnographic state”, Seminar *The Ethnographic state: Colonialism and the Production of the Indian Other*, Mediterranean Programme, Discussion Paper, European University Institute (Florence, 19 April 2001); B. S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge. The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

represented by the official British government publications (Gazetteers, Census Reports, Archaeological Reports, etc.); it was also made of publications by local authors influenced by the colonial environment who wrote works of history. This paper will focus in particular on one such genre: the ta'rikh or historical literature in Urdu produced between the 19th and early 20th century. Although too often discarded as a marginal genre, and as a mere product of the colonial environment, this literature is very significant in so far it may throw light on the intersection between those two dimensions and on their interaction. The 19th century local ta'rikh emerged as a "hybrid" genre: from one point of view, they made reference to the classical historiography of Islamic tradition, with its emphasis on genealogy and on the reconstruction of exemplary lives; at the same time, they gathered and filtered local knowledge, very often transmitted in oral form; finally, they were also influenced by colonial cultural categories. Therefore, this genre represented the intersection of different narratives of the local society; at the same time, they gave us a picture of the process of change of that society under the influence of the Empire. We propose to explore this issue with reference to the region of Multan, in south-western Punjab.

The local setting: Multan between Empires

The region of Multan seems to be a particularly significant *locale* for studying this issue; Multan has been for much of its history an area geographically and politically distant from the centres of power in the subcontinent. Geopolitical factors have made the region politically unstable, and culturally hybrid. Like all border areas, the south-western Punjab has been subject to influences from different worlds, such as the Sindhi, the Baluchi, the Afghan and the Punjabi. Such variety of influences has contributed to the diversity of the region in terms of ethnicity, language and social organization. These factors may also partly explain the scarce attention that the region has received by the scholars, although with relevant

exceptions⁵. This notwithstanding, Multan has been an important political site under Muslim rule. In Mughal time – during the reign of Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) – it was the capital of one of the main *subahs* of the Empire, comprising all southern Punjab, part of eastern Baluchistan and northern Sindh. In the following years, the Mughal decline and the annexation of the Punjab by the King of Kabul Ahmad Shah Durrani, who occupied southern Panjab in the mid-18th century, brought with it the rising of local tribes of Afghan – and to a lesser extent Baluch – origin. This was the case of the Saddozais, who became *de facto* autonomous governors of Multan province from 1752 to 1818. The presence of a Pashtun dynasty in the Lower Indus Valley was crucial to induce many other clans to settle in the region, thanks the concession of *jagirs* on the fertile strips of land along the Chenab and Ravi rivers. The Pashtuns of south-western Punjab gradually left their traditional military occupation to become a sedentary, and wealthy, landed class⁶; in the second half of the 19th century, Pashtun and Baluchi families will become some of the more well-to-do sectors of the society under the British rule⁷.

Under Muslim rule, between the 16th and the 18th century, Multan corresponded largely to the typical Muslim *qasbah* that constituted the backbone of the Mughal Empire; just like the other small and medium-sized cities of the Indo-Gangetic

5 The exceptions include, in English: R. Roseberry R., *Imperial Rule in Punjab: The Conquest and Administration of Multan, 1818-1881* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1988); H. F. Dasti, *Multan, a province of the Mughal Empire, 1525-1751* (Karachi: Royal Book, 1998); A. M. K. Durrani, *History of Multan (From the Early Period to 1849 A.D.)* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1991); A. M. K. Durrani *Multan under the Afghans, 1715-1818* (Multan: Bazm-e-Saqafat, 1981); the rich literature in Urdu, particularly from local historians, include U. Kamal Khan, *Fuqaha-e-Multan* (Multan: Bazm-e-Saqafat, 1984); U. Kamal Khan, *Multan Langah dur men* (Multan: Bazm-e-Saqafat, 1995); Faridi A.K., *Tarikh-e-Multan* (Multan, n.d.). See also D. Abenante, *La colonizzazione di Multan. Islam, potere, istituzioni nel Punjab sud-occidentale* (Trieste: EUT, 2004).

6 Punjab Government, *Gazetteer of the Multan District, 1923-24* (Lahore: Government Printing Press, 1926), 46-47, 111-114.

7 W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol.X, 2^o ed. (London, 1886).

basin, Multan possessed all the elements to aspiring to the role of regional court with dominant functions across the Lower Indus Valley. With its *madrasas* and *khanqahs*, it was the main centre of Islamic culture in southern Punjab and northern Sind; traditions of conversion and marriage connections bound Jat, Rajput and Pathan families to the saintly families of the city. The fact that many of these clans were largely located in Sind made of Multan a reference point for many communities in the region. Moreover, the Muslim community of Multan was the bearer of values that stemmed directly from their *ashraf* status. Sayed, Qureshi, Pathan, Baluchi families shared a common identity that distinguished them from other social groups. Multan was particularly celebrated as a site of Muslim shrines and *khanqahs*. With this regard, it is important to emphasise that the ecological setting influenced the model of Sufism prevalent in the region. Most of the sedentary population of the Bari Doab (between the Chenab and the Sutlej rivers) lived along the river ain (*hithar*) land, while the arid highlands (*bar*) were mostly uncultivated and used for grazing and pastoralism. The Muslim shrines mediated between the settled and the nomadic worlds, and the presence of the pastoral tribes of the *bar* was central for the religious life of the shrines⁸. As Simon Digby and Richard Eaton have shown, the role of the shrines was also important for providing the religious values that incorporated the local society into the wider Islamic dimension, and into the political sphere of the Muslim state, both under the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire. Through their genealogies connecting the religious families of Multan to the central Islamic lands, the Sufi *shaikhs* were able to connect ideally the local society with the Islamic *umma*, and, at the same

8 D. Abenante, "Islam, Irrigation and Religious Identity: Canal Colonies and Muslim Revivalism in Multan", in *Colonialism, Modernity, and Religious Identities: Religious Reform Movements in South Asia*, ed. Gwyllim Beckerlegge, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2008), 52-76.

time, to incorporate the local society within an otherwise distant Muslim state⁹.

19th Century Urdu Histories and their Significance

As William Glover has described in his analysis of the 19th century depiction of Lahore, the Panjab historians of the time came from specific social milieus. Some of them came from old aristocratic families, while others were the scions of families of spiritual descent; still others were members of Hindu administrative and service castes that had learned Persian and were associated with government service¹⁰. This pattern may extend very closely to southern Panjab as well. In the Multan region, a particularly interesting example is given by Rai Hukum Chand's *Tawarikh-e Zilla Multan*, composed in 1884 by an author who worked for the British administration in Multan District¹¹. While often neglected as a mere "Urdu gazetteer" of the District, therefore as a not very significant voice, Chand's *Tawarikh* in fact is in our view a significant example of the "liminal literature" produced by the overlapping of the various narratives of the local history. With the term "liminal literature", in this context, we mean the literature of transition produced by actors who were living directly a process of change. Our contention is that the understanding of these processes may be enriched by the analysis of this genre. The concept of "liminality" has been introduced in anthropological literature by Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner in the early 20th century. It referred to the state of "ambiguity or disorientation that occurs in the middle stage of rituals, when participants no longer hold their pre-ritual status but have not yet begun the transition to the status they will hold when the ritual is

9 S. Digby, "The sufi shaikh as a source of authority in mediaeval India", in: *Collection Purusartha*, ed. Marc Gaborieau (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1986); R. Eaton, "The Political and Religious Authority".

10 W. J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern. Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press), 186-87.

11 H. Chand, *Tawarikh-e Zilla Multan* (Lahore: 1884).

complete”.¹² The concept has then been expanded to refer to actors or communities caught “in between” statuses. In the social sciences, the concept has been, for example, applied to the processes of religious conversion, when one community is no longer part of the previous system of belief, while not having yet fully embraced the new system¹³. In our view, the concept of “liminality” may effectively describe the nature of this genre, which was produced by a sector of society which was undergoing a process of cultural and political change in the second half of the 19th century.

Obviously, the interpretation of this genre is not without difficulties. The main problem may be identified as the question of representation. A well known problem of research in this field is that very rarely we find primary sources in which the local societies speak in the first person. More often than not, the sources are external to the process of change; that is, they originate either from local *literati* or from conquering States. The local dimension is therefore rarely accessible to the scholar without such mediation. As Harjot Oberoi has written, with reference to the Panjabi rural culture, “a historian’s interest in popular religion is sustained...by materials that were invariably produced by indigenous elites or colonial administrators”¹⁴. Nevertheless, though originating from an *élite*, the 19th- and early 20th century histories may give us a narration of the social and political changes, and also of the dynamic interrelation between the local and the universal dimensions.

In order to produce his History, Chand relied on vernacular narratives, particularly when dealing with the Sufi traditions

12 V. Turner, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), 111-46.

13 See the various essays by Richard Eaton in: *Essays on Islam and Indian History* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000); see also P. Hardy, “Modern European and Muslim Explanations of Conversion to Islam in South Asia: A preliminary Survey of the Literature”, in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 68-99.

14 H. Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries. Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 140.

of the region and, at the same, time he absorbed some of the colonial themes. His vision of the history of the Multan region, we may identify three specific layers; the local dimension, the Perso-Islamic historiographic tradition, and the colonial influence. The first dimension is emphasised in its depiction of the religious and social fluidity of the region. Drawing on local sources, Chand narrated the religious evolution of the region, from the early establishment of Islam in the region with the Arab conquest, to the successive spread of Ismaili influence from Sind, to the successive waves of Turko-afghan invasion and the consequent process of re-islamization. His use of local sources is also evident in the narrative of the historical roots of the religious families, and their connections with the local populations. In this framework, particular emphasis is given by the author to the traditions of conversion of local Hindu communities to Islam at the hands of the Sufi Pirs. It is also evident from his representation of the religious life of the Muslim shrines and of its audience; in particular, the absence of any clear separation between the settled and the nomadic worlds, which will instead be typical of the British narrative¹⁵. Of particular significance is also the direct reference made by Chand to the "high" tradition of Islamic historiography. This may be seen from his emphasis on genealogy and family connection¹⁶. It is widely known that the growth of historiography in Islamic culture is closely connected with biographical studies. As Sir Hamilton Gibb has written, "the composition of biographical dictionaries in Arabic developed simultaneously with historical composition"¹⁷. For centuries, historical understanding in Muslim culture has been linked to the reconstruction of the genealogical connections of eminent personalities and families. This in turn was connected to the centrality of person-to-person relationship in the transmission of knowledge, and to the need of

15 See H. Chand, *Tawarikh*, 52-121.

16 *Ibidem*, 90-211.

17 Quoted in G. Makdisi, "The diary in Islamic Historiography. Some Notes", *History and Theory*, 25, No. 2, (1986): 175.

reconstructing genealogy in order to define religious authority¹⁸. The ample emphasis given by Chand in his work to genealogy is therefore closely linked to the classical genre of Islamic historiography.

At the same time, we may see the influence of the colonial culture in Chand's narrative in three main areas: first, in his "grand narrative" of Multan history; secondly, in his acceptance of a hierarchical vision of the society, which connected an "ethnographic" vision with political importance; lastly, in his attempt to provide not only a history of the region but also a complete picture of every aspect of the society. From the first point of view, it is evident that the *Tawarikh* presents a historical evolution of the region where the emergence of British power, with the annexation of the Punjab in mid-19th century, may be depicted as the part of a "linear" development; to be true, unlike other authors¹⁹, Chand does not seem to emphasise excessively the "positive" effects of British rule; still there is no doubt that the emergence of the Raj is fully integrated in his grand narrative of Multan history. This narrative was obviously fully in line with the colonial vision. Secondly, beyond establishing the family connections of the most influential families of the district, the *Tawarikh's* account seems to be shaped on the socio-political categories introduced by the colonial government, that were spread particularly through the administrative and "anthropological" literature such as Gazetteers, Census Reports, etc. As widely known, the colonial vision tended to divide the society according to a hierarchy of "tribes" and "clans" that, although presented as "natural", was in fact constructed and aimed at the political control of the society.²⁰ The same sharply hierarchical depiction of the society was not only incorporated into the official literature of the British government, but had also an

18 F. Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print", *Modern Asian Studies*, 27, No. 1 (1993): 13-14.

19 See for example the case of Latif's *Lahore*, analysed by William Glover in his *Making Lahore Modern* (see note 10).

20 On this theme see B. S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*.

influence on the histories produced by the local authors. It is therefore not surprising that Chand's work would share this vision. Finally, we would emphasise that, beyond providing a genealogy of the "influential" families of the region, and giving a historical description of the main events in the region, Chand tried to provide a complete description of every aspect of the society, not only from the historical point of view, but also from the ecological, geographical and anthropological ones. In so doing, the author seemed to share the aim of the colonial literature, which was to "encapsulate" a reality which was much more fluid, for the political ends of the British Raj. In his effort to simplify reality, providing a complete digest of the environment, history, and society, we may see the evidence of the continuity between Chand's *Tawarikh* and the 19th century European "encyclopaedic" mentality.

This said, the important aspects which connect Chand's history to the Islamic tradition, both at the local and the universal level, suggest the relevance of his work as not just a translation into the vernacular of colonial categories, but as a genuine "liminal" genre, connecting these different traditions.

Tradition and Dissent in Ancient Kashmir (A.D 6th – 12th Century)

Dr. Younus Rashid*

ABSTRACT

As a ubiquitous element of culture tradition constitutes the link between generations, the bond between present and the past, a foundational factor of a community, a means for individuals to become integrated into a whole extending beyond themselves. No tradition has ever been static, immobile, a fixed bundle of attitudes; nor can any tradition boast to have maintained a monolithic character or without having been called in question. So is true of tradition in Kashmir. It is marked by change, but change in continuity, internal crisis and tensions leading to competing traditions within tradition and the rise of counter traditions expressing explicit dissent over the fundamentals of whatever may be called normal tradition. The change in traditions, proliferations of cults and the emergence of counter cultures is not difficult to understand if one considers that there was constant inflow of power-backed traditions which confronted with deeply seated local traditions, forcing both to make compromises either for their survival or for establishing hegemony. This and the ever present creative minority with dynamic tendency towards fulfilment, completeness and

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integrity of their personality led to the emergence of beliefs within a belief, and even challenged it to the extent of rejecting it. However, the forces of contestation which rejected tradition could only affirm rather than displace the tradition, evidently because tradition enjoyed the support of rulers and upper castes who were also landed magnates and big employers. Moreover, the tradition provided a psychological therapy to people in an environment of vagaries of weather, recurrent famines, epidemics and diseases where there was no one and no body of empirical knowledge to turn to help or where such knowledge was plainly inadequate.

Introduction

Tradition occupies a central position in the structure of knowledge and understanding, and thus one must reckon with it as an integral aspect of the general hermeneutical process. It is therefore, not surprising to see a scholarly recognition during the past century of the fundamental role played by *tradition* in human history.¹ Having said that it is equally important to mention here that owing to terminological imprecision, lack of uniformity in method and scope, existence of several schools or approaches, of course with their adherents and subsequent modifications, there is little agreement among scholars regarding what *tradition history* actually is? However, scholars broadly agree pertaining to the different characteristics of the *tradition* Viz; reception and transmission from one to another generation, its form and content, direct functionality for the group that transmits it, and its cumulative and agglomerative nature.²

Another important concern of scholarly research on tradition has been to establish the historicity of the tradition. Emphasis had not only been laid on challenging/ questioning the essentialist and unhistorical notions of *tradition*, seeking

1 R. C. Lakshmi, S. Gopal, *Tradition Dissent and Ideology: Essays in Honour of Romila Thapar* (Delhi: Oxford, 1973) 2-7

2 *Ibid*, p.7

to demonstrate its historicity,³ but the sacrosanct and monolithic nature of the *tradition* has also been questioned. Besides the explorations of the dialectics of accommodation and marginalization, and the concurrent tendencies of homogenization and differentiation which characterizes the complex history involved in the fashioning of dominant traditions, the transformative processes at work in the remaking of the tradition has also been the dominant theme of the scholarly inquiry. The Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm even goes to the extent of arguing that traditions supposed to have originated in the remote past are in reality of very recent origin- *invented traditions*⁴. Defining *Invented tradition* as “a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.... However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of *'invented' traditions* is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition” Hobsbawm argues that there is probably no time and place which has not seen the 'invention' of *tradition*, with *traditions* being more frequently invented at times of rapid social transformation when 'old' *traditions* were disappearing.⁵ He further argues that all invented traditions use references to the past not only for the cementation of group cohesion but also for the legitimation of action, and that historians in the present should become much more aware of such political uses of their work in the public sphere.

3 R. Thapar, *Cultural Transaction and Early India* (Oxford, 1987) 9-15

4 E. Hobsbawm, *On History* (London, 1997) 33-35

5 *Ibid.*

The dissent (primarily religious), often attracted dissatisfied and suppressed elements of society who in the process challenged the established traditions/ religious institutions along with their wealth and power to which they were closely allied. In fact, religion itself furnished sources of authority available to the dissenters. Kenneth W. Jones rightly remarks that 'religion played a dual role within a civilization. In its orthodox forms it supplied much of the legitimization for the status quo but as heterodox sets foreign religions or orthodox ideals were carried to a logical extreme religion furnished sources of authority available to the dissenters'. Moreover, it would not be out of place to mention that in addition to what has already been explained the dialectics between *dissent* and conformism was very much the manifestation of socio-economic costs of the *tradition* if and when it was indigenous and the result of power intervention when it was exogenous⁶.

Summary

Hemmed in by high mountains at the western end of the Himalayas, little more than eighty miles in length from south east to north west, and no more than twenty-five in breadth at its widest point, Kashmir, in spite of this isolation and limited territory, proved outstandingly creative in the domain of religion during most of the centuries in which the dominant faiths of the inhabitants were Buddhism and Hinduism, the latter embracing in this region not only the tradition of Brahmanical observance but also, and with particular distinction, various traditions of initiatory *Vaisnavism* and *Saivism*⁷.

The earliest certain evidence of pre-Islamic religion in Kashmir is Buddhist rather than Hindu. A tradition related in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* claims that Kashmir had its first encounter with human civilization a hundred years after the Buddha's death through the intervention of Mādhyandina, a

6 *Ibid.* p 56.

7 P. N. K Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir* (Delhi: Metropolitan Book Co.,1973) 1-7

disciple or companion of the Buddha's disciple Ānanda⁸. Certainly no Brahmanical, *Saiva*, or *Vaisnava* text from Kashmir can reasonably be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era. Nor are the claims of Kalhana's history made more plausible by the absence of evidence in early texts of the pan-Indian Brahmanical tradition that Kashmir was already within its territory. Kashmir is mentioned nowhere in Vedic literature; and it appears in no Indian source before Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* c. 150 BCE, where it occurs in a context that alludes to rice cultivation in the valley at that time⁹. The first references that attest its inclusion in the domain of Brahmanical religion occur in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰. A verse there speaks of the holiness of the land and a home of great sages, a remark strengthened in a variant, seen in Kashmiri and citations to the effect that Kashmir embodies within itself the sanctity of all the sacred places of the Brahmanical religion, a statement that insists that Kashmir is part of the Brahmanical universe while at the same time stressing its separateness, self-sufficiency, and superiority¹¹. A few other passages found in some manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, and deriving perhaps from Kashmir itself, add that the sacred waters of the *Vitastā* (Jhelum), the principal river of Kashmir, purify from all sins, and that offerings to the ancestors and gods made on its banks generate merit equal to that of offering a *Vājapeya Soma*-sacrifices¹².

Quite akin to the Indian sub-continent, Kashmir also had been the origin and meeting place of varied and complex traditions- *Naga*, *Brahminical*, *Buddhist*, *Tantricism*, *Trika Sasna* (*Kashmiri Saivism*) etc.-besides many sub-traditions- which interacted and influenced each other thereby setting in

8 J.N Ganhar, *Buddhism in Kashmir* (New Delhi, 1965) 6-9

9 S.C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir* (Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, 2008) 22-28

10 *Ibid.*, 34-46

11 S. C. Banerji, *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir* (Calcutta, 1965) 67-73; see also, S. B. Dasgupta, *Aspects of Indian Religious Thought* (Calcutta, 1975) 8-12

12 *Ibid.*

the process of accommodation and marginalization. How far the elements of the interacting traditions found accommodation within each other and what led to the domination of a particular tradition over the other, was not only greatly determined by *resilience*- society's capacity to respond to disturbances and threats, also to opportunities, external and internal, natural and social, in a way that enables it to maintain its autonomy i.e. to maintain control over its own fortunes over the long term- but was also considerably influenced by the degree of political patronage enjoyed by them¹³. Thus, it is not surprising to see that while as the Aryan tradition dominated the local Naga tradition on account of its proximity with power, however it was mainly because of the activities and corresponding belief systems of wandering forest Brahmans that the Naga submission to the immigrating Aryans took place. Nevertheless, it would not be out of place to mention that since the Aryan society was no more homogenous, there were contradictions within, so new alliances and new challenges required fresh legitimizing doctrines. Thus, fortune of the Naga vis-a-vis Aryans always remained fluid.

The earliest extant religious work of Kashmir written in 6th or 7th Century A.D is significantly a Purana called Nilamatapurana. Needless to say the tradition of writing Puranas was a Pan-Indian Practice for striking the balance between the Vedic and local sources of authority by local Brahmanas who were in a position to access the points of minimum compatibility between different traditions. This technique of absorbing local cults and associated practices for widening the social base of Brahminical social order in different regions is known as Puranic process. The Nilamatapurana provides a typical example of this process which commensurates with Gramsci's concept of hegemony as the Aryans, showed sufficient flexibility to respond to new circumstances and to reach into the minds and lives of its

13 V. N. Drabu, *Saivagamas A Study in the Socio-Economic Ideas and Institutions of Kashmir* (Delhi, 1990) 44-46

subordinates. How the Aryans reformulated the Vedic religion to suit the local circumstances without however compromising with its basic fundamentals Nilamatapurana is all about it. According to the Nilamata, on the eve of the Aryan immigration there lived two powerful cultural groups in Kashmir pejoratively called Nagas and Pisacas by the Vedic people¹⁴. Hence there was no other alternative to the Aryans but to make vital compromises with their adversaries even to the extent of incorporating the Naga and Pisaca leaders in their Penthon. The Nilamatapurana ascribes the authorship of the purana to Nilla, the king of Nagas who is said to have related these instructions to the Brahmana Chander Deva with the instructions that for living in Kashmir the Aryans had to act up on his instructions contained in the Nilamatapurana¹⁵. According to the Purana it was obligatory for the Aryans to worship the king of Nagas, Nilla, as Kashmir belonged to him. The Purana pronounces 23 hymns in the honour of Nilla Naga. For Brahmanising the practices contained in the Purana, it was asserted that Vaishno declared the Nilla as a part of his own self, and "He who disobeys his order meets destruction at my hand"¹⁶. Also the Purana claimed that the Nilla received the instructions from Kesava. Besides worshipping Nilla it was obligatory for the Brahmanas to worship around 603 Nagas contained in the Purana. Considering the significance bestowed up on the Naga worship by the canonical work of Kashmiri Brahmanism it is not surprising that Abul Fazl found 700 places with graven images of snakes which the Kashmiris worshipped¹⁷. Naga cult was so strong or the influence of Naga belief was so pervasive that the Buddhist tradition mentions only Nagas whom the Buddhist Missionaries had to contest in Kashmir.

14 Gulshan Majeed, No Naga Presence in Ancient Kashmir: The Past Never Is, G. M. Khawaja, Gulshan Majeed, *Approaches to Kashmir Studies*, ed., (Srinagar: Institute of Kashmir Studies) 44

15 V. Kumari, *Nilmatapurana* (Srinagar: J and K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, 1988) 44-45

16 *Ibid.* 46-49

17 *Ibid.* 51-57

Significantly the first holy practice which the human beings had to observe for living in Kashmir was that they had to celebrate with elaborate rituals the full moon night of 15th of Asvayuj for the worship of Nikumbha, the chief of the Pisacas¹⁸. The elaborate rituals are discussed in 31 verses of the Purana showing that this was the most important religious ritual which the Vedic people had to observe. And alongside goddess Umma being the river Vetasta, Lakshmi the river Visoka, Aditi the river Trikoti, Sachi, Harsapatha, Deti the mother of Detiyas (demons) became the river Chandravati¹⁹.

Having been a part of the geographical and cultural complex of the border lands situated on its immediate north and north-west, the world view of Kashmiris was always shaped by the religious developments occurring in these lands. It is therefore understandable to see almost identical sequences of religious changes between Kashmir and its neighbourhood. In the neighbouring territories of Kashmir, we found Naga cult perhaps the earliest and the most popular belief. The evidence of Shivarites and symbols is not later than Harrapan culture. The Aryans introduced Vedic Religion around 1500 B.C. The worship of Vaishno was popular in Gandhara as early as the 5th Century B.C. The Persian occupation of Gandhara for more than 200 years between (516-326 B.C) led to the spread of Zoroastrianism. In Kashmir too we found almost the same religious sequence. Shiva remained a popular deity of Kashmir despite the coming of Aryans²⁰. Buddhism was introduced around 300 B.C following Mauryan occupation of the Valley²¹. The Greeks who ruled Kashmir for about 150 years introduced their own gods and goddesses besides promoting

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.* 56

20 M.A. Wani, Tradition in Flux: Accommodation, Reformation and Innovation in Kashmir Tradition, *Paper presented at three-day national seminar on Tradition and Dissent* (Srinagar: Department of History, University of Kashmir, 2011). 2-9

21 *Ibid.*

worshipping of images. However, it may be wrong to suppose that only Hellenistic religion became the dominant faith during the Indo-Greek rule. In this respect Kashmir was a part of Ghandhara where besides Buddhism and the Greek religion we find Shiva powerful in Posh Kalawati (Greek Capital) and Vaisno strong in Taxila²². Having their centre at Bactria which was the traditional centre of Zoroastrianism the Greeks were also influenced by this religion besides the Sun worship prevailing in Taxila and the Anatolian and Syrian religious beliefs.

From 75 B.C up to the 6th Century A.D, Kashmir remained successively under the occupation of Central Asian rulers namely Parthians, Shakas, Kushans, Kidarites and Huns²³. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence available on the period suggests an atmosphere of remarkable catholicity in this period – the rulers showing equal regards towards Greek religion, Buddhism, Brahmanism and Zoroastrianism. The coins of the Indo-Sythians and the Indo-Parthians bear the portraits of Greek divinities showing the profound impact of Greek religious tradition up on them²⁴. The inscriptions found at Taxila and elsewhere show the Shaka and Parthain rulers depositing the Buddhist relics and constructing Viharas. The Shaka and Parthain rulers were also influenced by Brahmanism. We find Azilises introducing a coin type which bears the motifs of Abhishekha Lakshmi. Gundophares also used the figure of Shiva on his coinage²⁵. The Shakas and the Parthians also retained their own Iranian faith – Zoroastrianism which left a deep imprint on the belief system of Kashmir. That Zoroastrianism spread in Kashmir from 6th Century B.C and especially during the rule of Central Asian rulers is amply borne out by some place names and beliefs and rituals of Kashmir. Of the place

22 *Ibid.*

23 B.K. Deambi, *History and Culture of Ancient Gandhara and Western Himalayas* (New Delhi, 1985) 33-44.

24 S.C. Ray, *Op.cit.*, p 56-57

25 P. Gardner, *Catalogue of coins in the British Museum*, (London, 1886) 67-69.

names mention may be made of Mitarguem (after Mitar the Iranian Devine being), Mir (Mihir), Aur, Akhur (Ahura), Anichdoor (Anahitadora), etc. The rituals namely Fro, Zool and Ruhanposh also connect Kashmir with Zoroastrianism²⁶.

While Buddhism – originally abstract and without images – started representing Buddha Bodhisatvas, gods and demons under Greek influence the Iranian influence on Buddhism can be seen in the concept of Buddhamitreyā, the most famous of the Bodhisatvas, who has masanic features reminiscent of Soshyant, the Zoroastrianian savior. It is this kind of Buddhism which became popular in Kashmir. Shakas, as we know, were essentially Sun and Bull worshippers. And it is believed that Sun worship was introduced in India by a group of Magicians who accompanied the Shaka invaders in the middle of the first Century B.C²⁷. In Kashmir, we find Sun worshipers as one of the popular cults. More importantly, there were many places in Kashmir which are named after their Sun god, Mitra such as Mitarguem, Mir, etc²⁸.

The syncretic and cosmopolitan religious tradition was not only securely preserved by the Kushans but in their empire. This multiplicity of items from different religions becomes more concentrated and more complex. Kalhana is not well informed about the religious attitudes and policy of the Kushans, which is why he makes us believe that Kushans only patronized Buddhism²⁹. While there is no doubt that Buddhism achieved great popularity at the hands of the imperial Kushans, the fact however remains that the Bactrian religious tradition which was an amalgam of Greeko-Iranian and Indian beliefs remained the dominant religious tradition of Kushans at least up to Vasudeva who got thoroughly

26 M. A. Wani, *Op.cit.*

27 S.C. Ray, *Op.cit.*, p 60-67

28 M. A. Wani, *Op.cit.*

29 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini* (Sanskrit), Translated into English and edited, with an introduction, commentary and Appendices by M.A Stein, in two volumes under the title *Kalhana's Rajatarangini -A chronicle of Kings of Kashmir*, (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas 1902) 344-45

Indianized³⁰. Kanishka, who is so famous in the Buddhist tradition as a patron of Buddhism, his coinage, portrays him as an exceptionally liberal ruler. There are 467 coins in SPS Museum Srinagar bearing the name of Kanishka³¹. However, the deities of only 290 are identifiable belonging to various religions and cults belonging to Zoroastrianism, Greek religion, Shaivism and many other cults. It was during his period also that 4th Buddhist council was held in Kashmir under his patronage to reconcile the differing views and interpretations in the teachings of the Buddhist faith³². Kanishka's council is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism as it represents the rise of what may be called Sanskrit Buddhism.

From 6th Century B.C up to the conversion to Islam, Shaivism and Vaishnavism remained the dominant religious traditions of Kashmir under the patronage of the rulers who were thoroughly Indianized. These traditions were however, neither close to nor monolithic, nor could they escape revolts from within. Let us cite the example of Śaivism, which became the dominant cult of Kashmir from the tenth century. There were many Śaiva sects with hardly anything in common save that all of them regarded Śiva as the Cosmic overlord³³. Broadly speaking there were three types of Śaivites who may be classified as semi-Vedic, non-Vedic and anti-Vedic. The semi-Vedic Śaivites were those Śaivites who followed the Vedic and Smarta Puranic norms plus many aspects of Śaivism namely, the Mother Goddess cult, lingam worship, carnivorous diet etc. However, as adherents of Vedas and Smarta Puranic norms, they were the believers of Varnāśramadharmā, authority of the brāhmanas, idol worship, theism and pantheism, rituals and ceremonies.

30 R. H. Robinson, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*, (United States of America: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1997) p 117.

31 G.B. Bleazy, *List of Coins and Medals in SPS Museum, J&K State*, (Srinagar, 1910) 4-9

32 R. Thaper, *The Penguin History of Early India, from the origins AD 1300*, (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2003) 262,270-271.

33 V. N. Drabu, *Op.cit.* 44-56

Among the semi-Vedic, Śaivites may also be counted, what may be called the renouncers, who, according to Marco Polo “live in communities, observe strict abstinence in regard to eating, drinking and the intercourse of the sexes and refrain from every kind of sexual indulgence in order that they may not give any offence to the idols whom they worship.³⁴” The non-Vedic Śaivites were the Tantric Śaivites who relied more on Tantras than on the Vedas. The Tantric Saivism of Kashmir also known as Kashmiri Saivism is essentially an absolute monistic philosophy based on sixty-four Śaiva Āgamas³⁵. This absolute non-dualistic philosophy posits that there is only one absolute reality called Paramaśiva³⁶. It belittles the worth and value of pilgrimage, worship of the gods and the like of vrata, tapa, tīrtha, devācārṇādishu³⁷. It also emphasizes that God should be meditated upon as one without hands, feet, belly or limbs and only as Satcidānanda and Prakāsha³⁸. To ‘men of little intelligence, God seems to dwell in icons or symbolic diagrams (pratimāsualpabuddhīnam)’. Telling of beads or recitation of the names of God and singing of hymns of praise ‘are worship of a low kind while offering of oblations into sacrificial fire (hōma) and pūja are even lower than the low kind of worship (japastutihsyādadhamaḥomapūjādhamādhamā)’³⁹. In the same vein, it does not see any worth and value in austere penance. More emphasis is laid on yoga rather than on ritual. Also, there is no room for discrimination on the basis of caste and sex so far as initiation in Śaivism is concerned⁴⁰.

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*

37 G.D. Flood, ‘Shared Realities and Symbolic Forms in Kashmir Śaivism’, *Numen*, 36, no. 2 (December 1989): 225-247

38 J.C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Saivism* (Delhi, 1985) 55-59

39 K. Gurudatta, *Kashmiri Saivism*, (Bangalore, 1952) 66

40 K. Sivaraman, *Saivism in Philosophical Perspective* (Delhi, 1973) 77

The Tantric Śaivites were also divided into different sects on the basis of the different *ācāras* followed by different groups. The main *ācāras* were *Daksinaācāra*, *Samayaācāra*, *Vamaācāra*, *Kaulaācāra*, *Mata ācāra* and *Trikaācāra*⁴¹. The last one of these was predominantly popular among the Śaivas of Kashmir. The use of five *makārās* (wine, meat, fish, roasted corn and sex) was essentially prescribed in *Kaulācāra* & the *ācāra* whose popularity in Kashmir was only next to *Trikaācāra*⁴². *Trikaācāra*, however agrees with the *Kaula* view that the limitless divine self-bliss can be experienced through sensual enjoyments. The use of *makārās* has been recommended in couplets 69-74 of the *Vijnānabhairava*, an important scriptural work on the *Trika* system⁴³. Abhinavgupta, the famous exponent of Kashmiri Śaivism, maintains that an aspirant can have access to the limitless divine bliss called *jagadānanda* through an experience of sensual enjoyments⁴⁴. *Vamācāra* prescribed an excessive use of intoxicants without any element of modesty in its practice. While *Kaulas* used *makārās* in closed compartments called *Kulacakras*, *Vamācārins* took it publically. *Daksinācāra* prohibits the use of such objects. The *Mata ācāra* has a position in between the *Kaula* and *Trikaācāra*.

True, the tradition of heterodoxy was so old and so strong in Kashmir that Tirumular, the earliest of the Siddhas of Tamil Nadu assigned to the second half of the seventh century, is believed to have come from Kashmir⁴⁵. Siddhas, it may be mentioned, were anti-ritual, anti-ceremonial and anti-caste. There is almost total absence of any cult of a local deity in the poems of Tirumular. Just as we find in Kashmir theistic non-conformism growing and culminating in blunt and direct attacks on the established religious order by the time of

41 V. N. Drabu, *Op.cit.* 64-66.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Ibid.*

45 L. N. Sharma, *Kashmir Saivism* (Varanasi, 1972) 23.

Lalla, similarly among Tamil Siddhas we notice rebellion against the Brāhmanical order becoming blunt and direct as the time passed. Interestingly, the substance, tone and tenor of the poems of the Tamil Siddhas closely fall in line with the outspoken *vaakh* of Lalla⁴⁶.

Certain facts mentioned in Kalhana's Rajatarangini namely flexibility of Varna Ashrama Dharma, persecution of Brahmans (gods of the Earth), spoliation of temples, revoking of Agraharas and imposing taxes up on Brahamans by rulers, killing of cows and eating of beef, matrimonial relations with other religious and cultural groups, absence of sati among the general populous, taking of arms by Brahmans, drinking of vine by Brahmana Gurus while singing their chants, conjuger life of the ascetics and their possession of lands, revising of traditional doctrines, texts of their own by ignorant gurus, etc only point to fluid religious milieu of the period.

Conclusion

With or without any reference to Heraclitus, the Greek philosopher (ca 540-ca 480) Strife has remained a major if not single sole agent of change and progress of life on this planet. All efforts of humans have been towards domestication of the other-- be it his kind, his super or lower co-shareholders or the environment-- all of whom humans have variously encountered. Humans even to sustain the gains had to be in a mode of preparedness, engaged in constructing defenses and fabricating arguments, myths, fables, and legends for the legitimization of actions taken or need to be taken. So is true of tradition in Kashmir. In effect, the emergence of myriad cults, the binary opposition between the dominant tradition and dissent and the *Purānic process* all point to the same conclusion: religion was not something a bundle of fixed attitudes which could not be reformulated, changed or even challenged in the light of new experiences. To be sure, religious history of Kashmir prior to

46 A. Koul, *The Life Sketch of Lalleshwari: A Great Hermitess of Lel Ded* (Delhi: Indian Antiquary, 1961) 44-46.

Islam is nothing but a record of assimilation of innovation, adaptation, compromise, reformulation and above all a search for truth & the truth to be discovered by each generation. There was all along a section of intellectuals who were always in the process of becoming and never fully formed. It was largely because of these dynamic and changing actors that we see a dynamic and changing religious history.

**Understanding three different Discourses on
Fall of Sindh at the Hands of Arabs in 712: A
Social Constructionist Perspective**

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ABSTRACT

The fall of Sindh in 712 AD at the hands of seventeen-years old Arab commander, Mohammad Bin Qasim is described as a great conquest by the historians in Pakistan while it is reported as an invasion on India by the historians in India and an invasion on Sindh by the Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Sayed. Two completely opposite discourses are created about the fall of Sindh in 712 by the Pakistani and Sindhi nationalists. For Pakistani nationalists, Mohammad Bin Qasim was a hero who made Sindh Bab-ul-Islam, the door of Islam for the subcontinent by defeating the villainous Hindu ruler, Raja Dahar. While for G.M. Sayed, Raja Dahar was a hero who fought and sacrificed his life to defend his motherland, Sindh against the Arab invasion of Sindh. Recently, in Sindh a new discourse is also emerging which claims to fight for the rights of the Dalit community in Sindh. The claimants of Dalit discourse, say not only Mohammad

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Bin Qasim was usurper and foreign invader but also Brahmin Hindhu, Raja Dahar was a son of a usurper, Chach who had dethroned the Dalit ruler of Sindh, Rai Sahasi II by conspiracy and deceit. In this paper, an attempt is made to explore how same historical event, the conquest/invasion of Sindh in 712 is used to construct three different discourses and corresponding three identities the Pakistani, Sindhi and Dalit identities. It is really interesting to observe how history casts its shadow on the present, while present tries to construct the 'reality' in the past. The basic purpose of this research would be to understand the politics behind three contrasting discourses rather than proving the superiority or veracity of one discourse over the others.

Introduction

The Social Constructionist paradigm claims that reality is not objective and fixed, rather it is subjective, socially constructed and ever-changing. On the same account, social constructionists claim that “conflict is a socially constructed cultural event” and that “people are active participants in creating situations and interactions they experience”¹. The social constructionist idea that conflict is a socially constructed cultural event implies, the salient features, positions and basis of conflict are constructed by the people by giving a particular meaning and interpretation to some actions and events.

Hence, historical events and meaning attached to them by certain individuals and groups becomes important in the context of living conflicts between communities. Social constructionism conceives the ‘primacy of the social process’ and argues that “people act on the basis of the meaning things have for them and that meaning is created through shared and accumulated knowledge”. The theory of social constructionism helps us to understand and analyze the motivations and political goals of people behind the particular meaning they attach to the historical events. Like

1 John Paul Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995, p.9)

Mohammad bin Qasim's (MBQ) attack on Sindh in 712 is an event in the remote past but the meaning attached to it, has relevance in present for different communities. Therefore, all those who described this event and provided a particular meaning to it, must have their political motivation for which they wanted to construct a different reality for themselves and for their communities.

The Arab conquest/invasion of Sindh in 712 has been seen through different lenses by different groups in the sub-continent. This debate has been divided along the national lines since the partition of India in 1947. The Indian text books² described it as the 'Arab invasion of Sind' while Pakistani text books eulogized the heroics of Arab commander, Mohammad Bin Qasim (MBQ) and started the history of Pakistan from the 'Arab conquest of Sind' in 712³. Later on, G.M. Sayed added the Sindhi nationalist discourse to this academic debate and made Raja Dahar, the hero of Sindh in his famous book, *Sindh ja Soorma* meaning 'the heroes of Sindh' published in 1974⁴.

The contact between Sindh and Arabs initiated because of commercial relations between two regions through coast of Sindh and the southern Arabia. If someone looks into the history of Sindh, specifically dating back to the Mohan-jo-Daro, then it can be seen that this city was a commercial hub where traders from different countries used to come and used to sell and purchase the goods. Therefore, Sindh was a well-known land because of her commercial importance. In this regard, G.M Syed quotes Prophet (P.B.U.H) saying the cool wind was blowing from Sindh to Arabia.⁵ This phrase shows, Sindh was given importance even during Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H) days in Arabia.

2 Sally Verghese, *History and Civics for Class VI* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Limited, 2008).

3 A.H. Nayyar and Ahmad Salim, *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, 2003).

4 G.M. Syed, *Sindh Ja Soorma* (Karachi: Naeen Sindh Publication, 1974).

5 *Ibid.*, p.12.

There are three different discourses about the Arab invasion/conquest of Sindh which will be explored in this paper. The first discourse is the Pakistani nationalist discourse that describes Mohammad bin Qasim as a national hero of Pakistan. This discourse has been spread through text books taught at different levels in Pakistani schools and colleges and through several history books written with the state approval. The second discourse is developed by the Sindhi nationalist leader, G.M. Sayed in his books and articles and through his political programme which describes Raja Dahar as a national hero of Sindh and MBQ as the usurper and invader. Recently, a new 'Dalit discourse' has also emerged in Sindh who see both Raja Dahar and Mohammad bin Qasim as anti-people forces especially they consider the Brahmin period starting with Chach and culminating at Raja Dahar as the most ruthless and tyrannical rule because they suppressed specially the lower casts which they term as the Dalit community of Sindh.

The goal of this paper is not to prove or disapprove certain discourse vis-à-vis the other rather an attempt is made to study all three discourses dispassionately. All three above mentioned discourses are studied in the light of social constructionist school of thought to understand the motivations and political goals of its proponents. The paper explains why this event of 712 A.D is still so dear and important for the individuals and groups of people in contemporary politics.

The Pakistani Nationalists/State Narrative:

According to the Pakistani nationalist discourse and the state narrative, it was not just Arab conquest rather a Muslim triumph. They say it was need of the time to spread Islam across the boundaries, and it was the Arab conquest of Sindh which opened the gates of India for Islam which is why Sindh has been described as "Bab-ul-Islam", the door of Islam. They connect MBQ's conquest of Sindh with victories of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, Shahabuddin Ghauri, Qutubuddin Aibak and the other Muslim rulers of slave

dynasty and Mughal sultanate. This theory is rejected by many historians like Stanley Lane-Poole who describe it as “an episode in the history of India and history of Islam—a triumph without results” because it affected only a small portion of the vast country of India as Arabs could not enhance their influence beyond Multan⁶. On the other hand, Brigadier (Retired) Asif Haroon in his book even connects the MBQ’s victory up to General Pervez Musharraf’s rule over Pakistan⁷.

There are different causes behind Arab conquest of Sindh being stated by Pakistani nationalists, however, the most important and major cause which this narrative describes was the last Brahman ruler, Raja Dahar was a cruel ruler who kept Muslim children and women as captives in his custody. When Hajjaj wrote a letter to release them, Dahar paid no attention to this request which infuriated Hajjaj and he sent Arab forces in the leadership of his nephew Mohammad bin Qasim basically to get the Muslim women released from the yoke of cruel Dahar. Hence, this narrative tries to establish, MBQ’s expedition was not an invasion rather a humanitarian action for the poor captives.

But in the same vein this narrative accepts, spreading the message of Islam to backward Sindh was no doubt an important reason as well. Anees Haroon writes, “However, effacement of the curse of idolatry and polytheism and to spread the message of Islam among the down trodden people of Sindh languishing under the coercive cast ridden Hindu Brahmin rule cannot be ruled out altogether.”⁸

The detailed account goes like this, “the first major conflict between the peoples of the Indian subcontinent and Muslim Arabia arose out of developments connected with the Arab

6 Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule (A.D. 712 - 1764)*. (New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd, 1970)

7 Anis Haroon, *Mohammad Bin Qasim to General Pervez Musharraf: Triumphs, Tribulations, Scars of 1971 Tragedy and Current Challenges* (Rawalpindi: Pap-Board Printers, 2000).

8 *Ibid.*, p.40.

sailors plying in the Indian ocean".⁹ When some of these sailors died, the local ruler sent widows and children of those sailors along with gifts and best wishes to Hajjaj bin Yousif, a viceroy of Ummayad Empire of eastern provinces. When these survivors reached Debal, they were attacked and looted, and also widows and children were kept as captives by the then ruler of Debal Raja Dahar's forces. Amongst these widows, a woman demanded/requested for help from Hajjaj. When Hajjaj came to know this, he wrote to Raja Dahar to release the captives but he did not receive positive reply from Dahar. Hence, Hajjaj decided to attack on Sindh.

Dr. Mubarak Ali, in his book raises some questions on authenticity of this version. He writes, first it should be noted that when a girl/woman requested Hajjaj for help, how that request reached to Hajjah because if all women, children and people were attacked and made captives, then who took her message to Hajjaj¹⁰. According to Dr. Mubarak, even if we suppose somehow Hajjaj was informed about the request of captive woman, still it is difficult to accept Hajjaj sent such powerful force with full preparation in such a short span of time to attack Sindh just for the sack of a request of a Muslim woman.¹¹ Dr. Mubarak states another reason behind the Arab attack of Sindh. He narrates a Muslim namely Muhammad Ullafi who escaped from Arabia because he was alleged to create rebellion against Ummyada rule, was welcomed in Sindh by Raja Dahar.¹²

Dr. Mubarak Ali, also states that it is difficult to accept the woman's plea as a major reason for the simple reason that this was not first time that the Sindh was attacked by the Arabs. Before that during the period of Caliph Umar (634-644 AD), Mugheera attacked the city of Debal in Sindh. Likewise, during Caliph Ali's period (656-661AD), Muslim

9 S.M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan: A Political and Cultural History* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 2000), 1.

10 Mubarak Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1994).

11 *Ibid.*, p.73.

12 *Ibid.*, p.75]

invaders reached Makran, but due to some political reasons, they did not go ahead. Then, during the caliphate of Muawiyah (661-680), forces were sent to conquer Sindh, but his forces were defeated in Makran and could not proceed to Sindh.¹³

Now, when we analyze this Pakistani nationalist/state narrative on fall of Sindh in 712 from social constructionist perspective it becomes clear why this narrative glorifies the Arab conquest of Sindh and why MBQ is hero-worshiped in this narrative. In fact, this state narrative helps building the doctrine of 'two-nation theory' on which Pakistan was created in 1947. MBQ is even referred to as the first Pakistani in Pakistan Studies text books because Jinnah also acclaimed MBQ and had claimed that the Pakistan movement started when the first Muslim (referring to MBQ) put his foot on the soil of Sindh. The Pakistani state narrative has to show this as a Muslim entry in India and overplay the heroics of MBQ while putting under the carpet the fallacies of the Arab rule in Sindh because this helps them build their two-nation theory vis-à-vis Hindu India. According to this narrative it was not just a war between Dahar and MBQ, rather it was actually a conflict between the ideologies of Islam and Hinduism.

The Sindhi Nationalist Discourse

On the other hand, the Sindhi nationalists especially G.M. Sayed saw this with a different lens and totally from the opposite angle. According to this narrative, firstly, that was not Arab conquest but invasion, because the Arabs came in Sindh to capture it and establish their rule in order to loot and plunder the resources and wealth of Sindh. Unlike Jinnah and the other proponents of Pakistani state narrative who saw this as a conflict between Islam and Hinduism, G.M. Syed saw this as a conflict between the 'son of soil', a Sindhi ruler, Raja Dahar against the Arab invader Mohammad Bin Qasim. He openly condemned the Arab

13 *Ibid.*

invasion of Sindh and termed it as part of the imperialist design of Arabs¹⁴. G.M. Syed described MBQ as a usurper and villain who attacked Sindh just for the sack of looting and plundering its resources Sindh.¹⁵

For purpose of proving his argument, G.M. Syed states that Sindh was a peaceful land even before the Arab invasion that was why Prophet (P.B.U.H) once said that the cool air was blowing from Sindh to Arabia. G.M. Sayed says although at that time, there was not a single Muslim residing in Sindh and all residents of Sindh were followers of Buddhism and Hinduism, still the Prophet kept the sense of good will for the people of Sindh. Syed completely rejects the Pakistani nationalist discourse that Arabs attacked Sindh to recover the captives. He questions if this was true then why Sindh was attacked by Arabs fourteen times before Sindh was invaded by MBQ in 712.¹⁶

G.M. Sayed described Raja Dahar as a 'soormo' (hero) of Sindh and questioned the Pakistani state narrative that claimed Raja Dahar had married her sister in order to save property which was to be given to her sister if she got married somewhere else. In this regard, G.M. Syed argues that Raja Dahar was a Hindu and it is quite clear that in Hinduism, even cousin marriage is not allowed then how come a Brahmin Raja marries his own sister. Rather he argued it was quite possible that because of caste difference in Hinduism, Raja Dahar did not want her sister to marry a man who kept lower status than their family. Therefore, it was possible that he did not allow her sister to get married and kept her unmarried.¹⁷

The Sindhi nationalist narrative see the fall of Sindh as a battle between the local Sindhi ruler, Raja Dahar who was defending the 'motherland Sindh' against imperialist

14 G.M. Syed, *Sindh Ja Soorma* (Karachi: Naeen Sindh Publication, 1974).

15 pp.11-12

16 *Ibid.*, 15]

17 *Ibid.*, 14-15]

ambitions of invading Arab commander MBQ and his boss Hajjaj bin Yousuf. Hence, for G.M. Sayed and Sindhi nationalists lens is different from the lens used by Pakistani state nationalists. State narrative saw this from the religious lens, a war between Muslims and Hindus because Pakistan was to be created on the two-nation theory, while G.M. Sayed saw this from the lens of ethno-nationalism a battle between local Sindhis against the foreign invasion because he needed this discourse to justify his newly launched movement for separation of Sindh from Pakistan, Sindhudesh movement. For G.M. Sayed it was enough for Raja Dahar to be hero of Sindh simply because he was local Sindhi, same as for state narrative MBQ's being Muslim conqueror was good enough reason to be declared the hero of Pakistan. Both narratives use cherry-picking from the history to justify their own narratives and they do not care how badly the people of Sindh were treated by Raja Dahar and MBQ.

The Dalit Discourse

This is new emerging discourse in Sindh which is still in its embryonic phase therefore not much literature is produced yet by the proponents of this discourse. Most of the literature on this discourse is in form of either local newspaper articles or discussions and comments on the social media. This discourse rejects the Sindhi nationalist discourse of G.M. Syed who considered Raja Dahar as a great ruler of Sindh. The Dalit discourse questions the heroic credentials of Raja Dahar and calls attention at Dahar's tyrannical behaviour with native lower caste Hindus and Buddhists of Sindh.

The major argument of Dalit Claimants is that, before the Brahmin rule of Chach, there was rule of Budhist Raikings of the Sudra caste, which they claim was a Dalit caste¹⁸. They claim Chach was not a real 'son of soil' as claimed by G.M. Sayed but a Kashmiri Brahmin who had overthrown the Dalit ruler, Rai Sahassi-II by deceit and an organized conspiracy.

18 Sanu Kainikara, *From Indus to Independence: A Trek through Indian History*, Vol.III (New Delhi: Vij Books India, 2016)

Therefore, they consider Chach equally a usurper and invader as was the MBQ. They consider Raja Dahar, a heir of the usurper Chach and blame him for his cruelty and tyranny against the locals belonging to lower and down trodden classes of Sindh.

Dr. Mubarak Ali has shared the story of how Chach dethroned Rai Sahasi-II by conspiracy. During Sahasi rule, Chach, a well-known religious literate and also an expert on administrative affairs was appointed in order to look after Sahasi's administrative affairs. Dr. Mubarak writes, according to unconfirmed reports Sahasi's wife Mohin Devihad fallen in love with Chach so it was quite possible that after the death of Sahasi-II, she might have helped Chach in overthrowing the Rai Sahasi dynasty as after establishing his rule, Chach had married her.¹⁹

Dr. Mubarak Ali also writes about some tribes who were humiliated and badly treated by Chach but he did not call those tribes as lower caste Hindus or Dalits. Dr. Mubarak names some of those tribes as Channa, Sama, Sahita, Lakha and Lohana²⁰. Among those tribes specifically Sama and Lohana were surely not lower-caste tribes as Samas later ruled Sindh as well. This raises questions over the claim that during Brahman rule; lower caste Dalits were humiliated and discriminated on the basis of their caste by Chach and his successors. According to Sanu Kainikara, Jats, Meds and Budhists constituted the bulk of the population of Sindh at that time and they were mal-treated by Chach and his predecessors²¹.

The Dalit discourse interestingly puts all those non-Brahmin communities into Dalit umbrella and terms them as Dalits. Even they describe the Buddhist Rai Sahasi dynasty as Dalit dynasty. The Dalit discourse divides the people of Sindh into Dalits and Non-Dalits and wants us to go further back in

19 Mubarak Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1994, p.69]

20 *Ibid.*, p.70.

21 Sanu Kainikara, *From Indus to Independence: A Trek through Indian History*, Vol.III (New Delhi: Vij Books India, 2016)

history and see fall of Sindh at the hands of Chach dynasty. Looking at this from social constructionist perspective it is understandable why Dalit discourse is doing this. They are developing their discourse on the basis of Dalit sufferings at the hands of Brahmin Hindus in Sindh, therefore, it surely suits them to divide the people of Sindh in 8th century AD into Dalits and Non-Dalits as well so that they can draw their roots back to that period. Nonetheless, as the Dalit discourse is still in its embryonic stage, therefore, it still has a long way to develop its argument on powerful historical evidence.

Conclusion

This study shows how different discourses use cherry-picking technique to interpret the history so that they can build an argument for their narrative which serves their interests in the present. The reality is constructed to suit the ideology they want to create and the goal they want to achieve. Such discourses like us to see history with single lens, the lens of their own identity which they want to use for their political programme. The Pakistani nationalists like people to see the fall of Sindh from the lens of Muslim identity, while Sindhi nationalists like them to interpret it on the basis of Sindhi identity and the Dalit discourse on the basis of Dalit identity.

But history is not as simple as they like us to believe. It is complex; there are no clear cut heroes and villains as they make them appear. Looking at history with fixed heroes and villains is problematic as it blinds us from the important details. Raja Dahar, Mohammad Bin Qasim, Rai Sahasi were neither heroes nor villains, they were complex characters who did what served their interests.

**Vernacular Press and the Rise of Class
Consciousness in Colonial South Asia:
Combating British Rule through Literary
Tradition of Punjab in the First half of the
Twentieth Century**

Hassan Imam*

ABSTRACT

The present article seeks to examine two important aspects of the history of colonial Punjab-the first one is the rise and growth of print media particularly the vernacular press and secondly the development of literary traditions of Punjab (now Pakistan) that developed under colonial rule in South Asia. In the course of study, two major centers of literary traditions, Bengal and Lahore had developed in South Asia. However, this article tries to argue how literature were shaping the minds of people and preparing them to confront with the British rule. For about two hundred years of the British rule, Indian experienced various kinds of challenges and changes in their socio- religious matters that affected them enormously. The result of colonial rule was over all suffering of Indians and consequently various forms of resistance against English were engendered. To construct the history of the resistance movement in colonial Punjab, we have chosen some proscribed literature published from

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Punjab. The expression of resistance, however, was a complex phenomenon, assuming various forms and methods, influenced by the way power was exercised by the colonizer. The resistance against colonialism in Punjab was manifested in armed revolts, social protests, cultural assertions and intellectual dissent. Most of the literatures dealing with British rule published in the first half of the twentieth century in colonial Punjab were declared proscribed and its circulation was banned by the British. After independence these literatures are available for the historians to re-write the history of the British rule in colonial south Asia. The purpose behind writing pamphlets and circulating it among the masses, was obvious, that was to create national consciousness among the masses as to how the British introduced new system of administration to exploit Indian resources and at the same time how did they undermine the Indian social system under the garb of modernization and 'civilizing missions'. For example, an Urdu pamphlet 'Dard-i-Watan', published from Lahore, examines the nature of the British rule and it argues that the Indians had been faithfully following their religion, were declared 'rebel and mischief maker'. It also argues that those writing truth of the British rule were punished and their publications were banned under Section 124 and 153 of the Indian Penal Code. Contrary to it, all those Indians who went against countrymen were rewarded with the titles of 'Khan Bahadur'. Criticizing the British policy, the above pamphlet argues that under the British the truth and falsehood was the same thing, even their promises and refusals were one and the same. It went on arguing that the British did not ban publication only, there was ban on the body, ban on seeing, ban on the pen and ban on the tongue. Even after these restrictions the English had been demanding co-operation from us. The following verses examine the British policy in these words:

*"He who follows religion is a rebel and mischief maker,
He who serves the country is refractory and a traitor.
No one can dare to give utterances to truth
The troubles under sections 124 and 153 are there.*

*He who cuts the throat of his brother is Khan Bhadur,
He who sympathizes with a governed man in his
oppressed state is disloyal,*

Introduction

In this article, we have made an attempt to enquire on three major issues relating to Press in the colonial South Asia- the first one is related to the rise and growth of press; secondly the nature of politics the press played out of nationalist discourse and finally how did the Press prepared people of South Asia to protest against the Colonial rule. In this endeavour, we have taken note from some selected proscribed (banned) literature from various parts of the country to analyze the nature of press politics and its role in the rise of political consciousness. For writing anti-British articles the press was warned and sometimes the editor was put behind the bar. The proscribed literature found during the course of study can be categorized as - the political, cultural and religious one. However, in this study, we have taken note of political literature to find out how did Press help in the growth of popular consciousness leading to protest movements against the Raj and how did the Press brought a change in South Asian politics. The outcome of the press politics was the passing of 'sedition Act' and banning the circulation of such literatures under sections 124-A and 153-A of Indian Penal Code (IPC) and 99-A of Criminal Procedure Code and action was initiated against its authors and publishers that involved in inciting the people to rise against the Raj.

Since time immemorial, the people had developed the idea of sharing information from one person to another, from one society to the other, from king to common men and from one nation to another and today the electronic media has connected the whole globe together which is termed as 'Global Village'.¹ However, the history of Indian press,

1 The term 'Global village' has been coined by McLuhan while describing the role of electronic media; he says that the globe has been contracted into a village by electric technology. See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media*. Gingko Press, 1964, 2003, p.6.

especially the Vernacular Press, in modern context, can be traced back to the coming of Europeans in India. Though, the press in the early phase of British rule did not occupy important place but soon it was used for propagating ideas and information of the Business houses and commercial enterprises to promote their commercial activities.² It was William Bolts, who made an initiative to start a newspaper in 1767, but his attempt was miscarried and the author was deported for this venture. Then, James Hickey founded the *Bengal Gazette* in 1780 which became popular as 'a weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none'. But very soon it was declared a publication of low order, because of its scrupulous attacks on individual, officials and even Governor-General and his wife. Many more complaints were lodged but the only restriction imposed against this paper was the withdrawal of right to circulate it by post.³ In 1782, a defamation case was lodged against Hickey by a missionary and by the Governor-General resulted the ban of the *Bengal Gazette*. Though, five more papers were started from Calcutta between 1780 and 1785, one of which was the *Calcutta Gazette* that secured official patronage. The other one was *the Bengal Journal* came under the editorship of William Duane, who indulged into controversy by publishing a rumour against Lord Cornwallis that he was dead and attributed it to 'a certain distinguished Frenchman'. For this offence, Lord Cornwallis decided to deport William Duane but the Supreme Court withheld his deportation. A few months later, Sir John Shore, succeeded Lord Cornwallis, deported Duane. This incident of deportation of an editor shows that the press had been functioning in India at the mercy of the British authorities. Leicester Stanhope stated about censorship in 1823 that argues 'previous to the establishment of a censor of the press by Lord Wellesley,

2 Prem Narayan, *op.cit*, p.2

3 N.G Barrier, *Banned Controversial Literature and Political Control in British India, 1907-1947*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1976, p.4 see also Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India*, Macdonald, London, 1952, pp.266-67

the people of India had the same liberty so as to breathe and live. No law forbade it'.⁴ It is true, theoretically, but there were many cases of deportation of editors, a most effective, and, indeed, a drastic means of controlling press in British India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy had protested and submitted a memorandum to the Supreme Court against the regulation restricting the freedom of press which was, though, rejected.⁵

A Brief Survey of Indian Press and Censorship

Undoubtedly, the emergence of Indian publication industry complicated the political life of the British in India, though it is a valuable source of information for re-writing the history of press and its role in the colonial south Asia. The appearance of press raised a number of questions on the functioning of the British 'Raj' and therefore the question of surveillance and control over mass media was anchored. From the late nineteenth century till India got independence, there was anxiety among the British officials as to how to supervise the circulation of ideas within Indian society. The tradition favoured a free press but the criticism against the government's inauspicious policies brought the press and literature under strict supervision to the extent of banning the circulation of literature and deportation of the Editors in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Meanwhile, a more rigid censorship came in operation because of an article appeared in the *Asiatic Mirror* that compared the strength of European in India with that of the native population. This article was written at a time when Lord Wellesley was in the midst of his campaign against Tipu Sultan. Lord Wellesley took it very seriously as he had deficiency in manpower as compared to Tipu Sultan. This information of press expressed the weakness of Lord Wellesley, which could have been disastrous for him in the battle field. He,

4 Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India*, Macdonald, London, 1952, p.267

5 A.R Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Popular prakashan, Bombay 1948 (Reprint 2010), pp. 215-16

therefore, ordered his commander-in chief of his intension of 'transmitting rules to the whole tribe of editors' and directed him to transport them if requires. In less than a month, Lord Wellesley ordered for imposing censorship to all papers of Calcutta and further directed 'to prevent the publication of all observation on the state of public credit or the revenues or the finances of the country', and, 'all observations with respect to the conduct of the Government or any of its officers, civil or military, marine, commercial and judicial'. Similar regulation had already been introduced in Bombay and Madras.⁶ These regulations were rigorously enforced in the country. As a part of censorship, the Baptist missionaries of Serampore were denied permission to establish their press. Fed up with criticism in private press reporting, Lord Wellesley decided to start Government newspaper, as an alternative to drive out private press out of existence. His intention was to save officials from rudiment of criticism and to involve a few European adventurers who were found 'unfit to engage in any credible method of subsistence'.⁷ These harsh measures continued for twenty years, until Lord Hastings, a liberal minded Governor General, abolished the regulation requiring pre-censorship in 1818, despite of the opposition of the Court of Directors. The editors were advised to abstain from writing on proceedings of the Court of Directors.⁸ The initiatives taken by Lord Hastings was not only continued by Charles Metcalfe, an officiating Governor-General, but he repealed the licensing regulation on August 3, 1835, with the unanimous support of the council, which was the most liberal press act in the history of press in India.⁹ Metcalf's action was disliked by the Home authorities but they did not annul it. Since then, the freedom of press became an accepted fact.

6 *Ibid.*, p.268.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Percival Griffiths, *The British Impact on India*, Macdonald, London, 1952, pp.268-9.

9 Sharad Karkhanis, *Indian Politics and the Role of the Press*, Vikash Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1981, p.36. see also NG Barrier, op. cit p.4

By the middle of the 19th century, the British India witnessed gradual development of Indian Press. For example, the *Bombay Times* was founded in 1838 and later it became *Times of India*, set an altogether a new tone in journalism. Other papers such as the *Statesman*, the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* had a sound and restraining effect on both European and Indian thoughts. These Newspapers played a great role in political education of the Indian middle classes. The establishment of Indian-owned newspapers such as the *Hindu* of Madras, and the *Leader* of Allahabad, contained a firm tradition of journalistic integrity. Meanwhile, strong Indian-owned press, both in English and Vernaculars had grown up in India under the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore. They began to publish religious pamphlets in several vernacular languages and distributed them among Indians, though they were non-political, which embarrassed the authorities for their blunt and narrow comments on Hinduism and Muslim beliefs and practices. In 1818, the missionaries had started publishing a Bengali monthly magazine and then a Bengali weekly, the *Samachar Darpan*, with the permission of Lord Hastings, which was subsequently used for the purpose of publishing translated version of official orders also. In 1821, many controversial statements on religious topics appeared in this journal induced Raja Ram Mohan Roy to establish the *Sambad Kaumudi*, devoted largely to contradict the statement of the missionaries.

Indian Press and Censorship in the Post 1857

The Indian press, especially after the revolt of 1857, grew rapidly owing to the increase of political consciousness and the establishment of direct communication between India and Britain by 1860. The majority of papers published, then, were in the vernacular languages, though there a few English papers as well. In 1876, there were 62 such papers in Bombay presidency, 60 in the North-West Provinces (Awadh and Central Provinces), 28 in Bengal and 19 in

Madras.¹⁰ Gradually these papers displayed applauding work in bringing national consciousness. Among these, some were highly sensitive such as- the *Indian Mirror* of Keshab Chandra Sen, the *Bengalee* under Surendranath Banerjee. However, some Bengali weekly papers- *Sulabh Samachar*, *Bangabasi*, *Sanjibani* and *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* (initially a Bengali then bi-lingual (English-Bengali) and finally an English weekly), exercised great influence in moulding public opinion against Government policies on political, social and educational matters.¹¹ English newspapers in India exuded hatred and clamoured for revenge, while Indian journals, according to Lord Canning, 'sedulously, cleverly, artfully' poured forth seditious literature.¹² The vernacular press especially after the revolt of 1857, initiated harsh criticism against Government policy which evoked British authorities for the renewal of pre-censorship and jails for recalcitrant editors, which continued until 1878, when a new 'Gagging Act' sought to limit the freedom of vernacular newspapers.¹³ Criticism against British officials compelled them to intervene in Indian publication industries through legal methods that left a legacy of laws to control the press. Act XXV of 1867, initiated 'for the regulation of printing presses and newspapers, for the preservation of copies of books printed in British India, and the registration of such books' became the legal basis of surveillance system. After 1867, Books, Journals and newspapers were required to maintain the names of the authors, printers and publishers and India Office was to be informed accordingly what was printed in India. Registration of press and confidential reports, thereon, especially about the tone and tenor of the paper was also prepared by the officials at the lower level and the government was well informed to initiate warnings and prosecution, if it was found that the material published in

10 S N Sen, *Modern India*, New Age International Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, p.152.

11 *Ibid*, pp.151-52

12 Percival Griffiths, *op.cit*, pp.270-72

13 NG Barrier, *op.cit*, p.4

the paper was objectionable and that might create hatred against the British.¹⁴ The local government had the primary function of investigating and collecting data on Indian literary trends, while the Government of India served as the nerve centre, it was monitoring reports and taking initiative of circulating memoranda to subordinate and the India Office. Keeping in view the nature of publication, several amendments to the Penal Code extended the officials jurisdiction over the press. Regarding seditious publications, two categories of literatures had been identified; the first one was printed in India and the other one was imported from the abroad. In India, there were many centers of revolutionary publication, they were, Bengal, Poona and Lahore. While the seditious literatures generally imported from England and America in the shape of *Indian Sociologists* of London and *Gaelic American* of New York; to these Paris was added later with the appearance of *Bande Mataram*. Later San Francisco became the most important centre of publication and distribution of revolutionary print materials. The seditious literature published abroad, of course, were treated in a different way, the usual practice to prohibit their entry in India, was under Sea Custom Act.¹⁵

The restriction imposed on Press by Lord Lytton under the Vernacular Press Act, 1878, was strongly criticized by the Liberal party in the British Parliament, then in opposition, but it had no effect. It continued till Lord Ripon's Government repealed it in 1882. After the partition of Bengal, a new trend in press politics began in the country; it started publishing a large number of revolutionary literatures that was inciting people for revolution and murder of European. The existing sedition law was put into operation, but it had little effect and there was Muzaffarpur bomb case.¹⁶ There were a number of unhealthy events occurred in the country due to press campaign. The government considered the press reporting

14 *Ibid*, pp.5-6.

15 J C Ker, *Political Troubles in India*, p.64.

16 *Ibid*.p.136

and misrepresentation of facts had exhorted people for violence against Government. To put a check on offensive press, an Act was passed in June 1908 for the prevention of incitements to murder and other offences in newspapers. It provided the power for the forfeiture of presses in which newspapers were printed containing seditious matters relating to incitement and murder of the Europeans or any offence under Explosive Substances Act or to any act of violence. But this Act of 1908 did not prevent the press from publishing seditious literature and therefore Press Act of 1910 was passed. Under this Act, the keeper of the printing presses and the publisher of the newspapers were required to deposit security and the local government was empowered to forfeit the security in certain cases.¹⁷ To make the Press laws more stringent the British Government induced a passage in section 124-A, in the Indian Penal Code a 'sedition' clause aimed generally at actions which caused 'disaffection.' This was further amended by Act IV of 1898 that widened the scope for prosecution. Section 124-A can be read as follows:

Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty, or the Government established by law in British India shall be punished.¹⁸

In the publication of revolutionary literature, Bengal was very rich and its publications were highly sensitive that that preparing people for sacrifice. These newspapers were- the *Yugantar* (New Era) started in 1906 by Barindra Kumar Ghosh, the *Sandhya* (Twilight) edited by Brahma Bandhup Upadhyaya, the *Bande Mataram* of Calcutta was started in November 1906 by Arabindo Ghosh, the *Karamayogin* (The Devotee of Action) started in June 1909 by Arabindo Ghosh, The *Suprabhat* Magazine edited by Miss Kumudini Mitter, The *Kesari* and *Mahratta* of B.G. Tilak, The *Kal* edited by

17 *Ibid*

18 NG Barrier, *op.cit*, p.4-5; see also J C Ker, *Political Troubles in India*, pp.63-65

Shivram Mahadev Pranjpe, a Maratha Brahmin. Beside these, there were *Ananda Math* (the Abbey of Bliss) by Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Bhawani Mandir by Arabindo Ghosh, *Sikher Balidan* by Miss Kumudini Mitter, and many more which are still preserved in Bengal State Archives, Kolkatta, in a very brittle condition.¹⁹ The contents of these papers were highly inflammatory in the eyes of the British but today its study would provide more information relating to British Raj which has not, yet, been disclosed. To censure these papers, a new section 153-A to the Indian Penal Code was added in which writings or speeches inciting class hatred were made punishable. A final amendment was made in section 505, defining the general law of sedition which covered statements creating public mischief.

The Beginning of Modernization under the 'Raj'

Since the establishment of British rule in India, various arguments have been put forwarded regarding the image of the British from the Western and Indian perspectives. The British scholars projected their image of a 'civilized nation' on one hand and they declared India as 'backward and uncivilized' country on the other hand. By doing so, the English prepared Indian educated minds psychologically to accept the superiority of the west and they were made to believe that for the modernization India British rule was badly needed, for which the English had come all the way from Britain to India to make the Indians civilized. Charles Grant, a servant of the East India Company, on his return to England published a pamphlet entitled, '*Observation*' wherein he made a critical observation of the state and society of the Asiatic subjects of the Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals and on the means of imparting knowledge. While discussing about Indian society, he charged the Hindus of Bengal with dishonesty, corruption, fraud mutual hatred and distrust and described their custom such as sati, as barbarous. To Muhammadans, he endorsed with the terminology such as "haughtiness, perfidy,

19 J C Ker, *op.cit*, pp.30-135

licentiousness and lawlessness.” As a remedy to all these evils, Grant suggested a ‘healing principle’, that was, the supersession of existing religions by Christianity through the dissemination of knowledge of science and literature of Europe, ‘a key which would at once open a world of new ideas’. Later, Lord Macaulay did the same, he praised English education and stated in his minutes on education that ‘*a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia*’.²⁰ Indian also accepted this position. It is evident from Rammohan Roy’s letter to Lord Amherst, the then Governor–General, in 1824, pleading for the introduction of modern education as the cultural world of the intelligentsia was shaped by British education. The Indian traditional system of education, compared to the western knowledge, was considered inadequate and stagnant, even if its accessibility was fairly satisfactory. The traditional system of education in the words of Ram Mohan Roy loaded ‘the mind of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society’.²¹ But these arguments of early nationalists and social reformers were completely discarded by revolutionary nationalists of the twentieth century.

Criticism against the British Policies

One Ramsubhag in his leaflet entitled, ‘*Bhartiyo*’ gives an account of the sufferings of Indians under the British Raj and he asks Indians to join hands together for the welfare of the country. According to him, the Mother India was lamenting with utmost grief under the British and asking her son to think of it.²² The leaflet ‘*Bhartio*’ further makes a critical

20 T.B Macaulay Minute on Education, in C. H. Philips (ed.): *The correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck*, vol.2, letter No.793, p.1405

21 Raja Ram Mohan Roy, A Letter on English Education to His Excellency The right Honorable Lord Amherst, Governor General in Council, in Jogendra Chunder Ghosh, *The English works of Raja ram Mohan Roy*, Calcutta, 1901

22 Ramsubhag (the poet), *Bhartiyo*’ a leaflet entitled in Hindi found in Behrampur Mela, District Shahabad, does not bear the name of the author,

analysis of the British Education system and argues that the promise given to the Indians for government service after acquiring modern education were false and misleading. Contrary to it modern education had made the Indian slave of the English. The opening of Hospitals and the use of foreign medicine were badly criticized because of its side effects. Emphasis on the use of traditional medicines has been given because of its effectiveness without any side effects. It also criticizes the establishment of modern factories because of pollution and for the possibility of ecological change in the country. The reason for the spread of Cholera, Plague, asthma, cough and fever all over the country was the establishment of modern industries which has polluted the environment. The export of food grains from India to Britain, was the main reason for great famines in the country which affected millions and millions of people due to starvation. The export of raw cotton and Jute from India and in return, the import of finish products from Britain had affected Indian handicrafts industries. It has also been pointed out that the English send Rs. 600-700 million to Britain every year from India. The other means of exploitation was the establishment of kutchheries (Courts) and stamp papers in the country. By appointing *Vakils* (Advocates) in the court they taught us the art of speaking lies which was against Indian culture. They introduced the evil practice of bribery and intoxicants like *Ganja*, *Bhang*, Cocaine and wine to pollute Indian minds.²³

One Satyandra Nath Majumdar in his Bengali pamphlet entitled, *Svadhinatar Dab*²⁴ (claim to Independence) supports the claim of the Indian National Congress and said it was based on 'justice' and 'reasonableness' but the British

publisher, printer nor press, which have probably been cut off it. [See Political Special confidential file No.182/1924 (henceforth, PSBSA)]

23 *Ibid*

24 Satyendra Nath Majumdar, '*Swadhinatar Dabi*' (claim to Independence) a Bengali pamphlet published by the author Ananda Bazar Patrika Office and printed at Sree Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta. [PSBSA, 8/1931]

imperialists' writers refute this claim. He went on arguing that the British imperialistic policy that lasted two hundred years witnessed movements and conflicts against the British rule in various parts of the British Empire in India. The demand for independence or self-government in India was an outcome of the problem Indian had been facing. The tyranny and apathy was the cardinal policy of the British imperialists. To address Indian problems a brief account of the political history of India of the Hindu and Muhammadan periods has been narrated to make a comparison with the British regime. According to him, the British rule had brought disastrous effect on the Indian civilization, economy, political and spiritual progress of India; hence the only course open to her was attaining *Purna Swaraj*, that is, complete independence by severing the British connection.²⁵ The writer considers it to be a sin against humanity and God to remain under the British which had inflicted on our country the 'four gold' evils: the transformation of nationalism in the form of literature, science, music and art and industry.²⁶

Satyendra Nath Majumdar has further stated the British snatched away the food raised to the Indian mouths and by practicing oppression on weak races; by means of organized robbery along with the expansion of trade, the daring crafty, cruel, self-conceited and deceitful Anglo-Saxon raven had extended its supremacy in America, Africa and Asia. They founded colonies by destroying the weaker races and by applying various tricks of exploitation under the false veil of administration.²⁷ In the course of a review of the British rule, Satyendra Nath Majumdar argues that the English began to achieve their goals by setting one sections of the society against another. All this was happening because the people of India were foolish and devoid of political consciousness. Hindus and Muhammadans of India, taken into service as sepoys on a monthly salary of Rs. 6/- began to cut the

25 *Ibid*

26 *Ibid*

27 *Ibid*

throats of their countrymen as servants of the East India Company. Criticizing the servants of the Company, Satyendra Nath Majumdar says that the cunning unprincipled Bengali acting as a *gomasta* (Agent) of the Company made plunder easy for the company by defrauding the artisans and traders of the country by means of trickery and stratagem.²⁸

It has also been debated in the pamphlet that how did English become rich? The tyrannies of Lord Clive and of Hastings are recorded as notorious in history. The great 'famine of seventy-six' (1876) had affected one third of the population of Bengal fell into the jaws of death during this terrible famine. Historians may narrate that when men were being goaded by hunger into eating raw flesh, the officers of the company, unmoved by the sight of that extreme misery of the people were engaged in prosecuting their selfish ends. According to Smith, Hastings administration was only another name for cupidity, perfidy, tyranny and barbarity. India suffered endless miseries owing to the establishment of British sovereignty in India- particularly the relentless operation of the imperialistic policy guided by a mercantile people. But Sri Muktjiv in his Hindi leaflet, *Gaurang Gunanubad (Bande Matram)*²⁹ perceives the British with their deeds and calls them with various nomenclature: deceitful, cunning, oppressors, dishonest, mischievous, murderers, dogs of hell, selfish, cruel, unfaithful, evil-doers, Dacoits, thieves, pickpockets, tyrants, irreligious, looters, loafers, bloodsuckers, parrot-eyed, betrayers bastards, robbers, oppressors and asses. It also discusses how did the English come to India and having seen our wealth how did they become greedy to snatch away our wealth by teaching us a formula of deceit and forgery, and made us to fight amongst ourselves. Taking advantage of our disunity they took possession of our country.

28 *Ibid*

29 Sri Muktjiv, '*Gaurang Gunanubad*' a leaflet in Hindi was found in circulation in Muzaffarpur, Bihar [See PSBSA, 239/1931, BSA]

The leaflet, '*Bande Matram Swadhin Bhatat Ki Jai*'³⁰ addressed to the lovers of the country, argues about the sufferings of the people under the British rule. It incites the lovers of the country to find out the addresses of the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the cause of motherland to know how the blood of innocents were shed, the slaughtering of females and children had taken place in the name of modernization. The pamphlet, '*Congress ki lalkar*' (the challenge of the Congress) narrates about the British atrocities and argues that how did the British sow the seed of dissent among Indians and they instigated people to fight with each other and made them weak by creating disunion finally they captured power in the country.

“He who has ruined my country alas!

May evil betide him who has cheated us!

Coming here as a trader they asked for a yard of land.

Sowing the seeds of disunion, they let us fight amongst ourselves.

Usurping our rights, they made their influence felt”.³¹

But Mahadeo Prasad Singh in his *Kutni Biyog*,³² a Hindi pamphlet, highlights the British system of justice in the context of Indian handicraft industries. There was de-industrialization in the country under the Raj that affected people in large numbers who were engaged in small scale industries. The people lost their means of livelihood and therefore, to take revenge from the British they decided not to touch British cloth on the one hand and they would

30 The leaflet, '*Bande Matram Swadhin Bhatat Ki Jai*' was published by Indian Youth League and printed at the Shambhu Press, Chatgaon, was found in the possession of one Dinkar Dutta Chaubey son of Tara Dutta Chaubey of village Baijnathpur P.S Mirzapur, District Saran. He was arrested at Chapra Kuchery station for having about 50 copies of a printed pamphlet entitled "*Swadhin Bharat Ki Jai*" which he was attempting to sell to the public on the station. The pamphlets were contained in a card board folder inside which was found another notice in the hand writing of the accused. [See PSBSA,150/1932, BSA]

31 The '*Congress ki Lalkar*' a Hindi pamphlet printed at the Sri Lakshmi Vilas Press Ltd. Indore, was found in circulation in Muzaffarpur. [PSBSA,172/1932, BSA]

32 Mahadeo Prasad Singh, *Kutni Biyog*, a Hindi pamphlet, printed at the Sree Press, Calcutta [see PSBSA, 143/1924]

prepare *motia*³³ cloth for self consumption on the other hand and by doing so they would reduce the Manchester and Lancashire mills into dust. He went on saying earlier Indians were ignorant of British rule but now they had realized the reality of the British rule and therefore for making rough cloth charkha had been introduced.

“Alas o cruel: you have done much injustice;
I shall not touch your cloth with my hand,
Alas o cruel: I shall prepare *Motia* (cloth).
I shall reduce your Mills and Machines to dust;
Alas o cruel; I shall introduce charkha.
While we were ignorant”.³⁴

Mahadeo Prasad, in his *Kunti Biyog*, has discussed about the Punjab incident and says that in Jallianwala Bagh, men, women and children were massacred in large numbers without any reason that affected the sentiments of Indians to the extent that the Punjabies became highly alert from the British Government. After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the Indians did not become violent against the British Government as Gandhiji had taught them the philosophy of wisdom (non-violence).³⁵ The use of intoxicants has also been criticized by Mahadeo Prasad Singh that the English, at first, allowed the use of intoxicants and after its use when someone became senseless he was arrested and put behind the bar. When Gandhiji began his movement for the boycott of wine and toddy, the English came ahead with the policy of appeasement saying that the wine was used by the great men of the world to attract Indian towards intoxicants.

You created a dispute in the Ganja shop;
Alas o cruel: you broke the head of Chuhur Roy.
You thought the brave Punjabis to be birds;
Alas o cruel; Dyer became a bird killer;
You took the lives of innocent persons;

33 The term '*motia*'(rough) cloth has been used here for Khadi cloth

34 Mahadeo Prasad Singh, *Kutni Biyog*, *op.cit*

35 *Ibid*

Alas o cruel; you played a good game of shooting
 (Shikar) in India; you dishonored the female folk
 Alas o cruel; you arrested the mob,
 you went to the Punjab and fired bullets
 Alas o cruel; you offered a nice salvation to India".³⁶

One Manna Lal Pathak in his *Bhandaphor* (Secret exploding) incites the people to make the mother India free from the bondage of slavery. To achieve this goal, he suggested for the unity among Indians and the boycott of foreign goods as they were unlawful.³⁷ He put forwarded argument in favour of Swadeshi goods that the use of Swadeshi goods would affect British economy. The decrease of their income would affect their trade and commerce and that would force them to go away straight to London.

"We are *Deshi* (native) and we want Swadeshi.
 What have we to do away with *Bideshi* (foreign things).
 Their income will decrease and expenditure increase.
 Thus these people will themselves be seen walking away out of sight.
 When they will become insolvent they will be puzzled;
 They will not then talk of India but go away straight to London wherein
 the rest of the enemies get shelter there.
 Then pick them up to a man: whither will they run to.
 Look at their doings they looted us with love".³⁸

The foreign cloth boycott campaign in the United Provinces gained momentum on a large scale. Demonstration were held in every district at which foreign cloth collected by students were burnt publicly. In Aligarh, an innovative idea was framed to attract the attention of people towards the boycott of foreign cloth. Donkeys were paraded with European clothes that show aggressive character of the movement. Another technique used in Aligarh to mobilize

36 Mahadeo Prasad Singh, *Kutni Biyog*, op. cit.

37 Manna Lal Pathak, Rae Bareilly, "*Bhandaphor*", a pamphlet in Hindi, published and compiled by Pandit Ram Jiawan Lal Chaturvedi. It was printed by Pandit Bhagwati Prasad Pande at the Swaraj Press, Allahabad [PSBSA ,7/1923]

38 See pamphlet, "*Bhandaphor*", op.cit.

masses against foreign cloths was the circulation of printed leaflets in Hindi and Urdu by Lakshmi Narayan Sharma, the Secretary, District Congress Committee, Aligarh, stating that either cow's or pig's fat was used in the manufacture of foreign cloth and it was endorsed by Pandit Kali Prasanna Kavivisharad and Muhammad Ikram. Even the boycott of foreign cloth movement of Gandhiji had a considerable effect on its sale of foreign cloths in India. But the leaflet had also a great effect on the sale of foreign cloth as it is evident from the letter of District magistrate Aligarh made a denial of the use of Cow's and Pig's fat and the letter written in Hindi and Urdu was circulated among the people.³⁹ A Hindi pamphlet entitled, '*Bande Mataram-Bharat Udhar*'⁴⁰ tried to argue that Indians were fighting for their own rights which was not at all unfair. The English, on the contrary, had been committing tyrannies and making stringent laws against Indians. The British system of justice was unjust and therefore, God was with the just. It was immaterial for them whether they would be put on the gallows or they had to face Dyer Shahi oppression like Jallianwala Bagh incident.

"We are standing for our own rights; this is not at all unfair.
Give us these very rights; this is but a reasonable demand of
ours.
For this, your tyrannies passed stringent laws.
What a policy is yours! You are doing injustice.
Even God does not ever do good to the unjust.
We are standing on the path of truth, (no matter) whether you
spare or out off our necks.
You pay no heed to the Dyer shahi oppression,
You mind very little about what is justice and what is otherwise."⁴¹

39 See Home Political File No.707/1921, U.P State Archives, Lucknow

40 A Hindi pamphlet entitled, "*Bande Matram Bharath Udhar*" beginning with the words, "*He vir putra*" and ending with the words, "*Subparan karori-mata*," and recommend its prescription under Section 99-A Cr.P.C. The pamphlet was found in circulation at Jhajha District Monghyr, where it was being sold by one Kanhya Prasar Singh Congress worker of Gandhi Ashram, Gidhour. [PSBSA 77/1923]

41 *Ibid*

The publication of proscribed pamphlets and leaflets were not confined to Northern India alone, a large number of vernacular literature were being published from Lahore (now in Pakistan) one Om Prakash Sahni of Lahore in the preface of his Urdu pamphlet entitled, *Dard-i-Watan*,⁴² narrates the suffering of people in the country and argues for the attainment of Swaraj in these words: “may God give us strength so that by putting up with suffering in the service of the Bharat we may be able to attain Swaraj.” According to him, the British had cut off the heads of innocents at the Jallianwala Bagh and on many occasions the Indian did not object and they sacrificed everything what they had, the only thing they had now was life that too, they were ready to sacrifice for the British.

“India is now-a-days helpless in every way
How shall I at this moment narrate to you my afflictions,
If I get released from one the other (affliction) is ready,
If your sword is there for innocents
You can cut off the head without fear we don't demur at
all
We have sacrificed for you whatever we had
Only life is left you can take that also”⁴³

Munshi Abdul Khaliq of Delhi in his poem headed, ‘*Cry of Distress at the Martial Law*’, compares the British atrocities with that of the Halaku Khan, the Mongol invader, and argues that the atrocities made by Halaku khan was fade and insignificant in comparison to British atrocities. The poem runs thus:

“By turning back over and over again they perpetrated
such atrocities that they made Halaku Khan's memory
fade into insignificance.
One slain one was over another slain one like the
winding sheet while another one was rolling about in a
wounded state

42 Om Prakash Sahni, *Dard-i-Watan*, an Urdu pamphlet, published by Om Prakash and Brothers, Lahore and printed by Diwan Chand at the Punjabee Press, Lahore [PSBSA, 9/1931]

43 *Ibid*

If life was still left in any one, they turned back and
 inflicted on him a wound.
 Who could give redress when helplessness was
 weeping over the head?
 They buried whomsoever they liked and they burnt
 whomsoever they wished
 They did not hear anybody's complaints; to whom could
 they narrate their stories?
 When the Indians demurred they declared the Martial
 Law
 The very people who had been brought up in luxury had
 to crawl on their bellies,
 They were subjected to so much flogging that their
 whole body became swollen
 Those orphans on whom the affliction has fallen are
 bewailing
 Those women who have been made widows are alas!
 Weeping at homes".⁴⁴

Commenting on Indian mind set Om Prakash in a poem
 headed '*O donkey why don't you feel anxious about
 Swaraj?*' argues that Indian were not sincere towards their
 goal of attainment of Swaraj, they were more concerned for
 the welfare of the British than their own countrymen. The
 Indians were great traitor in comparison to donkey, he says.

"Yesterday I casually asked a donkey
 Why are you not anxious about Swaraj, O donkey?
 On hearing this donkey said-'Hold your tongue'.
 You do not speak of your nation at all
 Who after abandoning their own people are devotedly
 attached to others?
 Sir! They are worst traitor than the donkey"⁴⁵

Conclusion

The vernacular press had created political consciousness in
 the country by highlighting the evils of the British rule on the
 one hand and by preparing Indians to combat colonial rule
 both by revolution and through literary tradition of the

44 *Ibid*

45 *Ibid*

country. The revolutionary writers of the early 20th century evoked the people towards goal of life by citing the sayings of Gita and other religious texts and preparing them for a greater sacrifice. One Aksir Sialkoti in his Urdu pamphlet entitled, *Watan Ka Rag*,⁴⁶ has asked the people to awake from the deep sleep because the trumpet of love of nationalism has been sounded. A true sense of nationalism has been defined by him in these words which affected the British existence in the country. Therefore, British came out with many legislation restricting the freedom of vernacular press.

“O trumpet of love of nationalism, wake (people) from
this sleep,
Make the ears hear again the forgotten romance
Remove the dejection of dead temperaments,
Show rising sparks from this ash
The dust of India is a robe of honour for our body
We want the dust of the country for our winding sheet
even after death”⁴⁷

46 Aksir Sialkoti, *Watan Ka Rag*, a pamphlet in Urdu and Punjabi published by Narain Dutt, Sahgal & Sons, Booksellers, outside Lahori Gate, Lahore and Printed by Narain Dutt, Sahgal at the Nishtar Stream press, Lahore [PSBSA 9/1931]

47 *Ibid*

The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact-1937

Khaleel Khan*

ABSTRACT

The Government of India Act, 1935 was an important milestone in the constitutional history of India. The Act provided for the representation of 'Diarchy' with supposed 'Provincial Autonomy'. It provided new political arena for the legislative horizon and an election campaign started the political parties, including the Muslim League and the Congress as well as the Unionist Party issued their election manifestos.

In the elections, the Muslim League put up a poor show, winning only two Muslim seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, for Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. The Unionist Party secured 98 of the 175 seats while the Congress also managed only 18 seats, as against 36 bagged by non-congress Hindus and Sikhs. The Unionist Party thus emerged as the ruling power in the province.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly elected in the winter of 1936 assembled for its first session on 16 April 1937. Sikandar Hayat was chosen by the Unionist Party as its leader in the Assembly and although the Unionists had sufficient strength to form the ministry on their own. Jinnah

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wants to make his party's position well in Punjab and tries to join hands with the most powerful party of the Punjab of his times.

The much criticized Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was concluded on 15 October 1937 at the Lucknow session of the Muslim League to strengthen the position of Muslim League in Punjab. Even since its conclusion, the Pact has remained a subject of serious controversy among the scholars and publicists in terms of the pattern of political culture, it helped to grow in the country in general and in the Punjab in particular during the period of its existence till April 1941. The basic questions about the wisdom of Sikandar Hayat in signing this Pact have remained the same through the years which were raised immediately after its conclusion by various organised political parties and intra-party faction, representing different political ideologies and ideas which had evolved in course of time from the social structure of the province.

However, Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was not a one sided affair, Jinnah utilized the Pact to strengthen the Muslim League and Muslim nationalism at the national level where as Sikandar Hayat Khan used the Pact to assume complete control of the Punjab Muslim League. Moreover, the far reaching consequences of the Pact proved, beneficial to the Unionists all rights in Punjab politics and even behaved indifferently with Mohammad Iqbal and other leaders of the Punjab provincial Muslim League.

Aim and Objectives

1. To explain the exact causes behind the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact.
2. To represent the real nature of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact.
3. To find out the purpose of the both evolved parties in this pact.
4. To analysis the Sikandar-Jinnah pact from different angles.
5. To trace the reactions of different parties upon this pact.
6. To draw out the results of the pact.

Introduction

The Government of India Act, 1935 was an important milestone in the constitutional history of India. This Act

provided for the representation of 'diarchy' with supposed 'provincial autonomy'.¹ The Punjab legislative council was not only renamed as the Punjab Legislative Assembly but its composition was altered significantly. The new body was to have no official or nominated members. The concept of joint ministerial responsibility to the Assembly was introduced. The act was significant also because it increased considerably the number of people who were enfranchised. About 24 percent of the adult population of Punjab was enrolled for the Legislative Assembly electoral process.²

The long-awaited promulgation of the India Act of 1935 generated a new wave of political activity in India. This Act provided a lasting constitutional framework for British India and defining the scope of provincial autonomy. It provided new political arena for the legislative and an election campaign started the political parties, including the League and the Congress as well as the Unionist Party issued their election manifestos³ and the Party position in Punjab Legislative Council 1937 was as follows:⁴

Party	No. of seats Won by parties
Unionist Party	98
Hindu Mahasabha	12
Muslim League	02
Khalsa National Party	13
Congress	18
Akalis	11
Ahrar	02
Itihad-i-Millad	02
Congress Nationalist Party	01
Independents	16
Total	175

1 Fazl-i-Husain's *Letter to Sikandar Hayat Khan*, June 20, 1934.

2 Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party*, p.88.

3 Iftikhar H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: a Political Biography*, p.47.

4 K.C. Yadav, *Elections in Panjab (1920-47)*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1987, p. 134.

In the elections, the League put up a poor show, winning only two Muslim seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, for Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. The Unionist Party secured 98 of the 175 seats while the Congress also managed only 18 seats, as against 36 bagged by non-congress Hindus and Sikhs. The Unionist Party thus emerged as the ruling power in the province.⁵

The Punjab Legislative Assembly elected in the winter of 1936 assembled for its first session on 16 April 1937. Sikandar Hayat was chosen by the Unionist Party as its leader in the Assembly and although the Unionists had sufficient strength to form the ministry on their own. Sikandar Hayat opted to constitute a coalition ministry. The council of members so formed comprised Sikandar Hayat (Premier CM), Sir Chhotu Ram (Development minister), Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana (public works minister), Mian Sir Abdul Hayer (Education minister), Sir Manohar Lal (Finance minister), and Sir Sunder Singh Majithia (Revenue minister). In addition to the ministers, fifteen Parliamentary and Parliamentary private secretaries were also attached to different departments.⁶

Sikandar-Jinnah Pact

After Sikandar Hayat's cabinet began to function on firm grounds, the efforts to reach an agreement between the two parties were reactivated. The Punjab Muslim league had by then come a long way and displayed more confidence in parleys with Unionists.⁷

Before coming to Lucknow, Mr. Jinnah had already been negotiating for a settlement with Sikandar Hayat... "advance information in this regard had already been given by Sir Mohammad Iqbal to Jinnah in his letter of

5 Iftikhar H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography*, p.49.

6 Raghuvendra Tanvar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party*, p. 109.

7 Iftikhar H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography*, p.76.

7.5.1937...alignment had evolved through the proceeding eighteen months".⁸

It is a pity that at Lucknow where in 1916, the Muslim League had taken a progressive step in joining the Indian National Congress and after two decades on that very place (Lucknow) they met again to take the most retrograde step in joining the reactionary forces to oppose the Congress. The much criticised Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was concluded on 15 October 1937 at the Lucknow session of the Muslim League.⁹ The more significant parts of its provisions were:

- a. All the Muslim members of the Unionist Party who were not the member of the Muslim League already would join it.
- b. In future elections and by-elections to the Punjab Legislature, groups constituting the Unionist Party would jointly support candidates put up by their respective groups.
- c. Muslim member elected on the league tickets would constitute the Muslim League party in the legislature, but the combination would maintain as present name the Unionist Party.
- d. In view of this agreement the provincial league parliamentary board would be reconstituted.¹⁰

Even since its conclusion, the Pact has remained a subject of serious controversy among the scholars and publicists in terms of the pattern of political culture, it helped to grow in the country in general and in the Punjab in particular during the period of its existence till April 1941. The basic questions about the wisdom of Sikandar Hayat in signing this Pact have remained the same through the years which were raised immediately after its conclusion by various organised political parties and intra-party faction, representing different

8 Y.P. Bajaj, "Sikandar-Jinnah Pact: Genesis and motives", *Punjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University Patiala, April 1985, vol. XIX, p.190.

9 *The Tribune*, Lahore, 16 October, 1937.

10 Y.P. Bajaj, "Sikandar-Jinnah Pact: A brief study in Punjab Politics and Freedom Struggle", *Punjab history Conference*, Punjabi University Patiala, Dec.2-4, 1983, p.295.

political ideologies and ideas which had evolved in course of time from the social structure of the province, the doubts can be summed up as under:

- a. In view of the thumping majority with which the Unionist Party had emerged in the general election of 1937, was the conclusion of this Pact with Jinnah inevitable or even desirable?
- b. Did the Pact not reflect Sikandar's lack of far sight with regard to the communal problem?
- c. Why did Sikandar not think that the Pact would be interpreted as the consolidation of the Muslim communal forces in the Punjab and Bengal and would lead to the strengthening of Hindu communalism, and both would pose a grave challenge to the nationalist and socialist forces which then had been united in the Punjab under the leadership of congress?
- d. Why did Sikandar not realise that the ratification of this Pact by all the Muslim legislature of the Punjab would provide Jinnah with a strong Muslim base in the province and would eventually cord?
- e. Was this Pact was signed on the instructions of the British Government to Sikandar Hayat Khan?

Before investigating these questions, it is desirable that the political situation of the Punjab should be briefly surveyed to that Sikandar's motives in concluding this Pact are properly evaluated. Main characteristics of the political scene may be summed up as:

"Communal representations to different communities through separate electorates with each category further divided into rural and urban constituencies, and over representation to regressive landholders had become political realities and were to continue so long as British rule lasted in India.¹¹ Power politics of Punjab especially in the legislative assembly was being controlled by the landholders and middle classes because universal franchise had not been conceded under the constitution of 1935 only 12 % of the population had been given the right to vote".¹²

11 *Ibid.*, p.297.

12 K.C. Yadav, *Elections in Panjab (1920-47)*, p.19.

H.D Craik, the new Governor of Punjab (1938-41) once reported: "Sikandar has often expressed, in conversation with me, the view that the all Indian Muslim League would amount to nothing without the presence in it of the Muslims in Punjab and Bengal and that both, he and the Bengal Premier were agreed in using this fact as a lever for in sitting that there should be no interference by the Muslim League in local affairs". It is quite evident that by conclusion this Pact, Sikandar Hayat Khan tried to strengthen the League position vis-a-vis Congress all over India. But at the same time to maintain the professed non-communal character of the ministry, Sikandar did not want any interference from an openly communal organisation like Muslim League. This shows that he was cautious enough to maintain his own identity and keep the peculiarities of regional politics away from the, vicissitudes of national politics, his attitude towards the Sikhs, Sikandar was always conscious of the professed non-communal character of his ministry, of which Khalsa National Party constituted an important part.¹³

The other fact behind the Pact was that neither the Congress nor the Muslim League in the Punjab was in a position to harm the Unionist ministry in any way as it was enjoying the largest majority in the house at that time so the reason behind signing the Pact, could that Sikandar was under the pressure of the British Government. He had gone to the Lucknow session to sign this famous Pact at the behest of his Imperialist masters; for the revival of dead Jinnah and his League was the most essential task for his Majesty's government because only revived Jinnah and League check the Congress which had started posing a grave peril to very existence of the British in India.¹⁴ Therefore, the British government though Sir Henry Crack, the Home Member of Viceroy's executive council, persuaded Sikandar to

13 K.L. Tuteja, *Sikh-Politics (1920-1940)*, Vishal Publications, Kurukshetra, 1984, p.182.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 183.

strengthen Jinnah's hand so as to contain the Congress demand of complete independence at the national level.¹⁵

About the political value of this agreement, Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman says... "What would have happened if the Punjab Premier had not come to the reuse of the Muslim League organisation?" Briefly it would have remained merely the Muslim League of the Muslim minority provinces and in times to come, it would have had to surrender to the Congress Sikandar... saved Muslim India by throwing full weight at this critical hour behind the Muslim cause. It was a historic event for Muslim India and enthusiasm of Muslim in the success of the League was quit in accord with tremendous gain from them.¹⁶

Sikandar Hayat Khan's joining hands with the Muslim League particularly at a time when he had majority of 98 members in a House of 175 proved to be a blunder. By this action, Sikandar sounded the death knell of the Unionist Party of which he was the leader as he made the Muslim members of his Party, subject to the discipline of the Muslim League whose aim or object were identical with those of that Party. The Unionist Party was devoted to inter-communal harming while the Muslim League's objectives were safeguarding the Muslim political rights and welfare of Indian Muslims. With the intention of acquiring Muslim ascendancy and Muslim domination, Fazl-i-Husain, founder of the Unionist Party, firmly believed that any communal approach to the political tangle of the Punjab was based in an economic programme and mutual cooperation among all communities. It was on this account that Fazl-i-Husain refused to accept the suggestion of Jinnah to join the Muslim league in 1936. Sikandar's joining Muslim league greatly enhanced the power and prestige of the Party. Sikandar Hayat Khan, at that time was the tallest leader of the Muslims of India, thus by signing a Pact with him, Jinnah,

15 Amir-Jahan, "Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and its aftermath", *The Panjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University Patiala, Oct. 2008, Vol. xxxix, p.200.

16 *Ibid.*, p.202.

came to be a symbol of Muslim destiny and begun to be greeted in the country as the role spokesman of the Muslims. The Pact attracted widely divergent comments from leaders of various political parties and the press.¹⁷ An organ of Hindu Mahasabha made a self-contradictory suggestion, meant only for the enlightened electorate, it wrote that the “pact had consolidated the Muslims of the Punjab, Bengal and Sindh would follow soon. Congress should also consolidate the Hindus through the Hindu *sangathan*. Only then Hindu-Muslim unity would be possible. Similar communal proposals were also made by Bhai Parmanand and Raja Narindera Nath whose Hindu Sabha group continued to support Sikandar’s government in Punjab Legislature even after the conclusion of this Pact”.¹⁸

However, the Muslim League Leaders like Barkat Ali looked upon the Pact from the viewpoint of the Muslim League. They commented that by virtue of this Pact, the Central Muslim League acquired the right to interfere in the affairs of the Unionist Government.

The Khalsa National Party passed a resolution asking the premier to clarify his position regarding the agreement. In other words, it meant that if Sikandar Hayat Khan had entirely yielded to the command programme of the League then, in that case, they might withdraw from the government but if it felt satisfaction over the premier’s declaration that his ‘adherence’ to the Muslim League alter and effect, the position and policy in the Unionist Party. The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact again changed the politics of Punjab because it delivered a great shock to the Hindu and Sikhs of the Punjab, who considered Sikandar as “first a Punjabi and then as a Muslim”. It led to an agreement of views among the political Sikh group of loyal and moderate Sikhs and view of Master Tara Singh that Sikandar was not practicing non

17 The Daily Herald 18.10.1937

18 Kirpal Singh, “Genesis of Partition of the Punjab 1947”, *The Panjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University Patiala, October 1971, vol. VII, p.404.

communal politics.¹⁹ After the Pact, Master Tara Singh changed his attitude toward the Congress and once again the Shiromani Akali Dal called upon all the Sikhs members of the Punjab assembly to separate them from the Unionist Government and join the Congress party. As a reaction to the Pact Dr. Satyapal, representative of the Punjab Congress, Sir G.C. Narang representative of the Hindu Sabha and Master Tara Singh representative of Shiromani Akali Dal reached an alliance with the aim of building a strong opposition to the Sikandar and the Muslim League. Master Tara Singh was forced by the circumstances to adopt a policy of cooperation with the Congress, but the relations soon became tense, as both the parties could not fulfil the expectations set upon them.²⁰

However, Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was not a one sided affair, Jinnah utilised the Pact to strengthen the Muslim League and Muslim nationalism at the national level where as Sikandar Hayat Khan used the Pact to assume complete control of the Punjab Muslim League. Moreover, the far reaching consequences of the Pact proved, beneficial to the Unionists all rights in Punjab politics and even behaved indifferently with Mohammad Iqbal and other leaders of the Punjab provincial Muslim League.²¹

19 *Ibid.*, p. 406.

20 Jaspreet Kaur, "The Unionists, Congress and Master Tara Singh (1935-42)", *The Panjab Past and Present*, Punjabi University Patiala, April 2001, vol. XXXII, p.128.

21 AmirJahan, "Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and its aftermath", *Proceedings*, p.202.

***Recreation of Death: The Role of Cementerio
Generals in the Sanitation and Health System
during Spanish Colonial Period, (1863-1889)***

Mr. Chen V. Ramos*

ABSTRACT

One of the unique characteristics of humans is the practice of burial rites. Human beings have different types of burial rites to show respect and admiration to the great contribution of their ancestors when they were still alive. During the occupation of Spaniards in the Philippines, they introduced the architecture of church and cemetery which gave more centralized type of burial place for Filipinos. The introduction of Christianity in the Philippines provided a new interpretation of conception of the death: the salvation of soul, the immortal soul, and the belief of Christ resurrection from the dead.

This study will discuss different important events in the history of cemetery in the Philippines during Spanish period which assist the Spanish Colonial Government to understand the importance of a centralized type of burial to control the spread of health and sanitary problems (1863 Manila Earthquake and 1882 Cholera Outbreak) during the Spanish Period. The creation of Cementerio General de Paco (1814) and Cementerio General de La Loma (1884)

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helped the Spanish government to eradicate the spread of possible diseases in Manila.

Finally, the importance of a centralized system of burial in the Philippines during this period led to the Spanish government recognizing the importance of these structures to control the spread of diseases and to maintain the peace and order of cities and provinces around Manila. The present study not only addresses the physical changes that happened to the cemeteries but the social history of Manila during the epidemic, and the relationship of the government and church to immediately approve the construction of structure to give solution to the social problems they encountered during that period is also discussed.

Introduction

One of the unique characteristics of humans compared to animals is the practice of burial rites. Human beings have different types of burial rites to show respect and admiration to the great contribution of their ancestors when they were still alive. For instance, the people of Papua New Guinea keep the bones of their corpse in boxes and converse with them.¹ Most of the countries in Asia, Africa, and America give banquets for the dead, in which they serve the most exquisite food from their kitchen or those dishes known to be the favourite of the deceased.²

Spanish missionary, Miguel de Loarca, noted that the Filipinos called their ancestors *anitos* because when they died, they are said to serve the supreme god named *Batala*.³ The relatives of the dead offer them things to eat and drink and gold encrusted jewels, asking for guidance and

1 R.C Green, Dimitri Anson, and Jim Specht, "The SAC burial ground, Watom Island, Papua New Guinea." *Records of the Australian Museum* 41 (November 1989): 215–221.

2 Mike Parker Pearson, "The Archaeology of Death and Burial" *Texas A&M University Press College Station* (March 1999) 1-20.

3 Miguel de Loarca, *Relations of the Filipinas Islands* (Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1582), 303.

intercession of *Batala*.⁴ Early accounts of the Recollects show the similarities between the early belief of the Filipinos and to their Christian beliefs. "So great was their devotion to the soul of their parents and grandparents (whom they called *humalgar*) that they always offered them food in their banquets, especially when they finished any house, thinking that they themselves would die if they failed in that. They did the same with the first yield of their fruits. When they got sick, they invoked these ancestors to aid them, as we do the saints".⁵ Early Filipinos assured that until the end of life, they will show the importance of god and respect to its contribution to the barangay. These early accounts show the importance of a burial system in the culture of the Philippines. The importance of a manageable and sacred place for the dead is very important. During the occupation of Spaniards, they introduced the Church and Cemetery Architecture to the Philippines which gave more centralized type of burial place.

The introduction of Christianity in the Philippines provided a new interpretation of conception of death: the salvation of soul, the immortal soul, and the belief of Christ resurrection from the dead.⁶ The Spaniards introduced the architecture in the churches. The Missionaries directed the Filipinos to use different construction materials like adobe, volcanic stuff, and stone block to build strong structures.⁷ The first structures in the Philippines were the churches and the cemeteries located inside or beside the church. Because of overcrowding in church cemeteries, a royal ordinance dated

4 *Ibid*, 304.

5 Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson, Early Recollect Mission, vol. 21, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803*, (Michigan, University of Michigan Press 1903), 206-207.

6 Michaelangelo E. Dakudao, "The Development of Cemeteries in Manila before 1941," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 20 (1992): 133-135.

7 Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson, Rojo's Narrative, vol. 49, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1803*, (Michigan, University of Michigan Press 1903), 179.

March 27, 1789, was issued which stated the election of cemeteries outside the church lands.⁸

Because of this royal ordinance, parochial cemeteries were introduced in Manila. Each city and municipality had their own burial site to accommodate the number of deaths every year. Because of the increased number of deaths due to different diseases that happened, parochial cemeteries became unsanitary to the public. The Spanish government planned to abolish these parochial cemeteries and replace them with a centralized type of cemetery, similar to what which existed in Europe. The Paco General Cemetery was the first general cemetery in the Philippines which was located in Manila. A general cemetery is a centralized type of cemetery which accommodates a large number of burials from the different parts of the province and cities. When the 1863 earthquake happened, the capacity of all parochial cemeteries and Paco General Cemetery was used extensively. These key events paved way to construct another general cemetery which was the La Loma General Cemetery.⁹

Since Manila suffered from major earthquakes and major diseases, another general cemetery was needed. In 1864, the public health officers predicted another major plague that would cause big number of deaths in Manila, and during that period, Paco Cemetery was already overcrowded.¹⁰ The erection for a general cemetery like Paco Cemetery would take eight years to be completed. In 1864, the planning of La Loma General Cemetery took place, and it was opened in August 1882. On Sept 9, 1882, the first burial happened, and the cemetery needed eighteen years before the whole project took place, yet still the project was not yet completed. In lieu of this, this research will determine the factors that

8 Michaelangelo E. Dakudao, "The Development of Cemeteries in Manila before 1941," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 20 (1992): 138-140.

9 *Ibid.*, 142-144.

10 Lorelei D.C De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture: 1594-1898* (España, Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2001), 158.

affect the changes and delay of the project that took 18 years before its completion.

The Church as Cemetery during the Spanish Period

When the Spanish imperial power colonized the Philippines, they introduced new forms of beliefs and interpretations on death, after life and system of burial: the salvation of soul, immortal soul, and the belief of the birth and death of Christ. Subsequently, the Spanish government built churches as the centre for belief and faith for the exposure of the Spanish religious belief in the colonial towns.

The construction of the church paved the way for the Spanish government to introduce a stronger place for worship and faith and a resting place for the corpse to centralize all the religious activities of the town in a specific location. The Spanish missionaries taught the Filipino to construct churches using local materials. The first bishop of Manila, Domingo de Salazar, and other Jesuit priest introduced the use of *adobe*, volcanic ashes, and stones from Bulacan which were excavated from San Pedro, Macati. As it was stated, the Spanish government focused on constructing church and conditioned the Filipinos that this was the centre of faith, government, and culture of the town.¹¹

During the eighteenth to nineteenth century, the rich and active economic and political relationship of the Filipinos to their neighbouring country gave the locals the opportunity to trade their agricultural crops to the foreign market which helped them establish their credibility to produce to the bigger consumer and market. As an effect, this also helped the towns to create industries which gave income to city locals and open other business opportunities. The *Ilustrados* or the educated Filipinos were the first local allowed by the church to bury their corpse inside the church premises like floors, church walls, and church foundations because of the

11 Arch. Norma I. Alarcon, *Philippine Architecture during the Pre-Spanish and Spanish Periods* (España, Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1991), 74-89.

capability of the *Ilustrados* to pay the niches in expensive manner.¹² This gesture has shown the ability of the Filipinos to express their power and skill to compete to Spanish church and government thru acquiring this property inside the sacred place of the colonizer which symbolized their equality to the colonial regime.

The high positioning officials were only allowed by the Spanish government to bury inside the church, and lower class Filipinos were only allowed outside the church walls. The burial system during this period was officiated by the secular priests, and it can be acquired when one donated or bought it in its highest price. Because of this unreasonable system of burial inside the churches, it started to separate the different social classes in the Philippines because of the fact that only the Spaniards and *Ilustrados* had the capacity to buy these expensive niches and ignore the lower classed Filipino to stay outside the church premises.¹³

Different Problem on Health and Calamities during 1863-1882

If one will study the history of the Spaniards in the Philippines, it mainly focused on religion, culture, and architecture which highlighted the positive effect of their colonization in the Philippines. But if it's analyzed, there were problems and challenges which they encountered to stay in the Philippines for a long time. One of which is the problems in health and natural disasters which measured the good governance of the Spanish empire.

Aside from *fiesta*, another top priority of the church and the Spanish government was the natural calamities which stroked the Philippines. In 1880-1897, it was recorded that 12 earthquakes hit the Philippines per year, and these earthquakes were classified as strong earthquakes because

12 De Viana Lorelei "Public Sanitation and Cemeteries in 19th Century Manila," *Unitas* 77, no. 1 (2004): 88.

13 *Ibid*, 89.

of the massive destruction they created in cities.¹⁴ These earthquakes damaged public buildings and churches which were all made of strong building materials. One of the strongest earthquakes struck Manila on July 3, 1863 which lasted for thirty seconds but created huge destruction in the city; 400 people died, 2000 were injured, 46 public buildings were destroyed, 570 private buildings were damaged, and 528 were totally destroyed. Because of this earthquake, many people died and many arose that tested the responsiveness of the Spanish Government to help the victims and give proper burial for those who died because of this disaster.¹⁵

On July 18, 1880, strong earthquakes struck continuously in Manila within a year. Based on *Philippine Institute of Volcanology and Seismology*, Dr. Leonila Bautista said that this earthquake has the intensity 7.6 and considered one of the 13 strongest earthquakes that hit Manila from 1598 to 2001. This earthquake not only changed the physical landscape of Manila but also affected the psychological strength of the people who experienced these massive earthquakes.

Because of the fear and anxiety that another deadly earthquake would strike again, the Archbishop of Manila, Pedro Payo O.P, released a pastoral letter, requesting that all the churches that suffered from the destruction of the earthquake, should pray for the return of god in the Philippines and apologize to all the bad things they did through praying.¹⁶

Another problem challenged again the Spanish government which was the widespread infection of *cholera* in the

14 Fred Atkinson, *The Philippine Island 1865-1941* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1995), 34.

15 Foreman John, *The Philippine Islands. a Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago and Its Political Dependencies, Embracing the Whole Period of Spanish Rule* (New York: C. Scribner's Son's, 1899), 411.

16 El SigloFuturo. Year 5, number 1,456. Biblioteca Digital Hispanica.

Philippines. The main reason of the spread of *cholera* was because of the active trading of the Philippines to its neighbouring country. In 1820, cholera entered in the Philippine soil through *Port of Manila*, because of the wide-spread of this disease in Asia, 1817-1823 which originated in India during 1817-1818 caused large-scaled destruction and deaths in Thailand, Indonesia, China, and Japan.¹⁷

In the Philippines, the effects of cholera were very visible in different aspects of the society. Based on Dr. Benito Francia, the last *inspector-general* for health, the first case was recorded in Pasig. All recorded data about the effect of *cholera* showed the high mortality rate, even the problems on corpse's disposal. Because of the concern regarding the proper corpse disposal and placement, rumours spread in different towns and cities that some corpse were place near their water supply for them to die and can be conquered by Spanish officials. But one of the most harmful effects of *cholera* was recorded in 1882-1883, when it attacked Manila on August 20, 1882 that caused large-scaled destruction on a short period of time. Based on the records, almost 1300 of deaths due to cholera were recorded every day and 30,000 were in Manila and other neighbouring.¹⁸ Because of this extent number of corpse, many of the bodies were placed in the road near *Hospital ng San Lazaro*, and the government couldn't give proper niches and ceremony that caused for the bodies to just decay, and eventually became dangerous for the health of people inside the towns.

The different calamities and epidemics challenged the capability of the Spanish government to respond to these casualties but eventually caused other problems which were the sanitation and the proper burial for the victims of these disasters. The Spanish government needed to create fast and long-term solution for this not to affect the people who are living inside the town proper. Because of the effect of

17 George Kohn, *Encyclopaedia of Plague and Pestilence: From Ancient Times to the Present* (Boston: Facts On File, 2008), 305.

18 *Ibid.*, 306.

these to the government, different provisions and regulations were implemented to give solution to the problems in health and sanitation.

Provision on the Construction of the Parochial Cemeteries

Because of the different disasters, the Philippine experienced during the Spanish Period, the cemeteries inside the church were all fully occupied because of the great effect of the disaster and because of the small number of churches inside *Intramuros*. This became a major problem for the health and sanitation in Manila, and majority of the secular priests were living inside the churches and the public official were not vulnerable from the different diseases because of the dirty environment and the corpse located inside churches and town streets.

On April 3, 1787, King Carlos III released new set of laws and regulation for the construction of cemeteries outside the church perimeter and creation of parochial cemeteries in each province outside Manila. But this provision did not stop the burying inside the church cemeteries. In 1804, they revised laws for the construction of parochial cemeteries and banning burial inside the church to show respect for the building as a sacred place of faith and god.¹⁹ The following are the rules and laws for the construction of the cemetery:

1. The *corregidores* should promote the useful establishment of cemeteries in all districts within their jurisdiction, with agreement from the bishops, giving preference to cities and capitals to towns where there had been epidemics or town more exposed to such, and those parishes which are threatened due to the number of their parishioners.
2. Cemeteries should be constructed outside of the *poblaciones*, at a convenient distance from them, in well-ventilated sites whose terrain, by their quality, could absorb putrid effusion and facilitate the prompt decay of corpses. The remotest danger of the filtration or contact

19 De Viana Lorelei "Public Sanitation and Cemeteries in 19th Century Manila," *Unitas* 77, no. 1 (2004): 89.

with the potable water of the community must be avoided. The examination of this condition would depend on scientific knowledge and, therefore, the examination of such terrain should be conducted by an accredited professor or professors of medicine.

3. When the required conditions are met, an approved architect, and in the absence of one, a trusted *maestro de obras* of the town, will execute the plan and compute the estimate cost of the project. The cemeteries should be secured by a fence high enough to prevent the ingress of person or beast that would profane the site; the corpses shall be interred for five years; if two corpses are interred at the same time in the same place, a lease of three years is given as enough time for the bodies to decompose.
4. The *ermitas* or Barrio chapels located outside the town can be used as funeral chapels. If none exist or circumstances would not permit the existence of one chapel will have to be built. In to relieve and clean the cemeteries as well as lodging in the *cappella* or chaplain and *sepultureros* or gravediggers will be provided.
5. Children will be buried in specially designated and separate area in the cemeteries. Special area can also be allocated for some persons or families in parish or convent churches all those who aspire to this honor should pay for the cost.
6. Cemetery works will be executed using designated funds. The utmost moderation in these works should be observed; the forms of these religious establishments should be most spacious, simple, and sober- reconciling economy in cost and exterior decency.
7. The *terrenos* or lands should be examined and designed, the number of cemeteries in each *poblacion* estimated their plans and cost calculated. All of these shall be performed by a commissioned individual or minister.

These provisions resulted for a more organized construction and placement of cemeteries for the death, and to ensure the long-termed protected from the effects of the next coming disasters. This is a way for the Spanish government to protect each town for the possible plague and overcrowding; hence, this provision also reflects that natural

disasters and calamities can test the strength of the colonizers if they can sustain their supremacy over the natural laws of nature.

Creation of Cementerio General: Cementerio General De Dilao (1814) and Cementerio General De La Loma (1884)

In 1804, provision of non-burial inside church premises and construction of parochial cemeteries in each province assured the peace and order in the Philippines, but these solutions were short lived for the effect of natural disaster which would be encountered every five to 10 years. The increasing number of deaths in Philippines paved the way for the construction for a larger and centralized cemetery during the Spanish Period which could accommodate large number of bodies and could lessen the bad effects of sanitation in the cemeteries. The parochial cemeteries in each province can only give service to a small number of corpses, but because of the increased population of the provinces, the capacity of these parochial were not enough. The Priest and Bishops did not expect that the calamities would reach the capacity of each parochial cemetery, that led to construct a larger cemetery named *Cementerio General de Dilao or Paco*.

The *Cementerio General de Dilao o Paco* was the first general cemetery which the Spanish government constructed to serve larger number of corpses in a centralized and organize space. The cemetery was not exclusive for Manila only; it also could accommodate bodies from different provinces like Cavite, Bulacan, and Laguna. The cemetery was located in arrabal of San Fernando de Dilao, the location is still near the Manila area and could be supervised by Spanish official which was based in *Intramuros*.²⁰ During its opening in 1814, the Filipinos practiced their old way of respecting their death, sending

20 Manuel Maximo Lopez del Castillo-Noche, "NacioFallecio: The Art and Architecture of Spanish Colonial Baptistry and Cemeteries in the Philippines," *Unitas*, 78:1 (2005):75.

them from their house to the cemetery which they called *prusisyon*.

On the part of church, the opening of the larger cemetery paved back the old tradition of burying and selling *nichos* inside the cemeteries for better interment. The corpse which the parochial cemeteries rejected due to over-crowding could be transferred to *Cementerio general de dilao o pacoto* stop the spread of diseases to the towns and provinces in Manila and neighbouring provinces. For a long period of time, *Cementerio general de dilao* protected Manila and its neighbouring provinces because of organized management of the cemeteries but another way of cholera will hit the Philippine in 1882 which was predicted by the government and church.²¹

Because of increasing number of deaths caused by *cholera* every year, the capacity of the cemeteries, the parochial cemeteries, and *Cementerio General de Dilao o Paco* was used extensively. Again, the problem of space for corpse was renewed and the problem of the cemetery capacity was an issue, but this time, the Spanish government planned to create a larger *cementerio general* compared to the first.²²

The *Cementerio General de La Loma* was erected 1884 at Arrabal of Santa Cruz Binondo, considered as the largest cemetery the Spanish government ever constructed to lessen the effect of the *cholera* epidemic in the Philippines. Compared to *Cementerio de Dilao or Paco*, it was located near *Hospital ng San Lazaroto* give immediate remedy for the *cholera* and other illnesses.²³ But the construction of *Cementerio General de La Loma* had many problems; lack of funds, materials, and misunderstanding of officials were involved in the project. The project was completed eighteen

21 Jeffrey Alfero Lubang, "Ilang Pamahiin, Tradisyon, at Kwentong Paglilibing sa Kabite," Intramuros, Manila: IGE Ramos Design Studio, (2007). 10-13.

22 *Ibid*, 83.

23 De Viana Lorelei "Public Sanitation and Cemeteries in 19th Century Manila," *Unitas* 77, no. 1 (2004): 102.

years compared to *cementerio de dilao* which was completed for only eight years. When the cemetery was finished it regained the peace and order in Manila for a long period of time which ended the suffering of the Spanish government in cholera epidemic.

Conclusion

The importance of having strong and organized system of burial of the Filipinos during the Spanish Period led us in understanding the importance of constructing a centralized cemetery for the protection of the locals during epidemics and calamities. In this research, it doesn't just show the evolution of the cemeteries in the Philippines during the prehispanic era until the Spanish conquest but also discussed the conditions existed during the Spanish period that tested the ability of the authorities to create rules and provision which can provide survival of the cities and provinces. Also, the strength of the Filipinos during these situations is evident through adapting on the available resources during calamities and epidemics without compromising their cultural system in respecting of the deaths.

It was also highlighted the relationship of government and church in constructions of these general cemeteries. These institutions have the power to fasten or slow down public government project depending on the motives of the Spaniards who was involved in the planning process of the constructing. Thus, this affects many Filipinos who depended on the programs which the government will do to manage the condition in their society. On the other hand, the Spanish government tried all possible means for the Filipino and other race to survive in these situations, but this was the efforts not only of the Spanish government but also the Filipinos who helped them to construct and pursued them realize that they needed to create a long-term solution for sanitary and health problems.

In the aspect of the burial tradition in the Philippines during this period, it does not change but improved because it

centralized the belief and practice of the Filipinos in a large scale cemetery wherein he can express he/her gratitude with the guidance of the beliefs of Christianity in death. This adaptation is one way for the Filipinos to search and find their way to practice and survive their burial tradition during the time of conquest. These general cemeteries are not just symbols of an organized burial space for burial practice, but this is the reflection of the undying tradition of Filipino culture of respect and veneration which moulded the strong tradition of Filipinos which is not changeable by any European nation.

Colonialism and South Asia: European Contribution to the Evolution of Strategy in the Indian Ocean

Dr. Rashid Ahmad Khan*

ABSTRACT

Owing to its insular position and peculiar geographical features, the Indian Ocean has enjoyed strategic significance since ancient times. But the arrival of the Portuguese sailor, Vasco de Gama on the western coast of India in 1498 heralded an entirely new era in the history of South Asia. For the first time in history a direct sea link was established between Europe and South Asia through the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic around the Cape of Good Hope. Not only, it led to the replacement of centuries old land based with sea-borne trade between Europe and South-South East Asia, its political landscape also came to be increasingly shaped by the outcome of rivalries among the European powers to seek hegemony over the Indian Ocean to control trade and commerce. For this purpose, they devised a strategy based on the control of key points in the Indian Ocean, such as Straits of Hormuz in the west, Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka) in the middle and Malacca Straits in the east. The Portuguese were not only the first European nation to enter into the Indian Ocean area, they are credited with laying down under the brilliant leadership of their

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admiral, Alfonso Albuquerque, the foundation of a strategic structure which, this paper will argue is still relevant to the defence and security of the Indian Ocean, despite the replacement of the old by the new regional and global power players. Starting with this assumption, the paper would discuss the contribution of the European powers to the evolution of strategy in the Indian Ocean, particularly contribution by the British, which converted the Indian Ocean into a "British Lake" during the period between the two world wars. The theoretical framework for the explanation of this process would be mainly based on the theory of Alfred Thayer Mahan as outlined in his work on the influence of sea power on history; but where necessary, reference would also be made to Heart Land theory of Halford John Mackinder.

Introduction

The Indian Ocean (IO) is a vast expanse of water lying between the Arabian Peninsula and the continent of Africa in the west, the countries of Southeast Asia on the east, the dominant land mass consisting of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh in the north and Arctic in the south. Compared with other oceans of the world, such as the Pacific and the Atlantic, the IO gives a clear look of being a landlocked sea. For example, the continent of Africa constitutes its western wall, while, Myanmar (Burma), Malaysia and the insular continuations protect it from the eastern side. On the north, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh together form a roof over it. Among the physical features of IO, the position of these three countries is most outstanding. Bangladesh dominates Bay of Bengal, which has great strategic value because of its close proximity to Southeast Asia; Pakistan has a long coastline along the Arabia Sea, which controls the entry to and exit from the strategically important Persian Gulf through the Straits of Hormuz. India, from whom the ocean derives its name, dominates IO because of its long coastline on both eastern and western sides and the fact that it juts far into the sea for a thousand miles to its tapering end at the at Cape Comorin. India's geographical position in the Indian Ocean

has, no doubt, implications for the strategic significance of IO.¹

The IO has other geographical features with important strategic implications. For example, the distribution and location of its islands and archipelago is unique. Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is situated so close to India so as to lose its insular character. It is located right in the middle of the IO-a position that enables it to keep watch on the sea lanes passing through the IO. In military terms, the island enjoys a commanding position, which was used by the British to stop the Japanese navy from advancing towards the Middle East after overrunning the entire Far East and Southeast Asia during the Second World War. Madagascar lies close to Africa and has an important naval facility- Diego Suarez that could be used for the defence of the African continent from the oceanic side. The other islands of strategic importance in the IO are Socotra on its western side close to the Persian Gulf, Zanzibar-an island, which was a British Protectorate but only a few months after gaining independence from the British merged with Tanzania in 1964, Seychelles on the side of the eastern Africa coast, Mauritius and Reunion. Then, there are Laccadive and Maldives in the Arabian Sea near the Indian coast. Near the Persian Gulf, there is a group of islands around Bahrain; while on the eastern side, there are Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal. India maintains an important naval facility at Andaman and Nicobar Islands; while Bahrain is US Navy base and home to US Naval Forces Central Command and US Fifth Fleet.

Of great strategic importance is the archipelago of Diego Garcia- a group of islands. This archipelago was originally in British ownership. In 1966, the Americans secured it under a 50-year lease from the British to build a naval and supply facility for the ships of Seventh Fleet, which had extended its

1 K. M. Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean: An Essay on the Influence of Sea Power on the Indian History*, (Mysore: Mysore Publishing House, 1945) 19.

operational area from the Far East and South East Asia in mid-sixties in anticipation of the withdrawal of British force from the areas east of Suez. Diego Garcia derives its value from its strategic location between the Middle East, Africa and Southeast Asia.

Mention should also be made of Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf and Bay of Bengal. Arabian Sea is the western arm of the Indian Ocean and because of its close location to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula has been a centre of military activity. The Persian Gulf, which is dominated by Iran with a long coastline, has a great strategic value because of huge energy reserves (oil and gas) and the interests of the western countries in terms of trade and investment. Through the Straits of Hormuz, which has rightly been called the choke point of the world passes about two thirds of world's oil from the countries around the Persian Gulf such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait and Iran to reach energy hungry countries of Europe in the West and India, China and Japan in the east.

From the physical features of the Indian Ocean, it is clear that its defence and security can be ensured by securing control over strategic places in the west, middle and eastern parts. The first man to realize this in the modern history of South Asia was Alfonso Albuquerque-an able Portuguese admiral, who was appointed Governor of Goa in 1509.

Theoretical Framework

In the area of geopolitics, there are a number of theories for explaining the significance of certain areas in strategic terms. Two of them are most prominent: Heartland and Rim land theories. Sir Halford Mackinder propounded the Heartland Theory, according to which Central Asia constituted the heartland of the world because of its centrality between East Asia, Caucasus, Middle East, South Asia and Europe. The control over this heartland, according to Mackinder, was key to the control over the world. Opposed to the theory of Heartland, the theory of Rim land was propounded by Nicholson J. Spykeman and prior to him

by Alfred Thayer Mahan.² Alfred Thayer Mahan, who has been called Father of Sea Power gave his theory based on the significance of sea power in his essay: *The Influence of Sea Power on History*. According to him, sea power was the key to national security and world dominance. Among the six principal conditions, which in his view, could affect the sea power of the nations, was the geographical position of a country. This paper while discussing the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean would rely on the theory of Alfred Mahan as outlined in his work: *The Influence of Sea Power on History*.

European Era in the Indian Ocean

The Portuguese were the first European nation to enter the Indian Ocean following the discovery of direct sea route between India and Europe by Vasco de Gama, who after sailing around the continent of Africa arrived on the western coast of India near present-day Mumbai in 1498-six years after Columbus hit the New World (Western Hemisphere) in search of an alternative route to India. Although Vasco de Gama's successful voyage to India is not very significant from navigational point of view, it is epoch making in the sense that it was a precursor to the European domination of not only the Indian Ocean but the areas around it for about more than four hundred years till the end of Second World War. The Portuguese came to the Indian Ocean area for the purpose of trade and commerce; but they also brought with them guns that indicated their firm intentions to establish their empire in the Indian Ocean area.

“The significance of de Gama's entry into the Indian Ocean lies not in the navigational achievement; but in the policy of Portuguese kings, who looked upon the seas as their possession. The twenty guns that *San Gabriel* (the name of

2 Mohammad Manzoor Elahi, “Heartland and Rimland theories in CEPEC Perspective: Strategic interplay in 21st century,” *Proceedings of International Conference on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor*, December 9-10, 2015,” ed. Dr. Khalid Manzoor Butt, Mohammad Usman Siddiqui, Centre of Excellence China Studies, Department of Political Science, GC University, Lahore, 2015, p.34

Vasco de Gama's flag ship) carried announced the claim of Portuguese king based on the papal bull giving him exclusive dominion in Asia and Africa."³

The Portuguese attempts to enforce their exclusive domination over the Indian Ocean inevitably brought them into conflict with local rulers, and also other European powers, who followed them to build up their trading interests in the region. After overcoming the local resistance, the Portuguese were able to establish their supremacy over the Indian Ocean in the beginning of sixteenth century. However, the real architect of Europe's Empire in Asia was Alfonso Albuquerque, who assumed office after an Egyptian fleet under the command of Hussain left the Indian Ocean in 1509. He was in search of bases from which the Portuguese empire could be safely defended. For this purpose, he captured Goa and turned it into a strong fortress to protect and advance Portuguese interests in the Arabian Sea. After securing Goa as a base in the western part of the Indian Ocean, Albuquerque turned his attention to the east and captured Malacca Straits in 1513, which controls the entry into the Indian Ocean from the eastern side. Like in Goa, the Portuguese fortified Malacca Straits in order to effectively face any challenge to the Portuguese empire in the Bay of Bengal and other eastern area of the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese had brought under their control all the points and areas of the Indian Ocean, which were strategically important for the defence and security of their commercial empire in the region and could, ensure the sustenance of their domination over the Indian Ocean. These areas and points included, apart from Goa on the western coast of India facing the Arabian Sea, and Malacca Straits guarding the entry into the Indian Ocean from the eastern side, the coast line of Africa, Socotra Island located on the mouth of the Persian Gulf. By capturing strategically important points in the west, east and the middle of the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese under the brilliant leadership of Albuquerque

3 Panikkar, op. cit., p. 39

established a system of control that ensured the defence and security of the Indian Ocean from any external threat.

The Portuguese empire in the Indian Ocean lasted as long as they were able to maintain their hold on these strong points. But they were a small power among more powerful countries of Europe, who had also set their eyes on the Indian Ocean to control lucrative trade in the area. One of these powers was the Dutch, who entered the Indian Ocean in 1595. They dealt a serious blow to the Portuguese by first capturing Malacca Straits in 1641, and then Ceylon in 1654. The Dutch had fully realized the strategic importance of Ceylon because of its location in the middle of the Indian Ocean. One of their naval commanders is reported to have remarked that “when they (the Portuguese) are turned out of Ceylon, they are out of India as the island is the centre of India.”⁴ Though the Portuguese ultimately lost their control over the Indian Ocean to the Dutch because of the superior power of the latter, Albuquerque would always be remembered for his genius, who laid down the foundation of a strategic plan in the Indian Ocean, which not only the Dutch used it to maintain their brief sway over the Indian Ocean, but also the British, who built their commercial and continental empire in the east on the basis of this strategy. “In that sense Albuquerque can justly be claimed as one of the prime architects of British rule in India, no less than of the Portuguese dominion over the seas.”⁵ The British successfully used this strategy in their war against the French for control over India. The possession of Ceylon, which the British conquered from the Dutch, when Holland was annexed by Napoleon, played decisive role in strengthening the British power at sea. The French naval power was no match for the British in the Indian Ocean; hence they failed in their bid to establish an empire in India.

The beginning of nineteenth century saw the rise of Britain as the most powerful naval power. After eliminating, the

4 *Ibid.*, p.55

5 *Ibid.*, p. 53

French challenge to its naval supremacy symbolized by its victory at Trafalgar in 1805. It would be no exaggeration to say that during the nineteenth century Britain ruled over the waves. Its naval power helped it emerge towards the end of nineteenth century as the largest colonial empire over which the sun never set. This had its inevitable impact on the Indian Ocean, which was turned into a "British Lake" as there was left no European power to challenge the British suzerainty in the region. The British accomplished this task by consolidating their hold on Ceylon and Malacca Straits as the key points in the Indian Ocean strategy. In order to reinforce their control over Ceylon and Malacca Straits, the British transformed Colombo harbour and Singapore into strong naval bases. Following the opening of Suez Canal in November 1869, which shortened the distance between North Atlantic and Northern parts of the Indian Ocean around the Cape of Good Hope by 7000 kilo meters, the British built a naval base at Aden. Aden had remained under the rule of the Portuguese from 1513 to 1538 before the British occupied it to develop it into a trading post and a base to fight piracy. Thus with Aden in the west to protect the Indian Ocean from any incursion through the Red Sea; and Malacca Straits in the east to block the entry of any hostile power from the east and Ceylon in the centre as a strong naval and supply base, the British were able to put in place an elaborate strategy in the Indian Ocean that guaranteed its defence and security against any external power for decades to come. Britain already controlled the Mediterranean through their hold on Gibraltar, acquisition of authority over Egypt and the annexation of Cyprus. With their authority firmly established at Port Said and Aden, the Indian Ocean strategy found its culmination in the shape of complete British control over areas stretching from Horn of Africa in the west to Singapore in the east.

The British dominion over the Indian Ocean was established during the period when colonialism was at its zenith. Among seven leading colonial powers in Europe, Britain held the largest number of colonies in Asia and Africa, and other

parts of the world. Among these India was the most precious-jewel of the British crown. Recognizing that the Indian Ocean held the key to the defence of India, Britain established a chain of naval bases from Gibraltar through Port Said, Aden and Colombo up to Singapore. The defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815 eliminated France as the biggest challenge to British global supremacy. During this period, the British world hegemony was described as *Pax Britannica* (British Peace) a period of relative peace from 1815 to 1914. No European power tried to intrude into the Indian Ocean, as the attention of major powers of the world was focused on Europe and Pacific, where rising power of Germany and Japan threatened the status quo established by the European colonial powers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Indian Ocean during the WWI and WWII

The beginning of 20th century found Britain as the supreme and unchallenged naval power in the world. This supremacy was based on the control over the seas and ocean by the British through the establishment of a chain of bases and naval fortifications across the globe. The theory of Alfred Mahan found its full realization in the British global strategy for the protection of its colonial empire. In the Indian Ocean area, Mahan's theory found its application in the establishment of British naval bases at Aden in the west, Colombo (Ceylon) in the middle and Singapore in the east. With the commencement of 20th century, international rivalry had begun to raise its head with the occupation of Tanganyika and a claim over Zanzibar by Germany. The Germans planned to build a naval base at Zanzibar. Through these measures the Germans wanted to secure a foothold on the east African coast, which constituted the western wall of the Indian Ocean. The German plan for building Berlin-Baghdad Railways with the cooperation of Ottoman Turkey presented another challenge to the British position in the Indian Ocean area as its last terminal was to be built on the Persian Gulf. The Berlin-Baghdad Railway was indeed a great conception as it could provide Germany a land route to

reach the Indian Ocean through the Persian Gulf.⁶ Italy was also vying for some place in the region after occupying Somaliland, which gave her a sea port on the eastern coast of the Indian Ocean. In the Red Sea, which controlled the maritime traffick from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean through Suez Canal, international rivalry had begun to raise its head. The French were based in Djibouti, just across Aden, Italy occupied Eretria and began to consider the possibilities of a naval base at Massawa. Italy had laid its claim to the political interests in Yemen on the Arabian side of the Red Sea, posing a threat to the British security interests in the Red Sea area. The picture that the Indian Ocean presented in the period immediately before the start of WWI was something the following:

Great Britain sailed the seas of the Indian Ocean as an absolute mistress. Her power was overwhelming at every point, and no nation or combination of nations could have contested her authority in the slightest degree. But it was clear that storms were gathering. The major European nations had acquired interests in the Indian Ocean area. France, Germany and Italy had territories on the African coast and the names of Diego Suarez, Jibouti, Massawa, Mogadiscio were coming into prominence. Germany, a prisoner in the Baltic was developing schemes for a land route, which could give her an independent entry into the Arabian Sea.⁷

But all of these powers could not make any dent in the impregnable fortress of the strategic structure that Britain had crafted for the defence and security of the Indian Ocean. The end of WWI, therefore, found Britain even more powerful and a formidable naval power. The acquisition of territories in the Middle East and Africa under the Mandate System of the League of Nations led to further expansion of British Colonial Empire. However, during the WWII, the Japanese advance towards the Indian Ocean after capturing Malacca and Singapore, for the first time in 150 years, history of the Indian Ocean, threatened its security.

6 Panikkar, pp. 71,72

7 Panikkar, p. 75

The British had invested heavily in building Singapore into a strong naval base. The base had floating docks with enormous guns mounted on specially designed platforms; and with its dry docks and aerodromes, it had become the bastion of British power and a symbol of its naval might. For Britain it was meant to be Gibraltar of the East. Singapore was built to bar any entry into the Indian Ocean from the east and it was structured as to withstand any attack of any combination of naval and air forces. However, the Japanese forces after overrunning Indo-China, outflanked Singapore and instead of attacking it from the side of the sea, attacked it using the land route. Singapore was not prepared for such an attack; it, therefore, had no choice but to surrender.

After capturing Singapore and Malacca, the Japanese stood on the gates of India after occupying Burma. Their war ships appeared in the Bay of Bengal. The strategically important islands of Andaman and Nicobar were occupied. The units of British fleet in the harbour of Trincomalee were attacked from the air and destroyed. A Japanese battle fleet appeared in the Bay of Bengal. The fate of Ceylon hung in the balance as it could have been occupied by the Japanese at any moment. The situation had become very grave.

It was at this critical juncture that the British base at Colombo was used to reinforce Royal Navy in the Indian Ocean. These reinforcements helped the British forces block further Japanese westward advance. The base at Colombo proved to be an effective and successful deterrence against the advancing Japanese troops. After the Japanese had overrun the whole of Malayan Peninsula, there was left no place for the Royal Navy to fall on for regrouping and supplies. Colombo was preserved as a supply base despite the repeated Japanese attempts to bombard it from the air. The British possession of Sri Lanka as a pillar in the Indian Ocean strategy helped the British ward off the Japanese forces in the Indian Ocean.

Cold War and Post-Cold War Strategic Scene in the Indian Ocean

WWII had dealt such a serious blow to the economy of the British that it was no longer in a position to maintain its hold over its vast colonial empire. Nationalist movements seeking independence from Britain, such as in Egypt and India, gathered momentum after the WWII. The British, therefore, were forced to relinquish their control over a number of countries after war, which also included India. The war led to the decline of Britain and the rise of the United States as global power. The decision to play the role of a global power after WWII was a crucial step by the US, which, unscathed by the ravages of the war, emerged as the mightiest power on earth, both militarily and financially. Although the United States had accumulated strategic and economic interests in the Middle East and Southeast Asia long before the WWII, it refrained from playing a dominant political role because these areas were considered as the preserves of European colonial powers. But WWII changed the whole scenario. France was occupied by Germany as was most of the Western Europe leading to severance of communication with their colonies. Only Britain was able to preserve its links with its colonies in areas east of Suez thanks to the strategy it had crafted for the Indian Ocean. Although France and Netherlands tried to restore their colonial rules in Indo-China and Indonesia, respectively, they failed because of the strong nationalist movements in these territories. In the Middle East, where Britain and France were dominant powers, the US began to replace them as a major actor, because London and Paris were no longer in a position to maintain their hold over their former colonies.

This was also the case in South Asia where strong nationalist movements forced Britain to grant independence to India, Burma and Ceylon in 1947. During its initial years, the focus of the Cold War between the US and Soviet Union was in Europe, which later shifted to Far East. So far as South Asia was concerned, it was still considered to be an area of British responsibility for quelling internal or local

disturbances and external threat. However, it was becoming increasingly clear that Britain alone would not be able to meet the local and foreign challenges to the security of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf area. Therefore, the United States had started to lay down the foundation of its strong military presence in the area. Persian Gulf and waters around it were not new to the United States. During WWII, the US maintained a small naval force known as Middle East Defence Force at Bahrain. In the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, however, the America's first move was marked by the entry of the units of its Seventh Fleet in December, 1964 in anticipation of the British plans to withdraw their military forces from areas east of Suez. The US defended the entry of the units of Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean on the plea that it was necessary to fill in the vacuum, which would be created by the eventual withdrawal of British military power from the region.

During the decade of 1970s, the Indian Ocean became a theatre of intense super-power rivalry because of the ambitions of the United States and the Soviet Union to seek world hegemony. The United States, in addition to the use of facilities at Colombo and Singapore, built a new base at Diego Garcia-an archipelago of islands situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean. It was built as a naval and communication base as an alternative to Aden, where the British position had become increasingly untenable due to pro-independence movement. The United States maintains a huge military base at Bahrain not only for storage purposes but also as a platform to mount military and air operations over Iraq and Afghanistan.

The contemporary strategic scene in the Indian Ocean is dominated by growth in China's relations with not only India but also with countries like Myanmar, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. There has been phenomenal growth in the volume of bilateral trade between China and India, and despite the persistence of border dispute, the two countries are considering expanding bilateral economic cooperation. The Chinese have also signed a number of agreements with

Myanmar for building infrastructure, exploration of gas and minerals and promotion of mutual economic cooperation and trade. In Sri Lanka, the Chinese have undertaken to build a port and an airport along with highways of strategic importance. The close relations between China and Bangladesh were marked by recent visit of President Xi Jinping-the first in decades of any Chinese president's visit to Dhaka- and announcement of US\$ 40 billion Chinese investment plan to build infrastructure and other projects in Bangladesh. China's relations with Pakistan have been exceptionally close in political and defence fields for the last about five decades. But recently, the two countries have focused on expanding their bilateral relations in the areas of investment, trade and economic cooperation. The most prominent example of the reorientation of Pak-China relations with a greater focus on economic cooperation is China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (C-PEC)-a bilateral agreement with regional and global dimensions, envisaging investment of US\$46 billion, mostly in the construction of energy projects and a network of roads, railways and pipelines between Pakistan's port of Gawadar on the Balochistan coast of Arabian Sea and the Chinese city of Kashghar in its western region of Xinjiang.

Gawadar port, which is situated close to the Straits of Hormuz has been constructed with the Chinese financial and technical help, and presently is being operated by the Chinese. The Chinese presence at Dawadar, especially after the completion of C-PEC will not only boost Pak-China economic cooperation and trade; but would also expand China's economic relations with the countries of the Persian Gulf, Middle East and Africa. However, the Chinese moves to expand its influence in the Indian Ocean area is being interpreted by India and western countries, especially the United States as an attempt to dominate the Indian Ocean following Mahans doctrine.⁸

8 C. Raja Mohan, "Maritime Power: India and China turn to Mahan," ISAS Working Paper, No. 71, 7 July, 2009

Conclusion

The European colonial era in South Asia that started with the arrival of Portuguese sailor Vasco de Gama on the western coast of India in 1498 has left behind many an important legacy. One of them is strategic doctrine peculiar to the Indian Ocean. This doctrine is based on the recognition of the strategic significance of certain geographical features of the Indian Ocean. They include its landlocked nature, the strategic importance of its western part, presently dominated by Pakistan, the central position of Sri Lanka, control over the Malacca Straits and domination over the Bay of Bengal. The Europeans used it in their struggle to control the trade and commerce in the Indian Ocean area. The British followed this strategy in fighting, first, the French for supremacy over India during the nineteenth century and then against the Japanese incursion into the Indian Ocean during the Second World War. Even during the Cold War era following the end of WWII, this strategy was used by the two super powers in their rivalry over the Indian Ocean. The current strategic scenario in the Indian Ocean marked by a competition between India and China to seek influence over South Asia is being explained in the light of this doctrine based on the theory of Alfred Mahan.

**Women's Struggle for the Right of Vote in
Colonial India: A Cause Study of Jahanara Shah
Nawaz and Sarojini Naidu**

Prof. Dr. Zahida Suleman*

ABSTRACT

The positive impact of the War of Independence (1857) was the introduction of a series of constitutional reforms in India. It included Government of India Act 1858, 1861, 1892, 1909 and Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Each reform had different characteristics, e.g. the Government of India Act 1858 transferred the power from the East India Company to the British Crown and the British Empire was officially established in India. It did not bring about any immediate change in the system of government as the local people were not associated with administration. This object was achieved by the Indian Councils Act of 1861 and three Indians were included in the council of the Governor General of India. After its creation, the Indian National Congress (1885) demanded the introduction of democracy in India. As a result, the principal of elections was introduced for the first time in India under the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The Muslims were not benefitted by these reforms. Their demand of separate electorate was accepted in the Minto Morley Reforms of 1909. The Montague Chelmsford Reforms of

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1919 established "Diarchy" in the provincial sphere for the first time. The female population was not given the right of vote till 1919. The present paper highlights the women's struggle for the electoral rights of female, with emphasis on the contribution of Jahanara Shah Nawaz (1896-1979) and Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949). The research paper is focused on the material available in primary and secondary sources, especially, the government records, official papers, newspapers and printed books. The authenticity of the material is examined by adapting the method of historical analysis. All these documents and material substantiate the fact that the emerging leadership of 20th century was brought to the realization of how imperative women's right to vote was in the building of the society.

Background

The War of Independence (1857) was a Joint Hindu Muslim effort, but it made the English furious at the Muslims in particular. The British believed that the Muslims were responsible for the anti-British uprising of the event.¹ When the war came to an end the British made it no secret to wipe out the Muslims either, politically, historically or religiously. At the same time, they resumed their policy of cultivating majority Community (Hindu) at the expense of the Muslims.²

The English, who already considered the Muslims as their enemies, now began their systematic suppression. Most of the members of the Royal family were killed. At the time of the conquest of Delhi, the houses of the Muslims were marked and were described as legitimate target for execution and vengeance. Their movable properties were free to be looted. Delhi, the capital of the Mughal Empire, presented the scene of a slaughtering house and all the houses looked like prisons.³

1 Ishtiaq Hussain, *The Struggle for Pakistan* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1965), 18.

2 V.P Menon, *Transfer of Power in India* (Bombay: Orient Longsman, 1957), 635.

3 William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal* (New Delhi, 2006), 386.

The great Urdu poet Mirza Ghalib made frequent references in his poetry about the death and destruction of the Delhi during and after the War of Independence. For centuries, the Hindus of the Subcontinent had been habitual of submission. They did not find it difficult to adjust to the new realities, which demanded them to accept the authority of the English instead of the Muslims – that's why they welcomed the new masters. In these circumstances, the Muslims were expelled from all government departments. W.W. Hunter an English historian has given a detail in his book, *Our Indian Mussalmans*, about the Muslims and their dismissal from all the services.⁴

Constitutional Development in India: 1858-1919

With all its negative results, the positive impact of the war of Independence 1857 was the introduction of a series of constitutional reforms in India. It was started with the Government of India Act 1858. East India Company, according to the charter of 1853 held the rule of India. The war of independence invited enormous criticism on the company and it was realized that a trading company had no right to govern a British dominion. So, under the Government of India Act 1858:

“The Indian affairs were to be controlled by the secretary of State for India instead of president of board of control. The secretary of State for India was a cabinet member and was responsible before the parliamentary secretary and an undersecretary, who was the incharge of the Indian affairs.”⁵

Practically, the Act gave wide powers to the secretary of state for India. Lord Canning, the viceroy of India declared the assurance to the local rulers and promised not to snatch their territories, religious freedom to all the subjects and equal chances of service to all, irrespective of race and creed. However, it did not instantly bring about any change in the system of government as the local people were not

4 W.W. Hunter, *Our Indian Mussalman* (Calcutta: The Comrade Publishers, 1949), 172.

5 C.H. Philips, *Evolution of India and Pakistan* (London: 1970), 53.

associated with the work of administration. From Government point of view, it was difficult to assess what natives thought of these measures and how the native community will be affected by them.⁶

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) in his small but important treatise, "*The Causes of the Indian Revolts*" had pointed out the non-association of the Indians with the law making as the main cause of the 'Revolt'. The British Government also realized that it was dangerous to continue for millions of people with few means of knowing except by rebellion, whether the lawsuits them or not.⁷ This object was achieved by the Indian Councils Act of 1861, which recognized the need for consultation of the people. The local councils were created for the purpose of advice to the Government. However, the Act deliberately attempted to avoid the idea of election and favoured minorities.⁸

During the last quarter of the 19th century, the reaction among the people generated the harsh measures of the British Governor General, Lord Lytten. Intensified by poverty, hunger, famine and check on expression, the public opinion forced the British Government not only to change but also provide Indian people a safety valve of expressing out their hatred and resentment for the foreign rulers by establishing The Indian National Congress in 1885. Now the political condition of India began to change. The public opinion in India began pressing the Government to amend the Act of 1861 and for the further expansion of the legislative institutions in India.⁹

In 1892 another Act was enforced. In the Act, the Principle of election was introduced for the first time in India. But it was disappointing for the Muslims as they, being minority, were not expected to get any benefit from the Act. Minto Marley

6 M. Rashiduzaman, *The Central Legislative in British India* (Dacca: 1965), 1.

7 S.R. Mehrotra, *Towards India's Freedom and Partition* (Dehli: 1979), 160.

8 K.V. Punniah, *Constitutional History of India*, (Calcutta: Orient Longsman Ltd., 1959), 21.

9 S. Gopal, *The Viceroyalty of Lord Rippon* (London: 1953), 85.

Reforms of 1909 made the Muslims happy because introduction of the Principle of Separate Electorate in the Municipal and District boards were accepted and in this way their separate identity was recognized.¹⁰ However, the number of seats was not in proportion to the Muslim population, especially in Bengal and the Punjab. No other Muslim majority province including N.W.F.P. got any benefit from these reforms, as the area did not then come under the constitutional imperatives.¹¹

The political development in India and in the international arena after the beginning of the World War-I (1914) hastened the movement for further progress towards self-government in the subcontinent. The two-fold policy of limited reforms and repression could achieve nothing.¹² The Montague- Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 were more liberal than the previous reforms because the establishment of “Dyarchy” in the provincial sphere was the more fundamental and also the novel feature of the Act.¹³ Under this system, the provincial government was divided into two parts “reserved” and “transferred” as recommended by the Montague- Chelmsford Report of 1918.¹⁴ But the great drawback of the 1919 Reforms was that it was not introduced in all the provinces of India. The Muslim region, the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, were deprived of these reforms and even the Indian Women was not given the right of vote.

10 Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement* (Lahore: Publishers United, nd), 57.

11 M. Anwar Khan, *The Role of N.W.F.P in the Freedom Struggle*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2000), 20.

12 Pakistan Historical Society Karachi, *History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol-II, (Karachi, 1970), 175.

13 J. Prased Suda, *Indian Constitutional Development* (Meerut: Jai, Parkash Nath & Company, 1960), 122.

14 S. Razi Wash, *The Political Triangle in India*, (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1976), 209

Women's Role in Indian Society before and after the War of Independence.

The ladies of Mughal family used to play important role in the social, cultural history of India. Most of them were writers, poetess and lovers of music and architect. They knew that education trained them in moral and develop spiritual values. That's why they built mosques and constructed schools, which provided residence for the students. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan has given a detail about such female educational institution in his book, *Asar-ul-Sanadid*.¹⁵ Besides these ladies, there were numerous other educated and learned women, who became famous due to their educational services. After the War of Independence, such activities were badly affected and women also suffered socially and economically.

The British rulers introduced their own educational system in India, which was managed and controlled by the Christian missionaries. The Muslims avoided sending their children to the English schools for solid reasons that they might deviate from religion under the influence of western education. Under women missionaries a number of schools began to emerge with medical facilities and those schools were made the centre of conviction to the Christian.¹⁶ The Hindu community, which is always liberal and accommodating had no problem with that changing scenario. They not only welcomed the education system of the English but also started to establish school on the same ground.

In these circumstances Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (a Muslim social and educational reformer) decided to take initiative and started his educational program in the name of Aligarh Movement which was a mixture of eastern learning and

15 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Asar-ul-Sanadid*, (Urdu), (Lucknow: Bazmi-Taimuriya, 1876), 47 and Quated by, Sarfraz Hussain, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1981), 4.

16 Khan, *Asar-ul-Sanadid*, 47 & Hussain, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement*, 4.

modern sciences. In his educational program women occupied only a secondary place. His view was that first the men should be educated and the Muslim women should continue to receive the traditional education.¹⁷ His program was welcomed in all areas of India and many organizations were established. *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (established in 1884) of Lahore was one of them which not only followed the footsteps of Sir Syed but also focused on female education. With the passage of time a number of ladies came in frontline, who dedicated themselves for the women empowerment. Jahanara Shahnawaz from Lahore and Sarojini Naidu from U-P were among those, who played a major role in acquiring the voting right for the Indian women.

Jahanara Shahnawaz

She was born in 1896 in Lahore, Punjab. Her brought up was according to the traditional norms of Muslim families of that time. At the age of fifteen she was married with Mian Muhammad Shahnawaz, barrister and a member of Punjab Assembly and latterly Central Legislative Assembly. She found a favourable and healthy atmosphere, quite free from gender discrimination. Her males believed in sharing their thoughts and aspirations with their family members. They were providing for their growing children, equal opportunities to get to know the problems that were confronting Muslims of the Sub Continent and enter into the spirit of political activism at a tender age.¹⁸ She completed her education in 1912 from Queen Marry College, Lahore and due to the support from her father and husband; she started to contribute towards the uplift of Muslim Women of India. She joined Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam founded in 1908 by his father, Mian Muhammad Shafi.¹⁹ The primary concern of the Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam was to spread female

17 M. Amin Zubari, *Tarikh-i-Sir Sayyid*, (Urdu), (Rawalpindi, 1961), 131-32.

18 Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter, A Political Biography*, (Lahore: Nigaristan, 1971), 6

19 Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Ar-Rai* (Urdu), Monthly (Lahore, Sir Shafi Number, December, 1967), 46

education and bring social reforms in their life. Such type of organization was being set up throughout India to the new changing needs of Muslim women. The organization encouraged the women to come out from their four wall house and get together in Public forum.²⁰

She was a writer of an autobiography, "*Father and Daughter*" and an Urdu novel "*Hasan Ara Begum*". The plot of her novel revolved around women's lives. The characters in her writings make an appeal to women to choose the right path with spirit and courage to solve their own problems.²¹ She also realized the urgent need for All the Indian Women's association for the awakening of the Muslim women. So in 1915 All India Women's Conference was held, which was attended by a number of Muslim ladies belonging to elite class. In 1921, a number of Muslim ladies from every province passed a resolution against polygamy. Another noteworthy by Jahanara Shahnawaz was her active involvement for the issue of the age consent for marriage during the second decade of the twentieth century. Secondly there were nearly ten million girls married in India under the age of fifteen, a couple of lac at the age of one, three and ten years, especially in the south and that condition was deplorable.²²

Sarojini Naidu

Sarojini Naidu was born in 13 February, 1879 in Hyderabad, India. Her father was a scientist, Philosopher and a Politic Educator. She was a brilliant student and won appreciation and fame by being selected in Madras University at just 12. In 1896, she went to London to study in King's College and later at Girton College, Cambridge University. She developed a liking and passion for reading and writing poems. At the age of 19, she was married with Muthyala Govinderajulu Naidu. In 1898 inter-cast marriages were

20 Shahida Latif, *Muslim Women in Indian Political and Private Realities: 1890-1980* (New Delhi: 1990), 81.

21 Jahanara, *Hasan ara Begum* (Lahore: Steam Press, 1916), 62.

22 Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 92.

considered a crime in the Indian society. The successful marriage of the couple prevented people from intervening into their personal life and taking it into another stage. Sarojini Naidu had many credits to her, including a notable contribution for the uplift of the Indian Women and to the Indian Independence Movement. She joined the movement at the rear of Bengal partition in 1905 and since then, she stuck to her commitment to the cause. She came into contact with Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindrnath Tagore, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

During the First World War 1915-1918,²³ she travelled to different regions in India delivering lectures on Social Welfare, Women's empowerment and nationalism. She also helped to establish The Women's Indian Association (WIA) in 1917. As the Indian Women were not given the right of vote till 1909 and now new constitutional reforms were due. So, she was sent to London along with Annie Besant, President of WIA to present the case for the women's vote to Joint Select Committee.²⁴

In 1917, when Mr. Montague, Secretary of State for India, was touring the country to ascertain for himself the trend of political aspirations of the people, Mrs. Margaret Cousins, Secretary of the Women's Indian Association, organized an All-India women deputation to wait on him. Mr. Montague received the deputation, which was led by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in Madras in December, 1917.²⁵ The deputationists for the first time demanded official recognition for the principle of female suffrage. Although the reply given to the deputation was sympathetic but no mention of women's claim was made in the Montague-Chelmsford proposals expect that it suggested widening of the electorates.

23 Sarojina Naidu, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity* (Lahore: Atishfishan Publications, 1989), 26.

24 Sarfraz Hussain, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement*, 33.

25 Shaya Kumar Nehru, *Our Cause*, (Allahabad, nd), 351.

In 1918, the all India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress announced their support for this demand.²⁶ Another women deputation advocated this demand before the Southborough Franchise Committee in 1919. They carried on an intensive propaganda in support of the demand but all their efforts proved fruitless for the Southborough Committee did not advocate the cause of women enfranchisement and stated that it was not practical to extend the franchise to women in the prevailing conditions in India.²⁷ After this set back the women carried their demands before the Joint committee of both the House of Parliament.

In 1919, after the introduction of the Government of India Bill in the parliament, a deputation consisting of some women leaders, led by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in its evidence before the Committee, supported the demand for the extension of the franchise for women. The parliament, however, decided to leave the question of female franchise to the provincial legislatures.²⁸ This matter was given considerable attention by the legislatures and as a result, Madras gave a lead in this respect by giving women the right of vote. Among the Indian states, cochin and Travancore were also among the first to do so. Mysore, Jhalawar and Bombay Councils followed suit. By 1925, except Bihar and Orrissa, all the legislatures had given to women the right to vote and in these two legislatures this right was granted in 1928. But women continued their struggle for complete emancipation because the property qualification operated heavily against them.

They had won half the battle so far but they had yet to go a long way to attain their goal. In 1928, the statutory Commission set up for the purpose of reviewing the working of the Reforms of 1919 laid special stress on the need of

26 Evelyn C. Gedge and Mithen Choks, *Women In Modern India* (Bombay, 1929), 8.

27 S.K. Nehru, *Our Cause*, 353.

28 S.K. Nehru, *Our Cause*, 353.

enfranchising a much larger proportion of women for future legislatures. In its report, it recommended that “no system of Franchise can be considered satisfactory or as likely to lead to good Government where such a great disparity exists between the voting strength of the two sexes. We feel, therefore, that special qualification should be prescribed for women.”²⁹

However, the first Round Table Conference, held in 1930-31 was stirred by the memorandum submitted on behalf of the Indian women by Mrs. Subbarayan of Madras and Begum Jahanara Shah Nawaz. In this memorandum, the women expressed the hope that the question of women’s political status would receive consideration by the Conference and that no disability would be attached to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to the holding of any public office or in the exercise of any trade or calling. They wanted the assurance of equal rights and obligations for all citizens without any bar on account of sex.³⁰

Jahanara had a chance to address the first session of the conference, under the chairmanship of Ramsay Macdonald. On this occasion she made an earnest appeal by saying that:

We have taken our problems in hand, and are trying to tackle them day by day, with the help of God. We hope to achieve and achieve very soon that western freedom of speech and action, combined with Eastern Restrain which is the ideal of our womanhood. The social reforms of a country, depends mostly upon women. Almost as soon as our men got the franchise, they did not hesitate in giving us our share and now that women of India are coming forward and taking an active part in the political life of the country, the solution of all these problems will not be difficult to find.³¹

29 S.K. Nehru, *Our Cause*, 35.

30 Sarfraz Hussain, *Muslim Women’s Role in the Pakistan Movement*, 35.

31 *Proceeding of the Indian Round Table Conference*, First Session November 12, 1930-January, 1931 quoted by Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism among Indian Muslim Women, 1920-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1980), 173.

Her speech was well received and when she sat down a large number of notes of appreciation were passed down to her including those of Lord Sankey, the president, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State, a number of princes and all the leaders of different delegation from India.³² Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of Indian in a letter to Jahanara showed his appreciation of her active participation by saying that:

“This is only a brief letter to welcome you back to India and to congratulate you on the work you have done in London as member of India delegation to the Round table conference. I need hardly say that I have followed the progress of your labour with intense interest and as increasing measure of hope that on the foundation to the laying of which you have so much in London, may be built a new constitution for India which will bring contentment and happiness to the country.³³

In 1932, Jahanara, attended the Third Round Table Conference as the only representative of Indian women and succeeded in advocating the demand of voting right for her gender before the gathering.³⁴

In the winter of 1932, the Franchise Committee headed by Lord Lothian came to India. The representatives of the all India Women's Conference, a Hindu women's organization set up in 1927, and the president of the committee presented another memorandum in which they reiterated the principle enunciated in the previous memorandum. In June, 1932, the working Committee of the All India Muslim League passed a resolution in support of women's rights which stated that all political and social obstacles and disqualifications in the way of female sufferagein the struggle for social and political emancipation should be removed and they should be

32 *Inqilab-i-Nau*, (Urdu), (A Special Edition Published at the Death of Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, July, 1980), 24.

33 *Inqilab-i-Nau*, (Urdu), (A Special Edition Published at the Death of Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, July, 1980), 24.

34 Jahanara Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 72.

considered equal to men and be given adequate representation.³⁵

In the following year, women again advocated their demand and the All India Women's Conference sent its representatives to appear before the Joint Parliamentary Committee in London. They pressed before this committee that their demands should be considered which had been already incorporated in their second memorandum. The Government of India Act of 1935 did not come up to the expectations of women. Under the new constitution, 60,00,000 women were enfranchised, and six seats out of a total of 150 were reserved for women in the Council of State and nine out of 250 in the Federal Assembly.

Last but not the least, the two ladies, one from Punjab and other from U-P dedicated themselves for the uplift of the Indian women and specially for their voting right. In this context credit must go to two major political parties, The Indian National Congress and The All India Muslim League, and their leadership like Krishan Gopal Gokhale, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Mrs. Annie Basant and Jawarhar Lal Nehru, who supported the women cause at that time.

The Indian Press also began to project the female demand for the voting right. In this respect, Akhbar-i-Niswan, Lahore, Sharif Bibi, Lahore, Tahzib-i-Niswan, Lahore, AKhbar-i-Khawateen, Daccan, Paisa Akhbar, Lahore, Zamindar, Lahore, The Star, Allahbad, played an important role in winning the right of vote for the Indian women. Now, the Indian women were ready to play its active role in the freedom struggle against the British Colonial Rule.

35 *Daily Inqilab* (Urdu), June 16, 1932.

Colonizing the Desert: Socio-Economic Transformation in the Cholistan – Bahawalpur

Zahra Akram Hashmi*

ABSTRACT

The paper delineates the historical process of agricultural colonization in the sandy soil of Bahawalpur, one-third part of which consists of Cholistan desert. The colonization policy was the outcome of weir-control irrigation projects planned for the cultivation of the Punjab plains. The Bahawalpur colony was a broader term and covered three canal colonies of Sadqia, Bahawal and Punjnad. The first two comprised on the barren areas of Cholistan desert, which were once fertile and populated on behalf of old Hakra River. Gradually, Hakra dwindled down owing to physical causes then desolated the entire area. After the laps of hundreds of the years, the areas were again going to be populated with agriculturists from Punjab and Rajasthan. In this regard, the initial step was taken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The article discusses the primary role of Sikh colonists in converting the desert land into flourished one. The paper also focuses that how the State utilized its resources to accommodate the settlers in the new country. The agriculturists from the rest of Punjab replaced the sparsely located cattle breeders and transformed the

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pastoral mode of existence into agrarian economy. This increased the demographic index of the State as well as crop production grew phenomenally, which led to the emergence of urban centres. By the labour of Punjabi elements, two lakhs acres of barren land turned into granaries. The study aims to analyze the impact of socio-economic structure of Punjab that exerted its influence on the shape and nature of Bahawalpur colony. The paper is mainly based on gazetteers, settlement reports and official publications.

Introduction

In the late nineteenth century, the GOI initiated vast schemes of agricultural colonization in the Punjab. Its primary objectives were to adjust the disbanded Sikh soldiers in the agriculture pursuits and to relieve the congested districts of the Punjab. Later on, army interests also considered and coincided with the political aim to reward the land owning families, this was the staunch supporter in WW 1st.¹ The Eastern and Central Punjab were over populated and all area was under cultivation with no further scope of extension of agriculture. On the other hand, extensive tracts in the rainless plains of Western Punjab were lying vacant because here cultivation was extremely insecure. Rest of the land was consisting on grazing grounds. Population was sparse and semi nomadic. Similar circumstances with more intensity in term of dry climate, hot temperature and less rainfall were the main feature in the Princely State of Bahawalpur under Punjab dependencies.

The paper is sectioned into three parts. First part is the retrospective of the region. The second part contained settlement process in the years of inundation canals and third part contained the regular process of colonization under the Punjab government project of Sutlej valley scheme.

1 Malcolm Lyall Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (London: Oxford, 1928), 153.

Section I

Cholistan desert preserved the relics of the history of thousands of years of the region. It was the core centre of Hakra valley, being a part of Great Indus Valley Civilization.² The signs of a sequence of human life in that area, have been delineated through archaeological data.³ The region was once fertile on behalf of river Hakra.⁴ The river Hakra flew down the whole length of the desert, irrigated the whole areas of Cholistan and Sind, and emptied itself into Indus at the point of Rohri-Bhakkar.⁵ Half of its course passed through Thar by name of Nara-Hakra. Hakra flood plain was thickly populated and cultivated during fourth to second millennium BC.⁶ It had been counted one of the prime regions known for grain production in the overall mature Harappan economy.⁷

In the first millennium BC, due to some hydrographic changes Hakra river gradually dwindled down and desolated

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- 2 Jonathan Mark Keynoyer, "The Indus Valley Tradition of Pakistan and Western India" *Journal of World Pre-History*, 5, no 4, (1991): 351.
 - 3 At first, Sir Aural Stein partially explored Cholistan in 1941. Stein traced the rout of Ghaggar-Hakra and identified 47 sites from third millennium BC to third century AD. See Aural Stein, *A Survey of Ancient Sites Along the Lost Saraswati Rive*. His work was followed by Hennery Field in 1955. See Henry Field, *An Anthropological Reconnaissance in West Pakistan* (Massachusetts: Peabody Museum, 1959). The most extensive and inclusive survey of Cholistan has been conducted by Dr. Rafiq Mughal in 1974-78. Dr. Mughal discovered 414 sites belong to Indus Valley Civilization, embracing the period from Hakra Wares (fourth millennium BC) to the medieval period. See Mohammad Rafiq Mughal, *Ancient Cholistan: History and Architecture* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1997).
 - 4 Hakra river is mentioned in the hymns of Rig-Veda as Sacred River Saraswati, which irrigated the regions between river Sutlej and Jumna. In Sind, the present Nara canal is in fact the continuation of Hakra river See further details in Sidiq Tahir, *Wadi-e-Hakra Aur Uske Assar* (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1993), 18-35.
 - 5 James Tod. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajhistan*, Vol.III (London: 1920), 642.
 - 6 Mughal, *Ancient Cholistan*, 49.
 - 7 Gregory. L. Possehl, "The transformation of Indus civilization" *Journal of World Prehistory*, 11, no. 4 (December 1997):443, 463.

the whole valley.⁸ However, it occasionally supplied water until 18th century.⁹ As Hakra desiccated, some proportion of population moved towards the upper basin of Jumna-Sutlej and some moved to flood plains of Sutlej in the north and northeast of Cholistan. While a small proportion remained in the region with semi nomadic lives.¹⁰ The northwestern part of Cholistan became the hub of human settlement.¹¹ The towns of Uch, Jajja, Bhutta Wahan, Patan, Sheikh Wahan, Khaibodla, Sarwahi, Mau, Mahend, and Taranda were ancient settlements situated on that line of rivers in the State.¹² This state of affairs persisted over the establishment of Bahawalpur State.

Bahawalpur State and Cholistan

The State was located in the southwest of the Punjab and lied between 27° to 30°-22° North latitude and 69° -47° to 74° -1° East longitude.¹³ The gross area of the State was 17,508 square miles, of which 9881 square miles consisted of desert, which is called Cholistan.¹⁴ The State was carved out during the disintegration of Mughal dynasty by Abbasid *Daudpotras* from Sind who claimed as Arab origin.¹⁵ In the formative years, population was sparse and confined to the tracts contiguous to the river whereas rest of the country was

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- 8 Hakra is mentioned as *Sarswati*, river in the regvede. See Aural Stein, *A Survey of Ancient Sites Along the Lost Sarswati River*, 182. Muhammad Rafiq Mughal, "The Decline of the Indus Valley Civilization and the Late Harappan Period in the Indus Valley" *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, 3, no, 2, (July-December 1990): 12.
- 9 Elphinston passed through the desert in 1808-09, a stream was flowing in the breadth of Hakra. See Elphinstone Mountstaurt, *An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul*, Vol. 1 (London: 1972) 22-23.
- 10 Mughal, Ancient Cholistan, 22.
- 11 J. S. Gerwal, "Historical Geography of Punjab" *Journal of Punjab Studies*, 11, no 1, (2004): 4.
- 12 Nurul Zaman Ahmad Auj, *Legacy of Cholistan* (Multan: Carvan Books, 1995), 31.
- 13 Henry Field, *An Anthropological Reconnaissance in West Pakistan*, 147.
- 14 The Government of Bahawalpur, *The Annual Administration Report of the Bahawalpur State for the Year 1874-1875* (Lahore: 1875), 4.
- 15 Muhammad Ashraf Gorgani & Mohammad Din, *Sadiq Ut Tawarikh* (Bahawalpur: Sadiq Ul Anwar Press, 1866), 127-149.

abandoned. However, great scope for creating the agrarian environment was existed and the evidence of former habitation in the region indicated the agriculture and irrigation networks in the past.

On the arrival of Abbasids, the area under crops was very small and confined to ancient towns, which produced the food grains and to a little extent commercial crops as well. The central focus of the State was to cultivate the barren areas and increase the population. Therefore, human settlement became a continuous process throughout the history of the State. Being a rainless country, there was extraordinary value of canal irrigation to agricultural improvements. Canal excavation focused on parallel with the foundation of new towns. It was such a diverse region, which had either jungle or desert.¹⁶ Owing to these regional physical conditions, the rearing of cattle held much importance in village economy and households.

Over time, people from various parts of India got land and were acclimatized in the proprietary areas. Yet a cohesive program for colonizing the desert coincides with the first British Agency, which constituted after the death of the ruler, Nawab Bahawal Khan Abbassi-IV (1837-1866). At that time, Crown Prince Mohammad Sadiq Khan was a minor. The Council of Regency was a part of political and administrative settlement for native states according to Indian Act 1833.¹⁷ The first Council of Regency remained till 1879. The second and the third Councils of Regency worked from 1899 to 1903 and from 1907 to 1924, respectively.

16 Leopold Von Olich, *Travelers in India including Sindh and Punjab*, translated by H. Evans Lloyd, (London, Longman, 1845), 137.

17 The proclamation of 1857, issued by the Viceroy entitled the British Government to take charge of any State owing to the death or removal of a ruler, a fresh succession was not recognized, or the recognized one was minor. See William Warner Lee, *The Native States of India* (London, MacMillan, 1910), 334.

Section II

The Agency government appropriated vast tracts, which allotted to both local inhabitants and outsiders. The new leases consisted 166000 *bigha*, divided into forty villages at the nominal sum of one *anna* per *bigha*.¹⁸ The very first settlers were mostly hardy Sikh, who had the experience of taking high yield from the crops on *Barani* lands. Ludhiana, Amratsar, Jalindhar, and Ferozepur were the recruiting centres for Bahawalpur.¹⁹ In a way, Bahawalpur was the first place where disbanded Sikh personnel accommodated and engaged in their agricultural pursuits. Actually, to settle the disbanded Sikh army was the main political motive behind the establishment of the Punjab canal colonies. *Sidhna* canal in Multan was the first attempt of colonization in the British Punjab.²⁰

In 1868, *Fordwah* canal was the first irrigation settlement introduced in Eastern part of Bahawalpur, where question was not how to improve agriculture but how to create it. It irrigated 32500 acres of land, which was notified for human settlement. It was the largest inundation canal in the Punjab at the time as well as the first one in the whole of the desert, where initially it looked impossible to run the water.²¹

Political Agent of Bahawalpur, Colonel H. Grey during the period of his incumbency (1875-78) formulated a cohesive set of rules for colonists on specific conditions locally called *Ahsani* terms. In this phase, settlers were treated with more leniencies and were awarded *Sanad e Ahsan* for the term of ten years at minimal revenue rate of one rupee per *bigha*. They were exempted from *tirni* tax and were not required to provide the *chher* labour. Their part of *chher* had to be

18 The Government of Bahawalpur, *reorganization Report of the Bahawalpur State for the Year 1869* (Lahore: 1868) 9.

19 *Sadiq ul Akhbar*. 6 October, 1967.

20 Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism: 1885-1947*, (Karachi: Oxford, 1989) 5,14.

21 J.W. Burns, "Notes on the Physical Geography of the Bahawalpur State" *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 42, no. (1872): 396.

arranged by *Nazims*.²² The ownership rights were granted in the end of the completion of the specific period. However, it was mandatory for the occupant to bring his tenants from outside the State in order to overcome the shortage of workforce in the State. These measure were encouraging for the settlement in arid areas and excavation of Eastern *Sadqia* canal added further speed in the process.

***Sadqia* Twin Canal System**

The Abbasid rulers were anxious to irrigate arid land towards Derawar that was their ancestral place as well as the cantonment of the State. In this regard, the first practical step was taken during the reign of Nawab *Sadiq Khan IV* (1866-1899) was throughout evinced an interest in opening up the agrarian frontier in the desert.²³ Superintendent of irrigation J.W. Burns, courageously planned to revive the Hakra system from Fort Abbas to Marot via Derawar. He made some alignments and masonry work on a channel called *Derawarwah*. But it was unfeasible at the time to lead water to the high sandy lands of Cholistan and repeatedly instances were failed. However, these efforts became successful with the opening of Eastern *Sadiqia* canal in 1882. The canal was drawn from Sutlej near the boundary of Ferozpur district. After subsequent extension, it irrigated an area of 25000 acres in pure Cholistan. In 1889, The Western *Sadiqia* canal was constructed on the combine water of Sutlej and Chenab, and fed one million acres.²⁴

The Eastern *Sadqia* was in fact, the culmination of constant feats of Sikh settlers. The majority of Sikh in the upper part was consisted on retired military men of active and industrious habits. They were anxious to have the same facilities in the State as in British districts of Punjab. The idea of excavating a canal in the desert was not encouraged by

22 The Government of Bahawalpur, *The Annual Administration Report of the Bahawalpur State for the Year 1872-73* (Lahore: 1873) 87.

23 Auj, *Legacy of Cholistan*, 243-44.

24 *Dairy of Political Agent, Phulkian States and Bahawalpur*. From 1st April 1903 to 31 March 1904. p. 32.

state officers and even by the other peasants. The Sikh agriculturists did not encourage except their own community and one influenced *zamindar* Mian Nur Muhammad of Munianwali.²⁵ They send a deputation to convince the State Council.

The deputation consisting of some leading man like; Mian Nur Mohammad, Seth Mulidhar of Minchinavad, Sardar Hazara Sing of Bela Singh Kokara and Sardar Gurmukh of Nilanwali. But the Council considered impracticable to dig a canal in the midst of desert. The Sikh people persisted on their idea and collected an amount of 25000. The most industrious and the best agriculturists were continued to find a way. They approached to the *Nawab* Sadiq Khan IV who was not only agreed with the Sikh colonists but also personally wanted to convey the water in the desert. The *Nawab* ruler granted 25000 rupees, for initial expenditure. It was the first step of success to attain the State permission after a lot of opposition on the part of other *zamindars* and state officers.²⁶

The construction was originally a channel of 20 feet width, for the purpose of drinking water. Some patches of land in the way of canal were totally choked up in sand but the Sikh pioneers did not disappoint, exerted every nerve to clear the sand, and ultimately succeeded to reach the water to the tail. In this instance, no Sikh settlement received water however, getting the drinking water was a boon for them. They exerting for widening the canal, which was completed in 1902.²⁷ The process of colonization in Cholistan had increase with the opening of *Sadqia* twin canal system.

The condition of importing tenants from outside the State was removed and the lessee was required to higher on his own. In cultivating the desert land, the local subjects of adjoining lands in Cholistan were preferred but they made

25 Radhika Lal. P 13.

26 *Ibid*, 14.

27 *Ibid*, 18.

only a small contribution. Because they were mainly cattle breeder who were not inclined towards agricultural pursuits. The *Nawab Bahawal Khan V*, however, was very keen to involve the locals in agriculture. So he adopted a policy of granting land to the locals. In this regard, some tracts of land were also given to the State officials on nominal price. The policy, however, failed to elicit a positive response. Rather, it promoted absentee landlordism. Therefore, the third agency government stopped this practice, though State officials continued secret dealings.²⁸

In 1910-11, land comprising 109000 *bighas* was notified for Eastern *Sadqia* canal in the Cholistan tehsil of Minichinabad Nizamat.²⁹ The patterns of already settled colonies of the Punjab were followed in the State. The colonization officer *Haji Abdulghani* was sent to Lyallpur and Sargodha to learn the colonization work under Mr. Dobson. Because of this systematic attempt, the Cholistan colony obtained good results.³⁰

Resultantly, many groups of Sikhs from Punjab settled in the upper part, and *Bishnoi* Hindus from different district of Rajasthan settled in the lower part. Muslim settlers from Hissar and Rohtak settled in the middle of tehsil.³¹ The demography of the State was increased from 486,715 in 1873 to 781191 in 1921.³²

The first settlers had to face many hardships. The excavation of *Sadqia* canal system was a trail of sacrifices. The barren tracts, beasts, warm temperature and above all scarcity of water as there was hardly any well and water

28 The Government of Bahawalpur, *The Annual Administration Report of the Bahawalpur State for the Year 1908-9* (Lahore: 1909) 49.

29 The Government of Bahawalpur, *The Annual Administration Report of the Bahawalpur State for the Year 1911-12* (Lahore: 1912) 4.

30 The Government of Bahawalpur, *The Annual Administration Report of the Bahawalpur State for the Year 1912-13* (Lahore: 1913) 4.

31 *Sadiqul Akhbar*, 21 June, 1906.

32 The Government of Punjab, *Punjab States Gazetteers: Vol. XXXVI B. Bahawalpur State, Statistical Table, 1935* (Lahore: 1935) iii.

were mostly brackish. The main difficulties were the less rainfall and trouble of bringing even drinking water from a distance of six or seven miles. Most of Sikh immigrants died. As Radhika Lal says *'the memory of their adventures in Cholistan, the difficulties they had to experience and the forbearance exhibited by those sturdy sikh with white beards and grey eyebrows shall ever remain green in the history of canal construction in the state.'*³³

Section III

Colonization under Sutlej Valley Project

The cohesive colonization policy was commenced on the completion of Sutlej valley project. It was a joint scheme, designed by the British on Sutlej river to provide weir-control irrigation to the waterless zones of Western Punjab. The plan contained three weirs on Sutlej river at Ferozpur, Sulemanki, Islam and forth one at Punjnad on the confluence of Sutlej and Chenab. On the right bank of Sutlej, three canals were under taken in British territory at *Debalpur, Mailsi* and *Pakpattan*. On the left bank, six canals of Bahawalpur State; *Sadqia, Fordwah, Qaimwah, Bahawal, Abbassia* and *Punjnad* -would be under taken in addition to the one canal for Bikaner.

The total area ultimately to be irrigated was 5,108,000, of which 2825,000 acres belonged to the Bahawalpur, 1,942000 acres in the Punjab, and 341009 acres in the Bikaner State. The total length of channels in the state was over 4000 miles.³⁴

33 Radhika Lal,13.

34 The Government of Bahawalpur, Information and Publicity Department, *Bahawalpur State: 1949-50*, (Bahawalpur: 1950)22.

TABLE 1. THE STATE CANALS AND THEIR COMMANDED AREA.³⁵

Canals	Gross Commanded Area	Cultivable Commanded Area	
		Perennial	Non- Perennial
State distributory of British eastern canal	64115	-	60474
Eastern Sadqia	1107425	8,87,012	20897
Fordwah	455557	60731	358297
Bahawalpur	768215	2,27,472	3,71,936
Qaimpur	45781	-	42,723
Punjnad	1380783	3,50,899	8,80,813
Abbaassia	42808	-	34,897
Total	3864684	15,35,114	17,70037

The area commanded by *Sadqia* canal and some part of *Bahawal* canal comprised on the lost Hakra valley, where only a wide shallow depression existed. On the southern side of Hakra depression, there were high ranges of sand hills, while on the northern side sand drifts were less formidable. These areas held very thin population of semi nomadic tribes.

With the supply of irrigation to the far-flung desert areas, the State made provisions to overcome the lack of manpower in order to cultivate its deserted area. The irrigable area of Bahawalpur under Sutlej valley canals was two lakh acres that were projected for colonization. Such a large area was disposed of through many stages, commencing with the partial completion of the plan in 1926 at Islam weir and continuing after the partition of India. Out of total area, 50% was set aside for auction. In the remaining 50% land, 80% was reserved for peasant grants and twenty percent for

35 *Ibid.* See further in Special Irrigation Report on Sutlej Valley Project, 1943. P. 1-2.

miscellaneous grants. The distribution of land was under the control of the State.³⁶

The Attributes and Implications of Bahawalpur Colony.

The best tracts of land were set aside for sale in order to secure a speedier return of capital expenditure on the canals. Nevertheless, the land was not reserved for the capitalist class as in Punjab canal colonies. As per Sutlej valley agreement, the annual limit for public sale was 35000 acres.³⁷ There was no restriction of limit for purchaser to buy land. In the initial years, water supply was short in Sutlej and Beas rivers, which caused failure in cultivation. In most cases, yields were so little as to make it impossible for the owner to pay his dues particularly, for the lands irrigated by *Bahawal* canal. Therefore, the State showed a very lenient attitude. The period of free harvests was extended. A charge of *malikana* at the rate of two rupees per acre was received in place of interest. Due to failure in cultivation, instalment system broke down and the State gave the proprietary rights to purchasers voluntarily.³⁸

Moreover, the State initiated two schemes for granting further concessions to purchasers. The first one was a lump sum payment scheme to encourage the buyers to pay the entire amount of land at once, at a concessional rate, instead of instalments.³⁹ The other scheme was a 'compensation and surrender scheme' for dealing with the purchasers whose land was confiscated due to non-payment of their dues. There were certain reasons for confiscation. In the initial period, some private individuals and state officials had acquired land, but they could not manage to cultivate it.

36 Letter from the Minister for Revenue and Public Works to the Nawab Bahadur on *Colonization Scheme*: 5 April 1927.

37 The Bahawalpur Government. *The History of Sutlej Valley Project 1932* (Bahawalpur: Sadiq UI Anwar Press, 1932), 108.

38 The Government of Bahawalpur, *The Annual Administration Report of the Bahawalpur State 1931-32*, P 2.

39 *Colony Administration Report for the year 1931-32*, (unpublished) Colonization Department, Bahawalpur State (1932): 2.

Such purchasers had to surrender the part of their holding for which they were unable to pay.

For the *abadkars*, the government policy was to allot the land to self-peasants. The size of this grant ranged from half acre to fifty acres. The land was provided to them on very simple terms and with many facilities. The major condition for *abadkars* were to be a Muslim and from agriculturist tribe. In 1926, the *chakks* on Eastern *Sadqia* were first to be notified on *abadkari* grants. The first batch of *abadkars* came in 1927 from Punjab. The motor lorry and camel traffic was carried on to take them from the focal centre *Chakk Abdulla* to the spot.⁴⁰ The *abadkars* were required to permanently move to their lands within six months of possession and build their houses within one year. Owing to the initial difficulties, the instalment period was further extended to twelve years and the *abadkars* were given the right to exchange poor land with the better one somewhere else. They were exempted from revenue for the first two harvests but exchanges were not allowed.⁴¹

The other element of colonization policy was Military grants. The military men of Indian States serving with the units of Indian army were selected by their commanding officers for the grant of land in the canal colonies of Punjab. The Bahawalpur State nominated only those military men who were Muslim and agriculturist. The first batch of military men was selected on 14 June 1924 in lieu of their services during the First World War. Twenty-two *chakks* were allotted to Indian army from 1924 to 1933 at *Sadqia* colony. The conditions for military grants were somewhat lenient than those for peasant grants: required advance was one-eighth of the total amount and revenue was remitted for five years. The condition of residence was not enforced.⁴²

40 Sadiq ul Akhbar. 17 February 1927.

41 *Notices and Conditions of Sale of Land in Bahawalpur State*, (unpublished) Colonization Department, Bahawalpur State (1926): 3.

42 *Colony Administration Report for the year 1931-32*, 2.

The claims of the State's own army were preferred. This grant occupied the better land and allowed greater freedom in matter of exchange. In case of dissatisfaction, grantees had the right to get their *nazrana* refunded. In practice, military men were reluctant to take grants and settling down in Bahawalpur colony. The land was suitable only for self-peasants due to its the variation in the nature of soil and shortage of water, while majority of grantees were in service and were not living in their own areas. The other reason was the lack of tenants in the Cholistan. Therefore, a large part of the land reserved for military grants remained vacant.⁴³

There were some other minor grants to suit the special circumstances of the tracts. The tree planting along the mileage of new roads was important in colony areas not only for the growth of trees but also for the future use of timber as a source of income. This grant became more effectual in changing the disparaging sights of vast desert into a green shady haunt.

Socio-Economic Impact of Colonization.

The socio-economic structure of Bahawalpur region underwent distinctive changes with the canal colonization. The landed resources created by canal colonies had a profound impact on the society of Bahawalpur and increased the demographic level in the State. Over 700,000 immigrants from British India found their living in the newly constructed areas under the project.⁴⁴ The population increased from 984612 in 1931 to 1500000 in 1946.⁴⁵ There established a new society on barren wastelands under aegis of the State authority, which changed the semi nomadic outlook of the region in agricultural manifestation. The major social reflection of change was from Sindhi to Punjabi culture. In the old areas, mainly adjacent to Sind, the cultural norms of Sind were and even still prevalent to a limited extent.

43 *Ibid.*

44 Statesman, 4 December, 1945.

45 The figures are extracted from the annual administration reports of the concerning years.

Whereas, in the new settlements, the social structure of Punjab exerted its influence on the shape and nature of Bahawalpur colony.

Majority of the colonist belonged to Arian and Jat. The Sikh Jat were keen cultivators and economical in their habits. They were the most enviable of colonists with fine physique and great skills in farming.⁴⁶ The colonists had their separate language, customs and traditions even dress sense and building structures also varied. Their impact on the local norms was though limited but induced a fresh environment. They substantially contributed to the economic growth of the State. Settlers were the virile class and local are profiting from their example in regard methods of agriculture, greater industry and more judicious choice of seeds.⁴⁷ The new agrarian environment resulted in a huge increase in the cultivated area and production of crops. Passing over the slump years, all sections of new society achieved economic benefits and economic status of peasants was improved.

The rise in cultivated area of Bahawalpur district was 40% and in Rahimyar Khan district 80%. In the latter case, area was in excess because of comprising the old proprietary tracts.⁴⁸ Further, a shift occurred in the acreage under high-yielding varieties of wheat, cotton and sugarcane. Particularly, cotton cultivation became more organized, and two lakh bales annually increased.⁴⁹ With the extension of cultivation, Bahawalpur was able to provide 500,000 tons of food grains in compliance with the food grain policy of the Government of Indian.⁵⁰ The pastoral-nomadic mode of existence was going to shrink and agriculture assumed the

46 *Assessment Report of Minchinabad* by Revenue and Public Works Department of Bahawalpur State. (1947): 38.

47 *Review of Mr. Oliver on the Settlement Forecast report of Bahawalpur District* by Revenue and Public Works Department of Bahawalpur State (1942):7.

48 *Ibid*, 9.

49 The Government of Bahawalpur, *The Annual Administration Report of the Bahawalpur State for the Year 1945-46* (Lahore: 1946), 36.

50 *Ibid*.

first place in State economy. Nevertheless, livestock continued to hold importance and fodder crops were profusely cultivated to feed the cattle.

Moreover, by sales and purchases, the urban-based strata of bourgeois and working class in all parts of India emerged in the colony town. The transition of family based subsistence farming into market-oriented farming improved the standard of living in the colony. In addition, the colony areas generated immense revenue, which was no doubt remained the prime focus to make the project remunerative but not laid on the cost of burden on the part of settlers. In spite of granting great flexibility in the terms and facilities, the revenue increased from Rs.1024789 in 1931 to 5812474 in 1946. The increase was remarkable and utilized for the liquidation of State's loan almost forty years before its due date.

The construction of new market towns was the significant consequence of agricultural development. *Mandi Sadiq Gunj* was the first town to be established with commercial purposes in the *Sadqia* land.⁵¹ The railway station of McLeodganj in the *Sadqia* colony was already a major centre of trade in food grains before the Sutlej valley project had started. Fort Abbas was entirely new creation in the desert with tenfold increase in cultivated area. Apart from, in the already existed settlements, in *Bahawal* and *Punjad* colony, markets were also added in all main centres of old proprietary area.⁵²

This magnificent increase stimulated the establishment of *Abbasia* textile mill. The mill provided employment to the colonists and encouraged the *zamindars* to enhance their cotton production. It was the first mega project, resulted by the agricultural progress, commenced on 17 January 1947. Apart from, the higher production of oil seeds and *khaarted*

51 Sadiq ul Akhbar, 29 March 1888.

52 Review of Mr. Oliver on the *Settlement Forecast report of Bahawalpur District*.

to the establishment of *Sadqia* soap and vegetable oil factories, administered by lever brothers, in the State.

The Physical division of colony urban area was systematic and pattern of Lower Bari Doab colony was followed for conditions of town sites and deeds. These market towns contained a preplanned structure of shops, enclosure wall, metal roads and tree plantation altogether with public services and amenities.⁵³ The institutions of Post offices, veterinary hospitals, and schools were a beginning of civilized age in the arid areas. In each market town, two cotton and pressing factories were compulsory to be established. This atmosphere of development was not limited to canal colonies but applied to the whole state but in practice, regional differences were existed between old proprietary areas and new colony areas.

At the same time, the old proprietary areas, which were once the hub of socio-economic activities, were lagged behind. The distance adversely affected and that part put into backwardness. As the ancient towns of Uch, Allahbad, Taranda, Jajja and Kot Sabzal etc., lost their former position with the emergence of new patterns. Likewise, the established norms of indigenous behaviour, values, and relations with others for which the inhabitants of Bahawalpur were well admired, faced a challenge with the advent of immigrants.

Conclusion

The canal colonization in the sandy lands, which were once known as *Marushthali* or valley of death, was a fascinating undertaking. The State leased out the waste tracts of land to settlers coming from different regions of India. Before weir control irrigation, the efforts of Sikh colonists seem prevalent to colonize the sandy lands in the Hakra valley. The excavation of Eastern *Sadqia* canal was the first move to revive the Hakra ages in the days gone. Under Sutlej valley project, irrigation reached to the rainless areas of Cholistan

53 *Ibid.*

and within a few years, tremendous harvests were reaped. The wastes were populated and semi nomadic pattern was taken place by agricultural trends. Colonists brought from the all parts of the Punjab and sizeable allotments of land were made on a variety of bases including auction. The settlers turned their allotted arid areas into flourished ones where grain markets were created and annual income of the State increased. The colonization resulted in the opening up of village economy and its growing linkage with the town, which created employment opportunities for many.

Political Developments and the Role of Notables in Colonial Multan: 1900-1947

Sajjad Akhter*

ABSTRACT

In spite of its strategic location and the fertile land of the Multan region, it was not so much advanced as compared to the others parts of the British Punjab. Political developments in this region were started in the last decade of the nineteenth century as in the province. In spite of these political developments in the province and in the Multan region, the role of the government officers and the landlords/notables were important in these political institutions. Because they were the loyal and the cooperative with British government but they did not change the social and political condition of the people of this region.

Multan is one of the oldest cities in the subcontinent. The area surrounding the city is believed to have been populated since the time of the ancient Indus Valley Civilization. Multan remained an important region throughout the centuries due to its geographical position. After consolidating their position at Lahore, the Sikh army marched to the south-west areas of the Punjab. Ranjit Singh made many attacks to capture the Multan and its adjoin areas but failed. In the early months of 1818 Ranjit Singh succeeded to raise a big army and finally

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succeeded to capture Multan. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the most powerful of all the Sikh Rulers. Later on his demise in 1840 the Sikh Empire was split into small principalities looked after by several Sikh Jagirdars. This weak situation provided a good opportunity to the British of East India Company to put an end to the Sikh strong hold in the Punjab in 1849.¹

Political Development

The concept of political development is complex like most of the concepts of the social science. It has been defined by different political scientists and writers in different ways. Almond and Powell defined development as “the increased differentiation or specialization of Political structure and increased secularization of political culture”.² Punjab annexation was completed on 29 March 1849 as the Multan was captured by the British.³ After the annexation administrative changes were made in the province. The British authorities keep a tight official hold and also kept behind the Punjab from the constitutional privileges which were introduced in other provinces in the late 19th and the early 20th century.⁴

Political Development in Punjab and Transformation in Multan Region

In spite of its strategic location and the fertile land of the Punjab province, it was less advanced than other provinces of the India. Legislative councils were formed in Bombay and Madras according to Indian Council Act of 1861; it also authorized to establish such councils in other provinces.

1 J. Royal Roseberry, III, *Imperial Rule in Punjab, the Conquest and Administration of Multan 1818-1881*, New Dehli, Manhar Publications, 1987, p137.

2 A. Almond Gabriel and G. Bingham Powell, *Comparative politics: System Process and Policy*, Lahore, Ferozsons, 1992, p.10.

3 S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1920-47*, Lahore, Vanguard books, 1992, p.3.

4 Kripal C. Yadav, *Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947*, New Dehli, Manohar Publication, 1987, p.3.

Legislative councils were formed in Bengal and U.P in 1863 and 1866 respectively, but Punjab got it in 1897 after passing the thirty-six year of this Act.⁵ Punjab legislative consisted on nine members all of them nominated by Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab. The Governor controlled the legislative powers before 1897 in province.

Constitutional discrimination was continued with Punjab in the Government of Indian Act of 1909, and only one seat out of twenty-seven elected members of Central Legislature was given to the Punjab. This constitutional situation was worse at provincial level because Punjab Legislature was restricted to twenty-four with only five elected members. The strength of Punjab legislative elected members was raised to eight in 1912 and sixteen in 1916.⁶ Infact British treated Punjab like a military province and government keep intact the tradition of autocracy.⁷

New changes were made in the structure and functioning in Central and Provincials legislature after the enforcement of the Government of Indian Act 1919. At centre, bi-cameral legislature was introduced with named a Council of State and Legislature Assembly. The Council of State comprised with sixty members from which twenty-seven were nominated and thirty-three were elected and Legislature Assembly had 145 members with forty-two nominated and one hundred and three were elected.⁸ Punjab had got four elected members in Council of State and twelve in Legislative Assembly. The seats were distributed at communal basis the seats of the Punjab in Council of State and Legislative Assembly were as in following table No.1. Distribution of seats of the Council of State and Legislative assembly in Punjab, 1920-47.

Table No. 1

5 S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit*, p.4.

6 Azim Hussain, Fazal Hussain: *Apolitical Biography*,1947, Bombay, pp.75,76.

7 *Ibid*, p.76.

8 Kripal C. Yadav, *op.cit*, p.4.

House	Community	No. of Seats
Council of State	Muhammadan	2
	Sikhs	1
	Non-Muhammadan	1
Total		04
Legislative Assembly	Muhammadan	6
	Sikhs	2
	Non-Muhammadan	3
	Landholders	1
Total		12

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab, 1987

This election system was remained continue till 1947 because the federal part of the government of Indian Act was not implemented in India. The Montagu Chelmsford reforms of 1919 also strengthen the Punjab Legislative Council with ninety-four members. Twenty-three nominated by Governor and seventy-one directly elected from the different constituencies of the Punjab as shown in the following table no.2.

Table No. 2
THE CONSTITUENCIES OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF PUNJAB 1920-35.

Community	Urban	Rural	Total
Muhammadan	5	27	32
Non-Muhammadan	7	13	20
Sikhs	1	11	12
Special	-	-	7
Total	13	51	71

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab, 1987

In Punjab, hardly over three percent population were had the right of vote due to strict qualification for voter from 1920-35. This situation was very bad when compared with other provinces.⁹ This system was enforced until the Government of Indian Act 1935 was implemented. The Government of Indian Act 1935 made profound changes in electoral system. These new constitutional reforms awarded unicameral legislature instead of bi-cameral in Punjab and some other provinces. The name of Punjab Legislative Council was

⁹ *Indian Statuary Commission Report, 1930, vol. 1, p.147.*

replaced with Punjab Legislative Assembly and its elected member's strength was increased to 175.¹⁰ The members of Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937-1945-46 were as shown in the following table no.3.

Table No.3

Community	Urban	Rural	Total
General	8	34	42
Muhammadan	9	75	84
Sikhs	2	29	31
Special	-	-	18
Total	19	138	175

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab, 1987

Political awareness was increased in the Province as the British government politically empowered the people of Punjab through different constitutional reforms. As the provincial election was held in the Punjab, the Feudal and landlords were dominated in the politics of the province with the support of British authorities.

Multani Elites and Electoral Politics

Legislative Councils were established in India after implementing the British Indian Council Act of 1861, but in Punjab province this political development was not implemented till 1897. In fact, Montagu Chelmsford reforms of 1919 opened a window for the political development in Punjab. The criteria for the selection of candidate and the voter were very high. Therefore, only Landlords and Businessmen can contest the elections. In the South West region of the Province, the Landlords and the guardians of the shrines families were dominated and their role was very important in the politics of the Multan region. The seats in the Legislative Assembly of India and Punjab Constituencies for the Council of State of India, 1920-47 was such as given in the below table 4 and 5.

Table No.4

10 V.Bhahwan, *The Constitutional History of India*, Dehli, 1964, p.239.

**MEMBERS OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF INDIA FROM
THE MULTAN DIVISION: 1920-47.**

Religious Community	Constituencies	Seats
Non-Muhammadan	Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi Divisions.	1
Muhammadan	Multan, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, D.G.Khan divisions.	1
Sikh	Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi Divisions.	1
Special Punjab Landholders	Entire Punjab	1
Total		04

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947,1987.

**Table No.5
PUNJAB CONSTITUENCIES FOR THE COUNCIL OF STATE
OF INDIA, 1920-47.**

Religious Community	Constituencies	Seats
Non-Muhammadan	Entire Punjab	1
Muhammadan (West Punjab)	Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi Divisions.	1
Sikh	Entire Punjab	1
Total		03

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947,1987.

There were twelve seats for the Punjab province in the Legislative Assembly and only four seats were in the Council of the State of India.¹¹ In the Legislative Assembly of India, one Muslim seat were fixed for the South western districts (Multan, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, and D.G. Khan) of the province. At this constituency, Makhdum Rajan Bakhsh Shah Gillani was remained successful from 1920 to1934.¹² The following table 6 showed the results of Legislative Assembly seats from south west Punjab of Multan region.

Table No.6

11 Kripal C. Yadav, *op.cit*, p.5.

12 *Ibid*, p.33.

**THE RESULTS OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SEATS FROM
SOUTH WEST PUNJAB OF MULTAN REGION**

Election	Constituency	No. of Seat	Successful Candidate
1920	Multan, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, D.G. Khan. (South West Punjab)	1	Makhdoon Rajan Bukhsh Gilani
1923	Multan, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, D.G. Khan. (South West Punjab)	1	Makhdoon Rajan Bukhsh Gilani
1926	Multan, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, D.G. Khan. (South West Punjab)	1	Makhdoon Rajan Bukhsh Gilani
1930	Multan, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, D.G. Khan. (South West Punjab)	1	Makhdoon Rajan Bukhsh Gilani
1934	Multan, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, D.G. Khan. (South West Punjab)	1	Makhdoon Rajan Bukhsh Gilani

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947, 1987.

He was succeeded unopposed at this seat. Because he belonged to the famous Gillani family of Multan. His family was the guardian of the shrine of Musa Pak Shaheed and also had good relations with the British. Makhdoon Rajan Bakhsh Gillani was died in 1936 and in the by election of 1936, Makhdoon Sher Shah Gillani was remained successful. He was succeeded in the election of 1945-46 at this seat at the Muslim League ticket.

As above table 6 show that there was only one seat for the Muslims in the Council of State for the Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan divisions. At this seat, only those candidates were succeeded those had close relation with the British and

was loyal to them. Below table No.7 shows the results of the elections of the west Punjab seat in the Council of State of India from 1920 to 1936.

Table No.7

Election	Constituency	Successful candidate
1920	Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi Divisions	Sir Umer Hayat Tiwana
1925	Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi Divisions.	Muhammad Mehr Shah Gilani
1930	Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi Divisions.	Sir Umer Hayat Tiwana
1936	Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi Divisions.	Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947, 1987.

In Punjab province, the political activities were started after the Montagu Chelmsford reform of 1919. But like the Legislative assembly and the Council of State of India, the criteria of the candidate of the Punjab legislative Council and later the Punjab Legislative Assembly were also very strict and limited. The landlords and businessmen were only eligible to contest the election of Punjab Legislative Council. The criteria of the voter were also strict. That's why only three percent of the population of the Punjab Province can cast their votes to elect the member of Punjab Legislative council.¹³ Most of them were loyal landlords with the British government. There were five lakhs voters in the Punjab province in which four lakhs and twenty thousand were ruler voters of the Punjab province.¹⁴ The constituencies of the Punjab Legislative Council were given below in the

Table No.8

13 Ian Talbot, Translated Prof. Tahir Kamran, *Tarekh-i-Punjab (History of Punjab)*, Lahore Takhleeqat Publishers, 2006, p.96.

14 *Ibid*

**THE CONSTITUENCIES OF PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
FROM THE MULTAN DIVISION 1919-1935**

Religious Community	Constituencies	Seats
Non-Muhammadan-urban (West Punjab towns)	Muns. of Multan, Montgomery, Chiniot, Lyallpur, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, D.G. Khan, cantts. of Multan	1
Non-Muhammadan-Rural	Multan Division	1
Muhammadan-Urban (West Punjab towns)	Muns. of Jujrat, Jalal PurJattan, Bhera, Khushab, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Muree, Mianwali, Multan, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, D.G. Khan, cantts. of Multan, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Muree, Attock, Sargodha and Campbellpur.	1
Muhammadan-Rural	Montgomery dist.	1
	Multan East (Kabirwala, Khanewal and Mailsitehs. Of Multan district)	1
	Multan West (Multan, Shujabad, Lodhrantehs. Of Multan district.)	1
	Jhang district	1
	Muzaffargarh district.	1
	D.G. Khan district.	1
Sikh-Urban	Entire Punjab	1
Sikh-Rural	Multan Division	1
Special Punjab Landholders	Entire Punjab(Non-Muslims)	1
	Entire Punjab(Muslims)	1
	Entire Punjab(Sikh)	1

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947, 1987.

The table no.8 shows that there were limited constituencies in south western part of the Punjab province. In most of the districts, there was only a one seat for each religious community but in the rural areas of the Punjab Muslim seats were much better than the other religious groups. The details of the winging candidates in the different elections of the Punjab Legislative Council were shown below in the table no.9.

Table No. 9

ELECTION 1920 ELECTED CANDIDATES

Religious Community	Constituencies	Candidate
Muhammadan Urban	West Punjab Towns	RanaMuhmad Akbar Ali
Muhammadan Rural	Multan East	Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana
	Multan West	MakhdoomRaza Shah Gilani
	Jhang	Mr. Hussain Shah
	Muzaffargarh	Muhammad Abdullah Khan
	D.G. Khan	S. Allan Khan Drishak
Do- (Muslims)	(Punjab Landholders)	MianFazal-i-I Hussain
Do	BalouchTumandars	Muhammad Jamal khan Leghari

ELECTION 1923 ELECTED CANDIDATES

Religious Community	Constituencies	Candidate
Muhammadan Urban	West Punjab Towns	Sheikh Abdul Qadir
Muhammadan Rural	Multan East	Muhammad Haibat Khan Daha
	Multan West	MakhdoomRaza Shah Gilani
	Jhang	Mr. Hussain Shah
	Muzaffargarh	Muhammad Abdullah Khan
	D.G. Khan	Faiz Muhammad
Do- (Muslims)	(Punjab Landholders)	MianFazal-i-I Hussain
Do	BalouchTumandars	Muhammad Jamal khan Leghari

ELECTION 1926 ELECTED CANDIDATES

Religious Community	Constituencies	Candidate
Muhammadan Urban	West Punjab Towns	Dr. Muhammad Alam
	Multan East	Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Doultana

Muhammadan Rural	Multan West	MakhdoomRaza Shah Gilani
	Jhang	Syed Mubarik Ali Shah
	Muzaffargarh	Muhammad Abdullah Khan
	D.G. Khan	Sir Faiz Muhammad
Do- (Muslims)	(Punjab Landholders)	Sikandar Hayat Khan
Do	BalouchTumandars	Muhammad Jamal khan Leghari

ELECTION 1930: ELECTED CANDIDATES

Religious Community	Constituencies	Candidate
Muhammadan Urban	West Punjab Towns	Sheikh Abdul Ghani
Muhammadan Rural	Multan East	Muhammad Haibat Khan Daha
	Multan West	MakhdoomRaza Shah Gilani
	Jhang	Syed Mubarik Ali Shah
	Muzaffargarh	Shaikh Muhammad Hassan
	D.G. Khan	Sir Faiz Muhammad
-Do- (Muslims)	(Punjab Landholders)	Mian Ahmad YarDaultana
-Do-	BalouchTumandars	Muhammad Jamal khan Leghari

Source; Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947, 1987.

In the above table no. 9 are shown the detail of the constituencies of the province. Only the loyal landlords and the family member of the guardian of the shrines families of the Multan region were contested the elections and most of them were succeeded because many candidates were loyal and cooperative with the British government. There were four elections which were held in the Punjab province from the Montagu Chelmsford reform of 1919 to the British Indian Act of 1935. Table no.9 shows that in Multan districts the Daultana, the Daha and the Gillani families were dominated in the elections of the Legislative Council of the Punjab. All

these families were loyal and had good relations with the British. Syed Bukhari family of the Shah Jiwana in the Jhang district was remained successful in the elections. In D.G. Khan district the Leghari, Khosa and Drishak families had most influence in the politic at district and provincial level. They were all big landlords of the Multan region. The British government awarded them lands in their own districts or tahsils.¹⁵ The Leghari chief Sir Jamal Khan was remained successful at special seat of Balouch Tumandar in the Punjab Legislative Council from 1920 to 1937. He always cooperative with British at many occasions, when the Unionist Party was formed in 1923, he was the part of Unionist from 1923 to 1937.¹⁶

In the British Indian Act of 1935 the franchise in the Punjab province was increased and the name of the Punjab legislative Council was replaced with Punjab Legislative Assembly.¹⁷ The seats in the south western part of the Punjab province were also increased from fourteen to twenty-four from 1937 to 1945. The detail of the seats and the successful candidate were given below in the table no.10.

Table No.10
THE CONSTITUENCIES OF PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY FROM THE MULTAN DIVISION.

GENERAL ELECTION 1937:

Religious Community	Constituencies	Elected- Candidates
General-urban	(South Western towns)	L Shive Dayal
General-Rural	(South East Multan Division)	Mahanat Girdhari Das
General-Rural	(South East Multan Division)	RB Ch. Sham Lal
	(Multan Div. towns)	Ghulam Hussain-A

15 Ian, Talbot, *The 1946 Punjab Elections*, Great Britain, Modern Asian Studies, 1980, P.81.

16 Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement, the Growth of the Muslim League in the North-west and North East India 1937-47*, Oxford University Press. 1988, P.85.

17 Ali Azra Asghar, Sajid Mehmood Awan, "Political Development and the Political Parties in Punjab: 1849-1947", *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, vol.,29, No.1, Mulan, Bahauddin Zakariya University. 2009, P.69.

Muhammadan-Urban			
Muhammadan-Rural	Jhang District.	Jhang east,	Nawaish Ali Khan-u
		Jhang central	Mubarik Ali Shah-u
		Jhang west	Talib Husain Khan-u
	Multan District	Multan	Ashiq Hussain Qureshi-u
		Khanewal	Haibat Khan Daha-u
		Lodhran	Mohmd Villayat Hussain Shah-u
		Shujabad	Muhmd Raza Shah Gilani-u
		Kabirwala	Wali Muhmd Sial Hiraj-u
	Dist. Muzaffargarh	Mailsi	Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana-u
		Muzaffargarh,	Mian Fazal Karim Bakhsh-u
		Alipur	Makhdoom Muhmd Hussain-u
	D.G. Khan district	KotAdu+(Leiah)	Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani-u
		D.G. Khan North	Khaja Ghulam Murtaza-u
		D.G. Khan Central	Sheikh Faiz Muhammad-u
		D.G. Khan South	Mohmd Hussain Khan Gurchani-u
Sikh-Urban		(Western towns)	SS Ujjal Singh
Sikh-Rural		South West Punjab	Ajit Singh
Punjab Landholders		(West Punjab)	Sir Muhmd Hayat Khan Noon
Balouch Tumandars		D.G. Khan District	Sir Muhmd Jamal Khan Leghari-u

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab, 1987, pp.84-97.

The table no.10 shows that in the South West part of the Province all the Muslim seats of the Punjab Legislative Assembly won by the Unionist party in the election of 1937. The Landlords, Chiefs of the tribes, and the guardians of the shrines families of the Jhang, Multan, Muzaffargarh and D.G. Khan were contested the election at the platform of Unionist Party. In the Jhang district two candidates of the Unionist

Party were successive unopposed because they belonged to the Syed family of the district and had vast influence in the voters of their constancies. The success of the Unionist Party in the election of 1937 was the result of the joint support of the landlords and the guardians of the shrines families in the region.¹⁸ Ian Talbot writes in his articles “The 1946 Punjab Elections”

“The Unionist Party approached the following 14 leading pirs and SajjadaNasheens families for support in the election of 1937: Diwan Sahib Pakpatton, SajjadaNashine Mahr Sharif Bahawapur, Pir Tunsa, Pir Sial, Pir Golra, Pir Fazal Shah, Pir Makhad, SajjadaNashine of Sultan Bahu, SajjadaNashine Pirkot, Makhdum Murid Husain Qureshi, Pir Jamiat Ali Shah, SajjadaNashine Ajmer Dargah, Sajjada Nashine Saharanpur, Sajjada Nashine of the shrine of the of Nizamudin Auylia, Delhi.”¹⁹

Although Muslim League loose the election of 1937 against Unionist Party but it was the first time that Muslim League won the two seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The success of the Unionist was the result of the strong control of its leadership at the Punjab politics and the support of the British to the Unionist Party. After the election of 1937, the political situation of the Punjab was started to change. Muslim League started to gain its popularity with the support of the Sajjada Nasheens and landlords in the Province. That’s why, Muslim League succeeds in the election of 1945-46. The numbers of seats and the eligible criteria for the candidate was the same as in the election of 1937. The detail of the winning candidates Punjab Legislative Assembly from the Multan region in the election 1945-56 was given in the below table no.11.

18 Talbot Ian, *op.cit.*,1980, P.68.

19 *Ibid*, p.81fn.

Table No.11
THE DETAILS OF THE WINNING CANDIDATES PUNJAB
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY FROM THE MULTAN REGION
GENERAL ELECTION 1946

Religious Community	Constituencies		Elected- Candidates
General-urban	(South Western towns)		Munshi Harihar Lal
General-Rural	(South East Multan Division)		L Behari Lal
General-Rural	(South East Multan Division)		Virendra
Muhammadan-Urban	(Multan Div. towns)		Muhmd Amin-ML
Muhammadan-Rural	Jhang District.	Jhang east,	Ghulam Muhmd Shah-ML
		Jhang central	Mubarik Ali Shah-U
		Jhang west	Mahr Muhmd Arif Khan-ML
	Multan District	Multan	Ashiq Hussain Qureshi-U
		Khanewal	Pir Budhan Shah Khagga-ML
		Lodhran	Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani-ML
		Shujabad	Muhmd Raza Shah Gilani-ML
		Kabirwala	Naubahar Shah Bukhari-ML
		Mailsi	Allah Yar Khan Doultana-ML
		Dist. Muzaffargarh	Muzaffargarh,
	Alipur		Muhmd Ibrahim Barq-U
	KotAdu+ Leiah)		Muhmd Ghulam Gilani Gurmani-ML
	D.G. Khan district	D.G. Khan North	Ata Muhmad Khan-ML
		D.G. Khan Central	Sheikh Faiz Muhammad-U
		D.G. Khan South	Bahadur Khan Drishak-ML
Sikh-Urban	(Western towns)	SS Ujjal Singh	
Sikh-Rural	South West Punjab	Ajit Singh	
Punjab Landholders	(West Punjab)	Sir Muhmd Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana-U	
Balouch Tumandars	D.G. Khan District	Sir Muhmd Jamal Khan-Leghari-ML	

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947, 1987.

Table no.11 shows that party position was changed in the election of 1945-46 in the Punjab as well as in the Multan region. The Unionist party won only four seats in the Multan region one each in the districts Jhang, Muzaffargarh, Multan

and in D.G. Khan. Muslim League got majority seats in the Multan region and also in the Punjab Province. The following table no 12 shown the party position of Unionist and Muslim League in the Multan region (South western part) as well as in the Punjab.

Table No.12
THE PARTY POSITION OF UNIONIST AND MUSLIM LEAGUE
IN THE MULTAN REGION 1937-1945-46

Election	Party	Seats in Multan Region	Seats in Punjab
1937	Unionist	16	98
	Muslim League	0	02
1945	Unionist	04	19
	Muslim League	14	73

Source: Kripal C. Yadav, Elections in Punjab: 1920-1947, 1987.

The table no.12 shows the clear position of the Unionist and the Muslim League party in the last two elections of the British Punjab. The Muslim League had got clear majority in the election of 1945-46 in the south western part (Multan region) of the Punjab province. The landlords of the Multan region had joined the Muslim league in the election of 1945-46 such as families Hayats, Noons, Gillanis of Multan sayed of Shah Jiwana Jhang, Doultana and the chiefs' families Leghari, Darashak and Khosa of Dera Ghazi Khan. Ian Talbot writes in his article "The 1946 Punjab Election"

"The Unionist Party's success in the 1937 election had been based on the joint support of the leading landlords and Sajjada Nasheens. By 1946 this had been lost in many of the western districts of the province. Leading Sajjada Nasheens families such as those of the Sajjada Nasheens of Jalapur, Jahanian Shah, and Shah Jiwana which had the Unionist Party since 1923 were supporting the League. ...Sajjada Nasheens played an important part in the League's success because of their immense spiritual and temporal sway over their numerous followers in the Villages. The league achieved its greatest electoral success in such districts as Multan, Jhang Jhelum and Karnal, where it had obtained the support of the leading pirs and sajjada nasheen".²⁰

20 *Ibid*, p 68,69.

The majority of the Muslims pirs and landlords were not joined the Unionist or the Muslim League for the Muslim case or Islam but in order to join the winning side. These leading families of the Punjab and the Multan region as well had a long tradition of protecting their own interests.

Conclusion

In spite of its strategic location and the fertile land of the Multan region, it was not so much advanced than the others parts of the Punjab provinces. After the war of 1857 and the agrarian unrest of 1860, the British government decided to start political activities in the sub-continent and the Multan region as well. Political developments in this region were started in the last years of the nineteenth century as in the province. Local government system was also introduced in the Multan region in 1880s and district board was constituted in 1883. In spite of these political developments in the province and in the Multan region as well, the role of the ex-officio and the landlords were negative in these political institutions. Because they were the loyal and the cooperative with British government but they did not change the social and political condition of the people of this region. Political activities at provincial level were started after the Montagu Chelmsford reforms in the Punjab and Multan region as well. The notables, landlords and the pirs of this region were dominated in the provincial level politics as their role was in district board and municipal committee. Unionist party was formed in 1923 and British had a soft corner with this party. It had politically ruled in the Punjab province since 1923 to 1937 owing to the political association of elite class, landlords and pirs such as; Gillani, Qureshi, Gardezi, Daultana, Daha, Hiraj, Gurmani, Darashak and Leghari with Unionist Party. After the Sikander Jinnah meeting and at the end of congress ministries the people of Punjab and the Multan region were more and more associated with the Muslim League. It was the result of the political support of the landlords and the pirs that League had got historic win in the election of 1945-46.

Role of Sindh in the War of Independence 1857: An Analysis

Rasheed Ahmed Mirani*
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ABSTRACT

East India Company defeated the Talpur, the ruler of Sindh in 1843. After the occupation, the British ruler abolished the separate status of Sindh and amalgamated it with Mumbai Presidency in 1847. Sindh was ruled by the commissioner which was directed by the Mumbai presidency. The ex-ruler of Sindh and majority of the feudal lords and tribal chiefs were in race to show their loyalties with the East India Company. At that time, few patriotic people were against the rule of the East India Company. They were trying to organize local people against the rule of the Company when The War of Independence started against the East India Company in the sub-continent. The people of Sindh played significant role in the War of Independent. However, Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur were the centre of the movement. The War of Independence 1857 has been of a great importance which is one of the most significant events in the history of the Subcontinent. Many writers and historians

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have written a lot with regard to the war of independence from different perspectives of the War. But the contribution of Sindh has always been overlooked to be discussed and analyzed in detail. The role of Sindhi Muslims and Hindus during the War is one of those dimensions which still needs further exploration and analysis by the researchers and historians of today. This research paper would focus on the British policies towards the local people especially in Sindh and struggle of the people of Sindh in the war of Independence 1857.

Introduction

The Arrival of the English in Sindh

The English wanted to have trade with Sindh in the 16th Century but failed to succeed. The rulers of Sindh always saw them with doubts.¹ Mian Sarfraz Khan Kalhoro had a close vigilance on the movements of the English. The English started their trade in Sindh with the name of the East India Company and began a first trade shop in Thatha which was closed because of the refusal of Mian Sarfraz Kalhoro. As the British continued its expansionist policy in India, it adopted a number of approaches to accomplish its objectives of expansion. One important means of British expansion was the policy of friendship. East India company became friend to everyone who were considered a formidable challenge; who were not be annexed with EIC easily. Mirs of Sindh were one such important Centre of power who would not easily yield to British. Therefore, British did a friendship treaty with Sindh.² However the purpose was to buy time to overpower Sindh which was apparent from what was later seen as British invasion of Sindh led by Charles Napier.

1 Dr. Muhammad Laiq Zardari, *Sindh ji siyasi Jidojihad* (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2012), 22-25.

2 Nigel Kelly, *The History and Culture of Pakistan* (Lahore: Peak Publishers, 2008), 23-24.

Mirs of Hyderabad

Mir Fateh Ali, the Mir of Hyderabad, gave much respect to Abul Hassan, the Representative of the English and additionally wrote a letter of love to the Governor of Bombay in which permission was granted for the opening of the East India Company shop in Karachi. Mr. Nathan Karo, became the first agent of the East India Company in Karachi. The East India Company immediately called Mr. Nathan Karo back because the ruler of Afghanistan compelled Zaman Shah that English representative should not be allowed to stay in Sindh.

From 1807 to 1808, the danger of Napoleon increased hence the English people thought that relations with Sindh and Afghanistan must be developed. Finally, Mr. Meetan was sent to Sindh while Mr. Elphinstone was deployed at Afghanistan. But the relations between both could not be strengthened. On 27th April, 1809, a delegation of the English led by Mr. Smith left for Karachi from Bombay and eventually reached Karachi on 9th May, 1809. This delegation was given a guard of honour by the Mirs and food was also supplied. Mr. Smith got angry on the attitude of the Mir and returned the food. The Nawab of the Mir informed the ruler of Hyderabad about the rash attitude of Mr. Smith. Mir of Hyderabad wrote a letter to the delegation of the English inviting them to Hyderabad where a friendly agreement was signed on 22nd August, 1809 between Mirs and the English. They both further agreed to have strong relations with each other, arranging the accommodation for the representatives of the English and keeping away from French people were mutually signed. In this way, the entry and stay of the English in India paved the way for them forever while the Mirs had to abide by the agreement signed mutually.

Expansion of British in the Sub-Continent

In the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, English traders extended their relations with Independent states of India in the name of East India Company. It was the era when

Mughal dynasty was at the brink of destruction. The entire state fell to internal violence while the East India Company came to know the internal conflict of the rulers as a result of that the English made up their mind to rule India. Later, they intervened in the internal policy of Indian government.

When Nawab Sirajul Dula was the Raja of Bangal, meanwhile, English people used their techniques to have the control of the state while the ruler of Bangal became well aware about the internal motives of the company. The ruler of Bangal made up his mind that in no way the control of Bangal would be given in the hands of the English. At that critical juncture, the ambiguities between the Company and the Nawab were converted into the reality. Finally, war broke out between Sirajul Dola and the Company as a result of that the English people won the war as per their plan. The English people became very much confident after winning the war and, finally they expelled some of the European from the sub-continent.

The governor of Dakhan Tipu Sultan was also defeated by the English people though it was the fight of the English having some motives in mind. In that war, the English got victorious. Later, the English used another technique in which they created conflict between the rulers of the continent and eventually took over the charge.

Reasons of the War

There are a number of reasons about the war of independence written by some historians and scholars. The key issues are said to be the social, political and religious ones. The British called this war a revolt although it was not just a sepoy uprising. It included a large number of ordinary people as well. All the rulers got involved in the war when they came to know that their land has fallen in the hands of the aliens. One the war was over, the people now became very cautious in their political activities although the locals had very bad image of British. The English waved their flag in all parts of the India and further made sure that if a ruler does not have offspring then the state will not be handed

over to their relatives rather than that will be under the occupation of the English. After such order, the rule of Mughal King Bahadur Shah Zaffar became limited to Delhi only. The English issued a different system in India after making complete occupation of the land. Later, the people of India were made paralyzed in different social issues like poverty so that they could not think of freedom. Persian language was replaced with English language as a result of that the native became jobless. Machinery schools were established while the methods of education at local level were put to an end. Some issues of employment were created intentionally so that people may be compelled to bow down before the English. Because of these issues, the people of India created hatred against the English. Finally, all the local rulers ie Raja, Nawab and the army stood against the English in a revolt. This revolt had some other reasons too. It was not only military revolt nor was a revolutionary step of the constables rather it had got the support of the masses too. "The British government blamed the Muslims for the revolt as a result the people of the land became very much conscious for taking part in the politics. An English historian writes:³ "Following were the reasons of the revolt: There was a common perception that the cartridges of the Guns of the English army had used the pig-fat and cow-fat. This news had got some reality because the local newspapers had also written something about this while some of the politicians of the House of Commons had also revealed this reality in their speeches."⁴ The Times of Mumbai writes that a Birhaman constable did not allow an English constable to drink water in his glass saying that the Birhaman caste belongs to the upper caste while the English belongs to the lower caste on which the English constable said that when you use cow-fat in your cartridge then there is no danger to your religion? Meanwhile, the English constable also said to the Muslim constable that they use pig-fat too. Finally, this reality of the usage of pig-fat and cow-fat in the cartridges of the military

3 Struggle for freedom, 1857, Pakistan Publication Karachi 1957, P.25

4 P.E Robert, History of British India, Oxford University London, 1952 P.361

was another issue of the war. There were some other reasons too. The constables of the India were sent out of their provinces to serve the land. They were used to having low salary as compared to the English constables. An Indian constable was never promoted to the next rank because of the biased attitude of the English, which also resulted the war.

Annexation of the States

Lord Dalhousie had annexed the provinces which created hatred in the minds of the Indian people. The annexation of the states i.e. Sattara, Nagpor, Oad and Sindh created anxiety in Sindh.⁵ “The retired government servants were not issued their pension while the East India Company did not give permission to hire the natives for the higher posts even the intervention of the court of law was banned which resulted revolt against the English. The establishment of the machinery schools also created an ambiguity of converting the Muslims into the Hinduism. The minds of the Indian people were compelled to have revolt when the state of Oad was made the part of British Government. Some Britishers wanted to convert the Indians to Christianity forcibly. One of the English thinkers writes in the “Indian Revolt” that in Selona, an English Commander ordered his constables that they should serve the Christians. The Indian law was made in such a way which could lead the Hindus to Christianity. The salary of a local Inspector was less than an English constable. An act was introduced that a native constable could be posted to abroad to participate in a war while promotion would be given to those who adopt Christianity.

Announcement of the Revolt and Role of Sindh

It was planned in India that public revolt should be made and a revolution should also be brought about through Military. For which a day Sunday, 18th May 1857 was fixed. On the very day, the Army made revolt in Mirath, Ambala and

5 Sir Evelyn Wood, *The Revolt in Hindustan*, Methuen and Co, London 1908, P.19

different other areas. The English army officers and other white people started killing the children and wives of Indians. Finally, the native citizens also helped the English army which intensified the situation. The public slogan was "kill the white". Everyone considered the English his enemy. Whoever saw an Englishman, he was murdered.⁶ "In the entire India, the situation became worst. Sindh was lately conquered hence the English rulers wanted to keep Sindh away from the movement of the revolt. Fearer was on leave and Mr. Jacob was working on his place. He sent some of the platoons to Mumbai and some other areas". There was a danger in Karachi also. Some suggested that there should be some platoons of the volunteers. Mr. Jacob ordered all the people to remain inside homes. Some of the emotional Sindhi Muslims waved a green flag and instigated the other Muslims that they should fight for Islam. The Sindhi Muslims who were ready to fight for freedom were already in communication. Bahadur Shah Zafar Sher wrote a letter to Mir Sher Muhammad to help the revolutionaries. Mir Sher Muhammad sent constables, ammunitions and money for the help. The people of Sindh always saw the English with hatred. Many secret plans were made so that the freedom of Sindh could be restored. In the year 1857, two lacs thirty-two thousand native army including forty-six thousand English army were found. The native army was fixed at sensitive areas and most of the arm personnel were deployed in Bengal while the European army was deployed in Punjab and Burma to have control in these areas. The newspapers were banned. The newspaper in Sindh was also banned to be issued because the English found some danger in Sindh. The British Government issued order that all the news should be published in English in all the newspapers of India instead of local languages. Sindh Kassid Newspaper, published in Sindh, writes in the news of the month of June that the news of Revolt is a bit far away but some of the native army personnel of 13 Platoon in Hyderabad tried to

6 Colonel Thomas Nicholls Walker, *Thrush The Mutiny, Gibing and Co.* London, 1907 P.19

revolt who were arrested meanwhile. Some of the rebels of Bengal brought a message to Hyderabad where six rebels were arrested. In spite of imposing bans on the issuance of newspapers in Sindh, the news of revolt reached there, that is why the Commissioner of Sindh Sir Bartal Frere convened a meeting of Europeans at Karachi. This meeting was held in the "General Library Room" in which at least 60 representatives of Europe participated. Sir Bartal Frere ensured them that there is no chance of revolt in Sindh but the leaders of the movement supposed such behavior an attack on the religion and caste of India. The prevailed perception was that Lord Canning was appointed for the purpose of converting India into Christianity.

Efforts of the People in Karachi during the Mutiny

The main purpose of the revolt was to get rid of the slavery of the aliens that's why the army and the people struggled hard collectively so that the war of independence could be succeeded. In this freedom struggle, the Duke, Governor, ruler and king were also the part. Sindh was lately occupied by the English hence the people of India had a great hatred against the English because for their biased attitude and cheating. The revolutionary people had equal part of communication with Sindh. The army deployed in Sindh was in the contact with Indian army. When the news of revolt reached Sindh, the revolutionary sentiments seemed running high in them. As it has already been discussed that some Muslims waved a red flag in Karachi saying that "Islam is in a great danger" then the people promised to fight for freedom which furthered the movement of the army.⁷

On 13th September, 1857 at 11PM, Mr. Maek Greagar came to know that 21, Regiment will announce for revolt at 2AM in Karachi. One Bengali Birhaman revealed this secret to Greager that army personnel of 21 Regiment will move to 14 Regiment. One will have to make sure that whether 21 regiment will help 14 regiment or not? As per the plan, 21

7 Dr. Muhammad Laiq Zardari, *Sindh ji siyasi Jidojihad* (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2012), 65-67.

regiment occupied the treasury of Karachi then it moved to Hyderabad. Mr. Greagar informed the high officers of the Brigade regarding the revolt and, meanwhile all the European army personnel of Karachi were immediately ordered to reach the spot. The Brigadier of Karachi Cantt Col: Looth directed to initiate action against the rebels as early as possible. He issued directions to the sepoy of 21 platoon to reach the spot without any further delay. After the roll call, Mr. Meak Greagar made speech to the personnel who were queued up. Search of all the 21 platoon was made so that nobody could be left carrying weapons. Some four swords were recovered from the tents. The search remained continued upto 4 a.m. When 41 platoon was made in queue in the parade ground then no threat was felt".⁸

Sindh Kassid writes that on 22nd September 1857, 25 personnel of 21 platoon were arrested who were absent the day before, and later on four other personnel were also ordered to be arrested while three out of those four were killed in a bomb shell while the last one was caught. The leader of the rebels Ramdeen Pando was arrested from the village of Ahmed Khan Chandio. On 16th and 17th September, the rebels were punished under court martial. Almost 10 rebels were put in the custody of the European sepoy while the personnel of 21 platoon were made to stand in front of Tanks. The public was asked to stand at stone throw. Major General Leak announced the punishment of court martial law to those who were found missing a night before in which at least seven persons were hanged to death while others were made to stand in front of the Tanks. The rebels were brought to galore and after their last breath, the Europeans got them down and cut them into pieces and thereby they were thrown away into the drainage. Rest of the rebels were killed by the fire of the Tanks.

8 Ghulam Rabbani Sindh and Jang e Azadi Monthly New Zindagi Journal 7th May 1957, page 9

Situation in Hyderabad Sindh during June 1857

Sindh Kassid Newspaper writes that 31 platoon of Hyderabad tried to rebel but they all were arrested then and there. Some six rebels brought a message from Bangel but all of them were caught thereby while the situation in Shikarpur became deteriorated too. It was the decision of the rebels to occupy the Fort of Hyderabad first to make it an important frontier like the Red Fort of Delhi then move to Jacobabad, Shikarpur and Sukkur to revolt. Sir Bartle Frere had at least 500 sepoys, out of them some 300 were healthy and rest of them were ill. But Sir Bartle ordered all the sepoys to get ready for the fight against the rebels as the first attack was heard to be made at the Hyderabad Fort but all the officers already knew about the attack and the plan was made unsuccessful.

Lt: Baat's subordinate Major issued orders to the commander that there is something fishy going on among the sepoys for making revolt whereas such information was conveyed to Brigadier Moors who suddenly went to the parade of the army platoon and ordered to leave the weapons in the Fort go out unarmed. Meanwhile an English sepoy was given charge to watch the movement of the sepoys.

Sindh Kassid further writes that on 11th September, the army gathered at the parade ground where the Hawaldar was made to stand in front of the Tank and finally he was blown up by the fire of the Tank. The backbone of the killed Hawaldar hit to the Deputy Collector who was sitting on the horse. The Commissioner Sindh Sir Bartle Frere was informed who sent 60 English sepoys for the help as a result of that the revolt started in Hyderabad.

Condition in Sukkur and Shikarpur in the year 1857

The 14 number platoon of the sepoys of Shikarpur were occupied where one Check Post was made. They moved to the European army personnel which resulted the exchange of firing between the rebels and the Europeans in which 3

European personnel were killed while one Head Constable and one constable of the rebels were killed. There was hardly a chance of the arrests of the rebels but the Mirs of Khairpur caught them cleverly. The arrested rebels were given life imprisonment under court martial law, and in the morning the rebels of court martial law were made to stand in front of Tanks and killed thereby. The messenger from Shikarpur reached Sukkur to inform the rebels which created uncertainty among the native army personnel but the European arrested the Messenger of the rebels from the other side of the Indus River, and was hanged then and there.

Khan Bahadar Khudadad write about the freedom struggle that "in the year 1857 the fight in India was noble which affected major cities like Karachi, Hyderabad, Shikarpur and Jacobabad. The sepoys of all the different platoons took part in the revolt but with the efforts of the English Officers especially, Judicial Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Gibson, put it to a peaceful end. The rebels were severely punished; some were hanged while others were killed making them sit in front of Tanks. The well-wishers were awarded with rewards. I remember that the Sardar of Jatoi community Mr. Imam Bux Khan and Khan Bahadur Alf Khan Tareen came under severe punishment whose lands and incentives were stopped and came under great humiliation".⁹

After the unsuccessful plan of the rebels in Shikarpur, the rebels went scattered. Those who were escaped, they hid themselves the nearby cities while those who ran from Shikarpur to Sukkur, they came under close vigilance of the Police, whole the night the villages and cities were put under close watch of the movements of the rebels. The police had to have mobile patrol in Sukkur city throughout nights. The Europeans living in Sukkur city came under severe threats whereas the administration was well aware about the

9 Ahsan Ahmed Badwi, *Sindh Ji Jadojehad Monthly New Zindagi Karachi*, December 1957, page 20-21

movements of the rebels in the city so that no one could easily enter the city.

Condition in Jacobabad during the War of 1857

The Sardars of the native areas had to give awareness about the revolt to the sepoy. Mr. Darya Khan Jakhrani was in contact with other Sardars so that they could participate in the freedom struggle and fight with the enemies collectively. The spys of the English were well informed about the revolt and had informed the English officers well in time so that the plan could be made unsuccessful. When Mr. Darya Khan reached Jacobabad, he was arrested. He informed Mr. Frere that they were in the wait of the revolt in Multan and if we had got the exact information, we had to have the immediate steps for the revolt. However, the leaders of the revolt were Dil Murad Khan Jakhrani and Rehmat Khan Jakhrani while other Sardars were from the communities of Jakhrani, Domki, Khosa, Lashari and Jatoi. They all were against the English. Mr. Postin, who has called them all the robbers, has revealed about the Jakhrani tribe that Jani Khan s/o Kambar Khan surrendered himself before the English, "His hands were stains with the blood of the English. First it was decided to award him life imprisonment but later I was ordered to handcuff him and be sent to work in the streets. Jani Khan was always doing labour outside but the Head constable had to have complaint that Jani Khan denies to work. I suggested him that if he does not work then his punishment will be extended. Jani had to reply that "Hang me to death", and kill me, whatever you like, but I will never do labour".¹⁰ Hence, Jani had always remained dissatisfied and created hatred against the English. He continued his struggle for freedom. When he got released from the Jail, he killed three horse riders of the English as quoted by East Wick. ¹¹ "Darya Khan belonged to Jakhrani tribe of Hyderabad where he was

10 E.B. Eastwik, *A Glance at Sind before Napier or Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* Oxford University Press 1973 P.112

11 E.B. Eastwik, *A Glance at Sind before Napier or Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* Oxford University Press 1973 P.112

Sardar, he was vehemently involved in the freedom struggle at Hyderabad. When he was living in the Shikarpur, he remained in contact with the rebels. "In the freedom struggle, so that an effective step could be taken against the English. In the freedom, the elite people who were the victims of 1843 war had taken part neutrally like Mir Sher Muhammad and Mir Shah Nawaz Khan were the faithful of the English which eventually resulted the failure of the rebels"¹².

The Reasons of the Failure of the Freedom Struggle in Sindh

The war for independence 1857 did not get succeeded in any part of India. The reasons for the failure of the war were the same everywhere. However, some of the secrets of the success of the English in Sindh were revealed.

1. Struggle in Sindh started all of sudden and a bit late. There was not any supervision of the army command.
2. There was any relation with the central government nor was there any sources of communication so that an access to information could be made.
3. The English could easily get the secret information of every movement made by the rebels while the rebels were failed to have it earlier.
4. Sindh was conquered by the English in 1843 and the effects of the war were fresh while the rich and elite class of Sindh were already afraid. Mir Sher Muhammad Khan and Mir Shah Nawaz Khan had become slaves of the English who had supported the English. On the other hand, the major capitalist and a leader Naun Mal had fully supported the English.
5. The people of Sindh had dearth of weapons and wealth.
6. Where ever the army revolt took place in Sindh like Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Jacobabad, the rebels were not united that's why freedom struggle failed.
7. Whoever supported the English in the war of independence, they were awarded with property and gifts.

12 Masood Hassan Khan Alzubair Tahreek e Azadi, P.70

Seth Nau Mal Hoatchand helped the English in Sindh and suppressed the freedom struggle in Sindh. He writes in his diary "I was afraid that the English would never believe the Muslims sepoys under the pretext of revolt because the revolt of India got converted into Jihad. One day , I wrote to Mr. Baltre Frere that I could invite a few thousand people from Africa in a few days provided that the government should provide me a strong steamer boat because a small plane will take much time as a result of that the English had always remained very much thankful to Nau Mal. Sir Baltre Frere said in one of his speeches while awarding Sitar-e-Hind to Nau Mal that whatever help Mr. Nau Mal did during the war of independence in 1857, for which we are very much thankful to you. As a result of that the freedom struggle in Sindh went into ashes, and the English gave it a title of revolt and intensified the cruelty in Sindh.

Conclusion

The freedom struggles in Sindh failed because of the support of the most of the landlords, people from elite class who always supported the English for some ulterior motives ie greed for property, land and gifts awarded by the English to the supporters from Sindh. Whereas most of the sincere and honest people of Sindh always fought with the English for their land because they wanted to have their homeland free from the foreign domination and cruelty meted out against them. For this very cause, the Muslims from Sindh kept on fighting till their last breath no matter what had been done to them. Although many of the Muslims had to suffer at the hands of the English for no major reason even most of the Muslims were killed publically yet they did not surrender for the very cause of their dear land. The freedom struggle of the Muslims from Sindh would remain unforgettable the way they fought with the English.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain-Jinnah Relations: A Reappraisal

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla*

ABSTRACT

This paper intends to analyze the role of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the Indian struggle for independence. He played an important role in creating awareness among the masses of India especially the Punjab for the freedom of India and also made all out efforts to make the British transfer power to the Indians. He believed in the peaceful methods to achieve his goals. He became minister in the provincial and federal cabinets and convinced the British to demit powers into the hands of elected members of India. Thus he played very important role in extracting political, legal, economic, social and communal rights from the colonial administration. Though he was a national leader but his base camp was regional politics. He established a political party known as 'Unionist Party' in the Punjab which dominated the provincial politics from 1924 to 1947. The political party consisted of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus and thus got secular character. He was the brains of the Unionist Party for all his life and lay down its solid foundations. This enabled the party to carry on its secular approach till its demise in March 1947. With its downfall the division of Punjab on communal grounds

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became a strong political argument for the non-Muslims. He kept the secular character of the Party intact till his death in spite of attracting strong criticism from leaders and intellectual of other communities for his policies which they perceived as pro-Muslim. There are number of theories on the role of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the politics of Punjab; some paint him as the biggest leader of Punjab of that era, even bigger than Jinnah at times. This paper will lay special emphasis on his relations with Jinnah. His relations with Jinnah passed through several phases which deserve more careful scrutiny for a better understanding of Punjab's politics of that turbulent period.

Introduction

Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain as a political figure has often been misunderstood in the history of modern Muslim India. He has been described to sow the seeds of 'communal disharmony,' and is misrepresented as having worked against the Indian Nationalist Movement in order to gain high position in offices under the British Raj. On the other hand, he is regarded as the leader who prepared the groundwork for the establishment of Pakistan. He is also criticized as one who divided the Punjab Muslims into rural and urban groups. The nature of his political relations with some of his political contemporaries like Allama Iqbal, Quaid-i-Azam, and Sikandar Hayat is also controversial. Controversy surrounds Fazl-i-Husain's intention to form the Unionist Party. Was it established for the uplift of the rural masses of the Punjab on the whole or did Fazl-i-Husain just wanted to gain the position of a Punjabi leader for the rural Muslims. But one thing is definite that during his political career he dominated the politics of Punjab mainly and the politics of India to a large extent. Fazli Hussain found himself amidst the ideological and transformative turbulence and tried to offer his solutions to formidable challenges while embodying regionalism both as Punjabi and as an Indian Muslim

nationalist.¹ This study seeks to interrogate, contextualize and balance known material apart from claiming to throw fresh light on the subject based on recent material made available for study and research. For example, the diaries of the then provincial governors, bureaucrats, weekly reports of the governors etc., give an insight into the topic. A variety of memoirs autobiographies, biographies have been penned by contemporaries, historians on the subject of partition of India in 1947 and the politics in Punjab which throw some light on the role of Mian Fazli Husain in politics from different perspective. Literature available on this topic uncovers a considerable gap in information. This paper argues that Sir Fazli had almost identical views that of Jinnah but sometimes they differed about the methods to achieve them. It refutes the allegations that he was against Jinnah or his party program.

Born on 14th June in 1877, Fazli Hussain came from the Bhatti tribe of the Rajputs and belonged to a Punjabi family of Gurdaspur in Batala. His father Mian Hussain Bukhsh was working as Extra Assistant Commissioner under the British Raj in Peshawar when Fazli Hussain was born. Fazli started his early education at home under the supervision of his father and then later on his father got him admission in the Local Municipal Board School in Abbotabad and he passed his Secondary school from Government High School Peshawar in 1891. From Punjab University he passed his Matriculation in 1893 and from Government College he got his B.A. degree in 1897. He went to England in 1898 to take the ICS exam because his father considered it the most

1 Diary and notes of Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1977. These were two personal diaries which were not meant for publication but his son Azim Husain allowed this treasure to be published. Edited by Waheed Ahmad gives a very personal deep insight into the personal experiences of Mian Fazli Hussain. Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain published by Waheed Ahmad, (Lahore, 1976), that he wrote to and received from different important people including the governors of Punjab, his close associates, his contemporaries etc. They give very important information about Fazli Husain's role during the critical years of 1920s and 1930s till his death. These letters give a picture of Fazli's own thoughts but the in depth analysis of Fazli Husain's political situation is absent.

suitable career for his son. He also decided to write a diary which shed light on his life. But after two unsuccessful attempts at the ICS exams in England his father asked him to take up Bar which he considered as successful career for his son as a second choice.²

He became a Barrister from Gray's Inn in 1901 and came back to India and started his career which was not an easy thing because he felt that the Hindu lawyers were better off than the Muslim ones. From 1901-1905 he practiced in Sialkot; 1905 he came to Lahore he worked hard and practiced at the bar of the Punjab Chief Court and Punjab High Court; made his place in the Lahore Bar and in 1919 was elected as the President of High Court Bar Association.³ After experiencing the European society he considered that education is the key to success and took much interest in the affairs of Anjuman-i- Himayat-i-Islam even when he was in Sialkot. Resulting in 1905 he became the member of its managing committee. He also rendered great services from the platform of Islamia College Lahore in order to uplift Muslims through modern education.⁴

In 1921, Fazli Husain was appointed the first Muslim Minister of Punjab in the newly formed legislative Council. In the Transferred Department, he was given the departments of Health, Local Self-Government and Education. As minister of health, he provided medical facilities to far flung areas of Punjab and formed dispensaries there and tried to recruit Indian doctors under PMS and reduced the number of British doctors to 50%. He was interested in development of local self-government institutions of every kind for future political development of the province. He helped introduce the "Panchayats Act" of 1921 which defined the powers and functions of Panchayats. "The Punjab Small Town Bill" was introduced in 1921 designed to provide better machinery to

2 Azim Husain, *Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography*

3 Ghulam Husain Zulfikar, *Miyān Sir Faḍali Ḥusain kā kirdār tārikh ke āine men*

4 Azim Husain, *Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography*

100 little town markets. As Education Minister, he made quota of 40% for Muslims in Government, Medical and Engineering Colleges according to the Lucknow Pact. As Revenue member from 1926-1930, his policy was the protection of agriculturalists against government demands and moneylenders. The Land Alienation Act 1901 protected the rights of the agriculturalists from money lenders but the money lenders got approved from the high court that the land of the agriculturalist could be transferred for unlimited time. But Sir Fazli Got this amended. He was selected for Viceroy's Executive Council from 1930-35 where he played an important role at All India level.

Formative Phase

After coming to Lahore, he joined the Congress and Indian Association in 1905 though he was not an active member of the Congress till 1913. Fazli was also the President of the Congress Committee in the Punjab.⁵

Even before the creation of Muslim League in December 1906, Fazli-Hussain had organized a political association in Punjab named Muslim League in February 1906.⁶ He tried to bring close the Congress and ML. Till 1915 his preference was his practice, then education and political activities came last. After 1915, he became more active in his political activities. In 1916 played a part in the making of Lucknow Pact with Jinnah and he contested the elections of Legislation on the seat of The Punjab University. No one from the university supported him except three Liberal Hindu members from the 30 members and he became a member of the Assembly. This made him realize that an Indian Muslim in Punjab may be national and non-communal but the non-Muslim leaders and public would not select him.⁷

Sir Michael O Dywer and his associates were against giving reforms to Punjab, the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh, and

5 S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*

6 He became the member of the AIML in 1913. (Ghulam Husain Zafiqar).

7 Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in the 20s: A case study of Muslims*

Martial Law in Punjab were all steps to curb the political uprising in Punjab. Fazli Husain put all this in front of the Hunter Committee.⁸

In the period of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms, he accepted them in the session of Congress and Muslim League in Amritsar. But when the stage came for the Khilafat Movement and the non-Cooperation, he along with Jinnah, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Har Kishan Lal etc. did not join in. He along with Jinnah resigned from the Congress in 1920.⁹

He decided to cooperate with the Government which was appreciated by the government at that time and was elected to the provincial Legislative Council Under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, elections were held in 1920 and Fazli was appointed the first Muslim Minister of Punjab and the Minister for Hindus was Lala Lal Chand in the newly formed legislative Council. He was made the minister for education, health and local self-government, and HarKishan for agriculture. In 1926, he was made Revenue member in the provincial cabinet. In 1930, he was made the Member of Viceroy's Executive Council during this period he headed the delegation to S. Africa. After the title of Khan Bahadar, he was knighted in 1925 and in 1929 and 1932 was awarded with KCIE and KCSI. He got his degrees of LLD from PU in 1933 and D LIT from Delhi University in 1934. At the end of his term at the Executive Council in 1935, he came to Lahore and the time was once again for the 1935 Act after the Round Table Conference. Fazli was not well so he went to Abbotabad to restore his health. He was thinking of serving his province and was reorganizing his Unionist Party when his death call came on 9th July 1936. He was buried in Batala in his ancestral graveyard.

8 David Page, *Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control 1920-32*

9 Qalb-i- Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*

As Head of Unionist Party

Punjab was of more importance to the British than the other provinces because it produced the main bulk of the army for the British Empire. That is why, it was kept backward politically and economically. Sir Fazli Husain's political ideas were not static but they kept on developing so it is difficult to decide whether his main focus was Punjab or the whole India. He joined Congress, Muslim League and at one point, he promoted All Parties Conference but it is true that till the end he remained focused on the Punjab politics. This can be seen by the fact that he formed a political party which had radius in Punjab. This was the Unionist Party.

In the elections of 1920, people were elected in individual capacity not on party basis. The parties like Congress and Muslim League were boycotting the elections so there were no groups in the council. In the first Council, Sir Fazli Husain was not able to achieve the mutual cooperation of Hindus that he wanted because his policy or the development of villages was not appreciated by the urbanite Lala Har Kishan or the Hindu Mahsabha who criticized his policy.¹⁰

Mian Fazli Husain was elected from the constituency of landlords though he was an urbanite. First Punjab Legislative Council constituted in 1921 consisted of 71 elected members out of whom 35 were Muslims, 15 Sikhs and the rest were Hindus and others. There were 23 nominated officials and non-official members. Out of these 27 Muslims, 13 non-Muslims and 11 Sikhs were from rural areas.¹¹ Considering the composition of the council, Fazli was quick to grasp the fact that the Punjab's majority was from rural areas whether they were Muslims or Hindus and their economic problems were the same. If they are grouped together the development works of the province could be maximized, and the rural people of Punjab were not given enough reforms as compared to the urbanites and they were

10 Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*

11 Raguvindera Tanwar, *Politics of Sharing Power: The Punjab Unionist Party 1923- 1947*

quite backward. Ghulam Husain points out that this was also due to the political policy of the British to keep Punjab backward economically and educationally.

He formed a party of his own which was known as the Rural Bloc but soon came to be known as the Rural Party. The Rural Party formed by Fazli soon attached itself to a few rural Sikhs and Hindus. The party from its inception recognized no caste, colour, creed, open to all communities and even those, who did not live in rural areas or were not agriculturalists but all subscribed to the principles of the party. This included protection of peasantry from Hindu money lender. It also included extension of beneficent government activities in neglected rural areas, for example, multiplication of rural dispensaries, primary schools, high schools, colleges, agricultural farms, panchayats, small town committees, etc. Rural Muslims, Sikh, and Hindus welcomed this policy because they were backward in education and poorly represented in local bodies and public services. According to Fazli this was a party consisting of 'have nots.' Later in 1923, the Unionist Party emerged from this Rural Party was formed under the leadership of Fazli Hussain which consisted of all the 35 Muslim members of the Council, 5 Hindu agriculturalists some Sikhs too joined it. So, it came as the majority party in the Council and the Governor of Punjab due to the majority of the Unionist Party asked Fazli to form the ministry. He was reappointed the Minister for Education and he chose Sir Chotu Ram as minister of Agriculture. The Unionist Party was a multi-communal party with a secular outlook which was committed to protecting the interests of all the communities inhabiting the Punjab. (Qalb-i-Abid, *The Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-47*). It was criticized by the Hindus because Muslims who were the majority in Punjab and most backward benefitted from the policies of the Party. The elected members of the council mainly came from rural constituencies who were there for their own personal interests and not for development. In his absence to the Executive council, these leaders went away

from the principles of the party. This had a bad effect on the Hindu and Sikh members of the party.

Unionist Party was a wonder because it was formed and reorganized on the basis of separate electorate and the socialist program of big landlords. Ashiq Hussain Batalvi has analyzed that on one hand separate electorates were sought after by the Muslims that AIML was named non-representative of Muslims when it supported joint electorate in 1928 and Muslim Conference came into being. In the council, this separate electorate was eclipsed when a joint party was made.

As a Minister in the Council

Under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, elections were held in 1920 and Fazli was appointed the first Muslim Minister of Punjab and the other chosen Minister was Lala Lal Chand in the newly formed legislative Council. Although the powers of the Indian Ministers under the 1919 Act were not great but still Fazli tried his best to make the best of the incomplete powers he had and tried to uplift the conditions of backward classes of Punjab.

He made quota of 40% for Muslims in Government, Medical and Engineering Colleges according to the Lucknow Pact. He on the basis of the pact he worked on the quota of Muslims in jobs. This infuriated the Hindus who gave him negative publicity in newspapers and even in the council there was strong agitation against him in 1923 when Raja Narendranath the Mahasabha leader moved a disapproval motion against him which failed and called him 'Aurangzeb' and asked him to become Akbar. The motion failed because Sir Fazli Husain explained that he was not increasing the quota fixed for Muslims but implementing it and that, he was working for all communities of Punjab. But this stigma was attached to him for being communal.

He was interested in development of local self-government institutions of every kind for future political development of the province. As revenue member from 1926-1930 his policy

was the protection against government demands and moneylenders. This sheds light on his progressiveness as a minister. He helped introduce the Panchayats Act of 1921 which defined the powers and functions of Panchayats. These Panchayats did useful work for the public good as well as did a good job for trying the petty criminal cases. In 1921-25, Panchayats tried 854 cases which increased gradually to 1181 cases in 1926-27. He not only worked for villages but also did not overlook the towns in Punjab. "The Punjab Small Town Bill" was introduced in 1921 designed to provide better machinery to 100 little town markets. As a result, during 1923-24 and 1924, 37 small towns were formed. The measures taken by Fazli generally democratized the working of Local Self Government in the Punjab. The effects of this, on Muslims, were quite notable as well.¹² His work in the health department was remarkable too. His aim was to provide medical facilities to far flung areas of Punjab so he formed dispensaries there and tried to recruit Indian doctors under PMS and reduced the number of British doctors to 50%.

As Revenue member from 1926-1930 his policy was the protection of agriculturalists against government demands and moneylenders. The Land Alienation Act 1901 protected the rights of the agriculturalists from money lenders but the money lenders got approved from the high court that the land of the agriculturalist could be transferred for unlimited time. But Sir Fazli Got this amended.

His contributions for the uplift of the Muslim population of India cannot be overlooked. He wrote a pamphlet in 1935 'Punjab Politics' when he was reorganizing the Unionist Party in which he used authentic government records to give his side of the story for the accusations of the Hindu newspapers. He wrote that the non-Muslims have been portraying the picture that the rights of the minorities of Punjab are sacrifice because they are nationalists and the

12 M. Satya Rai, *Legislative Politics and Struggle for Freedom Movement on the Punjab 1897-1947*

flattering Muslims are being favoured by the British government. Actually after 1857 Muslims were kept away from government posts and education. For example, on the eve of the reforms of 1919, the representation of Muslims was 33% in all public services and the rest 67% was for the minorities of Punjab.

Reorganization of Unionist Party

After the Communal Awards of 1932, the 1935 Act was passed and self-government was to be established. Sir Fazli Husain reorganized his party despite the internal and external issue that he had to face, for example his position was being undermined by his junior colleagues due to his absence from Punjab due to the membership of the Viceroy's council. Syed Nur writes that Muzaffar Khan and Daultana started collaborating with non-Unionists to create parallel leadership in Punjab by courting Sikandar Hayat.¹³

He wanted to reorganize the party on a mass basis and not only for the upper class of the agriculturalists of the Punjab. He was accused of being a supporter of aristocratic landed gentry and neglecting the rights of able Muslims especially urbanites by the other Muslim political forces and Hindus.

To make clear the aims of his party and the accusations of his rivals, he wrote a pamphlet in 1935 'Punjab Politics' when he was reorganizing the Unionist Party in which he used authentic government records to give his side of the story for the accusations of the Hindu newspapers. He wrote that the non-Muslims have been portraying the picture that the rights of the minorities of Punjab are sacrifice because they are nationalists and the flattering Muslims are being favoured by the British government. But actually, Muslims had been kept away from government posts and education since 1857. For example, on the eve of the reforms of 1919 the representation of Muslims was 33% in all public services and the rest 67% was for the minorities of Punjab. But due to the Muslim ministry in the cabinet, not only the position of

13 Syed Nur, *Mian Fazl i Hussain: A Review*

the Muslims was improved very much but his measures improved the general condition of Punjabis.

According to Ian Talbot, the circumstances that enabled Unionists to practice consensual kind of politics also need to be assessed in the light of commonly shared cultural roots such as in songs, proverbs, and folklore.¹⁴

The pirs and sajjda nashins who were also big landlords had a good grip on the destiny of the Muslim masses and they played an important role in developing a political clout because the relationship between Pir and murid was that of a patron and client.¹⁵ They became an important part of the Unionist party and also provided it religious legitimacy.¹⁶

The roots of a typical feudal society lay in ignorance, especially in education of the disadvantaged. The Hindus and Sikhs were way ahead of the Muslims in the field of education mainly because of their distrust in Western education and opted for institutions that were Islamic in culture and educational content. Like in education Muslims were quite behind the Hindus and Sikhs in economic and commercial activity. For example, the Hindus owned more than 60% of factories in Lahore.¹⁷

Quaid - Fazli Husain Relations

Both Jinnah and Fazli were great leaders of Muslims of India who spent their lives for the political emancipation of India. They started their political journey by joining the All India National Congress at the same time. Both were moderate leaders and were for the constitutional means to gain self-rule. They were both in the Lucknow Pact in 1916 and both opposed the Rowlett Act. Both did not favour the non-cooperation and Khilafat Movement and left the Congress after the announcement of Gandhi's Satyagraha. After

14 I. Talbot, *Khizar Tiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India*

15 David Gil Martin, *Empire & Islam, Punjab & the Making of Pakistan*

16 I. Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*

17 Raghuvendra Tanwar

moving aside from agitation politics, Fazli adopted the policy of remaining in the assembly and Quaid opted for the position of opposition in advancement of constitution.

Separate electorates on conditional basis were undermined in the Delhi Muslim Proposals this divided the Punjab Muslim League into Shafi and Jinnah factions. Fazli Husain was in favour of separate electorates because he saw that the position of Muslims would be undermined due to joint electorates. So, he supported the Shafi League and All Parties Conference was formed. But in 1933 he agreed to joint electorates. Due to this, he had to face opposition from Muslim League.

Apparently, the problem with Jinnah was that due to Fazli's non-communal policy, he couldn't find a meeting ground with Jinnah who was towing the communal problem of Muslims to a national level. During the time when efforts were being made to reorganize the Punjab Muslim League under the guidance of Jinnah and Iqbal, the powerful position of Fazli could not be negated in Punjab. Fazli Husain was approached by Jinnah in January and April 1936 to join hands with the League and contest the elections from the platform of the League and preside over its session. Fazli and Sikandar Hayat were strongly against the activities of the communal League in Punjab which could disturb the communal harmony of the province as Tanwar writes in his book. But Iftikhar Haider Malik proposes that due to the change in political climate all over the Sub-continent even the magnetic character of Fazli couldn't prolong the communal harmony for long. Veterans of Muslim Leagues like Malik Barkat Ali accused Fazli of not assessing the changed political situation and letting go of his policy of giving preference to rural non-Muslims over urban Muslims. Fazli Husain declined this offer. This caused displeasure on the part of the AIML. After failure of the negotiations, Jinnah met Allama Muhammad Iqbal who assured his possible

help.¹⁸ Fazli passed away on 9th July 1936. This was a setback for the party.

Elections of 1937

The results of the elections of 1936 showed that Fazli was right in assessing that he would not gain anything out of joining hands with the Muslim League. The Unionists won 90% of the Muslim seats along with a good number of Hindu rural seats. The results were announced in March 1937. Election result showed that out of 175 seats the position was the number of seats won by Punjab Unionist party 98, Indian National Congress 19, Muslim League 02, Khalsa National party 13, Hindu Mahasabha 12, S. Akali Dal 11, Majlis-i-Ahrar 02, Ittehad-e-Millat 02, Independents 16

Sir Sikandar Hayat became the first Premier of the Punjab. In October 1937, the Muslim League held its annual session at Lucknow. The main outcome of this session was the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact which played very important role in the politics. This pact opened a window for the Muslim League to spread in the province. Many controversies surround the mystery why Sikandar Hayat joined the League. Ashiq Batalvi writes that Sikandar Hayat agreed to join the pact because he wished to merge the Punjab Muslim League into the Unionist Party. Congress' mass contact movement and Akali patch-up with Congress in the Punjab Assembly may be the other motivating factors to sign this pact. The Muslim League became a strong political party after this pact. Eventually an independent Pakistan was achieved in 1947 despite the complex situation and opposition to Pakistan.

Conclusion

The charisma of Sir Fazl-i Husain ended with his death while his successors failed to give the party a dynamic leadership. But the issue remains to be explored that had Fazli Hussain lived, would he have been able to respond to changes at mass level the new problems of the masses which had emerged out of the changing social and political scenario at all India level. Despite his secular

18 Aashiq Hussain Batalvi, *Iqbal Kay Akhree Do Saal*

outlook and party policy, he never lost eyes from the Muslim plight in India especially in Punjab. On the occasion of 1936-37 provincial elections, the response of other Muslim leaders to Quaid's appeal to contest elections from Muslim League platform in other Muslim majority provinces was not quite different to that of Fazli. But his differences with Quaid gained a great deal of publicity and he has been unduly maligned by some historians. Neither the provincial opponent political parties such as Shiromani Akali Dal, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, and Khaksar Movement nor the Congress or Muslim League could get stronghold in the provincial politics of the Punjab from 1921 to 1936. However, Jinnah made all efforts to enlist the support of provincial Muslim leadership including Mian Fazli Hussain.

The Pastoral Tribes of Punjab and the British Imperialism: A Case Study of State Making in the Wastelands of Punjab 1849-1885

Ahmed Ibrahim*

ABSTRACT

The arid wastelands of Punjab underwent a transformation by the end of the 19th century, with the development of the irrigation system the sedentary agriculture was extended, particularly in the south-western and the western regions of Punjab, where the sparse population and the aridity had hitherto inhibited the state-making. The south-western and western regions of Punjab consisted of the wastelands, particularly the forest and the Bar uplands, where the state authority was minimal. The state faced the constraints of the environment in those regions. In the initial days of their rule, the British relied mostly on extending its control in these regions through the law. The land rights were given to those who assured to extend the sedentary agriculture. The grazing tax on the other hand was levied only on the non-agriculturalist to compel the natives to renounce other economic activities in favor of the sedentary agriculture. However, the pastoral tribes, who were the inhabitants of the wastelands, continued to evade the state-making process, by avoiding the taxation by ignoring the boundaries drawn on

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paper. Moreover, the police administration was unable to establish its control in the arid wastelands of Punjab. The pastoral tribes maintained their authority in arid wastelands of Punjab. It was not until the 1880s that the British changed its policy towards the wastelands, when the irrigation was extended and the population was resettled. Thus through the transformation of the landscape, the British extended its state space to the arid wastelands of Punjab. The pastoral tribes who had hitherto were successful in evading the state were incorporated in the state space and were settled.

Environmental History

Introduction

By the end of the 19th century, much of the arid *wasteland* in Punjab bar tracts was brought under cultivation by the construction of the canals irrigation system. The landscape of the arid regions was transformed in which the sedentary agriculture was extended and the population was settled. This transformation of the landscape by the British facilitated the extension of the state authority over those regions where the State was hitherto challenged by the constraints of the environment. The population in the arid *wastelands* of Punjab was scarce and mobile, before the construction of canal irrigation system, which meant that there was an absence of settled agriculture that facilitated the extension of the authority of the state. The state authority was present in those regions where the sedentary agriculture was practiced, it was limited in those regions where there was absence of the settled agriculture. The process of colonisation that started after the development of canal irrigation system transformed the settlement pattern of the *wasteland*. Previously, the social and economic structure of the natives, the pastoral tribes, of the arid *wastelands* provided them with the opportunity to avoid their incorporation in to the territory of the state. They were settled, when the landscape was transformed for the extension of the settled agriculture in the arid *wasteland* of Punjab. Therefore, the state building process went hand in hand with the extension of settled

agriculture in the hitherto sparsely populated arid *wasteland* of Punjab.

The foundations of the state were erected in the arid *wastelands* of Punjab by the British more effectively than its predecessors. The Sikhs had not extended their authority up to the degree the British government did. Although the arid *wastelands* were claimed by the Sikh rulers as their property, but rarely they exercised complete authority over those regions. The pastoral chiefs had maintained their authority over those regions. The extension of settled agriculture was the strategy to settle the population in the arid *wasteland* of the Sikh regime as well. The Sikh regime had also granted land to those who assured to bring it under plough. Thus, the land grant assured the state of the loyalty of those who were settled, and the state control thus constructed in those regions. Many new irrigation system was developed in the arid *wastelands* of Punjab during the Sikh period, and the control of state had also increased.

When the British annexed Punjab in 1849, it adapted the administrative system of the Sikhs. The British, like the Sikhs, continued to extend the settled agriculture by providing land to the people on the condition that they would cultivate it. The land rights were defined by the law of those who brought the Land under cultivation. However, the social and economic structure of the pastoral tribes of the arid *wastelands* was conceived by the British as an impediment to the extension of the state authority. To compel these tribes to renounce their mobile character and shift to the settled agriculture the British initially denied them any rights in the Land.

The absence of the Land rights didn't mean that they were exempted from the revenue demands of the state. During the Sikh regime, the pastoral chiefs of the arid *wastelands* provided a tax on their cattle on behalf of their dependents, for using the pastures of the arid *wastelands* which the Sikhs claimed as the property of the government. The British continued the system as it existed before in the Sikh period

and imposed tax on the cattle of the pastoral tribes. The system was changed when the boundaries of the villages were drawn. The British thought to limit the movement of the pastoral tribes in that way. It was conceived that this would compel the pastoral tribes to settle in a limited piece of land. The cattle of the agriculturalist were exempted from the grazing tax, only those cattle were taxed which were not associated with the agriculture. The pastoral tribes with the passage of time became aware of the British administration of taxation and continued to avoid paying taxes. The British government, in the late 19th century, changed again the grazing tax collection in which the power of the pastoral chiefs was curtailed.

The presence of large swathe of arid wasteland which consisted of thick forest and the extreme arid environment, due to scarcity of water, curtailed the British authority to expand in those regions. The police administration in those regions were unable to control the crime of cattle theft. The local police administration of the British was nothing without the assistance of the local pastoral chiefs in the arid *wasteland* regions. The pastoral chiefs were the *zaildars*, local government administrators, of the arid *wastelands* of Punjab. They avoided the state and facilitated the cattle theft in those regions where they had claimed to exercise authority.

Hence, the transformation of the landscape was necessary for the entrenchment of the British Imperialism in the arid wasteland regions of the Punjab. The canal construction brought the water to regions of the extreme aridity where the absence of rainfall and the distant location from the rivers the ground water was very deep, had inhibited the extension of the agriculture. The thick forest which provided the option to the pastoral tribes to live outside the state territory was felled. The roads were constructed for inter- village and intra-village connectivity. The loyal population were settled from the central and eastern Punjab. The pastoral tribes were then compelled to settle after the transformation of the landscape. This paper is aimed to discuss the questions that

how to understand the British state-making in the arid wasteland of Punjab? How the Pastoral tribes were affected from the policies that British adopted for the administration of the arid wasteland of Punjab? It is the argument of this paper that the British state-making completed when they settled the Pastoral tribes of arid wastelands of Punjab through the transformation of the landscape.

Theoretical Framework: State Core and Non-State Spaces

James Scott had conceptualised the political space in terms of state and non-state spaces in his case study of the South East Asia. The establishment of the settled agrarian states, he argues, created a binary of governed and less governed or autonomous regions. He differentiated the two regions on the basis of the environment and geography. The peripheral or the frontier regions were situated in the geographically difficult regions that included: mountains, marshes, swamps, deserts, and arid steppes. The state core on the other hand was usually found, but not always exclusively, in the arable plains or the plateaus. In the peripheral regions, Scott argued, the states faced *friction of terrain* by which he meant that the frontiers, less governed or autonomous regions, were located in the geographically and environmentally difficult terrain, which inhibited the expansion of the states in those frontier regions. However, by the end of the 20th century the colonisation of the peripheral regions took place. The peripheral or frontier regions underwent a transformation of the landscape by the states in which the lands were made suitable for the settled agriculture, the loyal population was settled on it, and the *friction of terrain* was eliminated by the construction of the roads and railways¹.

Hence, the key to the state making was to concentrate the manpower by the promotion of the settled agriculture². The promotion of the settled agriculture also meant that the

1 James Scott, *The Art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland South East Asia*. (London: Yale University Press, 2009), 3-13.

2 Scott, *Art of not being governed*, 39.

shifting cultivation or other subsistence pattern that provided an alternative from the state space must be eliminated. For instance, when the pastoralism was substituted with the settled agriculture, it would be easier for the state to tax them, and the labour of the people thus also becomes appropriable³.

Nevertheless, it is not to argue that the model of James Scott corresponds to the region of colonial Punjab in exactly the same way as he had developed in the case of the South East Asia. He had written on the dialectical relation between the valley states with the hill peripheries of South East Asia. The model correspondsto the case of *Baloch frontier*⁴, but not with the regions that are under study as the geography and environment was different of the arid *wasteland* of Punjab. But, the general understanding that Scott provides about the relation between the settled agricultural core and the frontier or peripheral regions is relevant to the case of colonial Punjab.

Writing in the case of State building in Sind during the mid-19th century, Daniel Haines argued that the frontier policy of British in the late 19th century was centred on the promotion of the settled agriculture in which the mobile communities were replaced with the settlement of the loyal population from other regions. The British frontier policy, in the north-western India by the late 19th century underwent change. In the initial days of their rule, the British had given more

3 Scott, *art of not being governed*, 77-79

4 David Gilmartin and Daniel Haines have discussed the state making process in the north western India, Punjab and Sindh respectively. The canal building was carried at the external frontier by the British government in order to settle the Baloch tribes of the mountains into the plains. The settled agriculture was promoted by the British government. The British was encountered with the challenges of the geography in extending their authority to these regions, due to which they extended the settled agriculture to the plain regions adjoining the mountains regions to bring the Baloch people from the hills to the plains adjoining it. For details see David Gilmartin, *Blood and water: The Indus river Basin in modern history* (Oakland: California University Press, 2015), 27-62; Daniel Haines, "Constructing state power: Internal and External frontiers in colonial North India, 1850-1900", *environmental history* 20 (2015):645-670

attention to the external frontiers, but later on, the attention was diverted to the inner frontier. As the region of both Sind and Punjab constituted the border region of north-western British India, the British government focused on expanding the *state space* in the *internal frontiers* of Punjab and Sind, *at the same time* in the late 19th century.

The external frontier of Sindh was situated in the border with Baluchistan, which was also the external boundary of the empire. The inner frontiers on the other hand was situated inside the Sindh. The policy of canal building for the extension of settled agriculture, and population resettlement was used by the British in the external and internal frontiers of North-western India. The policy to settle the Baloch people on the external frontier of Sindh had political motives, they used to raid the settled agricultural regions. On the other hand, the main challenge in the construction of the state authority in the internal frontiers was environmental in nature, which Scott had termed as *friction of terrain*. The sparse population and the aridity inhibited the extension of the state authority in the internal frontiers of Sindh. It was resolved once the canal was constructed, sedentary agriculture was extended, and the loyal population was settled on the internal arid frontier regions of Sind⁵.

By the end of the 19th century, the British started paying attention to the internal frontiers of Punjab and large tracts of the *bar wastelands* was brought under irrigation that extended the settled agriculture. However, Gilmartin had not made a similar argument in the case of Punjab as Haines had made in the case of Sind, but the evidence in his writings supports the argument that there was a shift in the policy of British government in which the focus was shifted from the external to internal frontier regions of not just Sindh but of Punjab also⁶.

5 Haines, "Constructing state power", 652-662.

6 Gilmartin, *Blood and Water*, 27-62, 144-167.

However, the policies of the British government in the arid wasteland of Punjab also affected the pastoral tribes, who were the inhabitants of those regions. The property right policy was skewed in favour of those who were the agriculturalist, in the taxation of the grazing, those animals which were associated with the agriculture were exempted from taxation. To put it briefly, the policies of the British government was designed in a way that favored the extension of settled agriculture by promoting those policies that were in favour of the agriculturalist. The British state making in Punjab was also faced with the difficulty of the environment and the sparse population in the initial three decades of their rule in the internal frontiers or the arid *wasteland* of Punjab.

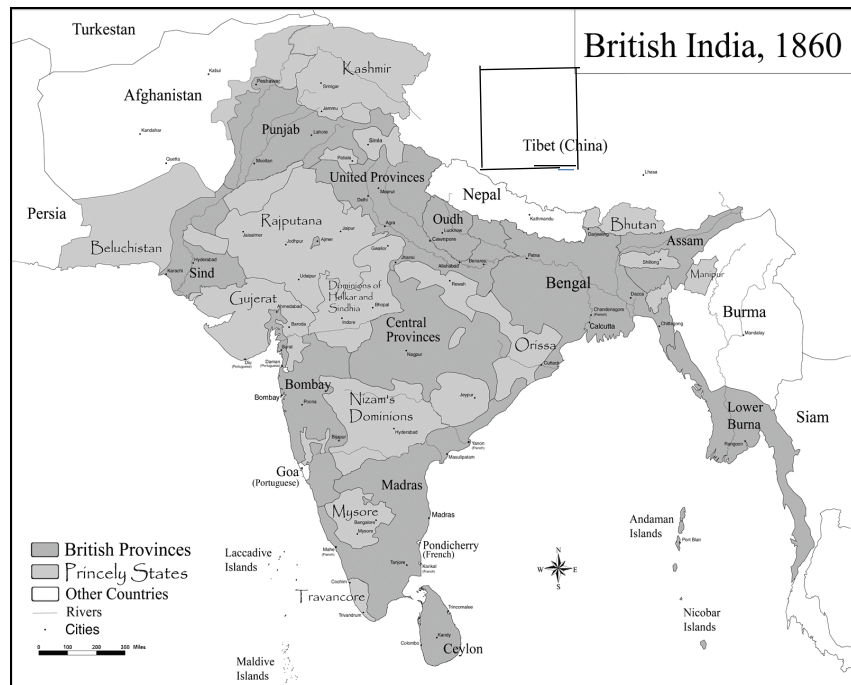
Ecological Zones of Punjab and the Location of Inner Frontiers

Punjab, before the advent of the British rule, was divided into three ecological zones: arid regions, marginal agricultural regions, and the moist agricultural region. The inner frontier of the Punjab were the arid zones where the population was sparse, and the environment was unwelcoming to the expansion of the state authority. To differentiate between these regions on the basis of cultivation, it is necessary to discuss the availability of water. Geographically speaking, as the distance from the Himalayas increased south wards the amount of rainfall and the ground water decreased, that meant that water was scarce in the south western region of Punjab for the extension of the settled agriculture.

The regions on the foot of the Himalayas, which constituted the eastern part of Punjab received more than 20 inches of rainfall annually due to which the ground water level was high. Additionally, there were streams that descended from the Himalayas and the water that came from the river flood. The availability of ample water resources meant that the agriculture was widespread, and the region was thickly

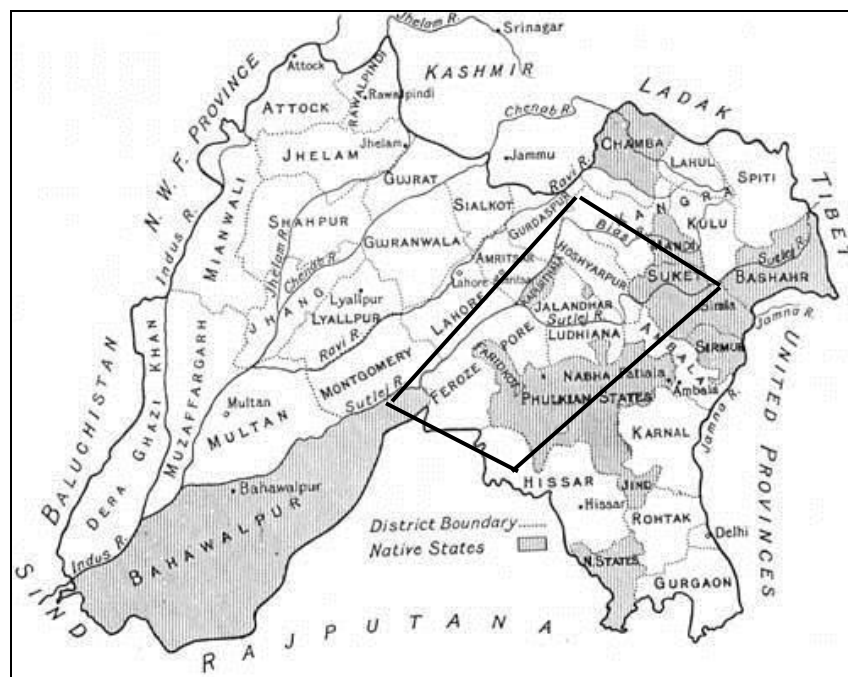
populated. The region included: Jalandhar, Amritsar, and Sialkot⁷.

The region of marginal agriculture was the western regions of Punjab, the province of Multan during the Sikh reign, which received not more than 10 inches of rainfall annually, which depicted the scarcity of the ground water in that regions also. The agriculture in that region was only possible by inundation canals, which were situated near the rivers, and wells.



Source: "Historic Maps British India- India Maps", accessed September 19, 2016, <http://mapsof.net/india/historic-maps-british-india>.

7 Indubanga, "Ecology and land rights in the Punjab", *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, no 1 (2004), 62.



Source: "Independent India: Work and life of Dr Subroto Roy", accessed September 19, 2016, <https://independentindian.com/category/Punjab/>

The arid region comprised of the south-western and western region of the Punjab which included the Bar Tract of the Doabs⁸. The Kirana Bar was located in the Chajdoab, the Sandal Bar in the Lower Rechna Doab, the Thal Bar in the Sind-Sagar Doab, and the Nili and the Ganji Bar in the Lower Bari Doab. The Thal Bar consisted mostly of the sand dunes with the exception of the few rainfall, it was almost a desert. This study would focus on the sandal Bar region. The rainfall was scarce in this region, and only received 6 inches of rainfall annually. Due to the deficiency of the rainfall and the distance from the rivers, the ground water was extremely below the surface at 80 to 120 feet⁹.

Hence the eastern regions were the state core region of the Sikh reign in which the settled agriculture was widespread and the population was dense. The cultivation rating for the

8 The region in between the two rivers was known as doabs

9 Banga, "Ecology", 64-66.

eastern region was 50 percent with a population density of 400 persons per square miles. This region was locally known as the *des* that meant the cultivated or the inhabited zone. In the marginal zone both the arid and the cultivated regions were found due to which it was known to be the intermediary zone locally called as *manjhaor* middle country. The marginal agricultural region had the cultivation rating between 20 to 50 percent and had the population density of 100 to 400 persons per square mile.

Lastly, the arid regions were the one which constituted the *internal frontiers* of Punjab where the state authority was minimal and mostly the tribes were autonomous. The characteristics of this region were diametrically opposed to the eastern or the core regions. The arid regions had the cultivation rating below 20 percent and the population density was similarly below 100 persons per square mile. The region was locally known as *nakka* that meant border country¹⁰. In these regions the inhabitants were the pastoral tribes whose primary economic activity was not settled agriculture, they kept animals on whose produce they subsisted in the dry regions. They did not have any settled village or any permanent place of residence rather they were known as the mobile communities who used to move for the search of pastures and water and had temporary camps. The tribes that were the inhabitants of these regions comprised of *Bhattis, Kharal, Wattu, Gujjar, Biloches, and Dogars*¹¹.

Administration of Wasteland: Land Rights, Grazing Tax, and Police Administration

The British when annexed the Punjab in 1849, it consisted of different ecological zones. The agriculture was not the only economic activity in Punjab. Punjab also consisted of the regions where the agriculture was not the primary activity of

10 Major, Andrew J, Major, *Return to Empire: Punjab under the Sikhs and British in the Mid-nineteenth Century*, No. 12 (Sterling Pub Private Limited, 1996) 3-4.

11 Banga, "Ecology", 66.

the people. The regions in between the two rivers, locally known as the *doabs*, were consisted of the Bar uplands in the western and south western part of Punjab. These Bar regions were arid due to less rainfall and the distance from rivers made it difficult to increase the ground water. The absence of water resources meant that the agriculture was not possible to support a dense population. The population in these regions practiced pastoralism as their primary economic activity. The pastoral tribes of these regions were mobile and lacked any permanent settlement. They wandered in search of water and pasture for their animals.

When the British assumed control of Punjab they embarked to promote agriculture in order to expand the state territory in those regions where it was hitherto challenged by the environmental constraints. The British initially denied the pastoral tribes the rights in Land and only the agriculturalist was given rights in the land¹². Those who assured to bring the Land under cultivation were given rights in Land. Defining the law, related to property right, in *Punjab settlement Manual* it was written as, "To be allowed to engage for the payment of the revenue naturally implies that the engager will have the power to arrange for the cultivation of the land¹³".

During the demarcation of the boundaries, the wastelands which consisted of the arid regions or Forest were declared as either a government property or a village common property. The way the village was defined it assumed an agricultural community, the village was defined in the *Punjab settlement manual* as, "The village community is a body of proprietors who now or formerly owned the part of the village

12 This debate had been done by Neeladri Bhattacharya but he does not take into account the state evasion of the pastoral tribes, rather he had just discussed the *discourse of property* as one-way development of the British law, for details see, Neeldri Bhattacharya, Pastoralists in a Colonial World, in *Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*, ed. David Arnold and Ramachandra Guha (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 67-70.

13 J.M Douie, *Punjab settlement Manual*, 52, <http://new.dli.ernet.handle/2015/1107> (accessed March 14, 2016).

lands in common and who are jointly responsible for the payment of the revenue¹⁴. The definition of the village community was not applicable for the arid wasteland region of Punjab, these regions were explained in the *Punjab settlement Manual* as, "The rainfall is extremely scanty, and outside the river valleys...a grazing ground for sheep and a browsing grounds for goats and camels. These animals have to wander wide tracts in search of food".

The British property right regime sought to define the *agricultural character* of the people of south-western and western arid regions of Punjab by declaring well as the unit of property. The well holding was defined as *chahor patti*, and where the well was not existed it was assumed, in conceptual terms that it was a *wellestate*, it was described in the *Punjab settlement manual* as, "Several of these wells...are collectively called a village, and are looked upon from an administrative point of view as forming one community¹⁵".

The definition of the village community was more or less adapted to the south-western and western arid region of the Punjab, but the word *patti* that was used for the well holding signified that, "the proprietor of a patti may have common lands of their own and also a share in the general village common¹⁶". There werelarge swathe of territory that comprised of the wastelands which were contagious to the *village site*. During mapping the boundaries in the region of southwestern and western arid regions of Punjab, these wastelands were included in the boundaries of the village as *shamilat-e-dih*¹⁷, or village common lands.

The absence of the rights in the land of the pastoral tribes didn't mean that they were exempted from the revenue demand of the state. The British continued the grazing

14 Douie, *Settlement Manual*, 62.

15 Douie, *Settlement Manual*, 76.

16 Douie, *Settlement Manual*, 63.

17 For a detailed analysis of the *shamilat-i-dih* or village common see David Gilmartin, *Blood and water*, 69-103.

taxation system of the Sikh regime to extract revenue from the pastoral tribes. Diwan Sawan Mal, the governor of Multan during the Sikh period, introduced the system of enumeration of the cattle¹⁸ for the purpose of taxation. He levied the tax on the cattle by enumerating them.¹⁹ In 1851 Colonel Hamilton while commenting on the *tirni* said that it was, "impractical to collect the tax from the cattle grazing within the defined limits...The only feasible system is that which has hitherto prevailed". The British policy related to *tirni* underwent change when they started their first regular settlement of the land revenue.

In demarcating the village boundaries and to include some land in that boundary as the village common, large portion of the bar was included in the village boundary. Thus, a large part of the wasteland became the property of that villages and "*tirni now can be taken only from cattle grazing in lands beyond the village*" [emphasis added]. This demonstrated that the British were promoting the settled agriculture on the cost of the pastoralism by drawing the boundaries of the villages and exempting the cattle of the agriculturalist to be taxed. It was not an innovation, the Sikh regime also provided concession to the agriculturalist and promoted the settled agriculture, they levied tax only on those cattle which belonged strictly to the pastoral tribes, and all the cattle which were used for the purpose of agriculture were exempted from the grazing tax.

Under the new system following the demarcation of the village boundaries, every *sadr-tirni-guzars* was given a charge of a circle from which he had to collect the *tirni*. The circle consisted of the areas of the cultivated villages and the Bar. However, the government wastes were not divided and no circles were drawn around them. Once the grazing tax was paid, the taxpayer was allowed to take his cattle

18 Cattle here means sheep, goats, buffalos, bullocks, camels, and cow.

19 E.B Steedman, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Jhang District of the Punjab, 1874-1880*, 161, <http://archiv.e.org/stream/reportonrevised00steegoog#page/n4/mode/2up> (accessed January 20, 2016).

anywhere in the government waste for grazing, it was described in the Jhang district gazetteer as, "the rules entitled him to graze freely throughout the Mooltan division". However, comparatively to the village proprietor whose rights were defined during the settlement of the land revenue, the pastoral tribes had no rights in the land on which their cattle grazed, "In fact it is but justice to the agriculturalist that a certain amount of taxation should fall on the pastoral tribes who make use of the vast government forest ranges to which they have no title either of property or occupation²⁰".

The pastoral tribes had learned, during the course of all these developments in the grazing tax system, how to *evade the state*. The taxation system of *tirni* was not uniform in all districts. The administration of the *tirni* varied from district to district. For instance, in one district the residents had to pay the tax on the number of cattle they own, in another district, it was the cattle who was taxed with respect to certain boundaries. The rates were also not uniform in all the districts. The pastoral tribes used to *evade the state* and took their herds to that region where the rates were lower or where they can evade the state taxation system, commenting on this issue Lieutenant R.P Nisbet, the settlement commissioner of the Gujranwala district wrote, "I know for a fact that the cattle of the Bar tracts of Gujranwala district are taken into the pasture land of Jhang, because the rates are lower than the rakhs of Gujranwala or Lahore; and again the graziers are quite sharp enough to divide their flocks and take cows and buffaloes to one district, sheep and goats to another, as may be most advantageous."

Despite the emphasis of the state on extending the agriculture the pastoral tribes kept pastoralism as their primary economic activity intact. The British thought that by providing tax exemptions to the animals that were associated with agriculture would encourage the pastoral tribes to switch their economic activity to settled agriculture,

20 Jhang district gazetteer, 1883-84, 156-157.

but it proved ineffective and the pastoral tribes kept on *evading the state*. To quote lieutenant R.P. Nisbet, "A large cattle owner in the Shaikhupura hilaquacadidly informed me that a few years ago the grazing of his cattle cost nothing: the sheeps and goats he pastured in the lands of his own or adjoining villages- the cows and female buffaloes he took to a border district where the authorities exempted female kine from taxation with a view to the encouragement of the breeding of cattle, and he sent his male buffaloes and bullocks to another district near at hand where male kine were exempted because employed in agriculture. That such exemptions are a mistake...that milch cattle are kept more for the value of their dairy produce than for the increase of their agricultural stock, and that of the male kine sent out to graze not 15 percent are employed in the agriculture of the district where they are grazed but are sold by their owners either as draught cattle or to commissariat agents²¹".

The system of *tirni* collection underwent a change in the year 1870-74. The block or the *chak* system was introduced. The *chak* consisted of the block of the Bar and the village that was lying in between that block. The *chak* was leased to the contractors, who were known as the *chakdars*, who were asked to collect a fixed sum of tax²². The contractors or the *chakdars* started to extract more money due to which this system of the grazing tax was also discontinued. In 1879, the British government then replaced the contract system, and government officials were asked to collect the grazing tax from their own villages by enumeration of the cattle²³. These contracts were given for a period of 5 years to the village *lambardar*²⁴ used to take these contracts.

21 R.P Nisbet, *Report on the Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Gujranwala District 1866-67*, 59.
<http://archive.org/stream/reportonrevisio00nisbgoog#page/n4/mode/2up>
(accessed January 12, 2016).

22 *Jhang district gazetteer*, 1883-83, 158.

23 *Montgomery district gazetteer*, 1898-99, 225.

24 The *lambardars* were the village headman, who collected the revenue from the individual proprietors and delivered to the *tehsildars*, they were also

The history of *tirni* administration demonstrated that the unit of the taxation was brought from the larger swathe of territory to that of the village. In the beginning, the pastoral chief or the village headman, *zamindar*, was the sole person who was responsible for the collection of the *tirni*, but with the introduction of the new system in which the government official were responsible for the collection of the *tirni* exhibited the increased presence of the state in the wasteland. The new system weakened the position of the *sadar-tirni-guzar*, describing the power of the tribal chief in Chenab colony gazetteer it was written that, "The Sadar *tirni-guzars* who really existed under the name of *chakdars* upto 1884, were the headman of the chief tribes of the various portions of the Bar".

However, this didn't mean that the absolute authority of the British was established in the Bar regions due to the changes made in the administration of the *tirni*. The pastoral chiefs who had large herds at their disposal continued to *evade the state taxation system*, it was describes in the Chenab Colony gazetteer as, "Some of the large stock-owners are very independent, and almost always *evade enumeration* [emphasis added] of their animals by distributing them among dependants [*sic*], or by driving them across the boundary of the district²⁵".

This meant that on the one hand the environment of the wasteland constrained the authority of the British in those regions, on the other hand the environment of the wastelands facilitated the pastoral tribes to keep their autonomy and live outside the state space, and keep on evading the state. , this was described in the Chenab Colony gazetteer as, "The Kharral or Sial Rat would...move slowly over the portion of the Bar which he claimed to rule, accompanied by whole of his clan followers and his *riaiya*."

given the task of arresting the criminals for details see Royal Rossberry, *Imperial Rule in Punjab: 1818-1881* (Lahore: Vanguard books Pvt Ltd., 1988), 122.

25 *Chenab colony gazetteer*, 1904, 19-20.

These hordes, called *jan*, seldom stayed more than one or two months at one spot in even the richest pasture grounds, although they had to sink fresh wells at every grazing station in order to obtain drinking water for the man and the beast²⁶.

The pastoral chiefs were the one who were the power wielders in the wastelands of Punjab before the transformation of the landscape took place. There existed a system known as *jan* system in which the Rat, the pastoral chief provided its dependents protection. They levied *pawanji* or five percent tax on the sale of every cattle and in return provided security and protection to their dependents. In order to maintain his authority, the Rat had to recover the stolen cattle from the hostile tribes. For finding the stolen cattle the Rat kept the fighting men with them. The purpose of keeping the fighter was to demonstrate power, in case the settlement of the cattle theft had not been peaceful. "...the great *zaildars* were used as go-betweens in all matters connected with the administration of the Bar. They could and did help their dependents...a very large measure of protection against criminal justice, which would have been found most inconvenient by all the dwellers in the Bar, had it not been easy to elude²⁷

It was impossible for the stranger to cross the Bar region without the assistance of the *Rat*, which demonstrated the influence of these pastoral chiefs or Rat in the bar regions. There existed a system in which those who wanted to pass the Bar regions were given escort, known as the *badrakhi*, in that system two and a half percent tax was levied on all of the property of the convoy that wanted to pass the Bar regions²⁸. Hence, it was necessary for the British, if they wanted to extend their control to these Bar regions that they must come to some sort of settlement with these Rat. Without the assistance of the local Rat, it was impossible for

26 *Chenab colony gazetteer*, 17-18.

27 *Chenab colony gazetteer*, 20-21

28 *Chenab colony gazetteer*, 18.

the British to exercise their authority in the Bar regions. The local influential *Rat* were also the *zaildars*, so for the police in order to exercise its authority in the Bar regions the assistance of the *Rat* was of crucial importance, it was described in the same report as, "The thanadars seldom went outside their stations...as they were quite helpless without the assistance of the local *zaildar* and could not even get speech with the nomad graziers"²⁹.

Moreover, there used to be a thick forest in the Montgomery district³⁰ which served as the alternative space comparatively to the state space. It was the pastoral tribes who wandered in these jungles with their flocks, and who rebelled in the mutiny of 1857. At that time the police post was not properly constructed. The British had exercised little authority in those jungles, to mention an example from the mutiny records of Punjab, "Matters proceeded thus smoothly until the 17th of Septmeber, when the Googira Bar tribes, many of whom graze their flocks in this district, rose and according and according to a preconcerted plan attacked and plundered almost all the small police posts situated in the Jungle Bar. I may here mention that these police chowkees are, with one exception, mere open sheds guarded by three to four *Burkundazes*, and consequently incapable of defence"³¹

Conclusion

The British state-making was challenged by the constraints of the environment in the initial three decades of their rule in the arid wastelands of Punjab. The British government authority in the initial days was rested on the power of law. The environment was not transformed of the arid wastelands. The British conceived that by giving property rights in land to the agriculturalist they can promote the settled agriculture. The settled agricultural regions

29 *Chenab colony gazetteer*,22.

30 Montgomery District was known as Googira previously, and its name was changed to Shaiwal in 1966, for details see Salahuddin Malik, "1857 Gogira Rebellion in Southeastern Punjab: A Forgotten Chapter of Muslim Response to British Rule in India", 81-83.

31 *Mutiny Report Record*, 2:37, <http://www.new.dli.ernet.in/handle/2015/54950> (accessed June 14, 2016).

were much more convenient to administer and tax comparatively to the mobile and the sparse population of the wastelands. The pastoral tribes were taxed heavily in order to compel them to renounce pastoralism and shift their economic activity to agriculture.

The pastoral tribes on the other hand continued to evade the state making process. The environment of the arid wasteland had facilitated them to evade the state making process. They avoided paying grazing taxes by taking their animal to agricultural regions where the animals were not taxed. The pastoral tribes also continued to maintain their authority in the wasteland of Punjab. In those regions, the police were not able to control the crime of cattle theft, and the pastoral tribes continued to facilitate the crime of cattle theft.

The wastelands consisted of the regions also where the agriculture was impractical due to the unavailability of the water resources. The land rights or the heavy grazing tax was not able to provide a shift to the extension of the settled agriculture. It was not until the 1880's that the policy of the British government towards the internal frontier of the Punjab underwent a shift. The canal was constructed in the arid regions, the forest was felled³², and the roads were constructed to provide the inter and intra village connectivity³³. But most importantly, the British settled the population with the extension of the sedentary agriculture. The loyal population of the eastern and the western regions were settled in the newly irrigated lands³⁴. Hence, the entrenchment of the British imperialism was materialized in the arid wastelands of Punjab by the transformation of the landscape.

32 *Chenab colony gazetteer*, 110.

33 *Chenab colony gazetteer*, 119.

34 This paper had discussed only one colony that is Chenab canal colony, there were total nine such colonies. To see the details of the land grants in these colonies and the population resettlement See Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism: 1885-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 8-107.

Colonial Legacies and their Impacts on Human Rights in Post-Colonial Societies: A Case Study of Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR)

Noor Hamid Khan Mahsud*

ABSTRACT

After taking control of the North West Frontier from Sikhs, British India introduced a special legal and administrative system, Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) in the early 1870s to administer the frontier. The suppression of resistance to British rule from the native people being its main objective, this special code did not fulfill many of the requirements of justice and thus infringed on basic human rights.

In this research paper, the researcher will give a brief overview of FCR. The researcher will highlight the harsh nature of FCR provisions which violate fundamental human rights. This paper will present an analysis of the implications of the FCR for the rights which ensure physical integrity of individuals. In this regard, the focus will be on the right to security of life, safeguard against torture, cruel or degrading or inhuman treatment, protection against any form of servitude, safeguards against unlawful and arbitrary arrest and detention, right to fair trial which include trial by an independent court, right to defend oneself, chance to present

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witnesses in one's favor, to be assumed innocent until convicted, and the right to appeal to higher court against one's conviction. International Human Rights Law will be applied as theoretical framework for this paper. This research paper is based on both primary and secondary sources. Interviews, participant observation, colonial era reports and documents include primary sources. The method for this analysis will be first to state very briefly as to what standards the articles of the ICCPR demand of states parties to it, and then to explain in detail the actual position of enjoyment of these rights by people of FATA.

Introduction

With the British annexation of Punjab in 1849, the responsibility of bringing peace and order and ensuring protection of life and property at the frontier transferred to British India. After taking over N.W. Frontier Province, the pattern of rebellion continued under British rule as well. With the exception of Sepoy Mutiny (1857), the second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80) and Second World War (1914-18) there was barely a single year of the ninety-eight years, during which frontier was under the control of British, that the government was not to send a military expedition to deal with revolts in Pashtun areas. British policy on the frontier did not remain static rather it passed through various phases such as Close Border Policy (CBP)¹, Forward Policy (FP) and the introduction of Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) in the early 1870s.²

In the beginning, British Indian government extended the ordinary laws to the North-West Frontier settled districts. However, the peculiar nature of society and cultural norms of people made it difficult for the administration to get convictions in criminal cases. Thus conviction rate was very

1 Miss Lal Baha, *N.W.F.P. Administration under British Rule 1901-1919* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), 4.

2 Ainslie T. Embree, *Pakistan's Western Borderlands: The Transformation of a Political Order* (Durham: N. C. Carolina Academic Press, 1977), 13.

low as compared to other areas of India.³ Peshawar valley persistently experienced high rate of murders, theft and violence.⁴ The Pashtuns, inhabiting the N.W F., resisted the ordinary laws applied elsewhere in the subcontinent. While recognizing *Pashtoonwali* as legitimate law, the Pashtuns did not consider the laws as fair and thus would either overlook or dodge them.⁵

Therefore, the British reviewed its policy options⁶ and one of the special measures taken by the Government of Punjab with regard to the Frontier was the modification of Indian Penal Code's (IPC) application by formulation of Punjab Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1872 (PFCR) for the trans-Indus districts to deal with the border and tribal crimes not appropriately covered by the IPC.⁷ The FCR was introduced not to substitute the already existing legal code rather to supplement it.⁸ The Regulation was aimed at making Pashtuns accountable for their deeds— an objective which could not be achieved through IPC. The new system was a hybrid of tribal customs and British legal codes.⁹

The officers responsible for administration under the FCR were given vast powers to detain people without review and to punish whole communities for the deeds of individual(s). Similarly, the officials would get huge sums of money to buy

3 Abdul Malik Khan, "The Dispensation of Justice in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan: Its Application and Analysis," *Central Asia*, 62 (Summer 2008), accessed November 15, 2014, http://www.asccentralasia.edu.pk/Issue_62/08THE_DISPENSATION_OF_JUSTICE_IN_THE_FEDERALLY_ADMINISTERED.html.

4 Robert Nichols, ed., *The Frontier Crimes Regulations: A History in Documents* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013) xi.

5 Ty L. Groh, "Ungoverned Spaces: The Challenges of Governing Tribal Societies," (Master Thesis, California: Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, 2006), 27-28.

6 Groh, "Ungoverned Spaces," 32.

7 Robert Nichols, *Settling the Frontier: Land, Law and Society in the Peshawar Valley, 1500-1900* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 183-184.

8 Zaib un Nisa Aziz, "Anxieties of Empire: Examining Frontier Government in 19th Century British India," *Student Pulse*, Vol. 5 No. 09 (2013):1-6.

9 Groh, "Ungoverned Spaces," 32.

loyalties of local elders.¹⁰ Basically, the FCR provided for concentration of executive and judicial powers in the same hands.¹¹

With the introduction of FCR, the need for political control outweighed the principles of fair trial in any charge, trial, conviction and appeal.¹² Thus, due to its harsh nature, it came to be known as “black law”.¹³ Even the Indian Office itself described the FCR as “an exceptional and somewhat primitive” law.¹⁴ To Willard Berry, who is quoted by Francois Tanguay-Renaud, the FCR can neither be considered as an instrument of justice in traditional or western sense nor can it be thought of as substitute of any of them.¹⁵ According to Jules Stewart, “Unjust arrests, derogatory trials, inhuman prison conditions and human abuses are some of the common attributes of retributive justice in the [tribal] areas.”¹⁶ Similarly, Olaf Caroe states, “ On many years’ experience I believe that, had the Peshawar administration of 1849 been moulded on less rigid lines, congenial to the people themselves, law and order would have better been preserved....”¹⁷

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- 10 Mansoor Ali, "Frontier Crimes Regulation: Centuries Old Law Will Take Time to Reform," *Express Tribune*, December 2, 2011.
 - 11 Muhammad Maqbool Khan Wazir, "FATA under FCR (Frontier Crimes Regulation): An Imperial Black Law," *Central Asia*, 61 (Winter 2007), accessed October 5, 2014, http://www.asc-centralasia.edu.pk/Issue_61/09-FATA_UNDER_FCR.html.
 - 12 Nichols, *Frontier Crimes Regulation*, xiv.
 - 13 Shaheen Sardar Ali, Javaid Rehman, *Indigenous People and Ethnic Minorities of Pakistan: Constitutional and Legal Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 52.
 - 14 Baha, *NWFP Administration under British Rule*, 30.
 - 15 Francois Tanguay-Renaud, "Post-Colonial Pluralism, Human Rights and the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan", *Singapore Journal of Comparative and International Law*, 6 (2002):566.
 - 16 Jules Stewart, *The Savage Border: The History of North-West Frontier* (Stroud: Sutton, 2007), 151-153.
 - 17 Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans: 550 B. C—A. D. 1957*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1958), 355-56.

While formulating FCR, British authorities borrowed from Pashtun customs and it was shaped in such a manner to make it appeal to Pashtun standards of justice.¹⁸ Pashtun customs were twisted in such a manner to facilitate the government in securing convictions.¹⁹ The aim of this system was increase in convictions without enough evidence.²⁰ Resultantly, what emerged was a mixture of law and local customs but satisfied neither. Thus British presented FCR as a legal instrument based on Pakhtun customs to justify its authoritarian rule.²¹

The first Regulation was reviewed in 1873 and 1876 and minor changes were made to it.²² With the passage of time, the colonial power realized that the special code was not comprehensive enough to serve their interests properly. The officers serving on the Frontier would also send suggestions to their seniors about required changes in the Regulation²³. Therefore, the Regulation was revisited in 1887 and its scope was extended by adding new offences and acts into its scope.²⁴ As a result, a complete new document called as Punjab Frontier Crimes Regulation 1887 was introduced by the British India.²⁵ Though FCR was revised in 1901 but most of its contents remained unchanged and thus are in operation till present.

18 Groh, "Ungoverned Spaces," 54.

19 Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (Peshawar Chapter), "FCR: A Bad Law Nobody Can Defend," (Lahore: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 2005), 60.

20 Nichols, *Settling the Frontier*, 183-84.

21 Nichols, *Frontier Crimes Regulation*, xii.

22 Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (Peshawar Chapter), "FCR" 2.

23 Aziz, "Anxieties of Empire."

24 Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (Peshawar Chapter), "FCR," 2.

25 Wazir, "FATA under FCR."

Pakistan's Obligations under International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to Protect Fundamental Rights of FATA People

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) is one of the major international treaties on human rights. Pakistan ratified this treaty on June 23, 2010. While ratifying the Covenant, Pakistan recorded several reservations relating to the Articles 3, 6, 7, 12, 13, 18, 25 and 40.²⁶ Owing to international pressure particularly from European countries, Pakistan withdrew its reservations on most of the articles.²⁷ Therefore, Pakistan is bound to implement the Covenant in all parts of the country including FATA.

Under Article 2 (1) of the ICCPR, it is states' obligation to immediately implement the ICCPR at domestic level. The obligation's immediacy facilitates the definition and justifiability of states' duties under the Covenant. The significance of the immediate obligations under this Covenant becomes evident when one compares it with the progressive obligations as provided for under Article 2 (1) of the ICESCR. Under this article, a state is required to take steps according to its available resources to ensure enjoyment of rights mentioned in it while under the ICCPR a state is straight away bound to implement it without any mention of available resources or any other factors.²⁸

Article 2 (2) of the ICCPR makes it obligatory for the states parties to enforce the rights enumerated in the Covenant if

26 Aiste Akstiniene, "Reservation to Human Rights Treaties: Problematic Aspects Related to Gender Issues," *Jurisprudencia Jurisprudence* 20 (2), (2013): 462-63.

27 "Pakistan Decides to Withdraw Most of Reservations on ICCPR-UNCAT," *The Nation*, June 23, 2011.

28 Sarah Joseph and Melissa Castan, *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Cases, Materials, and Commentary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9.

there does not already exist effective guarantees.²⁹ According to the General Comment 31, Article 2(2) of the ICCPR requires that if states, at the time of ratification of the Covenant, have not legally protected civil and political rights, they are bound to introduce domestic laws as well as practices on the ratification of the Covenant to harmonize them with Covenant's provisions.³⁰ Under this article, a state cannot refer to certain social, economic, cultural or political conditions within its borders to justify its failure to fulfill its obligations under the Covenant.³¹

Similarly, under Article 2 (3) of the ICCPR, it is obligation of a state to provide remedy to its citizens if their rights guaranteed in the Covenant are violated. As far as remedy is concerned, state is free to choose whether to provide administrative, legislative or judicial remedy or a combination of these all or some of them. A state's failure to provide some sort of effective remedy will be tantamount to violation of the said Covenant.³²

The General Comment 31 states that executive branch of government, which usually represents a state at international forums, cannot absolve itself of its obligations under the Covenant on the pretext that the violation of ICCPR principles was committed by another branch of the government. The same Comment further states that a state cannot invoke its national laws for mitigating its international duties under the ICCPR. Though objective and reasonable differences among different parts of a federal state are allowed, but these variations must not be of such a nature to violate the ICCPR provisions in any part of the state.

29 David Kaye, "State Execution of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," *University of California Irvine Law Review*, Vol. 3. No. 95, (2013): 101.

30 Joseph and Castan, *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 12.

31 Joseph and Castan, *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 47.

32 Kaye, "State Execution of the International Covenant," 101.

According to Article 50 of the ICCPR, the provisions of the Covenant are applicable to all parts of states having federal system without any exceptions and limitations. Although the ICCPR, as part of the IHRL, imposes obligations on states parties, yet the enforcement of the Covenant is basically a domestic concern. The Covenant obliges states to implement it on national level. The international implementation process such as the supervisory mechanism of the HRC, are principally secondary options for the implementation of the Covenant. Under this mechanism, individuals who claim that their rights have been violated cannot utilize the international forum unless all the domestic remedies/forums available have been exhausted. The primary role given to the state for Covenant's implementation basically strikes compromise between state sovereignty and enforcement of the IHRL. It is also the acknowledgement of expediency, effectiveness and efficiency of national laws.³³

Impacts of FCR on Civil and Political Rights in FATA

This paper presents an analysis of the implications of the FCR for the rights which ensure physical integrity of individuals. The focus will be on the right to security of life, safeguard against torture, cruel or degrading or inhuman treatment, protection against any form of servitude, safeguards against unlawful and arbitrary arrest and detention, right to fair trial which include trial by an independent court, right to defend oneself, chance to present witnesses in one's favour, to be assumed innocent until convicted, and the right to appeal to higher court against one's conviction. The method for this analysis will be first to state very briefly as to what standards the articles of the ICCPR demand of states parties to it, and then to explain in detail the actual position of enjoyment of these rights by people of FATA.

33 Joseph and Castan, *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 11-13.

Inherent Right to Life

Article 6 (1) of the ICCPR states that every individual has inherent right to life which shall be protected by law and no one shall be deprived of it in an arbitrary way.³⁴ After ratifying the Covenant, it becomes states' responsibility under international law to protect lives of all citizens. The state is not only responsible for not depriving its citizens of life in arbitrary manner but is also responsible to protect citizens against non-state actors. It means that state is required to protect people against other citizens and groups.

As the purpose of introducing the FCR by the colonizers was to secure their own interests, no adequate safeguards were included in the Regulation for the protection of peoples' lives. As Pakistan has retained almost the same system, today the FCR does not ensure protection of life of the people to whom it is applied. The practice under the FCR is that the writ of the state extends only to protect areas which include state owned roads, schools, dispensaries, or other buildings and it is only in protected areas that government takes notices of happenings. If someone commits crime in these areas, he is punished not because he committed a crime, but because he committed a crime on the land under the state writ and thus violated sanctity of government property. This principle also applies to murders. Taking lives of the people by other private individuals and groups is not concern of the FCR. Administration working under the Regulation does not take notice of murder cases if they are not committed in protected areas. It shows that in FATA sanctity of state owned roads and other properties is greater as compared to people's lives³⁵. Thus if someone commits murder on road (protected area) he will have to pay fine to the administration— not for killing someone but for killing someone on road which is owned by the state. For example, in 1990s, Jalandar Khan

34 UN General Assembly, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 16 December 1966, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 999, 171, article 6 (1). (Hereinafter UNGA, ICCPR).

35 Abdul Karim Mehsud, Advocate Peshawar High Court, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, March, 17, 2015.

killed another person on road mistakenly as he perceived him to be his enemy. The administration took notice of the incident and imposed fine on Jalandar Khan. But some two years before this incident, another man killed two persons about 2000 yards away from the road. Administration had nothing to do with him as he had not violated the sanctity of state road. However, there is one exception to this rule. If someone commits murder in the name of honour in protected area, he does not need to pay fine³⁶.

It is because of insensitivity of the FCR towards protection of peoples' lives that no cases are registered by the administration against killers. Following the 9/11 incident and the emergence of religious militancy in FATA, thousands of local people have been killed so far but it does not bother the FCR guided administration. Militants have been at large to kill anyone who opposes their doctrines or is hurdle in their way. The fact that army launched operations against militants does not mean that the operations were aimed at protecting local people. State has always been indifferent towards the sufferings of these people. Instead of protecting peoples' lives, security forces have killed thousands of innocent people. The only thing which the army does after killing innocent people is to announce that militants have been killed. The FCR does not provide any mechanism to the people to make security forces accountable for this bloodshed. Ever since the emergence of militancy, state's major concern has been not to wipe out militancy but to restrict this to FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and use militants as foreign policy tools.³⁷ When militants launched attacks in other areas particularly Punjab, it became a serious issue for security establishment.

Security of Person and Liberty of Life

Article 9 of the ICCPR deals with liberty and security of person. It states that no one should be arrested arbitrarily,

36 Haji Rafah Khan, senior malik of South Waziristan, interview by the researcher, Tank, April 3, 2015.

37 Interview with a politician who wished not to be named.

that he should be informed at the time of arrest as to why is he being arrested, that he shall be presented before magistrate without undue delay, that refusal to grant bail should not become a general rule, that case of his detention should be referred to a court to decide about lawfulness of his arrest. Finally, that an individual who has been under unlawful arrest should be compensated.³⁸

The researcher has dealt with each clause of this article one by one. He has tried to analyze as to what extent the FCR and proceedings under it fulfil these requirements.

I. Protection Against Arbitrary Arrest and Detention

According to Article 9 (1) of the ICCPR, every individual has right to enjoy liberty and security of person. No one shall be arrested and detained except as required by law.

The People in FATA enjoy little protection against unlawful arrest and detention. Political administration can arrest people on one pretext or another and can detain them for years without any accountability. The very fact that maintenance of written record of all those arrested is not necessary provides great space to the administration to arrest and detain people without valid grounds. Sections 21 and 40 of the FCR provide the administration with arbitrary powers to arrest innocent people and detain them without any trial. For example, a man from a sub-tribe, which consists of 20,000 to 30,000, commits a crime. Now the administration will arrest any person from this sub-tribe. Thus innocent people are arrested and put behind the bars without any judicial proceedings. Abdul Karim Mehsud Advocate, when he was a student, was arrested for four months under collective responsibility section. According to him, "The crime was committed by someone some 50 kilometers away from my village and my guilt was that I, like the criminal, was a Shabikhel. Though I had not committed a crime, yet the authorities treated me like a convicted

38 UNGA, ICCPR, article 9.

criminal. We were not given the rights that are enjoyed by prisoners.”³⁹

Shahryar Mehsud, whom the researcher interviewed during field work, said, “When in lock ups, I met some people of Wazir tribe who had been arrested under Collective Responsibility section of the FCR. I asked about their guilt for being in lock ups and was told that some girders were stolen from under-construction building and political administration arrested them under collective responsibility section. They said that they even told the administration that they were ready to pay price of the stolen property, irrespective of who actually stole it, in return for their release as their absence was severely affecting their businesses. The administration did not accept their request.”⁴⁰

Under section 40, the administration can ask an individual to provide surety bond for his good behavior in the future. In case of his failure to provide the required surety bond, the administration can detain him for two years extendable by two more. This section of the FCR corresponds to section 107 of the Pakistan Criminal Code applied in the rest of country. Section 107 states that a person, if it is feared that he may breach peace or public order, can be arrested by police. The police will produce him before the magistrate within 24 hours of his arrest. If he is ready to give surety bonds, then he is to be freed immediately. According to a Peshawar High Court Advocate, “a person arrested under section 107 can be released even on his personal guarantee— stating that he will not disturb the peace of the area. The most the police can do under section 107 is to keep the individual under arrest for one month even if he is ready to give surety bonds for good behavior.”⁴¹ In short, under regular courts system, no one can be arrested for

39 Abdul Karim, interview.

40 Shahryar Khan, South Waziristan based Journalist/Social Activist, interview by the researcher, Tank, April 2, 2015.

41 Fida Gul, Advocate Peshawar High Court, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, March 19, 2015.

more than 24 hours without the orders of a magistrate. Court can determine whether really there is serious threat to peace and public order from the arrested person or not.

The situation in FATA is different where administration, under section 40 of the FCR, can arrest people for longer even if they are ready to give surety bonds for good behavior. Though the FCR requires provision of surety bonds, yet the real situation is completely different. A person arrested under section 40 is asked to produce surety bonds only when the administration decides about his release. This section 40 of the FCR is extensively used by political administration and this is the reason that people have started calling the whole of the FCR as 40 FCR.

When administration under the FCR wants to retain someone for longer, it rejects his surety bond on one pretext or another. According to Sang-I-Marjan Mehsud, who has served as PA in Kurram, Bajaur, and Khyber agencies and as APA in North Waziristan, administration officials usually do not accept surety bonds from those detained.⁴² While responding to researcher's question about surety bond and detention, an official who had been working for more than 20 years with political administration of one of the seven agencies, said that when someone is arrested under section 40 of the FCR (requiring an individual to provide surety that he will not disturb the peace of the area) and wants to detain him for longer, it rejects guarantors produced before it on one pretext or another. The administration demands of him to bring such persons as guarantors which it knows that the arrested individual cannot produce. He added that people arrested under section 40 of the FCR in some cases even spend eight years in lock ups instead of six years provided by the Regulation. The official further said that administration applies those sections of the FCR to the arrested individual that serve its interests in better way irrespective of nature of

42 Sang-I-Marjan Mehsud, Chairman FATA Tribunal and former Secretary to the Governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, interview by the researcher, D. I. Khan, March 30, 2015.

the crime that he has committed or is accused of.⁴³ Political administration misuses section 40 of the FCR and can arrest anybody to settle scores with rivals through this section. A malik told that section 40 is usually used against loafer people to keep them away from village. It shows that no rules are observed in the application of this section and it can be used anytime. Some people even complained that officials of political administration sometimes mislead the illiterate and fix their thumb impressions on the statement which states that the accused cannot provide surety bond.

In July 2002, Abdul Rehman Siddiqui, counsel for Qimat Gul, a resident of Bajaur Agency, argued before Rawalpindi bench of Lahore High Court that some influential people wanted to occupy his client's land in his village. On his resistance, he was implicated in false case under THE FCR and was put behind bars for more than two and a half years without any right to defend and proper adjudication by competent judicial body. The bench asked Deputy Advocate-General KPK and Political Agent of Bajaur Agency, who were summoned by the bench, as under which law was the man detained for so long. Both of them could not provide any satisfactory reply on which the court directed them to clarify their position within four weeks.⁴⁴

Moazam Khan and Haji Wazir Khan were arrested by Frontier Corps (12th May, 2009) and Mohmand Rifles (August 9, 2009), respectively and handed over to political administration on January 13, 2010. Latif Afridi, counsel for one of the detained persons, told daily Dawn that when the court examined the record, it was discovered that the administration had committed certain wrongs and the two persons were kept in unlawful confinement. He said that the detainees were formally booked months after their actual arrest which showed that administration acted mala fide. While hearing the case, the bench formulated certain

43 An official of political administration Khyber Agency, interviewed by the researcher, Peshawar, March 28, 2015.

44 "FCR is No More a Law: LHC", *Dawn*, July 31, 2002.

questions including whether the Constitution recognized the detainees of FATA as human beings and as such the basic rights guaranteed in it have been provided to them. The bench wondered as to how officials of political administration could invoke various sections of the FCR in such a casual manner.⁴⁵

Once a Tehsildar narrated a story which shows the unbridled powers of political administration. The Tehsildar told that once a boy exchanged harsh words with Khasadars at Sarwekai (South Waziristan). The Tehsildar ordered Khasadars to put the said boy behind the bars. Thus he was arrested. Within few days after the boy was arrested, the Tehsildar was transferred somewhere else. Some eight months later, the father of the imprisoned boy went to Tehsildar and entreated him to release his son. The Tehsildar told boy's father that his son would be released immediately, adding that actually he forgot the incident after he was transferred.⁴⁶

The introduction of Actions in Aid of Civil Power Regulation has further complicated the situation. Under this special Regulation introduced in 2011, security forces can keep mere suspects of terrorism under arrest for one year without any charges against them. International and other human rights bodies reported that large number of suspects are detained indefinitely in detention centres who are tortured and abused. In most cases, these suspects are detained incommunicado with no access to legal counsel or their families.⁴⁷

In short, we can say that the administration which works under the FCR can keep people in lock ups for longer

45 "Govt to Challenge Landmark Verdict: Court Orders Release of FCR Detainees", *Dawn*, March 12, 2010.

46 Anwar Mehsud, Senior Columnist and Analyst, interview by the researcher, Tank, April 2, 2015.

47 US State Department, *2013 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Pakistan*, 27 February 2014, accessed July 15, 2015, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/220614.pdf>.

periods without any fear of being asked by a court about such illegal detention. There is no check on political administration. The administration itself enjoys all powers including police, judiciary and executive. Thus it does not need to prove before an independent court its actions as lawful. According to an official of political administration, the usual practice is that the administration does not produce the apprehended persons before the magistrate. Administration does not keep any properly arranged written record of these persons and only verbally informs its officers about the arrest of certain individual(s).

II. The Right to be Informed of Charges at the Time of Arrest

Clause 2 of article 9 requires state officials, at the time of arresting individuals, to inform the individual of the reasons for which he is being arrested and the charges levelled against him.⁴⁸ During his fieldwork, the researcher came to know that there is no concept of informing individuals at the time of arrest of the charges levelled. For example, an official said that when they receive information about any crime then they start arresting people belonging to the tribe/sub-tribe/clan on whose soil the crime has taken place or to the tribe/sub-tribe/clan to which the accused in a crime belongs. He said that as many people do not know as to which tribe is made culpable by the political administration, therefore the people belonging to the implicated tribe or sub-tribe while unaware of their 'crime', reveal their true identity which results in their arrests. According to the official, the administration officials can also check identity cards of people to ascertain their identity. It shows that people are not informed at the time of arrest.

When the researcher asked FATA based journalist, Shahryar about reasons for his arrest by political administration of South Waziristan, he said that the officials did not inform him of any charges at the time of his arrest. He said that as he has been writing against malpractices of

48 UNGA, ICCPR, article 9 (2).

the administration so he was arrested. As there were no valid reasons on the basis of which he could be arrested, he refused to leave the lock ups unless provided with the charge sheet. Despite his protest, the administration failed to produce any charge sheet against him.⁴⁹

Selab Mehsud, senior journalist who has worked for BBC Pashtu, Voice of America Pashtu service and Mashaal Radio, also corroborated the story of Shahryar Khan. Selab Mehsud has been arrested under the FCR in South Waziristan, Khyber Agency and Kurram agencies. He has been behind the bars for about 8-9 times but has never been informed at the time of his arrest about the charges (though he knows that his only guilt was his reporting for media channels).⁵⁰

When the researcher asked an official of KPK government, who once used to be Tehsildar in FATA, whether they would show written charges to the people whom they would arrest, he said that there was no need for showing written charge sheet as every word of an official of political administration is not less than law.

III. The Right to be Promptly Produced before the Magistrate

Under article 9 (3) of ICCPR, individuals arrested on criminal charges are to be promptly produced before a judge or any other officer legally entrusted with the exercise of judicial powers. The arrested persons shall be tried without unnecessary delay or be released. The clause states that keeping in custody the accused before the trial should not be the general rule which means that they should be granted bail.⁵¹

Under the amended version of the FCR, an accused has to be presented before the magistrate within 24 hours after his arrest. In practice, however, it seems that usually the

49 Shahryar, interview.

50 Selab Mehsud, Senior Journalist working for Voice of America, interview by the researcher, D. I. Khan, March 29, 2015.

51 UNGA, ICCPR, article 9 (3).

arrested people are not produced before the magistrate. The normal course which takes place is that when the administration arrests someone, an official prepares a charge sheet against him. This charge sheet is presented to the accused without his appearance before the magistrate. He remains in lock ups and his relatives or tribe's elders request the administration to appoint a *Jirga* for his case. Thus he has to stay behind bars till *Jirga* tenders its verdict. In case it takes longer to form a *Jirga*, the accused is sent to central jail and in such a case it even can take months to form *Jirga* for his case and during this time he has to remain in prison and wait for his trial. It means that the accused is not produced before the magistrate at all. He has to wait in custody till *Jirga* is formed to look into his case and present its findings to the magistrate. As for as formation of *Jirga* and referral of the case to it is concerned, it seems that there are no hard and fast rules for it. If the accused has strong backing, then the maliks will pursue his case and the *Jirga* will be constituted soon after his detention. On the other hand, in some cases, where the accused is not an influential person and especially who does not have close association with at least few maliks, he may face long imprisonment even before his trial formally commences.

During field work and interviews and discussions with people of different agencies, the researcher was told that normally the detained people are not produced before the magistrate. Almost all the maliks that the researcher talked to said that once an accused is arrested, he is put behind the bars and his relatives request the administration to constitute a *Jirga* for his case. The accounts of some people who themselves remained in lock ups for months also show that they were not presented before magistrate even a single time. One interviewee, for instance, told that once an administration, to put pressure on a certain village, stopped their electricity supply and the people of that village protested against this practice. The administration took action against them and were arrested. They were not produced before the magistrate and only Tehsildar was informed that the people

whose arrest had been ordered have been detained. Similarly, another man told that he was detained for more than 100 days and was not presented even once before the magistrate.

When the researcher asked an official of political administration, who has long experience of dealing with arrested people, about accused's appearance before magistrate, he said "The administration does not produce the apprehended persons before the magistrate. Administration does not keep any written record of proceedings and only informs its officers about the arrest of certain individual(s)."⁵² On occasions, the researcher discovered during fieldwork, the magistrate does not bother to see the accused and he asks a lower rank official to handle the case. The conclusion, which the researcher can draw from the above paragraphs and his interaction with people, is that presenting the accused/arrested person is not mandatory under the FCR administration and therefore in majority of cases the accused are not produced before the magistrate.

IV. Right to Bail

Article 9 (3) further states that keeping people awaiting trial in custody shall not be the normal practice subject to surety that the accused will undergo trial. In other words, the clause states that an accused shall be released on bail.⁵³

Before 2011, there was no concept of bail in the FCR. Now, with the insertion of section 11 A, an accused may be released on bail. The Regulation, however, does not allow any pre-arrest bail.⁵⁴ This section, however, seems not to be completely implemented so far. As per practice of political administration, granting bail is not the right of an accused. There seem to be no exact rules in practice on the basis of which the accused can claim bail. It is the discretion of the

52 Official of Political Administration of South Waziristan Agency, Interview by the researcher, Tank, April 3, 2015.

53 UNGA, ICCPR, article 9 (3).

54 Gazette of Pakistan, "Frontier Crimes (Amendment) Regulation, 2011," (27th August, 2011): Section 11A. (Hereinafter FCR 2011).

administration to grant him bail or not. An official, who served as Assistant Political Agent after the 2011 amendments in the FCR, said that he had clearly told his subordinates that no bail should be granted to any accused.

The prevalent concept of bail is that some maliks will have to request the administration that the accused be released and that they will produce him before the administration whenever needed. Here it should be noted that maliks, rather than rules, can play important role in securing bail for the accused. If maliks want someone to remain in prison, they can influence the administration not to grant bail or can express their unwillingness to take responsibility for his releases. The researcher himself has heard people referring to someone who suffered in Kacheri (Political Agent's compound) because he had some issues with some maliks.

During interviews with maliks of different agencies, the researcher noticed that there are slight variations with regard to application of principle of bail in different agencies. One malik said that once an accused is arrested, he cannot be released on bail unless a *Jirga* gives its verdict. If he has strong backing, then he can get post-arrest bail otherwise he will have to stay behind bars. Another malik said that usually bail is not granted. According to him, if an accused, who is in custody, needs medical check-up due to illness, he is taken to the hospital and in serious cases he may be granted bail. Still another malik, who has been visiting the PA office on almost daily basis for more than 30 years, said that under the FCR there is no bail. If the accused is required to be released on medical grounds, he will have to produce his brother/father or other close relative to remain in lock ups in his place. Similarly, there were people who said that the concept of bail is alien to the FCR.

Even in some cases, people who are booked or arrested under section 40 (requiring them to produce surety bonds stating that he will not disturb peace and public order in the area) are not granted bail. One malik said that "if someone is booked under section 40 of the FCR, then arrest of such

person is must before producing surety bonds for good behaviors. Only those persons who have means to influence political administration can produce guarantors for good behavior and get bail before his actual arrest. But the political administration can refuse to accept guarantees of people booked under section 40 of the FCR and keep them in jails for longer periods.”⁵⁵ According to Advocate Pir Fida Muhammad, Former member FATA Tribunal “there were cases in which the administration had refused to grant bail to people arrested under 40 the FCR and the Tribunal dismissed administration’s orders in this regard and granted bail to them.”⁵⁶

V. Right to Ascertain Legality of Arrest and Detention

Section 4 and 5 of the aforesaid article of ICCPR states that the case of a person arrested should be brought before a court without delay to ascertain whether his arrest is lawful and that the victims of arbitrary arrest and detention should be compensated for their sufferings.⁵⁷

As far as bringing of the case before a court is concerned, it is the FCR *Jirga* which works as court to determine the innocence or guilt of the arrested person. Section 11 of the FCR states that Political Agent has to constitute a *Jirga*, to conduct inquiry and present its findings, within 10 days after the arrest of accused. The *Jirga* has to present its findings within ninety days.⁵⁸ In practice, the situation seems to be somehow different. In most cases, *Jirga* is constituted shortly after the arrest of the accused. But in some cases, it may take longer. According to a malik, when the administration arrests someone, an official prepares a charge sheet against him. This charge sheet is presented to the accused without his appearance before the magistrate. He remains in lock ups and his relatives or tribe’s elders request to the

55 Rafeh Khan, interview.

56 Pir Fida Muhammad, Advocate Peshawar High Court and Former Member FATA Tribunal, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, April 16, 2015.

57 UNGA, ICCPR, articles 4 and 5.

58 FCR 2011, section 11.

administration to appoint a *Jirga* for his case. Thus he has to stay behind bars till *Jirga* tenders its verdict. In case it takes longer to constitute a *Jirga*, the accused is sent to central jail and in such a case it even can take months to form *Jirga* for his case and during this time he has to remain in prison and wait for his trial. Thus we can say that sometimes the case of an accused is brought to a court (*Jirga*) shortly after the arrest is made. While sometimes it takes months before the proceedings are initiated which means that the accused will remain in prison only as an accused and wait for his trial.

Once constituted, the *Jirga* determines the guilt or innocence of the accused. In majority cases, *Jirga* presents its findings within few weeks after starting work. In some cases, however, it may take longer for *Jirga* to present its findings. According to Shams Mohmand, an FCR *Jirga* recently decided a case and it took the *Jirga* some 9 months. During these nine months, the *Jirga* could sit only 4-5 times to deliberate over the case.

VI. Right to Compensation for Arbitrary Arrest and Detention

With regard to compensation for unlawful arrest and detention, there is no such concept. It is not that only the administration is unmindful of unlawful arrests, but the people too do not expect any compensation from administration for arbitrary arrests. When administration do not pay any compensation for damages of vehicles, taken into custody by administration while taking action against a tribe/sub-tribe /clan under collective responsibility section of the FCR, then how can we expect it to pay compensation for illegal arrests and detentions? Even there were cases of officials of South Waziristan Agency administration receiving money in return for release of those who had been arrested by army and handed over to the administration after interrogation. Thus when people have to pay for their release from unlawful detention then of course we can say that the concept of compensation for unlawful and arbitrary arrest and detention is unfamiliar to the FCR.

VII. Respectful and Humane Treatment

Clauses 1 and 2 of article 10 of ICCPR require respectful and humane treatment of those arrested. It also demands the separation of accused and juvenile persons from the convicted prisoners.⁵⁹

As there are no proper prisons in FATA, so political administration uses central jails in districts like Bannu, D. I. Khan, Peshawar and Kohat for detaining arrested people. However, every Political Agent compound in the seven agencies do have sub-jails where the detained persons are kept on temporary basis.

The researcher also interviewed some people who had been arrested under the FCR and thus experienced life in the sub-jails of FATA. According to these former inmates, the conditions in these jails are extremely deplorable. All the inmates, irrespective of fact whether they are mere accused or arrested under collective responsibility section (which means he is completely innocent and his guilt is that he belongs to a particular section of a tribe which a criminal/accused also belong to) or convicted or juvenile, are kept together. One interviewee, while deploring the pathetic jail conditions, said that inmates are served food in other prisons but the relatives of inmates in FATA prisons will have to make arrangements for food. The researcher still remembers the evenings in mid-1990s when family of Sher Rehman, his neighbour, would struggle to find someone who could take dinner to Sher Rehman who had been arrested under collective responsibility section of the FCR. While having no male child and away from his extended family, his wife faced really hard moments. The fact that women cannot step outside without accompanied by a male member in the tribal areas further complicated the situation for the said family.

Selab Mehsud, while recollecting memories of his thirteen days in sub-jail Parachinar, said that during the first four

59 UNGA, ICCPR, article 10 (1 and 2).

days he was kept in a single dark room without any food and water. "I would sleep on bare floor with my shoes as cushion. During these four days, I had no contact with outside world." Similarly, Abdul Karim Mehsud, while narrating his account in sub-jail South Waziristan, said, "Though I had not committed any crime, yet the authorities treated me like a convicted criminal."⁶⁰

The above mentioned anecdotes clearly points to unsatisfactory and pathetic prison conditions in jails functioning under the FCR.

Right to Fair Trial/ Due Process of Law

According to Theodor Meron, right to fair trial includes the rights to be tried by independent, impartial and competent court, to be thought as innocent, not to be forced to give testimony against oneself, to be tried in her/his presence, to defend oneself (in person or through legal counsel) to examine witnesses against him/her and the right to get the sentence reviewed by a higher court in accordance with law.⁶¹ These are the standards set in the ICCPR. Now the researcher will try to analyze as to what extent does the FCR fulfil these requirements of fair trial. The researcher will discuss all the articles and clauses of ICCPR which relates to due process/fair trial.

i. Right to be Heard/Tried by Impartial and Independent Tribunal

Article 14 (1) of ICCPR requires that every accused is entitled to a fair and public hearing by an impartial, independent tribunal established by law.⁶² In case of FATA, the FCR bars all courts to take cognizance of any civil or criminal case. In absence of any court, the functions of this body are performed by *Jirga*. *Jirga* is a traditional institution in Pashtun culture. The British tried to exploit this institution for promoting their own interests. Today, *Jirga* is an

60 Selab Mehsud, interview.

61 Renaud, "Post-Colonial Pluralism," 586.

62 UNGA, ICCPR, article 14, (1).

inseparable part of administration under the FCR. Keeping in mind the important role which it plays in the administration and especially administration of justice, the researcher would explain this body in great length and will try to show that how the administration, first foreign and now local, has exploited this prestigious institution. It must be clear from the outset that the researcher here means, the FCR (Sarkari) *Jirga* rather than traditional one.

After its failure to transform tribal people's behavior through force, British resorted to *Jirga* to use it for getting its desired results.⁶³ Thus British gave legal form to the institution of *Jirga* through the FCR in the name of Council of Elders. The FCR authorized the Deputy Commissioners of the Frontier districts to refer cases to *Jirga* to determine the question of guilt and innocence.⁶⁴ However, the *Jirga* introduced in the FCR was very different from the one in Pashtun culture.⁶⁵ For example, the report of the FCR Committee 1899 clearly stated that "the normal or indigenous *Jirga* is a tribal assembly acting unanimously. No doubt we have modified the primitive institution in adopting it to our requirements."⁶⁶ British administrators would use *Jirga* as cover for enforcing coercive measures against any tribe/clan/individual which they thought was creating problems for the colonialists.⁶⁷

The new system authorized British officials to refer cases to *Jirgas* for convictions where the English judges could not convict the accused due to insufficient evidence. The aim of this system was increase in convictions without enough

63 Khalid Aziz, "The Reform of the Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) and Administration of the Tribal Areas of Pakistan," accessed on November 15, 2014, http://khalidaziz.com/art_detail.php?

64 Baha, *NWFP Administration under British Rule*, 4.

65 James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (Karachi: Indus Publication, 1963), 146.

66 Nichols, *Frontier Crimes Regulation*, 109.

67 Robert Lane Sammon, "Mullah and Maliks: Understanding The Roots of Conflicts in Pakistan's Administered Tribal Area," (Master Thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), 33.

evidence.⁶⁸ It allowed the Deputy Commissioner to bypass requirements of judicial proceedings⁶⁹ and suspend rules of evidence normally practiced in judicial proceedings.⁷⁰

No procedure has been laid down in the Regulation for *Jirga* to arrive at a decision. The only requirements are that there should be an inquiry "as may be necessary" and that the accused should be heard. It seems that the intention of the Regulation is to exempt *Jirga* from the accepted norms of evidence. Sometimes, *Jirga* states that it carried 'secrete and open inquiries' which points towards investigation of a type completely alien to the one allowed in a law court. The hearing is before a *Jirga* but the power of making decision was/is vested in the DC/PA), who does not see or hear the accused or any of the witnesses, and is not empowered by law to do so, even if he should so desire. In these circumstances, the *Jirga* is a merely advisory body, and since the PA does not have the case presented before him through counsel, it is obvious that his decision is wholly vicarious. Decisions of this nature are common enough on the administrative side, but they are obnoxious to all recognized modern principles governing the dispensation of justice.⁷¹

In case the finding of *Jirga* was such that DC did not like that, he could ask the *Jirga* for further inquiry or could refer the case to another *Jirga*. The *Jirga*'s findings were of recommendatory nature with DC having the authority to issue the final verdict.⁷² The decisions made by the DC on the recommendation of *Jirga* were as valid as those of regular courts.⁷³

A letter addressed to Commissioner and Superintendent Peshawar by Chief Secretary to Government Punjab and its

68 Nichols, *Settling the Frontier*, 183-184.

69 Nichols, *Frontier Crimes Regulation*, xiv.

70 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 146.

71 Renaud, "Post-Colonial Pluralism," 571.

72 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 146.

73 Aziz, "Anxieties of Empire."

Dependencies in 1894 puts a question mark over the fairness of the FCR Jirga proceedings. The letter states, “ In several cases of convictions which the Lieutenant-Governor has had before him since he came to the Punjab there was no definite finding by the Jirga of any facts constituting an offence. What they meant to find could only be collected by a process of reasoning from their rambling remarks and in some instances there was room for arguing that those remarks gave but an uncertain sound. The presiding officer in those cases had omitted to do that which it was his obvious duty to do, namely, to ask the Jirga to state categorically whether they found this way or that way or the other way”. “Then again in several cases of conviction His Honour found that the presiding officer had endeavoured by questioning the Jirga and otherwise to arrive at an independent finding of his own against the accused with the result that he could not get more than half way towards such a finding and could do no more than declare that the accused was “probably” guilty, a declaration which though it may be intended to support the finding of the Jirga is very apt to have the opposite effect’. Lastly, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, has observed, though he is happy to say only in two instances, that an officer having unnecessarily gone in detail into the merits of the case in the manner just described and being unable to come to any satisfactory conclusion for himself has wound up by declaring that as the evidence was not strong he would pass light sentence. It need hardly be said that the presiding officer must, unless he sees reason for remanding the case or referring it to another Jirga, either accept the finding of the Jirga or reject it. There is no middle course. If he accepts the finding, he should do so absolutely and pass the sentence that is appropriate assuming the finding to be true beyond all doubt. If he cannot so accept the finding, he should acquit the accused and not stultify himself by passing a sentence, however light, on a man whom he hesitates to convict of any offence”.⁷⁴

74 Nichols, *Frontier Crimes Regulation*, 86-87.

Similarly, another letter written by H. C. Fanshawe, Chief Secretary to Government Punjab and its Dependencies, to the Commissioner and Superintendent Derajat Divisions on August 15, 1896 states, "It is provided in section 13(1) of the Regulation that the council or Jirga shall come to its finding after among other things, 'hearing the accused person' which would be understood to include hearing also any evidence he may offer. In some recent cases it has happened that the accused denied in his petition to the Lieutenant-Governor that this preliminary had been complied with, and there was nothing on the record to show that it had been....."

He adds, "In one case which came up on revision, the Magistrate had appointed the whole of the witnesses for the prosecution as Jirga, who, needless to add, convicted the accused. On recently holding temporary charge of the Peshawar Division, I found Magistrates appointing time after time the same men to serve on *Jirgas* whom I remembered as constantly employed in the same capacity in former years of my charge of the district....."⁷⁵

While lamenting this corrupt nature of the FCR Jirga, Shaheen Sardar Ali and Javid Rehman state, "The most tragic part of the enforcement mechanism under the FCR is that an institution as important and revered as Jirga has been corrupted and distorted to suit the rulers, first alien and now our own". They add that this Jirga does not provide the accused due process of law with the whole system being based on system of inquiry carried out by Jirga rather than evidence, examination and cross examination of witnesses.⁷⁶Section 16 of the PFCR 1887 authorized Commissioner and DC to withdraw a case from the session court at any stage, before the accused had been convicted

75 Letter from H.C. Fanshawe, Esquire Chief Secretary of Punjab Govt (Simla) to the Commissioner and Superintendent of Derajat Division, August 15, 1896 (Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Peshawar).

76 Ali, and Rehman, "*Indigenous People and Ethnic Minorities of Pakistan*," 53.

or acquitted, so that it may be referred to Jirga.⁷⁷ It means that British administrators thought of Jirga as a ready tool to easily get desired convictions through it without the requirements of evidences, examination and cross-examination.

The FCR Jirga is widely considered as partial and under state influence. For example, a former member of the FCR Tribunal remarked that he could tell about the verdict of Jirga by only looking at the names of the maliks nominated on the Jirga.⁷⁸ According to a report, out of 1050 people surveyed, 835(80 percent) expressed their approval regarding Olasi Jirga (traditional Jirga) while only 15 percent (160) said they did not approve of Olasi Jirga. On the contrary, 72 percent (757) people said that they did not believe in the credibility of the FCR Jirga with only 141 (13.4 percent) saying that the FCR Jirga is credible.⁷⁹

It is widely believed that the FCR *Jirgas* are under complete control of administration. The impression is that maliks are asked to put their signatures/thumb impressions on blank papers so that the administration officials may write decision on it of their choice. During interviews and discussions by the researcher, many people including maliks, former inmates, journalists, advocates and officials of administration confirmed this practice. For example, Selab Mehsud said, "When in lock ups, I was informed that four maliks have been nominated for the FCR Jirga to inquire into my case. I objected to Jirga members and proposed names of my choice but the administration dismissed my reservations about Jirga members. When I was presented before the magistrate, he told me to put my signatures on blank paper.

77 Nichols, *Frontier Crimes Regulation*, 36.

78 Ziad Haider, "Mainstreaming Pakistan's Tribal Belt: A Human Rights and Security Imperative," *Belfer Centre for Science and International Affairs*, Discussion Paper # 09-01 (2009): 8-9.

79 Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP), "Understanding FATA: Attitudes towards Governance, Religion and Society in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas," Volume I (Peshawar: *Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme*, 2008), 64-65.

On my refusal, I was told that maliks too are signing blank paper so you also do it. The maliks did sign a blank paper and tried to convince me as well to sign a Blank Charge Sheet. At last, officials of administration compelled me to sign blank paper. Resultantly, I was sentenced to sixteen years' imprisonment and was sent to Central Prison D. I. Khan."⁸⁰

On the basis of interviews with leading maliks, officials of administration and his personal observations of that state of affairs, it can be said that maliks, in majority cases, cannot act independently. Their interests are inseparably linked with the administration and thus they will have to seriously consider any instructions from the officials while working on a Jirga. If maliks act independently then they are ignored for future *Jirgas*. According to Malik Zahir Shah Safi Advocate, he used to work on *Jirgas* in Mohmand Agency. When he ignored instructions from officials while fixing guilt or innocence of the accused, the administration started ignoring him for future *Jirgas*. According to him, once a malik was pressured in front of him for tendering a particular opinion. In many criminal cases, maliks even do not know about the details of decisions issued in their names.⁸¹ Similarly, Noor Alam Mehsud, who has been working as petitioner at Political Agent Compound of South Waziristan for several decades, said that it is very rare that maliks ignore instructions from officials and are appointed again on *Jirgas*.⁸² During discussions, many people including human rights activists, journalists and common people said that in case of Shakeel Afridi there was no Jirga and he was straightaway sentenced to 33 years imprisonment. For example, Sher Muhammad Khan, member HRCP, said, "Everyone knows that Dr. Shakeel did not commit any crime in FATA but he was tried in FATA because the security

80 Selab Mehsud, interview.

81 Malik Zahir Shah Safi, Advocate Peshawar High Court, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, March 20, 2015.

82 Noor Alam Khan, Petition Writer, informal discussion with the researcher, Tank, March 28, 2015.

authorities knew that getting him convicted under the FCR is easy as compared to in a regular court which might have asked for more solid proofs against him.”⁸³ Similarly, Zar Ali Afridi, human rights activist, said that the maliks whose names were indicated to have inquired into the case of Shakeel Afridi confessed before him that they did not know anything about the case.⁸⁴

One of the major complaints that the researcher noticed against Jirga was that the administration appoints Jirga members of its own choice. Many people told that if the accused objects over Jirga members the administration does not consider the objection though the Regulation states that objections over the Jirga members should be disposed of. The critics were of the opinion that in case Jirga gives such opinion which is not liked by the PA, the case is referred to another Jirga or the same Jirga is asked to further inquire into the case. One malik said that room for objection of Jirga members in criminal cases is very limited as compared to civil disputes. (In criminal cases, state is a party in majority cases as criminal cases between common people are usually referred to traditional *Jirgas*). There were also people who said that British would nominate people of integrity to serve on official *Jirgas* but at present majority of maliks are corrupt.

The following anecdotes will further make things clear. On February 17, 2014, a two-member bench of Peshawar High Court summoned Kurram agency PA to explain the illegal detention of 19 Jirga members. The counsels for the petitioners told the court that political administration convened a Jirga and tasked it with resolution of a dispute between two tribes within three hours otherwise the Jirga members would be imprisoned. The counsels said that after the Jirga failed to resolve the issue in the given timeframe,

83 Sher Muhammad Khan, Member Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, April 14, 2015.

84 Zar Ali Khan Afridi, Chairman Tribal NGOs Consortium and human rights activist, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, March 19, 2015.

all the elders, who were between 60 and 80 years of age, were arrested by the administration.⁸⁵

In another case, Mian Khan and his son, Pir Muhammad, were detained in Bara in 2011 for their alleged association with militant group, Lashkar-I-Islam. Three FCR *Jirgas* gave their opinions in favour of the detained persons and declared them as innocent but still the PA did not release them. They were released after two years only after Peshawar High Court ordered their release.⁸⁶

In still another case, political administration of Waziristan, on the opinion tendered by a *Jirga*, cancelled domicile of a student who was studying at a medical college, (admissions to medical colleges are given on agency quota basis) on the basis that he was an Afghan national. The affected student appealed to Commissioner FCR and presented a written testimony of about eighteen maliks, including those who had earlier recommended to political administration to cancel student's domicile, testifying that he was a bona fide resident of Waziristan. The Commissioner simply rejected the appeal without giving any remarks on the case. The student then appealed to the FATA Tribunal. The Tribunal sent the case back to the Commissioner for his remarks. The Commissioner was asked to properly investigate the testimony of the maliks as soon as possible as student's future was at stake. Meanwhile, the term of Tribunal's members expired and now it is not known that what happened to the case.⁸⁷ On further investigations from villagers of the parties, the researcher found that one of the two students (the researcher does not want to specify the party) had paid money to maliks to take his side).

85 "In Custody: Kurram Agency PA to Explain Detention of Jirga Members," *The Express Tribune*, February 18, 2014.

86 "Pakistan's FATA: Lawless no more?", *Aljazeera*, accessed March 22, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/pakistan/03/pakistan-fata-lawless-no-more-2014321111550828897.html>.

87 Fida, interview.

Though there is widespread hatred for FCR Jirga, yet maliks and officials of administration also have their version. During interviews and discussion with maliks, they said that there are very few maliks who are ready to act on the directives of administration. With regard to fixing signatures on blank papers, they said that in the past it used to happen but now there is no such thing or that there may be very few selected maliks who do this. They insisted that they enjoy complete freedom while working on *Jirgas*. But at the same time, they would constantly refer to “some maliks”, “few maliks”, and “corrupt maliks”. Almost all the critical questions from the researcher were handled with some maliks, few maliks, and corrupt maliks. They said that the FCR Jirga works with complete impartiality and neutrality and that Jirga members are changed if a party raises objection on them. However, on some occasions, their tone would suggest something else rather than what they overtly said. When THE researcher presented maliks’ stance about the impartiality of Jirga before Mian Saddullah Jandoli, Advocate on Record of Supreme Court of Pakistan, he said, “In Bajaur, a malik used to be a member of almost every Jirga formed under the FCR. He would eulogize the fairness and impartiality of the Jirga system (FCR Jirga) and the verdicts of the Jirga. When a case was brought against him and the FCR Jirga’s verdict termed him as guilty, he at once started abusing the FCR and the Jirga formed under it terming it as partial, biased and prejudiced.”⁸⁸

There were also some maliks who talked to the researcher very openly and said that most of the maliks are ready to do anything on the directives of administration. In one case the researcher was interviewing two maliks simultaneously. One of them was very open while the other would try to hide things from the researcher. Because of the other malik who talked openly, he reconsidered several of his answers and made changes in them. maliks also confessed that many of the

88 Mian Sadullah Jandoli, Advocate on Record of Supreme Court of Pakistan, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, March 17, 2015.

FCR clauses are very harsh and cruel and expressed their helplessness. When the researcher asked a senior officer about objections over Jirga members from the accused, he said that in most cases the accused accept Jirga members but after the verdict they raise objections over their neutrality.

As discussed earlier, the FCR and proceedings under it have been challenged in superior courts on several occasions. In *Manzoor Elahi* case, a Supreme Court Judge, Justice Salahuddin Ahmad, remarked that “since there were no rules guiding the reference of cases to Councils of Elders, no rules of procedure or evidence, no possibility of being represented by counsel and denial of any right of appeal to the superior judiciary, the FCR constituted a denial of fundamental fairness shocking to universal sense of justice.” In another case, Justice Anwarul Haq observed that “a trial under the Frontier Crimes Regulation cannot be regarded as a trial in accordance with law, the term ‘law’ being understood in the sense of a valid law in terms of the Constitution as well as the accepted norms of legal process obtaining in Pakistan.”⁸⁹

ii. Right to be Presumed Innocent unless Charges Proved

Article 14 (2) of ICCPR states that every individual facing charges of criminal nature shall be considered as innocent until he/she is proved otherwise.⁹⁰ The practice under the FCR seems to be opposite of what the clause requires.

In case a crime takes place and someone is suspected or there is a complaint against someone, political administration warns his or sub-tribe that the whole tribe will be arrested in case the accused is not handed over to it. It shows that even before the accused has been arrested or his trial has been started the administration considers him as a criminal rather than an accused whose guilt is yet to be determined. As the accused is treated as criminal, therefore, the burden of proof lies on his shoulders. Under the FCR, once someone has

89 Renaud, “Post-Colonial Pluralism,” 572.

90 UNGA, ICCPR, article 14 (2) (a).

been charged, the administration is absolved of proving charges against him. Rather it is the accused who has to prove his innocence. According to Dr. Mumtaz Bangush, who hailed from FATA and had in-depth understanding of FATA administration, the FCR violates the fundamental standard of justice system i.e., a person apprehended under the Regulation is thought of as guilty unless proven innocent which means due process of law is not followed in it.⁹¹

The normal practice in determining the guilt or innocence of an accused is that when the accused is taken in custody he is charged with the crime. In case the accused refuses to confess to committing the crime, he will have to take oath by Quran that he has not committed the crime or that he does not know anything about the culprits. As far as oath on Quran is concerned, the researcher found two versions. According to the first version, only the accused has to take oath on Quran. For example, a malik told that the Jirga, with the approval of administration, can ask the accused to prove his innocence by taking oath on Quran. According to the second version which was narrated by a senior officer with experience in FATA administration, the accused as well as his two family members will have to prove his innocence by taking oath on Quran. May be because the accused is not considered honest enough to believe in his oath only. According to this officer, in case there is habitual criminal, then practice is different. The accused is asked to present material/money to the complainant who, by oath, will take an amount/quantity from it amounting to the value of goods stolen.

iii. Rights to Choose Legal Counsel of Choice, to be tried without Delay, Trial in Presence of the Accused

According to article 14 (2) (b) and (c) of ICCPR, the accused has the right to enough time and facilities to prepare his/her defense and to choose legal counsel of his choice and to be tried without unnecessary delay. Article (2) (d) requires that the trial should take place in accused's presence, that the

91 Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (Peshawar Chapter), "FCR," 4.

accused should have free hand to choose legal counsel of his choice and where interests of justice so demand, to provide legal assistance in case the accused cannot afford it.⁹²

As far as trial without delay is concerned, there is no fix timeframe for initiating proceedings. But the researcher thinks that usually trials take place quickly after the arrest of accused. In some cases, it may take longer to start proceedings of his case.

With regard to clauses (2) (b) and (d), it seems that proceedings under the FCR fall short of the required standards. The requirements under this clause are the freedom for accused to seek legal assistance (legal counsel) of his choice and that the trial should take place in presence of the accused.

Proceedings under this Regulation does not provide for the right of the accused to avail services of legal counsel. There is no concept of lawyers in trials conducted under the FCR. It was because of this denial of a fundamental element in what is called due process of law that former parliamentarian Yahya Bakhtiar once remarked in the Senate that in administration of justice under the FCR, there is no *wakeel* (no *lawyer*), no *daleel* (no argument) and no appeal.⁹³ Similarly, in its judgment regarding jurisdiction of higher courts in FATA, Peshawar High Court observed that people of tribal areas do not have the right to be represented by legal experts or present reasoned evidence.⁹⁴

92 UNGA, ICCPR, article 14 (2) (b, c and d).

93 Wazir, "FATA under FCR."

94 Kamran Arif and Muhammad Raza, Peshawar High Court Judgement Sheet on FATA (2014) in Abdul Bari and Others vs. Director Livestock, Dairy Development FATA Secretariat and Others (W. P. No. 1741 of 2012), Summary and Analysis: Implication for the Reform Process in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), *News and Politics* (2014), accessed on December 3, 2014, <http://www.slideshare.net/fatanews/peshawar-high-court-fata-judgment-analysis>.

As far as the requirement that trial shall be conducted in presence of the accused party is concerned, there is unique system in FATA. It is the Jirga which acts as the court to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused. While conducting inquiry into his guilt or innocence, Jirga, as required by the Regulation, hears the accused. The Jirga, according to a leading malik, tries to read the mind of the accused person. During this process, Jirga does not take any notes and thus no written record of the proceedings is made. The Regulation does not lay down any specific rules for Jirga proceedings and it only requires that the Jirga shall conduct the necessary inquiry and that the accused be heard. With regard to inquiry, the absence of guiding rules leaves open space for the Jirga to conduct inquiry in any manner it desires. For example, one malik said that they inquire about the character of the accused even in private capacity from his neighbours and co-villagers. It means that if someone tells the malik that the accused is of good/bad character then the malik does not need to bring this information on the record which puts question mark over the whole process and credibility of the inquiry. It also creates doubts whether the accused is really provided an opportunity to defend himself. At the end, the Jirga presents its opinion to the PA. It is here that the decision is made with the PA having final say in the case. PA, as told by almost all maliks, has authority to make any decision.

As stated above, Jirga does not take any written notes of the proceedings. It means that the whole justice system is run through verbal communications and orders. An experienced official of the administration said that during criminal proceedings, taking written notes and preparing record is not mandatory. The mention of a decision of FATA Tribunal, in which it reversed the decision of the FCR Commissioner Peshawar Division (passed on 24th May, 2014), through which the appeal of the petitioner against the verbal order of Assistant Political Agent/Additional District Magistrate Jamrud, Khyber Agency dated 3rd January, 2009 was

dismissed, would better explain the nature of proceedings under THE FCR.

According to the details of the case as mentioned in the judgment of FATA Tribunal, political administration of Khyber Agency demolished the house of Haji Momin Khan (now Senator) and imposed a fine of 30 lacs on him for allegedly supporting a militant organization, Lashkar-e-Islam, to occupy his house and use it for anti-state activities. Allegations of kidnapping were also levelled against the accused. He appealed against the decision to the FCR Commissioner who rejected his appeal. The Tribunal, in its judgement, reversed the decision of imposing fine of 30 lacs on Haji Momin Khan. In the judgement, the Tribunal stated, "We have considered the contention of both sides where after we are of the view that there were serious allegations of committing heinous crimes of kidnapping and anti-state activities against the petitioner for which his house was demolished and a fine of Rupees thirty lacs was imposed on the petitioner and recovered but astonishingly the whole action was conducted through verbal orders, which is against the spirit of law in vogue in the area. Despite repeated notices, no record of the case was produced which was confirmed by the APA concerned before the Tribunal that except receipt of fine and comments submitted to Commissioner FCR at appeal stage, there is nothing in Black & White about the case in office record. The APA requested that the comments submitted to the Commissioner be also considered their comments in the revision before this Tribunal as well. The entire action might have been taken in the interest of the state and public tranquility but ignoring the basic principle of law, that when law requires a thing to be done in a particular manner, it should be done in that manner or not at all....." "As such, recovery of fine without any notice and hearing the petitioner tantamounts to misuse of authority and miscarriage of justice. In the circumstances, we are left with no option but to hold that legal course covering the case against the petitioner was available to the Political

Administration Khyber Agency but they ignored the legal course and instead adopted an illegal way which is not sustainable in the eyes of law.”⁹⁵ It seems that the Shakeel Afridi case too was decided through verbal orders without any proper record of proceedings.

When the researcher asked an officer, who had served as APA, about absence of written record in this case, he said that the Regulation does not make it mandatory for officials to put everything in black and white. This was his view but the researcher think it is the prevailing practice in administration under the FCR.

Thus there is strange system where Jirga conducts inquiry and hears the accused but PA makes the decision. Now it is difficult to say whether the trial takes place in presence of the accused or not. While keeping in view the authority which the PA has in making decision, the researcher would say that the trial does not take place in presence of the accused.

iv. Right to Produce Witnesses in His/her Favor

Clause 3 (b) of article 14 of ICCPR states that an accused has the right to produce any witnesses in his defense. However, there is no concept of accused presenting witnesses or other material evidences to prove his point under the FCR. When the researcher asked a malik of Khyber Agency about role of witnesses, he said if witnesses want to appear before the Jirga, they will have to take oath on Quran as their simple testimony is not admissible under the FCR proceedings. Similarly, another malik from South Waziristan said that witnesses and other material evidence has no value in proceedings under the FCR. An accused is not allowed to produce witnesses or other material evidences to establish his innocence. Only two types of witnesses are allowed: (I) a doctor’s statement that the accused was under treatment at the time when the crime, for

95 FATA Tribunal, Revision Petition against the Order of Commissioner Peshawar Division (dated: 29/05/2014), Criminal Reference Petition No. CR195/7/2014, decision delivered on November 20, 2014.

which he is accused, took place, (II) a Gazetted Officer will have to testify that the accused was present at his office at the time of the crime. Even if the officer states that the accused was with him at some other place than his assigned office, this testimony will not be entertained.

According to Rehmanullah, a PHD candidate at Political Science Department, Peshawar University and BBC Pashtu service correspondent, "Normally, the authorities who arrest people are asked by the judiciary to present evidences and witnesses. In FATA, however, the situation is different. Under the FCR, no evidences and witnesses are required for trials. There happens to be only two parties: the accused and the administration which also acts as judge."⁹⁶

In *Samundar vs The Crown*, Supreme Court's Judge, Justice Cornelius observed if Article 11 (of the FCR which authorizes PA to refer criminal cases to Jirga) "can be regarded as a mode of justice at all, it is certainly not such a mode as is operated through the ordinary Courts of justice acting in accordance with the law of procedure and of evidence..."⁹⁷

It is because of this absence of an important component of fair trial that administration acts with impunity. For example, a malik said that if the residents of a village/area where a crime has taken place asks the administration to nominate someone in the crime and they will present the accused, the administration refuses to do so. The administration avoids nominating someone because it can levy heavy fine on the whole community without being asked by any court/tribunal about its heavy-handedness.

v. Right to Appeal

According to article 14, clause, 5, every convicted person has the right to make appeal to higher tribunal to review the

96 Rehmanullah, BBC Pashtu Correspondent, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, March 18, 2015.

97 Renaud, "Post-Colonial Pluralism," 570-71.

sentence awarded to him/her.⁹⁸ Under the FCR, appeals against the decisions of PA can be made to Commissioner (section 48) while appeals against the decisions of Commissioner are made to FATA Tribunal (section 55A).⁹⁹ From the very outset, it should be noted that people of FATA have no right to make appeals to the higher courts in the country. Under article 247 of Constitution, High Courts and Supreme Court have been barred from exercising jurisdiction over FATA. Thus it is serving and retired bureaucrats who act as courts of appeal for tribal people.

As far as appeal to Commissioner is concerned, the Commissioners usually send the decision back to the concerned Political Agent for review. Even if the Commissioner changes the decision it brings very minute change in it. According to one malik, the Commissioner does not want to alienate Political Agent by reversing the judgment himself. So the Commissioner sends the decisions back to the PA to review them. But to the contrary, another malik said that Commissioner usually reduces the fine imposed by PA.

During his research, the researcher also happened to read some decisions passed by the Commissioners. In most of the cases, the Commissioner (s) had rejected the appeals. Even in one case, domicile of a student was cancelled by PA on the recommendation of Jirga that he was an Afghan national. In his appeal to the Commissioner, the student signed an affidavit containing signatures of approval of 18 maliks including those who had earlier recommended to the administration that he was an Afghan National. The Commissioner simply rejected the appeal without ordering any inquiry into the case. The FATA Tribunal, where Commissioner's decision was challenged, remanded the case back to the Commissioner to investigate the issue.¹⁰⁰

98 UNGA, ICCPR, article 14(5).

99 FCR 2011, section 48 and 55A.

100 Fida, interview.

This shows the lack of interest of Commissioners in seriously considering the appeals.

The next and final forum for appeal is the FATA Tribunal. During interviews with lawyers and other people, they said that the Tribunal is not an ideal appellate body. Many people objected over the composition of the Tribunal. As the Tribunal is to consist of two retired bureaucrats and a lawyer who knows tribal customs and is eligible to become judge of High Court, many senior lawyers objected over the presence of the retired bureaucrats on the Tribunal. For example, Ijaz Mohmand, President FATA Lawyers Forum, said that the Supreme Court bars hiring of retired bureaucrats while in FATA they are given coveted slots.¹⁰¹ Similarly, other lawyers said that instead of retired bureaucrats, retired judges or people who are eligible to become judges of High Court should be appointed to the Tribunal. Even some lawyers objected over the appointment of Pir Fida Muhammad on the basis that he is not from FATA and thus is not well versed in tribal customs (though he was eligible to become judge of High court)

According to Mian Muhammad Ajmal, former Chief Justice Peshawar High Court, the FATA Tribunal shall consist of a retired High Court Judge and two other members who are eligible to become judges of High Court. The tribunal should also have powers like High Courts under article 199 of constitution.¹⁰² Pir Fida Muhammad, who served as member of FATA Tribunal immediately after it was formed, too said that there is lot of room for improving the Tribunal. According to him, retired High Court judges or lawyers eligible to become judges of High Court, as compared to retired bureaucrats, can in better way fulfil requirements of justice while working on the appellate Tribunal. On the basis of his working relationship with two retired bureaucrats at the

101 Ijaz Mohmand, former President FATA Lawyers Forum, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, March 17, 2015.

102 Mian Muhammad Ajmal, Former Chief Justice of Peshawar High Court, interview by the researcher, Peshawar, March 22, 2015.

Tribunal, he said that retired bureaucrats and retired judges/lawyers look at judicial matters from different perspectives. He further said that the Tribunal does not have sufficient powers and to make it more vibrant and useful, it should be invested with powers granted to High Courts by the constitution. At present, the court has three members. It means that if one is absent then the Tribunal cannot function as decisions are to be made with majority. There is need for increasing the number of judges to at least five so that its work is not affected if one or two members of the Tribunal cannot attend its proceedings.¹⁰³

The Tribunal does not have contempt of court powers like High Courts and Supreme Court. Thus it can do nothing if officials in FATA refuse to implement its orders. For example, in August 2013, a two-member bench of Peshawar High Court consisting of Justice Nisar Hussain Khan and Justice Musarrat Hilali issued show-cause notice to Khyber Agency PA and Jamrud APA for violating verdict of FATA Tribunal and keeping a man, who had been sentenced to seven year imprisonment for his alleged links with militants, in illegal detention. Earlier, the Tribunal reversed the decision of Khyber Agency administration and also dismissed the review petition filed by political administration against the order of the same Tribunal. The court also issued notice to Superintendent Peshawar Central Prison asking him to explain as why he kept the individual in detention after FATA Tribunal issued an order for his release.¹⁰⁴ This shows that the Tribunal does not have any mechanism to get its decisions implemented.

The fact that all its members are appointed at the same time and thus retire simultaneously also seriously affect FATA peoples' right to appeal against convictions. In case the Tribunal's members retire and new ones are not appointed, there will be no forum for appeal available to the people of

103 Fida, interview.

104 "PHC Issues Notices to Mohmand, Khyber PAs," *The News*, August 13, 2013.

FATA. For instance, tenure of its Chairman and two members expired on 26th January, 2015¹⁰⁵ and new members had not yet been appointed. Resultantly, there was no Tribunal between January and May and it was at last in May that the Peshawar High Court was informed that the Tribunal has been restored.¹⁰⁶ In the absence of functional Tribunal, tribal people had no forum available to make appeal against Commissioner's decisions. This state of affairs put a question mark over the credibility of appellate system available to people of FATA.

Conclusion

The North-west frontier of India always remained a torn in Britain's flashes. Excluding the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), the second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80) and Second World War (1914-18) there was barely a single year between 1849 and 1947 (when British held the frontier) that government was not to send a military expedition to deal with revolts and uprisings from Pashtuns tribes. Though British first introduced Indian Penal Code to the frontier, however, it soon realized that this law will not serve its interests. Therefore, it introduced special legal, administrative and judicial code for subduing resistance from Pashtuns and the Balochis. The new document was presented in such a manner to give the impression that it was derived from Pashtun cultural norms though it exploited Pashtun socio-cultural values to further imperial interests. This code provided vast powers to British officials serving on the frontier. The Regulation empowered the administration to sentence accused without fulfilling requirements needed in regular courts.

After independence, Pakistan retained this Regulation and at present it is this colonial era legal code through which FATA is governed. As British introduced this system only to protect its own interests, there was no consideration for the welfare

105 "FATA Tribunal Becomes Dysfunctional," *The News*, February 6, 2015.

106 "Service Restored: PHC told FATA Tribunal Chairman, Members Have Been Appointed," *Express Tribune*, May 28, 2015.

of the people to whom it was applied. Thus it involved violation of the very fundamental rights of the people inhabiting the area. This violation of the basic rights still continues. Despite the fact that Pakistan has signed ICCPR, it has taken no steps to do away with this inhuman law. It is Pakistan's responsibility under international human rights law to reform this system and ensure fundamental rights to the people of FATA.

Language Riots in Sindh and Impact on Sindhi Politics

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ABSTRACT

After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the decision to make Urdu as the national language of Pakistan was not only resisted in East Pakistan, but Sindh also showed resentment. Like Bengali, Sindhi was the medium of instruction in non-elite schools of the state. Sindhi remained part of the struggle against the administrative domination of Bombay in pre-independence period. Apart from administrative reasons, the demand to separate Sindh from the Bombay presidency was on grounds of having a separate identity in terms of culture and language. After independence, this situation was challenged with the influx of the Urdu-speaking Mohajirs from India as the 1951 Census, showed that they constituted about 57 percent of the population of Karachi while they were in majority in several big cities of Sindh. This linguistic division was not only against the interests of the Sindhi culture, but also damaged the province economically when Urdu became

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compulsory for the urban jobs. Different decisions of the government like moving University of Sindh to Hyderabad, transfer of capital and One Unit spoiled the position. All this made language as part of the ethnic politics of Sind. Educational policy of Yahya Khan once again marginalized 'regional languages. The recognition of Sindhi as medium of instruction in Sindh worsened the situation. In July 1972, the Sindh Bill brought a bloody drama causing extreme apprehension among the Mohajirs. To pacify the situation, different measures were taken. Here the question was of power where language was instrumented by the majority. The bitterness of the conflict led to the rise of militant ethnicity among the Mohajirs and the Sindhis, making big cities like Karachi as a battlefield. Focusing on the case of language, the paper is to explore how language and culture are linked to politics and power.

Introduction

Sindh is situated in the south part of the country, bordering with India from South East and Arabian Sea in the southwest. Location of Sindh makes it the most significant province of Pakistan as the Arabian Sea with its 580 adjacent sea-lane makes a crucial water route, connecting it with the world. The total area of the province is 151,440 square kilometers. According to the census data of 1998, the total population of Sindh is 29.981 million, divided into urban and rural population. The world's oldest civilization, Mohanjadaro lies in Sindh. It is also called Babul Islam (Gateway to Islam) as the first armed incursion of the Muslims in India took place near the present day Karachi. During the Umayyad period (660-750), Arab General Muhammad Bin Qasim landed here in 712 A.D and conquered Sindh and other areas.¹ The Muslims remained dominant in Sindh till 1843 when the British occupied it. It was administered as a separate province, but in 1847, the British made it the part of Bombay Presidency. The people of

1 Ishtiaq Ahmed, *State, Nation and Ethnicity in Contemporary South Asia*, (London & New York: Pinter, 1996), 187.

Sindh opposed the merger of Sindh in Bombay and demanded for the restoration of its separate status. A movement for this purpose was launched, and ultimately the government yielded to this demand and Sindh was separated from Bombay Presidency in 1936 under the Government of India Act of 1935.²

National Language of Pakistan after Independence

Pakistan is a multilingual state having the people of different ethnic identities who generally express themselves through their languages. Pashto, Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Urdu and Siraiki are commonly used in specific areas. Different ethnic communities applied language as a powerful tool for asserting their identity and launched language movements for determining their status. Language issue created a serious threat to the integrity of the state, particularly the Bengali language controversy. The first bone of contention between the East Pakistan and the federal government was the language issue as Urdu was declared the sole national language of Pakistan in 1948, ignoring the Bengali language. The Bengalis did not accept this decision, having the view that they were in the majority with 55 percent of the total population of the country. The logic behind the declaration of one language policy was to promote the state integrity. However, it was very difficult to suppress the voice of the majority. The refusal of the federal government to make Bengali as the lingua franca of the state caused much tension in the eastern wing, leading to massive agitation in early 1952. The students of Dacca University began protesting and in a clash with the police on February 21, 1952, several students lost their lives. Finally, in 1954, the government resolved this issue and the constituent assembly gave the status of national language to both Urdu and Bengali. Although the issue was resolved to the satisfaction of the people of East Pakistan yet the long and

2 M.L. Zardari, *History of Sindh: Pakistan Movement 1936-1947*, (Moro (District Naushahero Feroze, Sindh): Sindh Historical and Cultural Society, 2000), 40.

bitter controversy never removed from their memories. It imprinted deep and indelible marks of hate on their minds, which caused a sense of alienation with feelings of deprivation among them. This language movement was a beginning of the sub nationalism among the Bengalis.³ The rise of Bengali ethnicity was perceived as the economic deprivation of Bengalis as well. East Pakistan was underdeveloped, almost in all sectors. The province lagged behind and the disparity grew over time. Language also awakened and sustained the sense of separate existence of the community.

National Language Policy and Sindhi

During the British period, Sindhi language had its separate identity after adoption of Arabic and Persian script. Sindhi was the official language of the province. The revenue record and legal documents were maintained in it.⁴ After partition of India, a large number of the Muslims migrated and settled in Sindh. The cities of Sindh like Karachi, Hyderabad, Sakhar, Mirpur Khas and Nawab Shah became the hub of the Muhajirs from India. Until 1954, more than one million Urdu-speaking migrated to Sindh.⁵ According to the census of 1951, the Muhajirs composed eight percent of the population of Pakistan. Along with another cultural influx, Urdu became the popular language of urban areas and Sindh became a bilingual province with Karachi as Urdu-speaking city.⁶ The Muhajirs who settled in interior Sindh were inclined to adopt Sindhi language and culture to create harmony with the local people. It is a historical fact that

3 M. Jabeen, A. A. Chandio & Z. Qasim, "Language Controversy: Impacts on National Politics and Secession of East Pakistan," *Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 3, no. 1, (January-June 2010), 99.

4 T. Rehman, *The Sindhi Language Movement and the Politics of Sindh*, *Ethnic Studies Report*, 14, no., 01, (January 1996), 109.

5 Ahmed, *State, Nation and Ethnicity*, 185.

6 S.J. Tambiah, *Leveling Crowd: Ethnonationalist Conflict and Collective Violence in South Asia*, (Berkeley: University of California, 1996).

outsiders or intruders have always been merging in indigenous culture.⁷ According to G. M. Sayed:

“After the birth of Pakistan it had been our demand that Sindhi should be given the status of a national language and made the sole official language of Sindh. In 1848, Governor of Bombay had made Sindhi the official language of Sindh. In 1857, the commissioner of Sindh made Sindhi the court language of Sindh. This was the state of affairs till 1947.”⁸

The federal government declared Urdu as the national language, though it was spoken by seven percent people of Pakistan.⁹ This special status was given to Urdu in the background of Urdu-Hindi controversy of 1867, which made Urdu as the identity symbol for the Muslim community. This notion led the Mohajirs to assume that Pakistan would be a place to preserve Urdu. The federal government’s decision not only disturbed the Begalis, but the Sindhis were equally surprised that their language was not included with Urdu in national order. This gave a blow to Sindhi culture and pride. The Muhajirs were beneficiaries of this decision and their mother tongue Urdu assisted them in getting access to official jobs.¹⁰ About this situation Anwer Syed wrote:

In all of Pakistan, the Sindhi-speaking people also called the old Sindhis harbour a most anguished sense of deprivation. They have been reduced to minority in their cities and larger towns. They feared that they may soon become a minority in the province as a whole. The Muhajirs have attempted to impose their own language and culture at the Sindhi-speaking people in the name of Islam and Pakistanipatriotism. They and other settlers have taken economic sources and opportunities that would otherwise have gone to the Sindhi-speaking people.¹¹

7 M. Ali, *Sindh: Khamoshi Ki Awaz* (Urdu), (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1992), 264.

8 G.M. Sayed, *The Case of Sindh*, (Karachi: Naen Sindh Academy, 1995), 189-190.

9 Jabeen et al, “Language Controversy,” 102.

10 A. Ayres, “The Politics of Language Policy in Pakistan” in M.E. Brown & S. Ganguly (eds.), *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2003), 63.

11 Tambiah, *Leveling Crowd*, 168

Another decision regarding separating Karachi from Sindh and making it the federal capital also proved a major setback to the progress of Sindhi language. As a result of this decision, the University of Sindh was moved from Karachi to Hyderabad, which was comparatively less developed area than Karachi. In 1952, a separate university was established in Karachi, which encouraged Urdu in comparison to Sindhi. In 1957-58, the University of Karachi closed the department of Sindhi and forbade the teaching of the Sindhi in Karachi and banned it as an examinations' medium. In interior Sindh, the Muhajirs were exempted to learn Sindhi.¹² This order ignited the situation, which was already turbulent. The Sindhis had resentment against Urdu. A few measures were later reversed, but the memories had already lingered on with another decision of the government. All the four provinces were merged into One Unit as West Pakistan in 1955. It was perceived the end of the separate identity of Sindh and the decision of One Unit was opposed to cultural, linguistic, economic and political grounds. M. A. Khuhro attempted to revive the Sindhi culture, suggesting the assembly to endow a Sindhi Culture Advancement Board along with funding for a library and gallery, but the suggestion remained unnoticed.¹³

Making Sindhi as the National Language

The Sindhi Adabi Sangat appealed the government to make Sindhi as the official language, giving India's example where the number of national languages was fourteen.¹⁴ The *Sindhi Adabi Sangat* presented the economic arguments in these words:

"If the intention is not to see five million Sindhi speaking people handicapped and put at a disadvantage in the field of education,

12 F. Ahmed, "Pakistan's Problems of National Integration" in A. Khan (ed.), *Islam, Politics and the State: The Pakistan Experience*, (London: Zed Books, 1985), 238; A. Hussain, *Pakistan's Economy in Historical Perspective: Growth, Power and Poverty* in W. John, *Pakistan: The Struggle within*, Delhi: Person Longman, 2008), 26

13 Ayres, "Politics of language," 65

14 *Ibid.*

trade and commerce and public services as against Urdu-knowing fellow citizens, then it is absolutely essential that Sindhi is made to serve as an official language at least – for Sindh and its adjoining Sindhi speaking areas.”¹⁵

In 1959, national education policy was announced by the military government of Ayub Khan. It described about the language policy as below:

“The mother tongue should be used up to class V as medium of instruction and Urdu should be introduced as medium of instruction from Class VI from 1963 and should be continued progressively in the higher classes. It is necessary to give Urdu the same position in Sindh as is in the rest of West Pakistan.”¹⁶

This policy of the government was strongly opposed and criticized by the people of Sindh. In response, they observed the “Sindhi Day” on November 9, 1962 with demand to restore Sindhi’s status. This decision suppressed Sindhi language and limited it to lower levels of education. The official record was also to be reprinted in Urdu, which was maintained in Sindhi previously. Even the Sindhi writers and newspapers were suppressed.¹⁷ This situation also brought an end to Sindhi in affairs of city government with Urdu-speaking employees.¹⁸ About 30 primary level Sindhi medium schools were closed. During this period, Sindhi was replaced by Urdu even in writing names on official buildings, railway stations and bus stops. The radio broadcasts and programs in Sindhi language were reduced.¹⁹ The policy of ignoring Sindhi language created resentment among the Sindh is against the both the government and the Muhajirs.²⁰ The prominent Sindhi leaders protested against the decision

15 T. Rehman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997),115.

16 *Ibid.*

17 Ayres, “Politics of language,” 65

18 Hussain, “Pakistan’s Economy,” 26

19 Ayres, “Politics of language,” 65; Rehman, “Sindhi Language,” 105-06; Ahmed, *State, nation & Ethnicity*.

20 A.A. Chandio, &M. Jabeen, “Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan in 1980’s: A Case Study of Sindhi-Muhajir Riots. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 02, no., 3, 2010,) 287-300.

of Ayub Khan's government and a joint statement was issued which stated:

"Sindhi had been the medium of instruction and examination upto the secondary level for two hundred and fifty years and upto college and university level for ninety years. The commission's decision to downgrade Sindhi is a grave injustice. We demand immediate withdrawal of the decision and restoration of the position of Sindhi."²¹

Muhajir-Sindhi Confrontation

Before partition, education in Sindh was mainly in native language and after independence, Sindhi continued to be employed in schools and offices, but influx of the Muhajirs disturbed this setting when they began to establish a number of institutions with Urdu-teaching. After formation of One Unit, the government also emphasized on the philosophy of language (Urdu) and religion (Islam) for national integration. Above it, military-bureaucracy oligarchy suppressed the local culture. The confrontation between the Muhajirs and the Sindhis increased by the passage of time and the Sindhi language movement was launched to protect the Sindhi identity, which ultimately resulted in the language riots.

The majority of the Muhajirs settled in the urban areas of Sindh composing 50 percent of the population, which reduced the number of native Sindhis who became a minority in big cities of Sindh. According to the census of 1981, 4.6 million Muhajirs settled in Sindh. Among them, 3.3 million resided in Karachi (80 percent of its population) because the economic opportunities attracted them. In Hyderabad, they were 66 percent, while 67 percent population of both Nawab Shah and Mirpur Khas was the Muhajirs.²² However, the Sindhis constituted an over-

21 M. Mirza, *Aaj ka Sindh* (Urdu) (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1986) 15.

22 S. Kardar, *Polarization in the Region and Prospects for Integration in S.A. Zaidi* (ed.), *Regional Imbalance and the National Question in Pakistan*, (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), 310.

whelming majority in rural Sindh sharing 81.5 percent of the rural inhabitants of the province.²³

Sindhi intellectuals and politicians did not accept this and made attempts in provoking the sentiments of Sindhi people for making a separate identity of their language. It was viewed that Sindhi identity might be established on the basis of language. The Sindhis took Muslim nationalism against their interests, and laid the foundation of their nationalism on the basis of language instead of religion.²⁴

G. M. Sayed along with other Sindhi leaders strongly opposed Urdu and demanded to make Sindhi an official language. Sayed claimed that Punjabi ruling elite with the collaboration of the Muhajirs wanted to exploit the Sindhis and their autonomy and they would dominate Sindh politically, economically and culturally.²⁵ The Sindhis also expressed their apprehensions of losing their identity and felt that they would be left behind in race of goods, services and power in the country. On the other hand, the ruling elite named all expressions of Sindhi leaders as communist and Indian conspiracy, just like the Bengali language movement.²⁶ They thought if any other language would be given the status of the national language except Urdu, the country would disintegrate as Urdu was associated with Islam. Shaikh Ayaz a famous Sindhi intellectual along with other writers also opposed the ruling elites' efforts to make Urdu as the dominant language and demanded that Sindhi should be made the official language of Sindh.²⁷

Language Riots of 1971

The Sindhi-Muhajir language antagonism led to the first language riots in Sindh in January 1971. In 1970, G. M.

23 C.H. Kennedy, "The Politics of Ethnicity in Sindh," *Asian Survey*, 31, no. 10 (Oct., 1991), 939.

24 Ali, Sindh, 266.

25 Sayed, Case of Sindh.

26 Rehman, "Sindhi language," 119.

27 Rehman, Language & Politics, 119-22.

Sayed changed the name of his party from Sindh Awami Mahaz to Sindh United Party to participate in the elections. He made ethnicity as the centre point of his election campaign. On the other side, Muhajir-Punjabi-Patahn Mahaz (MPPM) was organized in Sindh. Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Hyderabad was its convener who opposed the quota system for services and contested the election from the platform of MPPM in Hyderabad.²⁸

In these circumstances, a large number of students in Sindh inspired by Sayed's rhetoric became his supporters. Jeay Sindh Naujawan Mahaz raised the slogan of complete autonomy for Sindh in the form of Sindhu Desh.²⁹ Muhaz also reacted against the General Yahya Khan's language policy of 1969 (to adopt Urdu in West Pakistan and Bengali in the eastern wing), with a list of demands for reforms. Like Bengali language, this movement was also strengthened by the students. Meanwhile, on August 21, 1970, the Syndicate of the University of Sindh decided to adopt Sindhi as the official language and source of internal correspondence. This decision of the university was welcomed by Sindh Adabi Sangat and a large group of writers. They demanded to write the names of railway stations, parks, gardens, roads and other such places in Sindhi.³⁰ The situation became further tense when the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Hyderabad resolved on December 21, 1970, that:

"Sindhi be adopted as the official language of the Board. Resolved further that the subject of salis (easy) Sindhi be introduced as a compulsory subject for the students whose mother tongue is Urdu from the year 1971-72 and who are appearing in the Secondary School Certificate Part – I Annual Examination held in the year 1972."³¹

Decisions of the university and board caused resentment among Muhajir students who began protesting in

28 Chandio & Jabeen, "Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan," 288.

29 Hussain, "Pakistan's Economy," 26.

30 Ayres, "Politics of language," 66.

31 Rehman, *Language & Politics*, 122.

Nawabshah, and Hyderabad in January 1971. Nawab Muzaffar led the Muhajirs to launch anti-Sindh processions, which was responded alike by the Sindhis. The law and order situation became the worst and clashes occurred in Hyderabad, Mirpur Khas and Larkana. Later, disturbances spread to Karachi up to the north of the province and even interior Sindh was also wrapped in ethnic violence. For the first time, the Muhajirs raised the demand to separate Karachi from Sindh, making it a separate province.³² The situation further deteriorated when Jeay Sindh Federation Students burnt pictures of Allama Iqbal, the national poet, and in response, Muhajir students burnt books in the prestigious institute of Sindhiology on January 27, 1971. The buses were also burnt and English signboards were destroyed by a crowd of the Muhajirs in Karachi. Resultantly, the army was called in Hyderabad and some parts of Karachi to control the situation.³³

Language Bill of 1972 and Reaction

After the riots of January 1971, the situation became calm temporarily in Karachi and Hyderabad due to the presence of the army, who assisted to control the agitation. However, by the passing of time, polarization between the Muhajirs and Sindhis intensified. The situation became more aggravated when the Sindhis distributed pamphlets declaring that: "Non-Sindhis! Learn Sindhi or Leave Sindh."³⁴

This was the time when the eastern wing was in turmoil. Apart from other measure, President Yahya Khan emphasized on the national languages in educational policy to pacify the situation. Regional languages were once again marginalized. After the secession of the eastern wing, power was transferred to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on 20 December 1971 who had got an overall majority in West Pakistan in the

32 K.B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*, (New York: Praeger, 1980) 155.

33 A. Khan, *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State of Pakistan*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), 146.

34 Rehman, *Language and Politics*, 125.

elections of 1970. Bhutto assumed the power as President and the Chief Martial Law Administrator. This was a unique example of a civilian, taking military administration. Explaining the rise of Bhutto, Dr. Mehtab wrote:

“The PPP won the 1970 elections in Sindh as opposed to Punjab not on the basis of its manifesto, but because of the personality cult of Sindhi. In the Punjab, Bhutto rode the tiger of anti-India rhetoric, but in Sindhi the PPP’s propaganda machinery portrayed him as the personification of Sindhi Identity, “Bhutto Saeen”. By voting for Bhutto, Sindhi felt that something would be done for them.”³⁵

After coming into power, Bhutto made his cousin Mumtaz Ali Bhutto as the chief minister of Sindh who declared that he would fulfil his promise with the Sindhi electorates, giving Sindhi the same role as it had enjoyed before the One Unit Scheme. Mumtaz Bhutto considered himself as the champion of the Sindhi cause. The Sindh (teaching, promotion, and use of Sindhi language) Bill of 1972 was submitted to the Sindh Assembly on July 3, 1972 and passed after four days on 7th July with 50 votes in a House of 62 and the governor assented on July 16, 1972. The bill was introduced to restore the status of Sindhi as the sole official language of the province.³⁶ The opposition’s demand to make Urdu as the second official language was also rejected.³⁷ Another resolution was also moved in the assembly, which required non-Sindhi employees to learn Sindhi within three months to retain their official jobs.³⁸

The main part of the bill was as under:

1. “Sindhi shall be a compulsory subject for study in classes IV to XII in all institutions in which such classes are held.
2. The introduction of Sindhi as a compulsory subject shall commence at the lowest level, namely class IV and by the

35 M.A. Shah, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy, 1971-1994*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), 54.

36 M. S. Korejo, G. M. Sayed: *An Analysis of his Political Perspectives*, {Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 66.

37 Ahmed, *State, Nation and Ethnicity*, 186

38 Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan*, 154.

stage to be prescribed, be introduced in higher classes up to class XII.

3. Subject to the provision of the act, the government may make arrangements for progressive use of Sindhi Language in offices and departments of government including courts and Assembly.³⁹

In the absence of the official status of Urdu, the Muhajirs feared, they would face discrimination in Sindh. The day the language bill passed, strong criticism and reaction came from the Muhajirs and the next day, they demonstrated against the bill and riots erupted on large-scale in Karachi and Hyderabad. In some parts of Karachi, people were attacked and molested. The attacks were mixed as the targets were both anti-police and anti-Sindhi.⁴⁰ In Karachi University, the Department of Sindhi was burnt out. Clashes increased, which converted into violent conflicts in the whole province.⁴¹ President Bhutto was taken aback to get the news of violence in Sindh when he returned from India after signing the Simla Accord for the return of over 93,000 war prisoners and occupied land.⁴² The Urdu press incited the public with different irritating captions. An Urdu newspaper (Karachi) published the news item on its front page with this leading story and repeatedly wrote, *Urdu ka janaza hai zara dhoom se nikle* (It is the funeral of Urdu thus should be a flaunting one). At least 100 lives lost in these riots.⁴³

Such captions aroused the emotions of the people and miscreant elements exploited the situation, attacking persons, houses and transport vehicles. Apart from Karachi, Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas, Nawabshah also faced great loss. It seemed that the government was helpless to control the

39 Rehman, Language and Politics, 124.

40 B. Ayaz, "The dynamics of Muhajirs' politics," www.qal.org.pk/.../The%20dynamics%20of%20Muhajirs%20politics%20by%20Baba.

41 Rehman, Language and Politics, 125.

42 S. Aziz, "A Leaf from History: Language Frenzy in Sindh," Dawn, October 6, 2012.

43 Korejo, G.M. Sayed,

situation and political leadership had no courage to restore peace. Apparently, the two groups forgot the teaching of brotherhood and fraternity. Subsequently, the curfew was enforced in Karachi and Hyderabad and section 144 was also imposed. The help of the army was acquired in Hyderabad and other cities, but as soon as the curfew was relaxed, anarchy returned and a handful of mischievous element began to target the innocent people mercilessly. For many days, it seemed as the people were held hostage by these elements. Even the passengers seated in buses were not spared. It was the most heartless period one could witness. The new towns of Nasimnagar, Qasimabad, Bhitaiabad and Sajjadnagar in the vicinity of Hyderabad, and similar in Karachi are the result of this tragic violence.⁴⁴

Bhutto intervened and resolved the issue through revising the law to pacify the Muhajirs. He also replaced Mumtaz Bhutto with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as chief minister of Sindh who was acceptable to the Muhajirs.⁴⁵ An ordinance was issued, prohibiting discrimination in provincial civil services and jobs without conditioning it to knowledge of Urdu or Sindhi removing the provision of twelve years. It stated as:

“No person, otherwise qualified for appointment or promotion to any civil service of a civil post in connection with the affairs of the province of Sindh, shall be discriminated against only on the ground of want of knowledge of Sindhi or Urdu language.”⁴⁶

The time limit of 12 years lapsed in 1984 in Zia era, but he ignored the law and both Urdu and Sindhi remained official languages.⁴⁷ The dissent elements in Sindh were reduced by Z.A. Bhutto's policies as he accommodated the Sindhis in every field, giving preference in jobs and different positions in the government, semi government and even in the private sector. The land reforms of Bhutto also restored the

44 Aziz, "A leaf from History."

45 *Ibid.*

46 A. Feroz, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 76.

47 Ahmed, *State, Nation and Ethnicity*, 195.

confidence of the Sindhi *haris*. The *haris* got the land for agriculture and to some extent came out of the suppression and exploitations of the feuds and *waderas*. The greatest achievement and gift for the Sindhis was the constitutional coverage of the quota system. For Urban and rural Sindh, a percentage was fixed in government's services. The rural Sindhis got benefit from quota in jobs and admission in professional institutions on Domicile basis. Bhutto also facilitated the Sindhis on priority basis in providing education and health facilities. Then the Sindhi language was made the official language of Sindh by Bhutto.

The rebel voices almost became ineffective in Sindh during Bhutto's government. The slogan of "Sindhu Desh, "the separation of Sindh from Pakistan, by G.M. Sayed did not attract the Sindhis due to Bhutto's policies and actions, which promoted the Sindhi people. Even when the leaders of this movement, G. M. Sayed, Abdul Wahid Arisar and Habibullah Narejor were arrested, Sindhi people did not protest against their arrest.⁴⁸ Contrary to it, they showed their sympathies with Bhutto. All of this was due to Bhutto's charismatic personality and his behavior towards his people and practical work for the welfare of Sindhi public.

The ousting of Bhutto from power by undemocratic way in amilitary coupled by General Zia-ul-Haqin July 1977, changed the politics of Sindh. A few policies of Bhutto remained intact by Zia like federal quota system. However, he added a new crumple of his military preference. In 1982, 10 percent vacancies were reserved for retired military personnel in the secretariat, and huge number of military officers got senior positions in the public sector. The number of Muhajir dropped in bureaucracy, however, the Muhajirs were still disproportionately over-represented relevant to their number or the terms of the federal quota. In this way, the overall number of the personnel of Sindh remained high

48 Sayed, Case of Sindh.

in bureaucracy, but the number of the Sindhis remained low in terms of their population.⁴⁹

The people of Sindh resisted and protested against the military rule, as they were the direct victim and affected by it. They fully participated in the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) during the 1980's. With Bhutto in power, they were more than satisfied as he was the first Sindhi leader, holding the top position in Pakistan. Sindhi people had apprehensions of being neglected and marginalized by the military regime. This led them to protest against the military regime. After Bhutto's execution, the grievances of the Sindhi people were a natural phenomenon.

Conclusion

The language riots divided the population of Sindh on ethnic lines and the gulf between the Sindhis and the Muhajirs was further deepened as the Sindhi had already grievances against the Muhajirs for occupying the economic sources. Instead of a source of interaction, the national language became the cause of controversy and even challenge the integrity of the state. After migration of the Hindus from Sindh, the Muhajirs not only filled the vacuum, but also occupied the assets and property left by them. They also got jobs in offices and the Sindhis blamed that this Urdu-speaking community had snatched their rights by occupying the jobs in offices and institutions. The causes for this backwardness could be traced in the oppressive and decadent feudal system of Sindh, which was the product of centuries. The Sindhi people did not keep the qualification required for different posts and jobs. As the prevailing system just created *haris* and tenants, deprived the common man from acquiring education. The language movement, once mobilized for identity of culture, was not limited to it. The controversy over the Language Bill generated the new ethnological pattern in politics of Sindh. In the coming times, formation of Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz (MQM) was its product,

49 Kennedy, "Politics of Ethnicity," 945.

which further strengthened the rift between the two groups. The radical elements also exploited the situation and making political parties on ethnic lines. In interior Sindh, slogan of Sindhu Desh was raised while in Karachi voices of Muhajiristan were stroking the ears. In this way, the politics of the language was used to gain power and domination.

Silencing of Women in Chishti Hagiographical Tradition in South Asia

Adeela Ghazanfar*

ABSTRACT

Hagiography/tadhikra is a sufi biographical compendium or collective biographies. It is a conscious remembrance of sufis' lives along with the concerned cultural residue and reconstructions. It has also been termed as memorative communication. For Chishtis, the written tradition of tadhkira starts from fourteenth century and developed after fifteenth century in the medieval India. The Chishti hagiographies also stand for remembering the past heritage, practices and communication of these observance to the next generations. They remember most of the sufis in the Silsilah, Chishti practices, khanqah life, prayers and most importantly, cultural and social affairs of the time. The present study will deal with the very first hagiography in Indian and Chishti history, Siyar al-Awliyā. It was written around 1350, by Amir Khurd, who was a close disciple of Khawaja Nizamul Din Awliya. An in-depth study of Siyar al-Awliyā explicit an operative gender ideology and a masculine coding that shapes the writer's narratives, in his work, women have been commemorated as briefly as the writer could. They are only observed as pious mothers, sisters and wives. Women

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in the hagiography had no other roles to play except cooking and cleaning. There is an underlying idea of denying the spiritual equality, importance of woman in society and particularly in the Silsilah. The reader never comes across a woman who could be attributed as sufi in this tadhkira/hagiography. The study suggests that the tradition has silenced the woman's role not only in sufi circles but in the medieval Indian legacy too, through this communicative remembrance.

*Men who surrender unto Allah,
And women who surrender,
And men who believe,
And women who believe,
And men who speak the truth,
And women who speak the truth,
And men who preserve in righteousness,
And women who preserve,
And men who are humble,
And Women who are humble,
And men who give alms,
And women who give alms,
And men who fast,
And women who fast
And men who guard their modesty,
And women who guard their modesty,
And men who remember Allah much,
And women who remember Allah much,
Allah hath prepared for them forgiveness
And a vast reward.*

(Sura al-Ahzaab: 35)

Introduction

During the late twentieth century, many scholars and historians have written about the women's prestige in Islam. More precisely, most of them tried to pen down the feminine component in the sufi traditions. Once, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) communicated to His followers that "on the path of ascent towards the Truth, it is the heart's work that ultimately is weighed, not the corporeal form of flesh and blood".¹ Thus,

¹ Javed Nurbakhsh, *Sufi Women*. English trans. Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqah-Nimatullahi Publications, 1990), 12.

the females who step their foot on the path of Sufism, enjoy equal status in the eyes of Allah, as men do. Sufism has a different attitude towards the issue of gender from formal religion. For sufis, women appear as symbol of a yearning soul.² Great sufi scholar, Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240) who supposedly set theological foundations of Sufism,³ showed that how God can be recognized more easily in feminine. In most of his poems, God appears as 'women'. Similarly, an Egyptian poet (contemporary of Ibn 'Arabi), Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235) always used feminine gender in his poetry for his mystical expressions.⁴ However, in medieval Indian history, the Chishti hagiographical tradition mostly remained silent about the role of women sufis. There is a difference among what sufi masters thought about women, how sufi women played key role in this tradition and what hagiographers wrote about them.

Understanding Hagiography

Apparently, hagiography explains the lives of the sufis/saints. It is not only a mirror image of any society, its people, their economic conditions, ethno religious and cultural history but, it also provides a rich and clear portrayal of its scholarly activities. Historically speaking, writing hagiography/*tadhkira* takes its roots from the second century AD. They were written to edify and enlighten the readers about the resplendent glory of the Muslim sufis and Christian mystics/saints. Generally, as far as the Western scholarship is concerned, it has explained hagiographies as the ones who embrace the veneration and acts of martyr saints, their death and accounts of trials. It has also been termed as

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- 2 Sophia Kim, "A Sufi Approach to Issues of Gender and Reconciliation" *St Francis Magazine* Vol.1, no. 1 (February 2009), 10.
 - 3 Ibn al-Arabi had accused of being heretic many times as the concept of Ibn al-Arabi about Women created many controversies. The idea of divinity in the feminine face offended many scholars. Ibn al-Arabi also discussed the spiritual and physical union. In his entire life, Ibn al-Arabi faced with severe criticism. On the other hand, despite criticism and controversies, he has been admitted and appreciated as a major thinker of Islam.
 - 4 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 2003), 431.

hagiology.⁵ As a genre of sufi literature in Islamic scholarship, hagiography has been termed as *tadhkira*. Similarly, in Islamic history, religious biographies are very important since the earliest times,⁶ and the biographical details/evidences are usually disseminated in various writings, notably, some worthy virtuous attributes (*fadā'il*) of famous pious individuals is always a key element of many ḥadīth collections, which shows initial concepts of character and magnetism. Considering South Asian case, hagiographies are not only a subtype of sufi literature but they are convincingly fascinating and erudite history of Islamicate⁷ South Asia.

Women's Role in the Sufi World and Silencing Them in Chishti Hagiographies

Right from the early sufi history, woman sufi has been venerated as pure soul and spiritual guides. It has been mentioned earlier that women played a crucial role in the religious or sufi activities and most of the time they appeared as teachers or instructors interpreting the religious texts.⁸ Those were women who gave the idea of pure/true love in Tassawuf. They were as active in playing a strong role in the

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5. "Hagiography", in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Hagiography> (accessed, October 10th, 2015).
 6. For detail study of History of writing see Khalidi, *Khalidi The Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, first. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and for biographies and hagiography in Islam see "Hagiography" in Oxford Islamic Studies Online," http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e767?_hi=0&_pos=3. (accessed November 27, 2015).
 7. The word 'Islamicate' used for the first time by Marshal G.S Hodgson like this, "... would refer not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims." in *Ventures of Islam Conscience and History in a World Civilization: The Classical Age of Islam*, Vol. 1. (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1974). 59.
 8. Annemarie Schimmel, *My Soul Is a Woman: The Feminine in Islam*. Trans. Susan H. Ray. (New York: continuum Press, 1997), 42-49.

history of Islam and Sufism as men.⁹ They were strong shaykhas and active followers/disciples of certain khanqahs and convents. Every sufi emerged on the historical surface of Sufism, only because he was born from a pious mother. Being mothers, a great number of mystically inclined females have trained and transformed their sons into leading Shaykhs of times to come, either she was Bibi Zuleikha mother Shaykh Nizamul Din Awliya (d. 1325) in India or Shaykh Abdul Qadir Gillani's (d. 1166) mother in Iran. In this regard, scholars like Annemarie Schimmel, Margaret Smith and many other researchers of Sufism are agreed that the very first mystic of Islam was a woman.¹⁰ A spiritual, pious mother raises the soul of her child with her piety and nearness to God. She nurtures the child through her virtue and reciting the Quran repeatedly.¹¹ Female child can be the leader of family's mystical line and sufi lodges is the only place where a female can enjoy equal status to her male counterpart.¹²

However, to search for what roles and specific characters', women sufis have been confined to, in the literary writings, one has to consult the hagiographic literature. Since it is not merely an anthology of notes on certain personalities (sufis) but it is something beyond. Hagiography smoothly elaborates the cultural patterns, social traditions and practices alongside the numinous accounts. Thus, there is an urge from the historical perspective to look for how far woman was a compelling motif to write upon, in South Asian

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- 9 For details on this see Etin Anwar, *Gender and Self in Islam*, 1 edition. (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 10 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 426-427 and Margaret Smith, *RāBi'a The Mystic and Her Fellow Saints in Islam: Being The Life and Teachings of Rabi'a Al-'Adawiyya Al-Qaysiyya, of Basra, Sūfī Saint, CaA. H.99-185, A.D. 717-801 Together: With Some Account of the Place of the Women in Islam*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- 11 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Islamic Spirituality*. Vol. 2, (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2000), 205.
- 12 See below and Coulon, Christian, 'Women, Islam and Baraka,' in Donal B. Cruise O'Brien and Christian Coulon (eds.) *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 121

sufi writings, more specifically in Chishti hagiographies. Present-day literature has started exploring that how women enjoyed mystical leadership in late Middle Eastern history.¹³ In spite of the fact that female has played strong role in sufi rituals not only in Middle East or other Central Islamic lands, their role has been neglected in scholarly works,¹⁴ as Shameem Abbas writes

The field has never been the subject of investigation by either native or western male scholars for a number of reasons. Among native scholars the area is ignored despite the fact that women have done much to educate the renowned male Sufis.¹⁵

In Sufism one cannot explain divine-human love without the love of man for a woman. Female love has always worked like a model for the divine love.¹⁶ But medieval Indian hagiographies are devoid of any female sufi name, was there no women worthy to entitle 'sufi'? There were women sufis in Baghdad, Khurasan, Turkey (during the Seljuk Era),¹⁷ Damascus, Egypt, Balkh,¹⁸ Syria and many other areas in Near East during, before and after, Indian Chishtis started memory writing tradition. Thus the question arises what happened to thirteenth-fourteenth century Indian history that no female sufi could be seen on this fertile soil, where very influential *silsilahs* developed and flourished.¹⁹

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- 13 For details in this regard, Jansen, Willy, *Women without Men: Gender and Marginality in an Algerian Town*, (Leiden: Publisher, 1987) and Singerman, Diane, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics, and Networks in Urban Quarters of Cairo* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995).
- 14 Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005), xvii-xviii.
- 15 Shameem Burney Abbas, *The Female Voice in Sufi Ritual: Devotional Practices of Pakistan and India*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002.
- 16 Charles S. J. White, "Sufism in Medieval Hindi Literature" *History of Religions*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Summer: 1965), 114-132, 118.
- 17 Schimmel, *My Soul Is a Woman*, 44,
- 18 Arezou Azad, "Female Mystics in Mediaeval Islam: The Quiet Legacy," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56, no. 1 (January 1, 2013), 56.
- 19 Chishtiyah Suharwardiya and Qadriyah *Silsilahs* flourished and arose to prominence in India.

The Chishti *Shaykh* Hazrat Nizamul-Din Awliya's saying about lion, has been repeatedly quoted by a number of scholars, that "if suddenly a lion appears from a forest, who would ask whether he is male or a female?",²⁰ shows that he was not prejudice about the equality of woman in the society. Moreover, in *Siyar al-Awliyā*,²¹ Baba Farid (d. 1265) has been quoted saying "If it was lawful to pass on *khilafat* to females, I would have given it to my pious daughter Bibi Sharifa."²²

However, a close analysis of Chishti *Silsilah* reveals that women have been marginalized in the literary composition, especially in hagiographies. Bibi Fatima Sam²³ (lived around the times of Baba Farid during thirteenth century) is the single female sufi of the time who is honoured with the term sufi, however, only in the later secondary literature.²⁴ She has been mentioned in *Siyar al-Awliyā* just for once in a small paragraph. Though, the hagiographer quotes Baba Farid's words; 'Bibi Fatima Sam was not a woman, she was

20 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Tarik i-Mashaikh i-Chisht.*, Vol. 1 (Delhi: Idara Adbiyat-i-Delhi, 1979), 21, Shaykh Abd al-Haq, (Muhaddith Dehlavī), *Akhbār al-Akhyār i-Asrār al-Abrār*, com. In 1950, (Deoband: Kutubkhānah-'I Rehīmiyyah, n.d), 295, Syed Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol 1, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal),

21 *Siyar al-Awliyā* is a remarkably acclaimed principal Chishti memoir, which covers thirteenth and fourteenth century. The author is Amir Khurd, who knitted minute details about Chishti *Silsilah*, its *shaykhs* and their disciples. Moreover, North Indian society, initial Muslim's settlements in Indian culture are also very important parts of the *tadhkira*. The *tadhkira* is grounded upon oral history/ personal memories, which the author acquired from his father and grand-fathers, (As, his family was very near and dear to the *Shaykhs* (Baba Farid and Shaykh Nizamul Din Awliyā).

22 Amir Khurd. *Siyar al-Awliyā*, ed., Chirinji Lal (Delhi: Mohib-i Hind Press, 1884), 191.

23 Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya*, 576 and Joya Kakar, 'Sufism and Women: A Note on Two Women Sufis and Their Dargahs at Delhi' in *The Islamic Path: Sufism, Politics and Society in India*, Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri and Helmut Reifeld, eds., (New Delhi: Rainbow Publishers, 2006), 276.

24 Kakar, 'Sufism and Women'. 276. She has been called as sufi in the secondary sources i.e *The Islamic Path*, however, in *Siyar al Awliya* and *Akhbar al Akhya* she has been discussed as pious, devotional and patient old lady.

a male in a female appearance'.²⁵ *Siyar al-Awliyā* is the close contemporary and primary source for Bibi Fatima's life, it could guide us about the details of her life. However, it seemed not worth mentioning to Amir Khurd to write any further particulars about her sufi disposition. The hagiographer had no inspiration for writing any female sufi name. He gives very little space to the women section of the society generally and of the *sisilah* particularly.²⁶ There are some tiny little notes on Bibi Zuleikha with reference to Baba Farid (being his mother), while she has been dedicated one page in length, in this extensive *tadhkira*.²⁷

To a greater extent, we often are the narratives and tales, tell regarding ourselves and others.²⁸ While narrating experiences, memorizing and recollecting the past events in the stories, one creates meaning and structural narratives in the human lives. In this regard, biography is one strong narrative ample in evaluative and explanatory frameworks, threading places, event and people together while creating a story who they are in a specific time and place in relation to others. On one hand, narration of experiences or memorizing the past helps understanding the existing situation, but on other hand there are some subjects, who are not been memorized/discussed in this narration. This approach is called silencing (any particular subject/theme), which creates vacuum, gap or evidential absence. At some point this has been assumed as impression management.²⁹ The silencing takes place at cultural level, where some subjects do not find enough space in memorial

25 Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya*, 576.

26 Who have been remembered as pious females mostly in relations to the male member of their family.

27 Amir Khurd. *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 88.

28 See Jerome S. Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

29 Fivush, "Speaking Silence." 91.

communication, to be remembered at full length. This is called voicing some aspects and silencing the others.³⁰

In the case of Chishtiyah hagiographical legacy, female sufis, (recalled as pious ladies, mothers or sisters) have been silenced. Similarly, in *Siyar al-Awliyā*, the religious fervour /Divine-love of pious females have been associated to their husbands, sons and fathers as if they have no individual standings. Here one can argue that the hagiographer was managing or overtly trying to manage the impression of male dominance in Indian culture. There is a difference in being silent or silenced³¹ and in early Chishti hagiographical traditions women sufis have been silenced or marginalized.

To rationalize this impression management, one has to comprehend South Asian traditional culture, where women need to be faithful and loyal to their family and subordinate to their men. One example of hiding alongside explicating women's role in Chishti *tariqa*, hagiographer mentions one incident related to the wife (who was truly inclined to sufi piety) of Qazi Hamid ul-Din Nagauri,³² while not mentioning her name. On the other hand, one should not forget the role and character assigned to an 'old woman' by the sufi legends who appears in the dreams of practiced mystic, when he/she is in some problem³³ and she comes to solve their problems and to guide them. She has always been an 'old woman' and not a man. In Sufism there are a lot of examples of female saints who taught their male heads/

30 Robyn Fivush, "Speaking Silence: The Social Construction of Silence in Autobiographical and Cultural Narratives," *Memory* 18, no. 2 (February 2010), 88.

31 *Ibid.*, 92.

32 He was a very close disciple of Hazrat Nizamul-Din Awliya. For his life, see Amir Khūrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, 52, 144, 137, 151, 166, 167 and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century* (New Delhi: Muslim University Ali Garh Press, 1961), 186, 187.

33 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 430.

followers.³⁴ Moreover, inherently critical of egoism, sufis challenge the very idea of male superiority over female, the sufis are always aware of Allah's complete sovereignty and dominance, that is why no human (male) can claim superiority over others (woman). Moreover, al-Sulamī (d. 1021), states that their (women's) wisdom and superiority often completely outnumbered the sufi men.³⁵ This ideal statement covers in Chishti memorial communication, when one reads *Siyar al-Awliyā*. Despite the fact that South Asian sufi poets also used bridal metaphors for openly expressing Divine-human love,³⁶ the Chishti hagiography lacks any female sufi names or they have not been highlighted in the literary history of the *Silsilah*.

Ibn al-Arabi thinks of women as "the secret of compassionate God", he narrates about two ladies who were very respectful and who taught him during their lives.³⁷ Man's affection or love towards a woman is employed as a symbol for the adoration among Divine Entity and the creature. Likewise, in Sudan, women sufi master is called as *shaykha* and among the well-known female sufis of Sudan is Sister Maryam. Women sufis are deeply acclaimed as sufi and treated very respectfully in that society. The tomb of Sister Maryam is a centre for huge gatherings of her male and especially female followers.³⁸ The why there is no sufi women, being celebrated in this Chishti hagiographical narrative? Bibi Fatima Sam is the only independent pious

34 The role women have played in Islam and particularly Sufism, have discussed by a number of scholars for details pertaining to the communities in Africa or other regions see Barban Callaway and Lucy Creevey: *The Heritage of Islam: Women Religion and Politics in West Africa* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1994). Amina Wadud, *Quran and Women: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective* (New York, Oxford: OUP, 2007).

35 Muhammad ibn al-Husain al-Sulamī *Early Sufi Women: Dhikr An-Niswa Al-Mutaabbidat As-Sufiyyat*, trans. Rkia Elaroui Cornell (Fons Vitae, 1999), 17.

36 TanvirAnjum, "Bridal Symbolism in Sufi Poetry of Islamicate South Asia: From Earliest Times to the Fifteenth Century" xxxiv, no. 1 (2013).

37 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 431.

38 Frederique Cientes, G. A. W. Morgan, "Sui Sheikhs, Sheikhas, and Saints o the Sudan" *African Arts*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Summer, 2008), pp. 50-59, 58.

lady who has been remembered by Baba Farid and Shaykh Nizamul Din Awliya, without any association to her male relative. However, one can find her literary references comprised not more than one paragraph, in Chishti hagiographies.³⁹ On the other side, during the same time there were 'women sufi schools' existing or rather flourishing in Basra.⁴⁰

In this respect, *Al-Muhaddithat: The Women Scholars in Islam* a distinguished work by Mohamad Akram Nadwi, discusses women as teachers, seeker of knowledge *fiqh* and hadith and their role in diffusion of knowledge at length. In this book one can find hundreds of entries of women scholars in Islam.⁴¹ Ibn Taymiyya is reported to discuss an anecdote about a sufi woman in 1314, Umm Zaynab Fatima bint Abbas al-Baghdadiyya. She was spiritual leader of Ribat al-Baghdadiyya. Moreover, a renowned sufi *shaykha* of Cairo. She often played a role as a jurist and being the one who gives legal response to common man's problems. Ibn Taymiyya praised *Shaykha* Fatima for her knowledge and intelligence during his public sermons.⁴² However, he also confessed that her publically delivered lectures disturbed him (Ibn Taymiyya) a lot, even on one night, Prophet (PBUH) angrily appeared in the dream and said, "This pious lady carries out good deeds".⁴³ There is another account of an influential sufi woman during ninth-century, other than Rabia al Adwiyya (d. 801) is Fatima of Nishapur. It is reported that

39 Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya*, 576 and Shaykh Abd al-Haq, (Muhaddith Dehlavī), *Akhhār al-Akhyārī Asrār al-Abrār*, com. In 1950, (Deoband: Kutubkhānah-'I Rehīmiyyah, n.d), Female names has been assigned a separate chapter entitled as 'few pious ladies'.

40 Sulamī, *Early Sufi Women*, 60.

41 See Mohammad Akram Nadwi, *Al-Muhaddithat: The Women Scholars in Islam*. (London: Interface Publication, 2007).

42 Irfana Hashmi's paper 'The Women of the Medieval Minbar, delivered at the "American Academy of Religion" (2006) analyzes the complex roles and social relationships in the lives of women religious leaders including Fatima in premodern Islam.

43 Khalilibn Aybak al-Safadi, *Aḡān al-Āsrwa-Aḡān al-Nasr*. (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'asir Publishers, 1998), 28.

Dhū an-Nūn had close association with Fatima, however, once he refused to accept a gift from Fatima, because she was a female. She reacted by reminding him that being true Sufi he should not be motivated by these secondary causes rather by the Original Cause that is Eternal Giver.⁴⁴ These accounts show that there is a bias towards women sufis broadly, but Chishti hagiographers have silenced them in the literature and early memorative communication is not communicating female names to the generations to come.

Concluding Remarks

Chishti *silsilah* is one of the most influential and important *silsilah* in South Asia, but early hagiographic literature of Chishti *silsila* either maintained 'impression management' of the regional culture or the ancestral (*shaykhs*) traditions to avoid giving enough space to women. The literary history of this *silsilah* displays the absentee of women sufis in the region which is a refutation of the argument Joya Kakar made in her article "Sufism and Women: A Note on two Women Sufis and their Dargahs at Delhi" that there is much written record available on women sufis in hagiographic texts.⁴⁵ However, in *Siyar al Awliya*, the situation is reverse which tells very little, even about the pious mothers and sisters without naming any women sufi in the period. It would be a reasonable derivation to state that Chishti hagiographer silenced women sufis in his written memorial record. Nonetheless not only in Chishtiyah, the sufi literature in many other areas i.e., Andalusia is also biased towards women sufis, there are only two entries of female sufis one among them is mentioned without any name.⁴⁶

44 Annemarie Schimmel, "Eros in Sufi Literature and Life." In *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam*, ed. by A. Marsot, (California: Undena Publications, 1977), 426.

45 She states, Hagiographical texts are replete with the pious deeds of women sufis.... See Kakar, 'Sufism and Women', 277.

46 R.W.J Austin, tran. *Sufis of Andalusia: Rūh Al-Quds and Durrat Al-Fākhīrah of Ibn 'Arabi* (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 1985), 154.

In the paper an attempt has been made for the researches to break this silence, created by fourteenth century Chishti text (*Siyar al Awliya*,) through an in-depth study of the later Chishti hagiographies written after fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as they have separate sections on females of the *silsilah*. Through further research, one can prove the basis (either principles of the *sisilah* or cultural constraints) for silencing women sufisin the Chishti hagiographical tradition of South Asia.

The *Virāhinī* Motif in Sufi Lyrics of Shah Husayn of Lahore

Tanvir Anjum*

ABSTRACT

In South Asian literary traditions, virāhinī motif is commonly found in bhakti literature. A virāhinī is a woman or a wife separated from her lover or husband, experiences the agony of separation, and thus intensely longs for her union with him. Symbolically, she represents the longing of the human souls for union with the Supreme deity. Particularly, in Vaishnava cults in Hinduism, the goal of a devotee's spiritual quest is to submit before Lord Krishna, which is expressed through the metaphor of submission of a wife before her husband. The feverish love of virāhinī is similar to the sufi notion of 'ishq (heightened love coupled with intense longing for union) based on the idea that the human souls had been separated from their Divine source of origin, and thus had a burning desire to return to it. The virāhinī motif is commonly found in South Asian sufi poetry, including the Punjabi sufi poetical tradition originating with Baba Farid. The sixteenth-century sufi, Shah Husayn of Lahore (1539-1593) employed the virāhinī motif to depict the sufi notion of alienation of human soul from God, and its desire for union. By doing so, he made a conscious attempt to vernacularize and

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indigenize the doctrines of Sufism in local socio-cultural context. Though he evoked the virāhinī motif, which was in consonance with already existing literary conventions in India, he replaced Radha with Hir, depicting the latter as a virāhinī (waiting for Ranjha, who symbolized God), since Hir is a more familiar character for the Punjabi audience.

The sufis of the Islamicate world have sometimes articulated the transcendent experience of Divine love in their poetic compositions in an idiom of temporal human love. The woman-soul symbol abounds in Indo-Muslim literature, wherein the sufi poets employed gendered imagery of human lover and Divine Beloved, which necessitated the use of metaphorical and figurative language. By inverting their gender and acquiring a feminine persona, they spoke in the voice of ardent feminine lovers, while portraying God as a male Beloved. In bhakti or Hindu devotional literature, it is often expressed through the literary motif of virāhinī, a bride-in-waiting or a devoted wife separated from her groom or husband, and thus waiting for his return and union with him. The sufi poets often evoked the trope of virāhinī, borrowed from the bhakti literary traditions. These poets identified themselves with a virāhinī, whereas the Divine Self was symbolized by a groom or husband. In Punjabi poetic tradition, Baba Farid evoked the trope of virāhinī for the first time to depict the notion of separation of human soul from God, but it was Shah Husayn of Lahore who further developed this motif during the sixteenth century in his moving sufi verses. The present study analyzes the deployment of virāhinī trope in the verses of Shah Husayn by undertaking their poetic exegesis.

The Virāhinī Tradition in Bhakti/Hindu Devotional Poetry

Virāhinī is a trope of alienation and separation, which is quite popular in South Asian religious literature, and as a motif, it can be found in Hindu, Muslim and Sikh religious contexts.¹ In addition to Hindi-Sanskrit, it has also been expressed in

¹ Ali S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment: The Ismaili Devotional Literature of South Asia*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 76.

literature in regional vernaculars like Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali, Marathi and Tamil, etc. The poets articulate their own emotions and feelings through the feminine voice of *virāhinī*. They put words in the mouth of a *virāhinī* to depict their own longing and suffering in separation. The *virāhinī* motif is particularly found in bhakti or Hindu devotional literature. Bhakti (literally meaning devotion) refers to any tradition of Hindu devotionalism. The bhakti Movement is considered a monotheistic reform movement,² which originated in the Madras/Chennai region in South India during the seventh century, and later spread northwards. The preachers of the movement believed in the equality of all human beings as well as equality of all religions and unity of God. They were critical of excessive ritualism and ceremonialism in Hinduism, and also challenged the supremacy of the priests or Brahmans in the Hindu society. They also rejected caste discrimination, and believed in universal toleration. They emphasized on the doctrines of love of and devotion to God, and believed that only these doctrines could guarantee salvation for the human beings.

Bhakti is often referred to as the religion of love and devotion.³ In bhakti, a devotee may express passionate devotion to a spiritual guide (referred to as guru-bhakti), or devotion to an abstract/formless or unembodied Divine (referred to as Nirguna-bhakti), or devotion to a personal god. However, more often a follower's intense devotional worship and extreme love are directed to Vishnu (or its incarnation in the form of Krishna) or Shiva. Historically speaking, it was from the fourteenth through the seventeenth century that bhakti movement swept across the northern and eastern India. During the sixteenth-century, the Krishna Bhakti devotional poetry in India became popular, and from

2 Karen Pechilis, Prentiss, *The Embodiment of Bhakti* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

3 B. Bhattacharya, *Bhakti: The Religion of Love* (New Delhi: UBS Publishers, 2003).

Braj regions and Bengal, it spread to all parts of South Asia.⁴ However, the Vaishnava devotional poetry in Bengali written in praise of Lord Krishna touched its creative peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵ The term Vaishnava literally means devoted to Vishnu, whose most famous *avatar* (incarnation) is Krishna. For Vaishnavas, those devoted to Vishnu or his *avatar* Krishna, he is approachable only through bhakti, i.e. devotion and dedication. In Vaishnava cults in Hinduism, the goal of one's spiritual quest is to submit before Lord Krishna, which is expressed through the metaphor of submission of a woman or wife before her husband.⁶

There are multiple forms of bhakti or devotion, one of which is *viraha* bhakti (love-in-separation), the other major type being *virodha* bhakti (love-manifest-as enmity).⁷ The term *viraha*, also pronounced as *biraha*, means separation. The *viraha* bhakti revolves around the theme of separation from Krishna. In *viraha* bhakti poetry, the verses are generally addressed to Krishna, to whom the *gopīs*, or the milkmaids, particularly Radha, express their love and longing for union. As the story has it, Krishna (the dark-colored figure) is raised among the herdsman. He plays beautiful flute that touches the heart and the soul of the listeners, particularly the milkmaids, the most beautiful of whom is Radha. After the wedding of Krishna and Radha, the groom (Krishna) had to leave for Mathura, leaving behind the bride, Radha as a *virāhinī*—a woman separated from her lover or husband, who experiences the agony of separation and thus, intensely

4 Carla Petievich, *When Men Speak as Women: Vocal Masquerade in Indo-Muslim Poetry* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 8.

5 E. C. Dimock and Denise Levertov, Eng. tr. *In Praise of Krishna: Songs from the Bengali* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), x.

6 John Hawley, "Images of Gender in the Poetry of Krishna," in *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, eds. Caroline Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell and Paula Richman (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 236.

7 Thomas B. Ellis, "I Love You, I Hate You: Toward a Psychology of the Hindu Deus Absconditus." *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 13, no. 1 (2009), 1-23; and Friedhelm Hardy, *Viraha-Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983).

longs for her union with him. All Vaishnavas or Krishna devotees identify themselves with Radha,⁸ and thus assume the feminine persona of a *virāhinī* before a male deity.

Moreover, in Bhakti yoga, there are five kinds of *bhavas* or mental attitudes that reflect the nature of relationship of a devotee to God. One of them is *madhurya bhava* (also referred to as *kanta bhava*), which refers to the attitude of a devotee towards God as a woman towards a lover/husband. The other four *bhavas* are *shanta bhava* (a serene and unemotional love for God), *vatsalya bhava* (attitude of a mother towards a child), *dasya bhava* (attitude of a servant), and *sakhya bhava* (attitude of a friend).⁹ The image of *virāhinī* is central to *madhurya bhakti*, in which she is the embodiment of agony and suffering due to separation. Radha is the personification of *madhurya bhava*, which is considered the highest form of bhakti. Her intense love and longing for Krishna represents the urge of the human soul to love the Supreme Deity, and be united with Him.

The male bhakti poets assumed a feminine voice, and identified themselves with the *gopīs* including Radha in their poetic compositions.¹⁰ However, Mira Bai (d. 1547), the renowned sixteenth-century Rajput saint and poetess of Rajasthan, is among the few female *bhaktas* or devotees. In her moving poetic verses, she vividly evoked the trope of *virāhinī* by portraying herself as the bride of Lord Krishna,¹¹ much to the chagrin of her family and the religious establishment since she was a married woman. She identified herself with a *gopī*, and all her emotions and feelings of love were directed towards Krishna, for whom she longed earnestly. She suffered the pangs of separation like *gopīs*. Her love for Krishna was unrestrained, and boldly

8 Milton B. Singer, *Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968), 184.

9 G. K. Devanand, *Teaching of Yoga* (New Delhi: Aph Publishing, 2008), 73-74.

10 Hawley, "Images of Gender in the Poetry of Krishna," 231-56.

11 Robert Bly and Jane Hirshfield, Eng. tr. *Mirabai: Ecstatic Poems* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 1-6.

expressed in her *bhajans* or devotional poetry composed for Lord Krishna, despite the fact that it was against the social ethos for a married lady to love or express it for anyone except her husband. One can clearly discern *madhurya bhava*, i.e. the attitude of a devotee towards God as a woman towards a lover/husband, as well as *sakhya bhava*, i.e. the attitude of a devotee towards God as that of a friend in her verses.¹²

As for the persona of a *virāhinī*, it has a rich sensual imagery associated with it. *Viraha* is an experience of misery and agony in separation. The pangs of lovelorn heart cannot be expressed through words. The pining woman separated from her husband behaves like a possessed lover, unable to restrain her emotions or control her being. She mourns her unrequited and unfulfilled love. The burning flames of *viraha* burns down everything. The constraints do not permit her union. The singing of birds in forests, the sound of rain pouring from the sky—all these phenomena intensify her longing for the union. However, it must be remembered that both negative and positive feelings are associated with *viraha*; agony and suffering are negative emotions associated with it, but it is also a sign of Divine presence, which is positive.¹³ Moreover, the *virāhinī* motif also depicts the idea that women may love God just as men do. Their gender is not an obstacle in the way of God, since women are at par with men in relation to God.

Though the bhakti tradition is said to originate from the Vedas, the impact of the ideas of early sufis, particularly of the Basrah School, in South India from where bhakti as a movement formally originated, and later spread to the north cannot be denied.¹⁴ The notion of intense love and devotion to God is one of the central doctrines of Sufism. The feverish

12 Usha S. Nilsson, *Mira Bai* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1969), 24.

13 Maya Burger, "Getting Out—Letting In: Bhakti Models of Liberation," in *Release from Life, Release in Life: Indian Perspectives on Liberation*, ed. Andreas Bigger (Bern; New York: P. Lang, 2010), 52-54.

14 Charlotte Vaudeville, "Evolution of Love-symbolism in Bhagavatism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 82, no. 1 (1962), 35-36.

love of *virāhinī*, as expressed in the bhakti tradition, is similar to the sufi notion of '*ishq*,¹⁵ often defined as intensified love coupled with a burning desire for union.

The Notion of Alienation and Separation of Human Soul from God in Sufi Context

In Sufism, the concept of love for the Supreme Being—Allah or God is quite central, and therefore, it is often referred to as the 'way of love' or devotion.¹⁶ In sufi terminology, love is referred to as *ḥubb*, *muḥabbah*, *shawq*, or '*ishq*. According to sufis, God is not a transcendental Reality. Instead, being closer than one's jugular vein, He is accessible and comprehensible for the human beings. He is *al-Wudūd*, the Loving One, the God of love, mercy and compassion, Who can be befriended; in fact He befriends those who sincerely seek Him. To the sufis, Divine love is characterized by reciprocity, which is also mentioned in a Qur'anic verse (5:54). Moreover, among the Divine attributes, love has a necessary connection with human beings, since the Qur'an associates love only with human beings among all creatures.¹⁷

Many early sufis talked about the notion of love of God,¹⁸ but the articulation of disinterested or unconditional love for God is attributed to an eighth-century sufi woman named Rabi'ah al-'Adawiyah of Basrah (d. 801). She is the first sufi to enunciate the nature of Divine-human love relationship. Her poetic verses gush with Divine love. 'Thirsty with love,' she yearns for the Divine union.¹⁹ The Persian sufi, Abu Yazid (or Bayazid) of Bistam (d. 875) not only employed the

15 *Ibid.*, 36, and Vijay Mishra, *Devotional Poetics and the Indian Sublime* (Albany; NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), 169.

16 William C. Chittick, *Sufism: A Beginner's Guide* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2008), 74-75.

17 William C. Chittick, "The Divine Roots of Human Love." *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, XVII (1995), 55.

18 Joseph E. B. Lombard, "From Hubb to Ishq: The Development of Love in Early Sufism," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 18, no. 3 (2007), 345-85.

19 See for instance, Charles Upton, *Doorkeeper of the Heart: Versions of Rabi'a* (New York: Pir Press, 2003), 3, 28.

Persian terminology ‘*ishq* for love of God, he also referred to the sufis as the ‘brides of God’ in his poetry.²⁰ Thus, he became the first sufi to evoke the bridal metaphor for explaining the relationship of a sufi with God.

The separation between the lover and the beloved is a recurrent theme in Arabic and Persian poetry. However, in sufi context, it refers to the primordial alienation and separation of human soul from its Divine source of origin. According to the sufi worldview, all human souls are bound to love God, as promised by them on the occasion of the Primordial Covenant (*yum-i alast*). Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-‘Arabi (d. 1240) of Andalusia, also known as ‘Shaykh al-Akbar’ (The Greatest Master) was one of the most prolific sufi theorists who elaborated upon the theme of love. According to him, the One Reality is all-prevailing Love and Beauty. The ultimate goal of love is to know the reality of love, which is identical with the Divine Essence.²¹ However, it was junior contemporary of Ibn Arabi, Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273), one of the greatest sufi theorists and poets, and the founder of *Silsilah Mevleviyya*, who further elaborated upon the sufi philosophy of ‘*ishq* in his monumental work, *Mathnawī-yi M‘anawī* (Couplets of Meaning). Rumi’s philosophy of ‘*ishq* was based on the idea that the human souls had been separated from their Divine source of origin, and that was why they had a burning desire to return to it. The opening verses of *Mathnawī* allude to this idea of separation, which has been titled as ‘The Song of the Reed’ wherein Rumi employs the symbol of a reed-flute for the human soul, which has emptied itself of its animal self, and filled with the Divine Self. This blessed soul, during its earthly life and fleshly existence in the form of physical body, remembers its union with God in the pre-eternity, and longs ardently for deliverance from the world where it is stranger

20 Carl W. Ernst, *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (Boston, Mass.: Shambhala, 1997), 60.

21 A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid’Din Ibnul-‘Arabi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), 170-73; and William C. Chittick, *Ibn ‘Arabi: Heir to the Prophets* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), 35-46.

and in exile, and yearns to reunite with the Creator.²² After Rumi, the theme of separation and alienation of human soul from God was expressed more forcefully and emphatically in sufi poetry through the use of varied symbols and metaphors in later centuries.

The *Virāhinī* or Separation Motif in Punjabi Sufi Poetry

The depiction of woman as a lover or beloved is a universal theme in poetry. One comes across negative portrayal of women in Arabo-Persian poetry, as she is sometimes depicted as a symbol of worldly possessions and enticement. Woman-soul symbol is rarely found in Arabic and Persian poetry, but this symbolism abounds in South Asian literature, including the Hindu or Bhakti devotional literature as well as Indo-Muslim sufi literature. Many male poets in South Asia have spoken in feminine voice,²³ and have also evoked the persona of a *virāhinī*.²⁴

The trope of *virāhinī* is ‘the most distinctive marker of the “Indo” in Indo-Muslim poetry’²⁵ as well as ‘the most interesting Indian literary convention’ that the sufi poets incorporated into their poetry.²⁶ The sufis took advantage of the popularity of the *virāhinī* motif, and explored its potential usage in varied forms with the complex context of sufi ideology and doctrines. The sufi poets not only adapted this symbolism, but also expanded its use by adopting it as a trope in varied theological frameworks. In sufi writings, the symbol of *virāhinī* has been evoked in relation to God, a sufi master or guide, and even Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in

22 R. A. Nicholson, Rumi: Poet and Mystic (Oxford: Oneworld, 1995), 31.

23 Shemeem Burney Abbas, The Female Voice in Sufi Ritual: Devotional Practices of Pakistan and India (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); and Petievich, When Men Speak as Women.

24 Annemarie Schimmel, My Soul is a Woman: The Feminine in Islam (New York and London: Continuum, 1999), 119.

25 Petievich, When Men Speak as Women, 6.

26 Ali Asani, “Poetry, Indian,” in Medieval Islamic civilization: an encyclopedia. Vol. 2, L-Z, Index. ed. Josef W. Meri (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 620.

some cases.²⁷ In Ismaili sufi literature, in addition to the above representations, the said motif has been used in relation to the Shi'i Imams as well.²⁸

Shaykh Farid al-Din Masud Ganj Shakar, popularly known as Baba Farid (d. 1271), is not only the first poet of Punjabi language, he is also the first poet to compose verses in feminine voice.²⁹ He employs bridal metaphor for describing the relationship between the human soul, imagined as a bride or wife, and God imagined as a groom or husband, as he uses terms like *shauh*, *khasam*, and *pirr* for referring to God.³⁰ Not only that, he also evoked the image of a *virāhinī*, and her suffering and longing in the absence of her beloved.³¹ Symbolically, to him, a *suhāgan* or *suhāganī* (literally meaning a happily married woman enjoying marital bliss) is the one who is liked by her husband, and who enjoys union with him. In one of his couplets, for instance, he writes that everyone is capable of loving, but it is the privilege of the Husband-Lord to reciprocate it or not.³² To Baba Farid, the life in this world is a period of separation of the human soul from God, which makes living a painful experience, as he declares:³³

‘Sorrow is the bedstead,
Pain the fibre with which it woven,

27 Ali S. Asani, “The Bridegroom Prophet in Medieval Sindhi Poetry,” in *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature: Research Papers, 1988–1991*, eds. A. W. Entwistle and Françoise Mallison. Papers Presented at the Fifth Conference on Devotional Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages, Paris, July 9-12, 1991 (New Delhi: Manohar, 1994), 213-25.

28 Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, 76-78.

29 J. S. Grewal, “Female Voice in Punjabi Sufi Poetry,” in *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders: Professor Nurul Hasan Commemoration Volume*, ed. Mansura Haidar (Delhi: Manohar, 2004), 45-48.

30 Brij Mohan Sagar, *Hymns of Sheikh Farid* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1999), 118-19; and Baghwant Singh Dalawari, “Divine Songs of Sheikh Baba Farid,” *Sikh Review*, 47, no. 3 (543), (1999), 8-11.

31 Petievich, *When Men Speak as Women*, 6.

32 Muhammad Asif Khan, *Ākhiya Bābā Farīd nē* [Punjabi: Baba Farid Says] (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 1978), 156.

33 Sant Singh Sekhon and Kartar Singh Duggal, *A History of Punjabi Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1992), 21.

And separation is the quilt
See this is the life we lead, O Lord.'

Baba Farid further states:³⁴

'I did not sleep with my love tonight
And every bit of my body aches.
Go ask the deserted ones,
How they pass their nights.'

After Baba Farid, it was Shah Husayn of Lahore who evoked the complex imagery associated with *virāhinī* in his soulful Punjabi verses. After him, Bulhe Shah of Qasur (1680-1758) further developed this trope. In particular, his *bārāmāsa* or *bārāṇmāh* (literally meaning the twelve months) describes the longing of a wife for her husband though the twelve months of the year.³⁵

What follows is a brief introduction of Shah Husayn and his poetry, and the poetic exegesis of his verses to demonstrate his skillful deployment of the *virāhinī* motif.

Shah Husayn of Lahore: A Brief Introduction

Shah Husayn (1539-1593) of Lahore, originally known as Lal Husayn, is a renowned sixteenth-century sufi poet of the Punjab. Reportedly, his ancestors had converted to Islam during the fourteenth century. At the tender age of ten years, he was initiated in Qadiri *Silsilah* at the hands of Shah Bahlul Daryai (d. 1575) of Chiniot (District Jhang, Western Punjab).³⁶ During the next twenty-six years of his life, he followed the path of sober Sufism, strictly adhering to social norms as well as the injunctions of *shari'ah* (the law of Islam). However, in 1575 at the age of thirty-six, he renounced sobriety, and embraced the demeanour of intoxicated sufis. He spent the rest of his life in singing,

34 *Ibid.*, 22.

35 Muhammad Asif Khan, *Ākhiya Bulhe Shāh Nē* [Punjabi: Bulhe Shah Says] (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2011), 427-38.

36 Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqīqāt-i Chishtī* (Lahore: Punjabi Adabi Academy, 1964), 364-76.

dancing and drinking in the streets of Lahore.³⁷ Thus he became the first and the foremost sufi of the Malāmatiyya (literally meaning self-reproaching) or antinomian tradition in the Punjab.³⁸ He did not leave behind any book, except for the poetry in Punjabi language that he composed. His attachment to a Hindu disciple named Madho (who later converted to Islam) has become proverbial, as well as controversial, though his poetry is silent about their alleged relationship.³⁹

The poetry of Shah Husayn is deeply embedded in Sufism, or the mystical tradition of Islam, and he was far from being a 'Vedantic Sufi poet' and 'almost a Hindu saint in his beliefs,' as mistakenly suggested by Sharda.⁴⁰ Contesting these arguments, Shackle stresses on the Islamic-sufi character of the premodern Punjabi sufi poetic literature, and argues for its understanding in essentially sufi context.⁴¹ Shah Husayn is also considered pioneer of the tradition of employing *kāfi* (a short poem generally containing a refrain and rhymed lines) in Punjabi poetry.⁴² Since his *kāfis* were well-rhymed and primarily meant for singing, these came to be popularly sung by the people. Musicality in his verses makes them easier to be sung and remembered. In the words of a critic, the *kāfis* of Shah Husayn are 'designed as musical compositions to be interpreted by the singing voice.'

37 *Ibid.*, 372-73; John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines* (Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1938), 265-66.

38 Fateh Muhammad Malik, "Shah Husain and the Malamatiya in the Punjab," in *Sufi Traditions and New Departures: Recent Scholarship on Continuity and Change in South Asian Sufism*, eds. Søren Christian Lassen and Hugh van Skyhawk (Islamabad: Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, 2008), 40.

39 Lajwanti Rama Krishna, *Pañjābī šūfi poets, A.D. 1460-1900* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 14-18.

40 Sadhu Ram Sharda, *Sufi Thought: Its Development in Panjab and its Impact on Panjabi Literature, from Baba Farid to 1850 A.D.* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1974), 104.

41 Christopher Shackle, "Punjabi Sufi Poetry from Farid to Farid," in *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture, and Practice*, eds. Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 26-27.

42 Saeed Bhutta, "Kafi: A Genre of Punjabi Poetry," *South Asian Studies*, 23, no. 2 (2008), 223-29.

The rhythm in the refrain and in the lines is so balanced and counterpointed as to bring out a varying, evolving musical pattern'.⁴³

The Persona of a *Virāhinī* in Shah Husayn's Poetry

The intensity of emotions and the agony and anguish of parting have been beautifully and skillfully depicted in the poetry of Shah Husayn. It is for this reason that he is considered 'by far the most articulate poet of separation and union'.⁴⁴ In the words of Sekhon and Duggal: 'His poetry has echoes of pangs of separation and the agony of an alienated soul that make for fine lyricism and spontaneity of expression in his verse'.⁴⁵

The image of a *virāhinī* finds an elaborate articulation in his poetry, as the imagery associated with a *virāhinī* is considerably expanded. Terms like *vichhorā* (separation, estrangement, or parting) and *birhoṅ* (love in separation) epitomize the experience of separation. For depicting the agony and misery of a *virāhinī*, he employs the imagery associated with Hir-Ranjha trope, one of the most legendary love tales of popular Punjabi culture, and thus replaces Hir with Radha as a *virāhinī*. In this way, he was the first to make use of the subjects and artistic devices of Punjabi folklore in sufi poetry. In other words, he originated the tradition of employing references to the tragic tales of folk romances in Punjabi sufi poetry for dissemination of sufi teachings.⁴⁶ Since these folk romances had wide appeal among the common people, the sufi verses of Shah Husayn earned popularity, and thus proved a perfect vehicle for propagating the lofty ideals of Sufism. Drawing upon the Hir-

43 Najm Hosain Syed, *Recurrent Patterns in Punjabi Poetry* (Karachi: City Press, 2003), 10.

44 Harjeet Singh Gill, and Rosy Singh, "Shah Hussain," *South Asian Ensemble*, 4, no. 1 (2012), 157.

45 Sekhon and Duggal: *A History of Punjabi Literature*, 66.

46 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 384; and Suvorova Anna Suvorova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia: The Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Routledge. 2004), 194.

Ranjha motif, Shah Husayn referred to God as Ranjha or Ranjhan, the hero of the tragic love tale. In Punjabi classical literature, Ranjha is the archetype who represents love. He also represents the archetype of God, portrayed as a Beloved in the sufi poetry.⁴⁷ After Shah Husayn, Bulhe Shah and more notably Waris Shah (1722-1798) employed the images associated with Hir and Ranjha as lovers.

Shah Husayn highlights the wretchedness and pangs of separation of Hir from Ranjha,⁴⁸ symbolizing the separation of human soul from its Divine source of origin. Her heart only yearns for Ranjha.⁴⁹ The following *kāfī* depicts the condition of Hir as a *virāhinī*.⁵⁰

Rānjhā jogī meṅ jogiyānī kamlī kar kar saddiyāṅ
Piyārē bin rātāṅ hoeyāṅ vadiyāṅ
Mās jhurey jhur pinjar hoeyāṅ kaṅkan lageyāṅ hadiyāṅ
Piyārē bin rātāṅ hoeyāṅ vadiyāṅ
Meṅ ayānī naehon kih jānāṅ? birhon tanāwāṅ gaddiyāṅ
Kahaē Husayn Faqīr Sāṅ dā laṅ terey meṅ laggīyāṅ

The text of the above-cited *kāfī* in Punjabi, though appears with slight variation in Ghaffaar, has been rendered in English as such:⁵¹

‘Without the beloved, nights have become vast
 Raanjhan *jogi*, I *jogan*, as one possessed I’m cast
 Without the beloved, nights have become vast
 Shedding flesh, shed to a skeleton, bones crackle, I’m
 demassed
 Without the beloved, nights have become vast
 What do simpleton I know of love? Separation’s tent-
 ropes are strung fast
 Without the beloved, nights have become vast

47 Azra Waqar, “The ‘Lover Archetype’ in Punjabi Classical Poetry,” *Journal of Historical and Cultural Research*, XXX, no. 1 (2009), 131-58.

48 ‘Abd al-Majid Bhatti, *Kāfiyaṅ Shah Husayn* (Lahore: Punjabi Adabi Academy, 1961), 10.

49 *Ibid.*, 12.

50 *Ibid.*, 14-16.

51 Muzaffar A. Ghaffaar, *Masterworks of Punjabi Sufi Poetry: Shaah Husayn Within Reach*, Vol. 2 (Lahore: Ferozsons, 2005), 691.

Says Husayn the Lord's devotee, with your lappet I'm
 steadfast
 Without the beloved, nights have become vast'

The above-quoted *kāfī* skillfully depicts the persona of a *virāhinī*: in the absence of her beloved, she has been reduced to a skeleton as her flesh has diminished, and her bones are creaking. In Husayn's verses, the persona of *virāhinī* has been assumed by Hir, who is separated from Ranjha. Hir symbolizes the yearning human soul whereas Ranjha symbolizes God, from whom the human soul has been alienated. Husayn expresses the eternal longing of the soul in a *kāfī* where he states that Hir was inclined to Ranjhan from her infancy.⁵² It must be remembered that the sufis stressed on the human need to love God, as promised by the souls on the occasion of the Primordial Covenant (*yum-i alast*). So the yearning of the human soul to love God, according to the sufis, is pre-eternal. However, during the earthly existence, the ordinary human conditions do not permit union with the Divine.

The sufi poetry is always considered highly symbolic and metaphorical. The sacred and the secular, the physical and the metaphysical are interwoven in the imagery. Earthly and heavenly desires are inextricably linked, being two sides of the same coin. The metaphorical (*majāz*), representing the outward and external manifestations of reality, stand in contrast to the real (*ḥaqīqah*), which is the inner reality or the essence. The origin of this dichotomy between metaphorical and real goes back to the early Muslim period.⁵³ The belief has been summed up in an adage: *al-majāzu qanṭaratu 'l-ḥaqīqah*, meaning the metaphorical or phenomenal is a bridge to the Real. So the external world is a bridge which leads to the Divine Reality. Therefore, the sufis have always expected the readers or recipients of their poetry:

52 Bhatti, Kāfiyaḥ Shah Husayn, 26.

53 Wolfhart Heinrichs, "On the Genesis of the *ḥaqīqa-majāz* Dichotomy," *Studia Islamica* 59 (1984), 111-40.

‘to cross the bridge from the ‘metaphorical’ and figurative world of poetry and symbol to the world of ultimate and ‘truthful’ meanings. Hence, the process becomes a certain mode of understanding and perceiving existence. It is the transmutation of everything visible into symbols.’⁵⁴

To Husayn, separation is comparable to a butcher who enters the body with a meat cleaver in his hand,⁵⁵ or to a frightening roar of a lion.⁵⁶ *Birhoṇ* or love-separation is an affliction which is put in human body. Her tears fall like a heavy downpour in rainy season.⁵⁷ The flames of separation burn the *virāhinī* every moment, as she longs to have a glance of the beloved.⁵⁸ In separation, her body becomes an oven in which the flames of sighs burn her.⁵⁹ For her, the nights are painful while the days are torturous owing to the absence of the beloved.⁶⁰ In her moments of immense grief, her parents as well as her in-laws have been estranged.⁶¹ She complains that there is discrimination in the world: some people enjoy the whole bread while others long for its morsel, similarly there are lovers who enjoy each others’ embraces but some wives suffer in the absence of their husbands.⁶²

Husayn further elaborates upon the miseries of a *virāhinī*. She is unable to sleep on the wedding or conjugal bed in the absence of the beloved, as she is tormented by his separation.⁶³ Elsewhere Husayn likens the bed to a pyre, as he states that while mounting the wedding bed, her body and

54 Omaima Abou-Bakr, “The Symbolic Function of Metaphor in Medieval Sufi Poetry: The Case of Shushtari,” *Alif* (1992), 44-45.

55 Bhatti, *Kāfiyaṅ* Shah Husayn, 26.

56 *Ibid.*, 30.

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Ibid.*, 28.

59 *Ibid.*, 34.

60 *Ibid.*, 18, 24.

61 *Ibid.*, 24.

62 *Ibid.*, 122, 124.

63 *Ibid.*, 24.

soul are roasted,⁶⁴ as if it is the funeral pyre on fire which she mounts. All the four borders of her skirt have been soaked wet by her constant weeping. The beloved had promised to return soon but twelve months have lapsed.⁶⁵ In fact, an age seems to have elapsed in waiting for his return. Everyone knows that she is yearning to meet him. She is hopeful that he would return one day.⁶⁶

The following short *kāfī* by Shah Husayn most explicitly and vividly expresses the intensity of separation:⁶⁷

*Duhvāṅ dhukhyē merey murshid wālā jāṅ phulāṅ tāṅ lāl
Māē nī meṅ kehnu ākhāṅ dard vichhoṛē dā hāl
Sōlāṅ mār diwānī kītī birhoṅ piyā sādē khayāl
Dhukh dī roṭī dard dā sālān āheṅ dā bālan bāl
Jangal bēlē phirāṅ dhudēndī ajey nā pāyo lāl
Kahaē Husayn Faqīr Sāṅ dā shauh milē te thivāṅ māl*

The above quoted *kāfī* (though appears with slight variations in Punjabi text in Ghaffaar) has been rendered into English by Muzaffar A. Ghaffaar as such:⁶⁸

'O Mamma! Who can I tell, this state of separation-pain
Fires of *faqeers* smoulder, wherever I rummage ruby-red
gain
O Mamma! Who can I tell, this state of separation-pain
Thorns pierce, make me mad, separation my mind's
refrain
O Mamma! Who can I tell, this state of separation-pain
Bread of pain, curry of thorns, from burning bones fire
obtain
O Mamma! Who can I tell, this state of separation-pain
Jungles, moors she roams in search, yet not found the
swain
O Mamma! Who can I tell, this state of separation-pain
Says Husayn the destitute devotee, if he's found, joy I'd
attain
O Mamma! Who can I tell, this state of separation-pain'

64 *Ibid.*, 34.

65 *Ibid.*, 60.

66 *Ibid.*, 110.

67 *Ibid.*, 46.

68 Ghaffaar *Masterworks of Punjabi Sufi Poetry*, Vol. 2, 783.

Husayn calls himself a *jogan*, a Hindi word used for female ascetic or a devotee,⁶⁹ often used as a symbol of renunciation and self-denial. He laments that as a *virāhinī* her nights are tortuous and agonizing, and her days are distressing. Her sure destiny is death. As a *bairāgan* (a female ascetic who renounces worldly pleasures and comforts), her tangled locks are around her neck. She roams about in wildernesses, searching for the departed beloved.⁷⁰ The term *bairāgan* is derived from Sanskrit word *vairāgya*, which means the one who is free of passion, or someone emptied of all desires. Generally, a *bairāgī* (a male Hindu ascetic) is devoted to Vishnu or its incarnation Ram or Krishna. So the *virāhinī* motif goes well with the Hindu ascetic traditions associated with Vishnu devotees.

The tangled locks of a *virāhinī* around her neck in the above discussion refer to her state of confusion with particular reference to her sexuality. It is important to note that in bhakti literature, the hair of a *virāhinī* is to be *ekavenī* (a twisted undressed single braid). The bound hair of *virāhinī* generally reflect her bound or restrained sexuality during the absence of her beloved or husband, while her unbound hair represents her unbound and unrestrained sexuality upon his return. However, in addition to it, in South Asian culture, unbound hair may also represent a state of separation or widowhood.⁷¹

Concluding Remarks

Historically, the sufis in Muslim societies are seen as the prime agents of vernacularization of Islam. One of the ways of vernacularizing the message of Islam and Sufism was the production of sufi literature in local languages and in culturally familiar idioms. The Punjabi sufi poetic tradition

69 Bhatti Kāfiāṅ Shah Husayn, 14, 22.

70 *Ibid.*, 22.

71 Patrick Olivelle, "Hair and Society: Social Significance of Hair in South Asian Traditions," in *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures*, eds. Alf Hildebeitel and Barbara D. Miller (Albany; NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), 11-50.

played a crucial role in vernacularizing and disseminating the doctrines of Islam and Sufism at popular level. The adoption of the *virāhinī* motif by the South Asian sufis like Shah Husayn reveals that they made conscious attempt to vernacularize and indigenize the message of Sufism in local context. In the words of Asani: ‘... the woman-soul—especially in the form of *virāhinī*—is a symbol adopted by many of the subcontinent’s Muslim writers as they indigenized their poetry to the literary tastes of their local Indian audiences’.⁷² The deployment of *virāhinī* motif in Shah Husayn’s poetry is in consonance with already existing literary conventions in India. The complex imagery associated with a *virāhinī* is evoked by him but Radha has been replaced by Hir as a *virāhinī*, since the latter is a more familiar character for the Punjabi audience.

72 Ali Asani, “Devotional Poetry, South Asia,” in Muhammad in History, Thought and Culture: An Encyclopedia of the Prophet of God, eds. Coeli Fitzpatrick and Adam Hani Walker (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 140.

Growth of Sufism on Silk Route: Connecting South Asia with Medieval Ottoman Empire

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to show how the most talked about Silk Route was connected with the Medieval Empire of the Ottomans Vis-à-vis with other Medieval Empires? That will establish the long standing importance of the route and its far off connections during Medieval Period. Another important aspect which has been dealt in this paper is the channeling of this route for not only Silk trade but also for the purpose of trading different other products in demand on different continents and how Silk Route arteries of highway connected the same? The Silk route's importance Vis-à-vis the Ottomans in spreading various religions/ faiths, sects, Ideas and institutions, forms the vital part of this paper. At last it has been shown that how Ottoman towns had flourished as a result of its falling in the way of Silk Route.

Background

One is curious to think of affairs between Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire in political and economic terms. After all, trade in the form of the Silk Road has linked these regions for centuries. The two regions also have a long

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history of political and dynastic relations consisting of diplomatic connections and conflicts between rulers. But political and economic relations were only a minor part of the connections between Anatolia and Central Asia. By the 16th century when the Ottoman Empire in West Asia and the Uzbek Khanates in Central Asia had acquired distinct regional and political identities, cultural, intellectual and artistic networks between Central Asia and Anatolia had already been in existence for a long time. Merchants, artisans, and dervishes traveled from one region to the other and made themselves at home.¹ Among the various ways in which the contacts between the two regions had been maintained, the travels of Central Asian pilgrims, particularly *shaykhs* and dervishes through the Ottoman territories seems to have provided one important means of contact between the two regions, particularly from the 16th century onward.² But nevertheless the old contact with the Byzantium would be matter of discussion between the two regions.

The nomenclature 'Silk Route' was given by Baron Ferdinand Von Richthofen (1833-1905)³ the German terms

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- 1 There are hardly any studies on the relations between Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. A. Burton's article focuses merely on diplomatic relations. A.J. Burton. "Relations between the Khanate of Bukhara and Ottoman Turkey, 1558-1702". *International Journal of Turkish Studies*. 5. 1-2. 1990-91. pp.83-105.
 - 2 NurlenKilic-Schubel, Rethinking the ties between Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire: Travels of a Central Asian shykh in Ottoman Empire in the 16th Century, Nurcan Abaci (Editor) VIII"1 International Congress on the Economic and Social History of Turkey... June 18-21, 1998, Bursa-Turkey Pp. 259-275
 - 3 The significance of this first iron Silk Road lies in geological as well as political history. Richthofen and Sven Hedin, who popularized the Silk Road in the 1930s, asserted the centrality of geological knowledge to geopolitical action. See, Tamara Chin, *The Invention of the Silk Road, 1877*, Chicago Journal, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Autumn 2013), pp. 194-219 Published by: The University of Chicago Press Stable http://silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol5num1/srjournal_v5n1.pdf, Also, Waugh, Daniel. (2007). "Richthofen's "Silk Roads": Toward the Archaeology of a Concept." *The Silk Road*. Volume 5, Number 1, Summer 2007, p. 4. "Approaches Old and New to the Silk Roads" VadimeElisseeff in: *The Silk*

for the same was *Seidenstraße* and *Seidenstraßen*, The first man to travel on the route was Zhang Qian of Han dynasty.⁴ For the first time, its use was recognized by the Romans. The silk route originated from 206 B.C. and developed as an interconnected pass way between the East and the West, stretching from the far east China, Central Asia, Persia, West Asia, to the far west of Byzantium Empire to Europe. This route not only promoted trade but also played an important role in the dissemination of different faiths, philosophies, arts, traditions and technologies. It is widely known that Ottoman Empire was well connected with other parts of the known medieval world through Silk Route and it was the same network which had led to exchanges of ideas and institutions along with various articles and goods which helped humanity to grow. The Silk Route remained important till 1453 when Constantinople fell to the Muslims.

Early Ottoman-Mongol Links

The Ottomans were most probably one of the nomadic tribes living in the environs of Maverannehr and Khurasan that escaped from the first wave of Mongol conquests and came to Anatolia.⁵ In this context, it is estimated that roughly 250,000 Turkic people entered Anatolia in the 13th century. Not all of them were nomads; they were accompanied with dervishes and learned men, who had strong communal

Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce. Paris (1998) UNESCO, Reprint: Berghahn Books (2000), pp. 1-2.

- 4 The caravans were often attacked by small Central Asian tribes, and in order to assure the safety of the trade, the Han Government sent General Zhang Qian (200–114 BC) as an envoy to build relationships with these small nomadic states. Heleanor Feltham, *Lions, Silks and Silver: The Influence of Sassanian Persia* SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS Number 206 August, 2010, Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305 USA
- 5 For details see, *THE GENEALOGY OF A WORLD-EMPIRE: THE OTTOMANS IN WORLD HISTORY* BY RESAT BARIS UNLU BA, Ankara University, 1998 MA. Ankara University. 2001 DISSERTATION Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology in the Graduate School of Binghamton University State University of New York, 2008 Pp.90-93

bonds with nomads.⁶ And in 1243, Anatolia was also annexed by Mongol army. In the upcoming sixty-seventy or so years, Anatolia hosted the right wing of the Mongol army,⁷ many Ilkhanid governors, Mongol land owners and tax-tribute officials including Rashid al-Din's sons, traders, and so on. It was also living its golden age in the economic sphere. The imperial highway, the shah-rah, was extending from Maverunnehr to Anatolia.⁸ From the 13th century Anatolian sources and the actions of its political and economic actors, it is explicit that new comers were consciously part of this new world. Some tend to assume that, since nomads did not write much, they did not know much also. In support of this claim, the proof they have is the lack of direct references to world history, to Mongols, to Byzantium, to China, and the like. They were supposedly much more aware than we ascribe to them. There might be no sources, but the simple logic like, and the later events dictate a negative answer to this rhetorical question. The new comers were already in long contact with many cultures and empires in Central Asia;⁹ and along the way to in Anatolia, they must have learned much more about world history and the contemporary world. As Soviet orientalist S.E. Tolybekov once put it. "Every illiterate nomadic Kazakh, like all nomads of the world, was in the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries simultaneously a shepherd and a

6 Devin DeWesse. " 'Stuck in the Throat of Chingiz Khan: Envisioning (he Mongol Conquests in Some Sufi Accounts from the 14th: to 17th Centuries ' . Judith Pfeiffer and Sholch A. Quinn. *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John Woods.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. Vcrlag. 2006). pp 54-55.

7 John Masson Smith. Jr. "Mongol Nomadism and Middle Eastern Geography: Qislaqs and Tumens". R. Amitai-Prciss and D.O. Morgan (cds.). *The Mongol Empire and us Legacy.* (Leiden: Brill. 1999). Pp. 39-56.

8 Zeki Velidi Togan. "References to Economic and Cultural Life in Anatolia in the Letters of Rashid al-Din". Gary Leiser (tr.). Judith Pfeiffer and Sholch: A Quinn. *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Hoods.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 2006). pp. XX. 101.

9 Bernard Lewis. "The Mongols, the Turks, and the Muslim Polity. *Islam in History: Ideas. People, and Events in the Middle East.* (Chicago Open Court. 1993). pp. 198-201.

soldier, an orator and a historian, poet and singer. All national wisdom, assembled by the ages, existed only in oral form."¹⁰ It might even be a mistake to distinguish Mongol and Turkic elements after a certain point. The number of Mongol warriors who came to Iran and Anatolia in the second half of the 13th century was around 170,000.¹¹ Even if we forget for a moment that this number contained Turkic people as well, it was relatively small in comparison to the c. 250,000 Turkic people that entered Anatolia in the eve of and after the conquests. Consequently, the Mongols started to speak Turkish and Persian, and thus, became Turkish and Persian. Turco-Persia was at that time institutionalized enough to absorb the world conquerors. In the 14th century both Yuan and Ilkhanid dynasties collapsed. At their apogees, they were much stronger than the other two post-Chengiz Mongol empires, namely the Golden Horde in the Russian steppe and the Chaghatays in Maveraunnehr, for their "degree of integration among tributary revenues, trade-derived revenues, and the revenues obtained through direct taxation of urban and rural communities" was higher.¹² Yet, the other two survived longer the reason was that they had a chance to distance themselves from the sedentary life and its contamination. In the case of the Golden Horde, this was easier to do so in the huge Russian steppes.¹³ In the Chaghatay case, it seems that they consciously resisted sedentarization and maintained the nomadic mode of life.¹⁴

10 Cited in Gellner, Foreword", p. xxi.

11 Andre Wink. "India and the Turko-Mongol Frontier". A. Khazanov and Andre Wink (eds.). *Nomads in the Sedentary World*. (Patstow; Curzon. 2001). p. 225.

12 Di Cosmo, *op.cit.* p. 26.

13 Morgan, *op.cit.* p. 174.

14 Anatoly M. Kha/anov. "Nomads and Cities in the Eurasian Sieppc Region and Adjacent Countries: A Historical Overview. Stefan Lcder and Bernhard Strck (eds.). *Shifts and Drifts in Nomad-Sedentary Relations*, (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Vocrlag. 2005). p. 166.

Silk Routes

After 1453, the major operation on Silk Route did cease to exist, but the route spread to different directions. The trade and commerce continued to flourish giving way to rise a number of commercial and cultural centres across Ottoman Empires. From medieval perspective, it was connected to the Safavid Empire, the Uzbek the Mughal, the Chinese Empire and several other medieval empires. We find towns like Konya, Anatalya, Denizili, Istanbul,¹⁵ Trabzon, Erzurum, Kayseri, Hatay, Busra¹⁶ emerged as important trading ports in early medieval Ottoman Empire. The items of trade which acted as great connector among those empires, was the important item silk as it was greatly in demand in all the empires among its elite and the ruling class. It was highly considered to be a luxury item, wore by the rich and the affluent people particularly in all great capitals of those empires.¹⁷ The rich people had habit of wearing clothes

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- 15 Istanbul was the great transit center of the south—north trade artery between the Black Sea and Danubian ports, and the principal cities of the eastern Mediterranean, Arabia and India. The Istanbul-based merchants imported manufactured goods of European origin, principally woolen cloth, and also the so-called oriental goods, in particular, pepper, and other spices and dyes. Caffa, Kilia and Akkerman were the chief transit centers for this north—south trade, with Akkerman superseding Caffa, particularly after the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul. Istanbul merchants and industries supplied the Black Sea and northern area with woolen cloth, ready-to-wear clothing and Bursa silk textiles, which were also in great demand in Poland, Sweden and Muscovy. But much more important than international commerce was the regional trade between the northern and southern Black Sea areas.
- 16 Nestled against the slopes of Mount Uludag (the ancient Mount Olympus) in Western Anatolia, Bursa emerged as an important town in Classical Antiquity. Of major significance for the city's future was the inauguration of the silk industry in Byzantium under Emperor Justinian, as a result of which Bursa would eventually become a center of silk production and trade. Hubs at this Eastern end of Mediterranean served as transshipment points of goods travelling between Rome and China
- 17 Silk became a highly valued commodity, functioning much like coinage. Taxes were paid in lengths of woven cloth, representatives of foreign powers were presented with gifts of silk, nomads exchanged horses for it, dowries included it, civil servants and military officers received it as part of their salary, and trade was stimulated by it. Étienne De la Vaissière (Trans. James Ward), *Sogdian Traders, a History: Handbook of Oriental Studies*, Section 8: Central Asia, Vol. 10, Sogdian Traders (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005)

made of silk and for various other decorative purposes. So the route which developed on its trade came to be known as 'Silk Route' and this route survived long fifteen hundred years of time and more.

Religions, Philosophies and Ideas on Silk Route

Many religions including Christianity, Hinduism, Taoists, Nestorians, Buddhism, Jews, Catholics, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Islam interacted with the people of the east and the west through the Silk Route.¹⁸ The region around Silk Route and more precise the region of Central Asia, became a melting pot of many cultures. Various religions spread their doctrines along this network of inter-connecting roads. Buddhism was introduced to China from India,¹⁹ Zoroastrianism and Christianity followed by Islam. The preachers used various network of Silk Routes and reached across the known world through monks, *Shamans*, *Sufis*, and saints of several denominations. The spread of Islam coincided with the Chinese era of Tang dynasty. With the spread of Islam and expansion of Islamic territory its borders touched the Tang Dynasty.²⁰ It stretched from Morocco to Aral Sea covering the entire Middle East and it included Africa and Europe also. Islam actually flourished through Abbasid Caliphs and later on with the Islamisation of various Turkish tribes which converted to Islam and Mongolised Turkish race emerged as an overwhelming force both in Central Asia as well in South Asia. Through silk route the mystic Islam i.e. Sufism and its various *Silsilahs* spread its tentacle across the Muslim weltanschauung and each developed its stronghold like *Naqshbandia* in Central Asia, *Beqtashi*, *Maulvi*²¹ or *Durveshi Silsilah* in Asia Minor.²²

18 Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2nd edition, 2010, also, Xinru Liu, *The Silk Road in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 77.

19 About six centuries after its birth in India Buddhism reached China via Silk Route...See, Craig A Lockard; *Societies, Global Network and Transition, A Global History*, University of Wisconsin –Green Bay 2015.P.132

20 From 7th century AD Arab Muslims travelled to China

21 The Mevlevis and the Bektaşis have their roots in 13th century Konya.

Medieval Sufis

It was, despite the challenges in those days, the Sufi trails continued to make headways. In this regard, Naqshbandiya *silsilah* made inroads to Persia, from Trans-Oxiana: Naqshbandi travellers made the trip from Central Asia to the Ottoman lands frequently during 15th-16th centuries as those are evident from scores of itineraries. In fact, it may be assumed that the difficulties to travel via Persia and the emergence of the alternative route via the northern steppes conjoined with the Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands during the second decade of the 16th century and the ensuing establishment of an imperial pilgrimage route from Istanbul, with the result that traditional pilgrimage routes from Trans-oxania via Iran were being replaced for good with more northerly one's going to Anatolia. Itineraries of *Naqshbandi* pilgrims from Trans-oxiana during the 15th century, show them travelling along several Persian routes: a northern one via Herat, Nisha-pur, Qazvin, Tabriz, Diyarbakir, Aleppo, and Damascus; a central route following the same itinerary to Qazvin and thence to Hamadan and Baghdad; and a southern one going from Herat to Kerman or Yazd, and from there onward via Shiraz.²³ After the Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands, and especially once the annual pilgrimage *caravan* from Istanbul became a highly organized state affair, more Central Asian pilgrims were choosing northern itineraries that took them all the way to Istanbul, where they would join the imperial Ottoman caravan for the last leg of their travel to the Hijaz via Damascus.²⁴

Evidence for this new pattern of pilgrimage survives in some of those Naqshbanditekkas²⁵ and places of accommodation for Trans-oxanian pilgrims that especially Bukharan founders

22 Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700*, SUNY Press, Albany, 2005, Pp.30-31

23 *Ibid.* Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700*, SUNY Press, Albany, 2005, Pp.30-31

24 *Ibid*

25 *Sufi Hospices came up with names or typically bearing designations such as Buharatekkesi or Ozbeklertek-kesi.*

took to establishing in various places along the pilgrimage route, or routes, from Central Asia. Bursa had one such tekke from sometime in the sixteenth century. Greater Istanbul had two from the late seventeenth century and another two from the eighteenth.²⁶ Accounting for such prevalence of tekkes could lead us to old Silk Route which with the passage of times also offshoot onto different directions.

We also know the continuous exchanges of Sufi mystics were the orders of the day during Medieval Ottoman Empire. A prominent Indian Sufi ShykhIshahq Bukhari al Hindi had visited Ottoman Empire during the time of Mehmad II and got from the Sultan built a *Tekke* for himself in the Aksaray neighbourhood of the capital. Another Sufi saint like Baba Hyder Samarqandi, the Khalifa of Khwaja Ahrar who came to Istanbul (Eyup) via Mecca and got built a mosque for himself. That establishes the fact that the earliest presence of the Naqshbandiyya in Istanbul was the result of direct transmission from the Central Asian homeland of the order. One such journey is mentioned to be undertaken by Molla Abdullah Ilahi of Simav (d. 896/1491), whose elongated stopover in Samarqand and Bukhara culminated in his initiation by the great Naqshbandi master, Khwaja 'Ubaydullah Ahrar (d. 895/1490), and Emir Ahmed Buhari (d. 922/ 1516), a fellow disciple of Molla Abdullah Ilahi who accompanied him back to Simav; first Bukhari and then Ilahi himself moved to Istanbul in order to establish the first Naqshbandi circle in the Ottoman capital.²⁷ This was but the beginning of a fairly constant flow of Naqshbandis from various parts of Central Asia to Istanbul, significant enough to result in the foundation of *tekkes* to accommodate them during their stays of varying duration, *tekkes* typically bearing

26 Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700*, SUNY Press, Albany, 2005, Pp.30-31

27 KasimKufrali, "MollallahiveKendisindenSonrakiNakjibendiyeMuhiti," *TiirkDiliveEdebiyahDergisi*, III/ 1-2 (October 1948), 129-151

designations such as Buharatekkesi or Ozbeklertek-kesi.²⁸ The great majority of these Central Asian visitors remained anonymous, having little or no impact on the established Naqshbandi circles of Istanbul, a city which apart from its great cultural and political prestige was for them primarily a staging post en route to the annual *hajj* pilgrimage. The initial exodus of Naqshbandi thoughts was not from Ventral Asia but from India and the Hijaz, that new branches of Naqshbandi tradition were transplanted to Istanbul. Later there were, however, a number of Central Asian mystic wanderers and their followers who settled permanently in Istanbul and left something of a mark on the mystical life of the city. Particularly interesting is the case of Sheikh Abdullah Nidai of Kashghar, who had two distinct affiliations to the Kasani branch of the Naqshbandiya, a lineage otherwise little known outside of Central Asia.²⁹ After his arrival in Istanbul, he found favor with Mujaddidi Naqshbandis, while retaining his own Kasani loyalties, and the *tekke* one of these Mujaddidis founded on his behalf came after several generations to serve — however briefly — as a centre of the Khalidi branch of the order. His life and legacy thus serve to demonstrate the interrelatedness of the various branches of the Naqshbandi hierarchy, as well as the utility of the Ottoman capital as a locus of cultural and spiritual interchange.³⁰

The travel to Istanbul during the Ottoman heyday, by the prominent Sufi saints of various denominations, were very

28 Thierry Zarcone, "Histoire et Croyances des Derviches Turkestanais et Indiens an Istanbul," *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu, II: Derviches et Cimetières Ottomans*, Paris, 1991, pp. 137-200.

29 Another spiritual descendant of Makhdum-i A'zam who migrated westwards was Abu Saa'id Balkhi, -initiator into the Naqshbandiyya of the celebrated Syrian Sufi, 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (d. 1143/1771); see Barbara von Schlegell, *Sitfism in Ilie Ottoman Arab World: Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi*, PhD. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1997, p. 141. There was also a Kasani sheikh in 11th/12th century Mecca, Muhammad Husayn al-Kafi; see Ibn al-'Ujaymi, *Khabdyd al-Zawdyd*, ms. Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, tarikh 2410, f. 23b.

30 Elizabeth, Ogdalaga, *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia*, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1999. P.1

common. A reverse trend of traversing old Silk Route from Ottoman land to Central Asia by the prominent Sufi saints are also found. One such visit with great significance was found to be done by Shaikh Kamal al-Din Husayn b. Shihab al-Din Khwarazmi (d.1551). His accounts of travel come from his biography *Jaddat al-Ashiqin*³¹, written in Persian in 1573 by his son Sharif al-Din Husayn Khwarazmi who had accompanied his father throughout his travels. Since this is a Sufi hagiography (*menakibname*) rather than a travel account, it focuses on Khwarazmi's mystical life and career as a prominent Sufi shaykh. Thus, *Jaddat al-Ashiqin* should be read in the context of 16th century Central Asian *menakibnames*. Nevertheless, Sufi hagiographies are in many ways travel accounts-describing the interior and exterior journeys of Sufis. Given some cautions on the veracity of the text, the *Jaddat* provides a wealth of information. Its author, Sharif al-Din Husayn Khwarazmi, provides descriptions of the many shrines and tombs they visited, as well as the names and customs of the people they met along the route, about the condition of the routes they took as well as the military and political events which took place along their route. Much attention is given to the Shaykh's encounters with other shaykhs, scholars, rulers, and politicians along the way. The author gives detailed accounts of important persons whom Shaykh Husayn Khwarazmi encountered in each region through which he traveled. However, what makes this source somewhat different from many other *menakibnames* is that Shaykh Husayn Khwarazmi, accompanied by his family and more than three hundred dervishes and disciples actually made long and arduous journey to Mecca. His journey on the old Silk Road, which took almost two years, started in Samarqand in 1549 and ended in Aleppo where he died on August 1551 on his return. Along the way, he travelled

31 Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Subhanullah Collection. No.279.71/1. I would like to thank Devin DeWeese and the RIFIAS Library of Indiana University for giving me access to this copy. There are several copies of the *Jaddat*

through Khwarazm and followed the northern route through Saraycik, Hajji Tarkhan (Astrakhan), Azov, Crimea and Caffa (Kefe), Istanbul, Iznik, Kutahya, Konya, Aleppo, Hama, Horns, Damascus and Mecca.³²

India subcontinent, being home of various Sufi sects and mostly dominated by *Chistia*, *Suhrawardia* and *Qadiriya Silsilahs*, it was but natural that linkages with Central Asian Land and ultimately to the Ottoman Empire had to happen. After the spread of Islam in Kashmir in the second half of the 14th century and at the end of 15th century many Sufi orders such as *Suharawardia*, *Qubravia*, *Hamdania*, *Naqashbandia* and *Nurbakhshia* were practiced along with Rishi order of Kashmir. It came to Kashmir through Karakoram, Pamir and Hindu Kush mountains with Silk route connecting Kashmir and Central Asia. Thus, in that interchanges, Kashmir in particular and Indian Subcontinent also got connected to the Ottoman Empire.

Adventurer's Trail

The most famous traveller on the northern Silk route was the Ottoman mariner Sidi Ali Reis. He arrived in Samarkand by land after a naval mission that had taken him to India, and from Samarkand set out to return home in 962/1555 with an entourage of some fifty companions.³³ The group made it to the mouth of the Ural (Yayiq) River north of the Caspian, and there they were stopped and forced to return to Khwarazm because of the recent Russian conquest of Astrakhan. However, by then the Ottoman-Safavid Peace of Amasya, signed earlier that year, had created new openings. Rather than risking another trip along the now doubly hazardous northern route, Sidi Ali Reis and his companions set out again on one of the customary Persian routes via Mashhad,

32 Find details of this tourney in, NurlenKilic-Schubel, Rethinking the ties between Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire: Travels of a Central Asian shykh in Ottoman Empire in the 16th Century, Nurcan Abaci (Editor) VIII¹ International Congress on the Economic and Social History of Turkey... June 18-21, 1998, Bursa-Turkey Pp. 259-275

33 For details see, Sidi Ali Reis (16th Century CE): *MiratulMemalik* (The Mirror of Countries), Medieval Sourcebook; 1557 CE

Rayy, Qazvin, and Baghdad, and reached Istanbul in 964/1557.³⁴

Some of those travelling on the northern route were civilians, especially Trans-oxanian pilgrims to the Hijaz, as we see in a pilgrimage caravan returning to Samarkand, also in 959/1552.³⁵

34 *Ibid*, Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700*, SUNY Press, Albany, 2005, Pp.30-31

35 *Ibid*;

The Sufi Practice of Samā': A Historical Study

Farrah Amanullah*

ABSTRACT

Samā' denotes that "which is heard", a mystic practice and opposed to reason ('akl) in theology but a very significant musical tradition of the Sufism. It is no doubt the alchemy of the soul which establishes a reciprocal relationship between the Supreme Being and the humble creature; the human being. Samā' serves as a mystical performance for self-realization in order to avoid the misguiding of the nafs. The Sufis in Persia, India and Anatolia developed the practices of Samā' and raqs during the Middle Period (especially the Chishtiyyah Silsila established practice of Samā' and raqs in the thirteenth to sixteenth century in India) and Sufism revolted against the worldliness and materialism especially in the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. It was induced into the socio-cultural patterns of the living of people and also became a mirror of the society. Among the Chishtī Sufis, during the times of Shaykh Nizām al Dīn Awliyā, his disciple Amir Khusraw (d. 725/1325) became the founding father of Qawwali in and its musical genre in India. Qawwali, which is the extension of the Samā' in India, evolved during the thirteenth and sixteenth century emerged as an ethno musicological entity of South Asia. Qawwali serves as a link

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between the people indulged in its ecstasy to the divine. The trend of Qawwali was an example of the Indianization of the Samāʿ music in India. Samāʿ is integral part of these shrines and people get spiritual solace to listen to the message of love enshrined in Samāʿ.

Introduction:

Samāʿ is a verbal noun which refers to hearing and listening. It also denotes “that which is heard”. For example may be music.¹ The word *Samāʿ* is not found in the text of the Qurʿan but it was used in the ancient Arabic language. It is opposed to reason (*ʿakl*) in theology but it is a very significant musical tradition of the Sufism. It is a spiritual concert for the nourishment of the soul. It is a sufi ritual and a practice of intense involvement of the soul to meet the divine.² It includes hearing to the mystic poetry and music and thus the soul transits into the condition of *Wajad* (ecstasy). It is a devotional practice and hence requires the listener to be fully concentrated to find out reality. It is held in order to raise the echoes of the primordial state hence putting the heart on the longing desire of reunion with the supreme. *Samāʿ* has become a privileged tool of knowledge and internal improvement. It is no doubt the alchemy of the soul which establishes a reciprocal relationship between the Supreme Being and the humble creature; the human being. *Samāʿ* serves as a mystical performance for self-realization in order to avoid the misguiding of the *nafs*.³

Ecstasy is induced in the individual by the recitation of the Qurʿan or the chanting of the poetry. The mystical and ceremonial music supplemented by mystic and rhythmic dance called as *raqs*. Intensifies the divine emotion in the heart of the seeker and thus leads him to search for the

1 *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. VIII, art. *Samāʿ* part I, in *Music and Mysticism* by J. During. By Leiden and E.J Brill: 1018-1019.

2 *Ibid.*

3 For details see Jean –Loius Michon. ‘Sacred Music and Dance in Islam’, in *Encyclopedia of Islamic Spirituality*, ed. Sayyed Hossein Nasr. Vol. II, *Manifestations*. Lahore: Sohail Academy, 2000, 475.

divinity by indulging into the ecstasy and intoxication. This *raqs* leads the seeker to plunge in the search of the ultimate truth i.e. Allah.⁴ The separation between the divine and the human was a precondition. The separation was mandated before the ultimate union as in true relationship, the union is the ultimate goal after separation.⁵ So it is the fundamental aim of Sufis to achieve the union by *Samā'* and *raqs*. The Sufis have two attitudes towards the separation from the divine, *wahadat al wujud* (all is God) and *wahdat al shuhud*⁶ (all is from God). Both the doctrines preach one message i.e. unity of creature and the being.⁷

Historical Background:

Syed Ali Hujwiri's⁸ *Kashf al Mahjūb*⁹ contains a chapter dealing with the place of *Samā'* in Islam. He expounds that the hearing of Qur'an is the best *Samā'*¹⁰. The author has emphasized upon the permissibility of *Samā'* by giving examples from the prophetic age.¹¹ Hujwiri has given an account of many people who died while they were fully

4 Tanvir Anjum. *Chishtī Sufis in the sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 65.

5 Bruce b Lawrence, "The Early Chishtī Approach to *Samā'*", in *Islamic Society and Culture: Essays in the Honour of Professor aziz Ahmad*, ed. Milton Israel and N.K Wagle. New Delhi: Manohar, 1983, 69.

6 *Wahadat al wujud* was theological doctrine propounded by Ibnul Arabi (d.638 AH) which is based on a belief that everything is god and the ultimate destiny of human is *Baqa Billah*. It favors the state of ecstasy and holds an inclusive approach. On the other hand, *wahdat al shuhud* is a doctrine propagated by Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi. It holds the idea that all creatures are a part of God and the final destiny is *fana fillah*. It believes in sobriety.

7 Lawrence. "The Early Chishtī Approach to *Samā'*", 70.

8 Sayyid Haji Abu'l Hasan Bin Usman Bin Ali Al-Jalabi Al-Hujwiri (d.406/1077) was an eleventh century saint and is also known as Data Ganj Baksh. He is famous for his treatise *Khashaful Mahjub* (unveiling of the veiled)

9 Kenneth S. Avery. *A Psychology of Early Sufi Samā'*: Listening and Altered States. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004, 65.

10 For details see the last chapter on *Samā'* in Al Hujwiri, 'Ali ibn 'Uthman. *Kashf al Mahjub*, Eng. Tans. R.A Nicholson. Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1976 rpt., first published in 1911.

11 *Ibid.*

indulged into the practice of *Samā'*. This state of *Wajad* can be highlighted by the example of Khawaja Qutub-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d.633/1235) of Chishtī *Silsilah* and a music aficionado who died in the epic of bliss by a poetic verse which is as follows:

Kushtagan-i khanjar-itaslim ra

Har zaman az ghayb jaan-l degar ast

The victims of the dagger of submission
Get a new life from the unseen every moment¹²

Ghazali (d. 453/1111)¹³ has also argued that *Samā'* in the form of praise of Allah and the Prophet (PBUH) is *halal* in Islam. In fact, the pleasant voice is soothing for the ears. Ghazali has also narrated instances from the life of Prophet (PBUH) in which he allowed the beating of *Duff* (a music instrument of ancient Arabia) to the young girls. When Prophet used to come from his journeys back to Madinna city, the young girls would use to welcome him by beating the *duff* and singing the following verses (translated):

“The full moon has arisen on us from the
valleys from where the guests are bid farewell.
Thanks giving have become obligatory on us
for it that the Caller has called us towards
Allah”¹⁴

Mysticism is also an integral part of every religion and people belonging to other religions have been practicing meditation and other exercises to gain the ultimate truth. It is also an important aspect of Islam as it is directed towards the inner purity of the soul. Sufism revolted against the worldliness and materialism especially in the Umayyad and

12 Aqeel Raziuddin. “Music Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations” *Social Scientist*. Vol.40, Nos. 3-4(March-April):17-32.

13 Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Tusi, popularly known as Imam Ghazali was an expert on theology, a debater and a scholar. He believed in determinism and gave his expert opinion in his book *Kīmiyā-i-Sa’dāt* (alchemy of eternal bliss) *sama*.

14 Ghazali, Imam Mohammad. *Kīmiyā-i-Sa’dāt*. Eng. Trans. Mohammad Asim Bilal. Lahore: Qazi Publications. 2011. 640-647.

Abbasid Caliphates. Bayazid Bustani, Rabiya Basri and Hassan Basri are remembered as the Sufi saints who pioneered the spiritual practices of meditation in order to gain union with the Supreme Being. The Sufis thus developed the practices of the mystic dimension and hence *Silsilahs* came into being under the charismatic leadership of the Sufi saints.¹⁵

Central Theme

According to the prophetic traditions, Islam is a three dimensional ideology and way of living which includes *Islam* or forced submission by the jurists, coming into the fold of faith by the preachers and lastly, its *ihsan* which deals with the religion of heart and soul involving true love and sincerity towards God. This dimension is well carried off by the Sufis.¹⁶ The purity of the heart is not only gained by practicing the external rituals and offering physical prayers but it entails the esoteric involvement into the remembrance of the divine and making oneself fully subordinate to the orders of the Creator and showing Him love and devotion.

The Sufis in Persia, India and Anatolia developed the practices of *Samā'* and *raqs* during the Middle Period¹⁷ and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī of Persia and the founder of the Mawlvīyyah *Silsilah* is known to be a famous poet and theorist. Mawlvīyyah *Silsilah* is said to be the regular practitioner of *Samā' and raqs*.¹⁸ The early philosophers called Ikhwan-as safa (the brethren of purity) also supporter of mystic dance and music and discuss various things about *Sama* in their famous lectures. Ibne Sina (d.428/1037), Al

15 Raziuddin. "Music Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations", 17-32.

16 Chittwick, Williams C. *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al Arabi's Metaphysic Imagination*. Lahore: Sohail Academy, 2000, 212-216.

17 For details see Anjum *Chishtī Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400*. Page 59. The author has given a reference of classification of the sufi periods by taking help from Meyer. The trends *Samā'* had emerged during the neo-classical period of Sufism.

18 Anjum *Chishtī Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400*. 66.

Farabi (d. 260/873) and Al Kindi (d. 260/873)¹⁹ were the early Muslim philosophers who developed theories related to music.

In the context of India, four major Sufi *Silsilahs* emerged and practiced their doctrines. During the Sultanate era, Chishtīyyah and Suharwardīyyah *Silsilahs* emerged while in the Mughal era, Qadiris and Naqashbandis played an important role in developing their doctrines.²⁰ The Chishtīs are significant in establishing the practice of *Samā* and *raqs* in the thirteenth to sixteenth century in India. The Chishtīs used to wander in the towns and attracted the people by playing music led by telling the tale or a legend.²¹ It was induced into the socio-cultural patterns of the living of people and also became a mirror of the society.²² *Samā'* was one of the nine important principles along with the independence from the state and staying aloof from the state politics, which were followed by the Chishtīs.

The Chishtīs had well established centers of activities and they were called *Khānqās* where both, Hindus and Muslims used to gather for spiritual improvement. The saints had established their *Khānqās* at different places in India such as the founder of Chishtī *Silsilah*, Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn's *khānqā* was at Ajmer, Qutb al-Dīn's at Delhi and Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn's at Ajōdhan (Modern day Pakpattan) and Shaykh Nizām al Dīn Awliyā's at Delhi. These *khānqās* were open to people of every sect and every class and caste. The lessons given were based upon equality and brotherhood

19 Ibn Sina was one of the polymath of the medieval Hellenistic period who was expert in philosophy, theology, and natural sciences. His approach was a very rational one. Al Farabi was a logician, cosmologist and an eminent thinker of the Muslim golden age. Al Kindi was a famous musician and scientist who gave introduction of the pope music. These three philosophers along with many others believed in the power of rationality.

20 Raziuddin. "Music Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations", 17-32.

21 Anjum Chishtī *Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400*, 94.

22 Sama in the royal courts by Regula Burkheart

discouraging the social discrimination on the basis of color and caste.²³

The Chishtī Sufis focused on the development of *Samāʿ*, *raqs* and *zīkr*. The treatises and *malfūzzāt* and biographical accounts of the sufi saints (*tazzkīras*) give a valuable information on *Samāʿ*. It served as the strategy for the spiritual enhancement of the seekers. This Sufi doctrine was a messenger of peace and love. It was institutionalized by the Sufis in order to motivate the individual's listening faculty. The doctrine of *wahad al wujud* preaches the common message from all religions that there is an ultimate truth and all the souls on earth tend to meet God. This doctrine brought non-Muslims close to the Muslims. The Muslim Sufis learnt from Hindus the techniques of meditation like *yoga*, practice of *pranayam*²⁴ and *chilla-i-maʿkus*, hanging oneself upside down in a well.²⁵

The involvement of the non-Muslims into the spheres of the Sufi saints led to the conversion and Islamicization of the masses in the hands of these Sufi saints. The *dargahs* and the *khānqāhs* became the centers of conversion got blessed through the devotional practices of the Sufis. In due course there arose groups which submitted to Islam formally but they carried on with their indigenous customs and conducts. So the large Indian Muslim communities owe their conversion to the blessings of the devotional Sufis.²⁶

Among the Chishtī Sufis, during the times of Shaykh Nizām al Dīn Awliyā, his disciple Amir Khusraw (d. 725/1325)²⁷

23 Anjum Chishtī *Sufis in the sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400*. 104.

24 Prayanam is an ancient technique of breath control. It relieves the symptoms of asthma and it is still used by the meditators. Its origin is found in Hinduism.

25 Raziuddin. "Music Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations", 17-32.

26 *Ibid.*

27 Abu'l Hasan Yaminuddin Khusro, better known as Amir Khusro (also Khusrau, Khusrow) Dehlavi was a famous poet, musician, scientist and disciple of Chishti sufi saint. His father was a non- Indian while his mother

became the founding father of *Qawwali* and its musical genre in India.²⁸ He was a great musicologist and poet who incorporated the Persian and the indigenous languages in his poetry. The incorporation of the local languages into the *samā'* led the easy understanding of the poetry to Indians and hence the message was delivered easily.²⁹

Amir Khusraw composed certain musical lyrics and modified the musical instrument of *pakhwaj* by cutting it into two pieces thus making two *tabla* which make *Qawwali* more enjoyable. Some of the experts of music are of the view that he made *sitar* by modifying the *iktar*.³⁰ Some verses from his poetry in *Hindavi* are as following:

Zehaal-e-miskeen makun taghافل
Duraye naina banaye batiyan

Do not overlook my misery
by blandishing your eyes and weaving tales

Bahaq-e-roz-e-visaal-e-dilbar
Ke daad mara gharib Khusro

In honour of the day I meet my beloved
who has lured me so long, O Khusro!³¹

It can be observed that not only the Persian poetry had mystical effects in it but poetry in other languages also carried elements of ecstasy in it. His approach was very conciliatory towards the non-Muslims of India especially the Hindus. He contributed a lot to the Indian mystic music, died

was of Indian origin and he was proud of it. He was an expert of many languages.

28 Regula Burckhardt Qureshi. 'Sama' in the Royal Courts of Saints: The Chishtiyya of South Asia, 111-127 in Grace Martins and Carl W. Ernst (ed). *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*. Istanbul: The Iris Press, 1993.

29 *Ibid*.

30 Professor Mohammad Aslam. *Salateene Delhi-o-Shahane Mughlia ka Zoqe Mosiqi*. Lahore: Punjab University, 1992. 21.

31 Poetry mentioned in *Amir Khusraw ka Hindavi Kalam ma'a Nuskhaye Berlin Zakheeraye Ishpernger* by Gopi Chand Narang. 46.

in fourteenth century and his grave lays near his the grave of his beloved saint Shaykh Nizām al Dīn Awliyā.³²

Qawwali as an Essence:

Qawwali which is the extension of the *Samā* in India evolved during the thirteenth and sixteenth century emerged as an ethno musicological³³ entity of South Asia. *Qa'ol* is an Arabic word and is the root of the word *Qawwali*³⁴. It refers to an axiom or dictum which is based upon the subjects of religion. It helps to purify the thoughts and the soul.³⁵ It is a musical concert in which the soul is transmitted to the path of union with God. This tradition has been sustained for centuries by the Sufi communities over the centuries in South Asia. *Qawwali* serves as a link between the people indulged in its ecstasy to the divine. It carries a strong message of spiritual experience and intense meditation in which the consciousness of the person escapes. The level of ecstasy depends upon the personal capabilities of a person to absorb the mystical message.³⁶

Qawwalis have a spell bound effect on the listener and keep a hypnotic impact on the spiritual minded audience. Sufis believe that the true spirit of *Qawwali* is the stirring of the soul and the transmission of the ethereal waves into the heart of the listener. Success of the *Qawwali* depends upon the extent of the transmission and the understanding of the knowledge by the audience. The *Qawwali* should be arranged at a peaceful spot free from noise and hustle and bustle of the city. Moreover, the selection of the poetry

32 Aslam. *Salateene Delhi –o- Shahane Mughlia ka Zoqe Mosiqi*27.

33 Regula Burckhardt Qureshi has used the word “ethnomusicological” in her book *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Contest and the Meaning in Qawwali*. She strongly holds the argument that the origin of *Qawwali* is purely a South Asian music trend.

34 Masood Ali Khan and s. Ram(ed.). *Encyclopedia of Sufism*. Vol.4 art. “Significance of Sama or “Qawwali” and its Deterioration at Khawaja Saheb’s Dargah”198-202. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2003.

35 *Ibid*.

36 Regula Burckhardt Qureshi. *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, 1.

should be made very consciously and the gathering must have possessing taste and interest for the mystic music. Timing of the *Mehfil-e-Samāʿ* should not be interfering into other religious practices.³⁷

According to Qureshi, the experience of *Qawwali* is a ritual in which the spiritual dignitaries are known and each individual in the audience responds to the mystic music in his own way.³⁸ *Qawwali* is not bound to the religious ritual as the approach of the sufis was very inclusive and conciliatory. Every individual who keeps desire to seek the eternal truth should be welcomed in this spiritual concert. Though there are variations in the styles and poetry of these concerts but the universal message lies in the search and attainment of the ultimate truth. The articulation of the reality of Sufism is depicted in the style and poetry of *Qawwali*. The performer is the messenger and the medium which controls the performance. The art of *Qawwali* is a hereditary art and is performed by the hereditary performers. The tradition of the music and its terms are talked about and taught in a way that it becomes compatible with the terms of the art music.³⁹

There are many dimensions of *Qawwali* which not only include the development of the spiritual concert and transmission of truth to the listener by mystic poetry but it also propagates an ideology and articulates certain social structures. The other dimension is the promotion of individual's self-assertion. It is an ethno musicological tradition which is a characteristic of south Asia and has a universal impact of promoting the real soul of Sufism.⁴⁰

Qawwali and practice of *Samāʿ* was a guiding principle of the Chishtī Sufis who completely denounced any favor from the state and had been aloof from the politics of the state. The

37 Masood Ali Khan and s. Ram(ed.). *Encyclopedia of Sufism*. Vol.4 art. "Significance of Sama or "Qawwali" and its Deterioration at Khawaja Saheb's Dargah"198-202. New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2003.

38 Qureshi. *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan* 5.

39 Qureshi. *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan* 8.

40 *Ibid* 232.

early Chishtī sufis were never summoned to the royal courts. Shaykh Nizām al Dīn Awliyā never allowed Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī and Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khaljī to visit his *khānqā* despite of their requests.⁴¹ The sufis were always confronted with the criticism due to their esoteric practices. The ‘*ullamā*’ think themselves as the caretaker and custodian of the *Sharī‘ah* and claim themselves as the right interpreters of the Islamic laws. All ‘*ullamā*’ cannot be generalized as critical of the Sufis, for example, Minhaj al Siraj Juzjani was not hostile towards the Sufi doctrine of *Samā’*. He was the chief Qazi of the sultanate and author of *Tabqate Nasiri*.⁴² Due to him, the Sufi gathering continued to take place.

The Sufis, due to sympathizing behavior and conciliatory approach, were more popular among the masses of all religions. The *Dargahs* used to provide food and shelter to the socially marginalized people to whom state and society was reluctant to provide any welfare. The local people had no direct relationship with the ruler and the state, and the ‘*ullamā*’ were patronized by the state so they were keen to act as supervisors to the implementation of *shariah* thus keeping an exclusive approach to the common people. On the other hand, the doors of Sufi *khānqāhs* were always open to every individual irrespective of caste, color, creed or religion. The spiritual seekers used to find shelter and peace at these places and observe great homage and respect to the Sufi *Shaykh*. These Sufis represented a softer side of the society who preached lessons of tolerance and divine love to the desperate. Hence this colossal following of the spiritual Shaykh provoked the jealousy of the ‘*ullamā*’ who had distant themselves with the common people. In the wake of this jealousy, they used to not only criticize the Sufis, especially the Chishti Sufis, but also brought royal summons for them to give explanations in front of the Sultan of that time but the Sufis were never punished by the rulers rather they always persuaded the ruler with their sound arguments. Music is

41 Anjum Chishtī *Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190-140*, 363.

42 *Ibid.*, 132.

forbidden in the Hanafite interpretation of the Sunni Islam as suggested by the jurists and the '*ullamā*'. To give legality and permissibility to music and especially *Samā'* and *Raqs* many scholars and theorists have compounded that *Samā'* under certain conditions is permissible. Imam Ghazali is of the view point that *Samā'* is the music that stirs the heart of the listener and invokes a love for Allah. It is *halal* for those who love Allah. Those '*ullamā*' who consider *Samā'* as *haram* only have superficial faith and are *ahl-e-zahir* and are ignorant of the depths of love. In case of *Samā'*, the *Fatwa* should be taken from the heart.⁴³ He further elaborated the types of *Samā'* that one type refers to the physical ecstasy and not desiring to seek the inner message of the music. This type of *Samā'* is *haram*. Second type refers to the invoking of the evil thoughts in the mind of the listener who tilts towards the worldly love and becomes astray. The third type of *Sama* is the most appropriate and sacred which pushes the heart of the listener towards the divine love so he does not recommends *Samā'* for the beginners.⁴⁴

Syed Ali Hujwiri also recommended some conditions for the *Sama* that the heart should be filled with the divine love and it should not be done occasionally as the spirit dies. Shaykh Nizām al Dīn Awliyā has also described the distinction between the good music and the vulgar music in *Fawad ul Fawad* written by Sijzi. Amir Khurd the writer of *Siyar ul Awliya* argues that Shaykh Nizām al Dīn Awliyā has told four distinctions of the music which include *haram*, in which the listener is totally inclined towards the *Majaz*, the *Mukruh* i.e the listener has slight tilt towards the *Majaz*, the *Mubah* is the music in which the listener has a tilt towards the divine and Halal (Allowed) *Samā'* is that in which the listener is fully indulged into the love of the divine.⁴⁵

43 Ghazali, *Kimiyā-i-Sa'dāt* 641-643.

44 *Ibid.*, 646-647.

45 Raziuddin. "Music Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations", 17-32.

Conclusion

Despite of all the criticism of the 'ullamā, Sufism is still practiced and the spiritual concert of *Samā'* is still in its epic in the *Urs Sharif* (Annual Celebrations of Death Anniversaries of Sufis) of the holy saints. The use of *Daff* and *Changana* is permissible in the *Samā'* but *I* and *chang* was not allowed. The trend of *Qawwali* was an example of the Indianization of the *Samā'* music in India. Since the people of India had traditional tendency towards music and therefore Sufis who lived among the people realized this and applied it to attract the masses towards the Allah's way. The stirring music and the rhythmic *Dhikr* (The repeated utterance of Allah's name) attracted large masses of the people into the fold of Islam. The orthodoxy remained an aspirant of the puritanical version of Islam emphasizing on the exoteric practices of Islam whereas the Sufis emphasized on the spiritual side of the religion and thus made a lot of conversions. Even today the Shrines of Chishti Sufis are attracting a huge number of people and the traditional *Samā'* is integral part of these shrines and still people get spiritual solace to listen to the message of love enshrined in *Samā'*.

The ultimate goal is achievement of the Sufi doctrine and *Samā'* was no doubt used as a tool to gain this aim. Moreover, the purity of personality leads to the purity of heart and purity of voice. This pure spell bounds the listener and thus he indulges into the great spiritual ecstasy (*wajd*) and walks on the path of meeting with the divine love. *Samā'* is for soul and heart.

*Har wajd ke az sama hasil ayad
Zawqe ast kea z wahmi asayad*

“Every ecstasy that is derived from *Samā'* is a taste which relieves the soul of anxiety.”

Keeping the Faith Intact: Religious Life of the English East India Company's Servants during the Seventeenth Century

Dr. Nishat Manzar*

ABSTRACT

Early years of the seventeenth century saw the arrival of various European share-holders' companies in South Asia. Of these, English (including the Dutch) East India Company played a vital role in transforming the nature of oceanic trade between the East and the West. Very early they realised that if trade was to be organised in a manner favourable to the Company, they had to create permanent stations (factories) in the East. Initially they settled in the coastal towns, such as Surat, Masulipatam, Karwar, Cannanore, Nagpattinam, etc. Gradually, they also created space for themselves in the hinterland and conducted trade from various cities of commercial importance and centres of production, like Ahmadabad, Baroda, Agra, Samana, Patna, Lahore, Thatta and Qasimbazar. Surat emerged as the main centre of their activities in the Sub-continent. All the officials and officers were collectively known as 'servants', 'merchants', or more commonly as 'factors'. They were to manage the trade by way of purchasing commodities, storing, transporting and loading goods during the shipping season. They were

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graduated into various ranks (President, factors, senior merchants, merchants, writers, etc.) and salaries were paid accordingly. They were supposed to be faithful to the cause of the Company.

However, for all of them, especially the English, religious duties were not of lesser importance. They were expected to be regular in performing religious obligations and behave properly in public and private like a 'true Christian'. A 'minister' or chaplain and a makeshift church in most of the factories were a regular feature. With gradual increase in mercantile activities and power, they were able to build magnificent churches; especially at the headquarters of three Presidencies (Madras, Bombay and Calcutta). Englishmen were to follow Anglican form of the Protestant church. Interaction with the Catholics (Portuguese, French, etc.) was to be avoided. There was a proper system of punishment in case of negligence of religious duties.

Modern historians have done voluminous work on the commercial activities of the Europeans, including the English. However, it is the aspects of their social and religious life inside the factory premises in distant lands that had been paid little attention to.¹ Proposed paper is an attempt to detail the religious life of the Englishmen in the first century of their stay in India.

I

Early years, after their arrival in 1601 in Asia and subsequently in the subcontinent, were full of difficulties for the Englishmen. Initially in India as they had no approval from the Mughal Emperor and his officers to stay on a regular basis and conduct trade under the aegis of the East India Company, although by 1608, they had been docking at Surat as a trade transit point. Presence of Portuguese in the court and coastal areas hampered their interests greatly.

1 A recent work by Daniel O'Connor- *The Chaplains of the East India Company: 1601-1858*, 2012, is a commendable work in this regard.

Religious affiliations² and commercial interests were the basic motives that forced the Portuguese hinder their path. Sometimes the Portuguese even warned the Mughal officers in Gujarat with threats of attacking the Indian ships, lest they allowed the new comers a foothold in the region. English and the Dutch were desperate to settle in any a port of Gujarat due to better prospects of trade in the region. Goods not only from nearby centres of production but north India too, were vended from the ports of Gujarat. The first decade of the seventeenth century also witnessed the English merchants associated with the Company visiting the Mughal court for the grant of a *firmān* (royal order) to legalise their stay within the empire and peacefully accomplish the task. Here also, Portuguese thwarted their attempts by way of adverse reporting about the English (and the Dutch). It was only when Captain Thomas Best with an English fleet of four ships under him defeated the Portuguese on 29-30 November, 1612 in the famous battle of Swally near Surat that turned fortunes in their own favour and marked the beginning of the end of Portuguese commercial monopoly in South Asia. It also gave a temporary respite to the Mughal officers who were under immense pressure from the Portuguese as the latter would not allow any Indian ship ply in the ocean until they purchased *cartazes* (permits) from them. In 1612, English merchants were allowed to open trade in Surat with assurance from the Mughal authorities. Thomas Best sailed leaving behind ten Englishmen with goods and money to conduct trade. Another Portuguese fleet from Goa in 1613 met with the same fate as the English ships inflicted a severe blow on them. This event left an impression on the natives about the superiority of the English nation that could not be effaced for a long period. From now onwards, not only a regular factory was

2 Portuguese being Catholics could not reconcile that non-Catholics English and the Dutch should challenge their monopoly over trade in Asia. As the Portuguese had a Papal Mandate to convert the people to Christianity, they were determined not to allow any Protestant nation to enter the arena, although conversion was not on the list of interests of the two Companies.

established at Surat,³ other stations to purchase and store goods for shipping season and disposal of imported commodities inside and outside Gujarat were also set up. While some of settlements had a short life or number of factors fluctuated according to the need, establishments at Surat and subsequently Madras and Hugli (in Bengal) grew in size and commercial activities.

II

Details on the life of the servants of the Company not only are plentiful in the records maintained by them in the form of letters and reports exchanged with the Directors of the Company in London, their account has also been put to record by the fellow European travellers visiting the subcontinent in the seventeenth century. While climatic conditions forced them to adjust with the local manners of food and clothing, there was no scope of compromise in the sphere of religion. In day-to-day life when they imbibed the Indian traditions, instructions from Company headquarter required them to be particular about their religious obligations. Hence, not only for the crew on ships but for important settlements too, chaplains were sent by the Company to instruct its staff and conduct prayers and other ceremonies.⁴ Available records suggest that they sometimes received salaries higher than the senior merchants on roll of the Company. For the seventeenth century, salaries paid to the chaplains in different parts of the Sub-continent ranged from £ 50 to £ 100 per annum. In those days it was a substantial amount while writers, accountants and warehouse keepers received annually somewhat £20 to £60 only.

3 After obtaining the *firmān* from Jahangir, Englishmen got the opportunity of establishing a trading post in Surat in 1619.

4 While the European vessels usually had a chaplain on board, in the first charter granted to the Company by the British Crown had no provision of ecclesiastical establishment. Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India*, Bombay, 1854. P. 24. Later records regularly speak of chaplains who were sent by the Company for the spiritual betterment of its servants. William Foster (ed), *English factories in India, 1618-1621*, Oxford, 1906. P. 144.

Everyone on the roll of the Company was supposed to be careful about his behaviour and religious duties both in public and private. Company continued with its policy of providing comforts to its employees in the foreign lands. At the same time, *their Souls might not be neglected amidst all this Affluence and Ease, and care of their Bodies, there is a stated Salary of a Hundred Pound a Year appointed for a Minister (chaplain), with Diet and convenient Lodgings...*, remarked John Ovington, an English traveller, in 1689 while visiting Surat.⁵ Duty of the minister or chaplain was to engage the inmates (and visitors if they happened to be Protestants) staying inside the factory. Information about them is regularly available from 1612 onwards. Thomas Best after his successful venture in Surat, had left behind one chaplain Patrick Copland who had come with his fleet.⁶ One of his contemporaries, John Wood had prepared a sermon for the navigators of his nation entitled *The true honour of navigation and navigators; or holy meditations for seamen*, where he declared himself an eye witness to the Company's concern for 'bodies and souls' for its servants sailing in various fleets.⁷ One Henry Lord preferred to stay in Surat in 1616 rather than on Ship where he was first appointed, with the objective of charging the 'souls on shore'. He had worked under President Kerridge who had encouraged Henry Lord also acquire knowledge about the religion of Hindus (*Banyās*) and Pārsīs.⁸ John Hall came along Thomas Roe as a minister in his entourage. On his death in Surat, Edward Terry was taken from a ship anchored in Swally to accompany the ambassador to the Mughal court. He not only served Roe but also recorded events diligently that happened during their stay in India. In 1617, a factor in Company's service Joseph Salbank wrote to the Directors to

5 John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, London, 1929. P. 234.

6 William Foster (ed), *English Factories in India, 1618-1621*, p. 25 & n. He is believed to be the first chaplain to have served in any a factory in South Asia. *Ibid.* P. xlvii.

7 Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India*, p. 25.

8 Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India*, p. 24.

send ministers and preachers to direct the Englishmen so that they could pursue upright and faithful endeavours and prevent them from falling into wickedness.⁹

Duties of the chaplain were to conduct prayers morning and evening, especially on Sundays and occasions that demanded the servants to assemble for congregation. Perhaps the inmates of the factory were not always particular about religious duties. Negligence on their part made the Company Directors send officers going to occupy highest position in the factories as President, or Agents and Chiefs with list of instructions including those meant to make the servants mend their ways. When Jeremy Blackman, who was won from a rival Company Courteen's Association, was commissioned to take the charge as President at Surat in 1651, he was to ensure that English servants serving in different places, mainly on the west coast of India including Persia, pay attention to their religious duties. In case of non-adherence, the servant was to be deposed and sent back to England. It was when the Company was suffering losses on account of its servants and Jeremy Blackman was to restore its prestige and secure its interests.¹⁰

Information contained in the contemporary records suggests that there did not exist anywhere a structure for a very long period that could be identified as a church. Only makeshift structures served the purpose of conducting prayers and rituals. Specific information has come down from the year 1663 when serious attempts were made to mark a place as 'chappell' in Surat which served as the main centre of the commercial activities of the English. President and Council at Surat informed the Company-*Wee have separated place apart for God's worship and decently adorn'd it.*¹¹ They also arranged a library along the structure to stack copies of Bible. Pictures of Moses and Aaron were also sought from

9 Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India*, p. 25; Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company*, P. 47.

10 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, 1651-1654, p. 54.

11 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, 1661- 1664, p. 212.

England adorned with tables of Ten Commandments written in gold letters in English only. Interestingly, they also demanded from the Company to send names of God written in eastern languages, like Arabic and Persian, so that they could attract native people to this chapel.¹²

Chaplain/minister was to conduct 'publick discourse' at least once a day. Usually prayers were to be held morning and evening. For some time, schedule for morning prayer was six o'clock or before the factors were called for business. They were to meet for the same at four o'clock in the evening. Evening schedule met with a change as it hampered the usual business. Hence it was shifted to eight o'clock when the merchants and their subordinate staff would be completely free of worldly matters.¹³ All the prominent settlements like Surat, Masulipatam, Madras, Hugli, etc., had their own ministers/chaplains.¹⁴ They were to visit the subordinate factories also 'to give Instructions for their Administration of Divine Service in his Absence'.¹⁵ Somehow, all was not well in these settlements.

From the very early days, reports about the Englishmen suggest their continuously indulging in brawls with locals, cheating, stealing money, and drunkenness also became a subject of concern. Thomas Roe expressed his astonishment how the Mughals (officers) tolerated their indulgence with wine.¹⁶ Under various Presidents in the first half of the seventeenth century, like Thomas Kerridge, Thomas Rastell, Richard Wylde and William Methwold,

12 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, 1661-1664, p. 212.

13 Richard Carnac Temple (ed.), *Diaries of Streynsham Master- 1679-80*, 2 volumes (1675-80), London, 1911. Vol. I, p. 12; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, p. 235.

14 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, 1618-1621, pp. 19, 25, 144; *EFI*, 1637-1641, pp. 85; *EFI*, 1642- 1645, pp. 294, 311; *EFI*, 1665-1667, pp. 163, 240; *EFI*, 1655-1660, pp. 138-140.

15 John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, p. 235.

16 William Foster (ed.), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe- 1615-1619*, 2 volumes, Hakluyt Society, London. Vol. II, pp. 364-65; Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of East India Company*, 1601-1858, p. 57; William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, 1622-1623, p. 306.

complaints about the licentiousness, especially of the junior staff and mariners, were commonly received by the Company. Many of them were involved in bickering as well. In March 1680, two complaints came to John Child, Deputy Governor of Bombay and were dealt with in Court of Judicature. One Francis Day, member of the Council, complained against Captain Minchin of having 'very highly abused his (Day's) wife by calling her a whore'. Captain Minchin denied the charges.¹⁷

Sometimes the President(s) or Agent(s) themselves were reported for neglecting prayers or indulging in unlawful behaviour. President Thomas Rastell in Surat is reported to have been a big drunkard. In Madras when complains were registered against the Agent in 1664 that he had missed the usual prayers for a 'few days', he was made to explain to the Company the reason of missing prayers for the Church inside the Fort was undergoing repair. He also informed that as a result of the staff missing the prayers they had extracted fines from them to be spent on the welfare of poor.¹⁸ Streynsham Master in 1677 had complaints against William Langhorn, Agent at Hugli, that he had little regard for religion.

Perhaps situation went out of control in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, more specifically in the east coast factories, that Streynsham Master was sent to take position first in Madras and then in Bengal. Company's General letter of 1675 (having 109 instructions) with a claim of having information about the servants in the Fort and subordinate factories that Englishmen both in the service and otherwise, were being married, buried and causing their children to be 'baptized by Romish Priests, which we looked upon as a thing so scandalous to the professors of the Reformed religion, that We cannot but disallow of all such practizes', he added. All were to be notified, including the subordinate

17 Charles Fawcett, *English factories in India*, New Series, vol. III, New Series, p. 68.

18 H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 221.

factories, and in case of disobedience, they were to be shipped back along such people whose children were not being taught in Protestant religion.¹⁹

Along with other assignments, he had to introduce a kind of penal code in factories situated all along the coast where many Englishmen had been reported for neglecting their religious duties. His job was to reform them as it was adversely affecting the repute of their nation. Generally, all the servants of the Company were to reside inside the premises of the factory. In exceptional circumstances only, some of them could be allowed to stay outside in case their having families or insufficient space inside the four walls of the factory. Perhaps, some of them to avoid the strict rules opted to occupy lodgings outside. It was to be discouraged for the purpose of *advancing the glory of God and upholding the honour of English nation and preventing the disorders*.²⁰ Instructions to maintain discipline and adherence towards the commandments of God among the rank and file continued coming from the homeland. Printed instructions prepared by the Court of Committees in London on 18 December, 1667 *for the Christian and sober comportment of all the Companys factors and Servants* were hung up in the hall of the factory at Balasore after consultation when Streynsham Master arrived there in August 1676 with orders to be duly observed.²¹

All were directed to perform their duties to both- God and man (rather Company) meticulously. Vices like swearing, cursing, drinking, uncleanness, and sins like profaning the name of God, were considered as 'debauchery' and were to be discarded.²² Apart from this, they were not to stay outside the factory during night, and in no case morning and evening prayers held in the premises were to be missed. Things that could bring a bad repute to their religion and government

19 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I, p. 260.

20 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. II, p. 345.

21 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I, p. 304.

22 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India, 1665-1667*, p. 108.

were to be strictly checked. A system of punishment was put in place and to assert themselves, the Agent and Council (in Bengal) sought approval to chastise the culprits not only from the Governor and Directors²³ of the Company but also from the King of England in the form of a 'Charter'.²⁴ It was signed by the Agent and members of his Council at Hugli on 12 December, 1679. A few articles of the said documents regarding the nature of offence and prescribed punishment can be reproduced here:

1. For profaning the name of God by way of swearing or cursing, one was to pay 12 pence for every oath or curse, for the use of the poor. Any excuse was not acceptable. It was to be extracted by force if not paid willingly; failing which he was *to set in the stocks three hours*.
2. Missing the prayers on Sundays was considered a serious offence. Since the Englishmen were mostly Protestants, some of the adventurers, not in the service of the Company, were also entertained as temporary inmates for the purpose of safety. All had to obey the rules and were not to miss the *Publick Prayers* conducted morning and evening on week days, or Lords Day (Sundays) without a lawful excuse. Otherwise they were to pay twelve pence for every such offence for the use of the poor. In case of non-payment, fine was to be extracted by using force. If all the attempts to induce them to pay failed, they were to face punishment. While those not in the service of the Company were to be confined inside the premises for a week, regular servants had to undergo harsher punishment, like- imprisonment till the sum demanded was recovered; or their goods were to be sold to recover the penalty. If every attempt to bring the culprit to obedience failed, the person was to be sent to Fort St. George in Madras to be punished according to the nature of crime.
3. Apart from these vices, servants found guilty of 'Adultery, Fornication, uncleanness, or any such crime', or found

23 In the very beginning the Company was governed by a Governor and twenty-four Directors, who made up The Court of Directors.

24 *Diaries of Streyنشam Master- 1679-80*, vol. II, p. 345

involved in disturbing the peace inside the factory complex by way of fighting and refusing to reform themselves, were to be deported to Fort St. George 'to receive condign punishment'.

4. Fine to be paid for lying was twelve pence and offender was to pay each time committing every such 'offence'.
5. Although, wine drinking was not forbidden and wines were imported for the employees of the Company regularly from Europe, and sometimes from Shiraz in Iran, but appearing 'drunke' was not appreciated. One was to pay five shillings for each such misdemeanour. In case of non-compliance, the sum was to be levied by 'distress' (by force), otherwise the guilty was 'to sett in stocks six houres'.
6. Anyone staying outside the 'House' (factory premises) or not reporting before the closing down of the gates without any valid reason, was to pay ten rupees to the use of the poor, failing which he was to *sett one whole day publikely in the stocks*.²⁵

Punch Houses- On his reaching Balasore (Orissa) Streynsham Master immediately set about reforms. Finding that punch-houses or taverns were the cause of brawl and unruly conduct, in a consultation held on August 31, 1676, issued a circular forbidding sale of 'Punch'²⁶ (wine) in taverns in the precincts of the English Compound. People were warned of punishment in case of non-compliance. Otherwise, for the first offence the culprit was to pay after conviction, twenty rupees; for the second forty rupees; and for further offending shall meet punishment as per the ruling of the Chief and Council. Perhaps informers were also encouraged to report about the developments around the factory compound as the amount of forty rupees for repeating mistake was to be divided into two- twenty rupees

25 *Diaries of Streynsham Master- 1679-80*, vol. II, pp. 345-346.

26 Punch houses were not always for merry making and drinking wine. Sometimes junior staff in the factory, due to lack of enough space, were asked to dine in the punch houses. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I., p. 65.

for informer and the rest to be spent on 'Poore'.²⁷ One Mr. Billingsley along with some soldiers and peons was sent from house to house forbidding sale of punch or give any such entertainment in future. Later Mr. Billingsley reported about his fulfilling the duty assigned to him.²⁸ Later in Madras also, in September 1678 he introduced some laws to regulate taverns and places of public entertainment by way of introducing licence system.²⁹

For the first time we come across directions so specifically mentioned regarding transgression and penalty in the sphere of religious conduct of the servants of the Company. Not only that the articles were to be adopted and implemented in future to deal with the offenders, especially those who were found of irreligious comportment, these articles were to be read out before the servants in the factories twice a year- on Sundays following Christmas, and second time on Midsummer Day. The aim was to make all aware of these so that 'none may pretend ignorance thereof'.³⁰ In November 1676, Company's 'Printed directions' for the 'Christian and Sober Comportment' and for the better management of the affairs were 'hung up in the Delawne' [*dālān*, dining room] and recommended to be observed carefully.³¹ In 1678, after assuming office Streysham Master ordered to keep proper records in the factory of Hugli and subordinate stations in the form of 'Bookes' of all the happenings including 'Registering of Wills and Testaments, Christening, Marriages and Burrialls'.³² Orders for all in civil employment were read in Fort St George in the Chapel in 1678 on 'November 5: this day (i.e., Guy Fawkes Day) was kept more Solemnly then has been knowne at this place..'. These orders were meant

27 *Diaries of Streysham Master- 1679-80*, vol. I, pp. 12, 319.

28 *Diaries of Streysham Master- 1679-80*, vol. I, pp. 305, 318.

29 *Diaries of Streysham Master- 1679-80*, vol. I, p. 72. Licence fee was fixed at the rate of 250 *pagodas* a year. *Pgoda* was a gold coin used in south India.

30 *Diaries of Streysham Master- 1679-80*, vol. II, p. 347.

31 *Diaries of Streysham Master*, vol. I., p. 39

32 *Diaries of Streysham Master*, vol. I., pp. 70, 103.

to keep all the servants under the protection of the Company.³³

How many servants were punished accordingly, can somewhat be gauged from the later account of Streynsham Master. Prior to his reaching the east coast and finally Bengal, there is ample evidence to suggest that factors and merchants in the east coast factories, especially Bengal and Orissa were frequently involved in irreligious acts, mutual fights and acts of insubordination. One Joseph Hall, who had served in various capacities in the Bay of Bengal from 1668-1676, had to face an enquiry in Hugli by Streynsham Master (in October-November, 1676) for his 'unamiable' character. There were various charges, including fraud; fights, beating a fellow servant Valentine Nurse and disobedience shown to superiors. During enquiry on various occasions he refused to take an oath in the traditional method prior to giving his own explanations to the enquiry committee. He was also accused of practicing witchcraft and claiming 'powers of divination', based on complains by a weaver Gopal Bhai who was subjected to threats of extortion by Hall.³⁴ Finally, in 1675, he was sent back to England on ground of various such charges against him. Joseph Hall had once questioned the religious beliefs of Mathias Vincent- Chief of Qasimbazar and then Hugli, which was considered a serious charge in those days.³⁵ Children above five years of age were to be to Church for prayers. Non-compliance was a punishable offence.³⁶

State of affairs in the west coast, especially at Surat was looked after under the watchful eye of the President. About the religious life in Surat, Ovington gives a lifelike picture of way a minister used to live. That he was provided all kinds of

33 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I., p. 73.

34 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I., pp. 165-173; 458-459. In 1650, one Captain Durson was also accused of practicing sorcery and witchcraft by the chaplain of his fleet while anchoring at Goa and Carwar. *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. II., pp. 66-67n; vol. I, p. 487.

35 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I., pp. 24-25.

36 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I., pp. 152-153.

comforts- a good chamber, diet at the table with the President and his Council members, peon to serve, a coach or horse, handsome salary (@ £ 100 a year) and gifts from merchants and masters of ships anchoring in Swally/Surat. He was to officiate marriages, baptism and burials. His place in Council was of 'third' after the President and Accountant, thus had a say in the process of decision making. He was to conduct *publick Discourse once, and publick Prayers thrice on Sunday, and to read Prayers Morning and Evening in the Chappel, each other day on the Week, viz. about six in the Morning, before the Factors are called forth to Business, and Eight at Night, when all is past. He is enga'd to Catechize all the Youth, to visit the subordinate Factories upon the Coast of Malabar, at Carwar, Calicut, Ruttera (Covalam), and to give Instructions for their Administration of Divine Service in his Absence.*³⁷ Chapel was located inside the factory having no image 'for avoiding all occasion of Offence to the Moors, who are well pleas'd with the Innocence of our Worship'. Chaplains here also obliged their neighbours professing the Protestant religion. The Dutch in Surat (and elsewhere) used to take the help of the English minister to administer baptism in their own factory in Surat.³⁸

Somehow, Ovington also made a note of disorderly ways of the Englishmen residing on the west coast. In his travelogue based on his experiences in Surat in 1689, he detailed the concern of the President of the chief factory at Surat and his subordinates, who were forced to publish the following injunctions and for those also where the services of a minister were not available-

The Governour, Deputy (Governor of Bombay), and Committees of East-India Company, having been inform'd of the disorderly and Unchristian Conversation of some of their Factors and Servants in the parts of India, tending to the dishonour of God, the discredit of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the shame and Scandal of the English

37 John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, pp. 234-235.

38 John Ovington, p. 235.

Nation; And being desirous, as much as in them lies, for the future to prevent the like, and reduce all their People in their several Factories and Colonies, not only to a Civil, but also to a Religious and Pious Comportment, that may render our Nation Honourable, and the Religion we profess amiable in the sight of those Heathens, among whom they reside: have thought fit to require and enjoin a strict observation of the ensuing Rules and Orders, to which they do expect from all their Factors and Servants a due compliance.³⁹

Fellow servants were to observe 'publick and private Prayers', and it was resolved that the Agents and the Chiefs of various factories would take care to stop people involving in profane swearing, *and taking the Name of God in vain by cursed Oaths*. Also that, vices like drunkenness, intemperance, uncleanness, and fornication was to be checked. If, despite of reprehension and admonition, people continue with such acts, they were to be chastised according to *the Laws of God and this Kingdom, as the Agent and Council shall find their Crime to deserve*.⁴⁰ Further, it was resolved that in event of their not being ready to amend or be reformed, the Agent of the respective settlement was to send them *for England by the next Ships*, with the justification that *such Person or Persons so unreclaimable, that they may not remain in India, to the dishonour of God, the Scandal of Religion, the discredit of our Nation, and perverting of others*.⁴¹ Interestingly, a special prayer was prepared for all to be recited in all the factories morning and evening with a belief that they would obtain constant blessings of God *with the favours of Heaven upon them in their respective Stations*.⁴² It is also stated with reference to

39 John Ovington, p. 237.

40 Here the Laws of Kingdom means laws of England, not India.

41 John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, pp. 237-38.

42 The prayer was as follow -*O Almighty and most Merciful God, who art the sovereign protector of all that Trust in thee, and the author of all Spiritual and Temporal Blessings, we thy unworthy Creatures do most humbly implore thy goodness for a plentiful Effusion of thy Grace upon our Employers, thy Servants, the Right Honourable East India Company of England. Prosper them in all their publick Undertakings, and make them*

a meeting of the Court held on 16 December 1698 where titles were 'read' of three prayers for the Company- *one to be used at home, another to be used in their factories abroad, and a third to be used on board their ships- approved by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishop of London.* It was also ordered that one thousand copies of the said prayers be printed and that Mr. Ovington supervise it.⁴³ Libraries were maintained in important centres like Surat, Madras and Hugli. Copies of Bible were sent from England to be distributed among the factors, to be distributed as gifts, and for those interested in knowing about Christianity. Minister was given the charge of looking after these 'godly and divine bookes'.⁴⁴

An Englishman was supposed to behave as a good Christian. Acts of charity were not uncommon. Somehow, beneficiaries were confined to the Christians only. Funds were collected from mariners on the ships for poor, and sometimes for chapels in England. In March 1618, Patrick Copland, minister aboard the ship Royal James, after an encounter with the Portuguese fleet in the Gulf of Cambay,

famous and successful in all their Governments, Colonies, and Commerce both by Sea and Land; so that they may prove a publick Blessing by the increase of Honour, Wealth and Power to our Native Country, as well as to themselves. Continue their Favours towards us, and inspire their Generals, Presidents, Agents and Councils in these remote parts of the World, and all others that are instructed with any Authority under them, with Piety towards thee our God, and with Wisdom, Fidelity and Circumspection in their several Stations; That we may all discharge our respective Duties faithfully, and live Virtuously, in due Obedience to our Superiours, and in Love, Peace and Charity one towards another: That these Indian Nations among whom we dwell, seeing our sober and righteous Conversation, may be induc'd to have a just esteem for our most holy Profession of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be Honour, Praise and Glory, now and for ever. Amen. However, the editor of Ovington's work H. G. Rawlinson refuses to accept this prayer as an official one. He strongly believes that it may be Ovington's own work. John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, p. 238 & n.

43 John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, pp. 238 & n; xv. It was when Ovington returned to England and holding a curacy in London.

44 William Foster, *English Factories in India*, vol. X (1655-1660), p. 149; vol. XI (1661-1664), pp. 199, 275, 390. Some classics like *Critici Sacri* in nine volumes was arranged for the Surat factory in 1662.

collected 41 pounds for the poor and some amount to be sent to Wapping church (in London usually visited by mariners).⁴⁵ After the introduction of regulations by Streynsham Master in the east coast of India, money collected from offenders was put aside to be spent on poor.

Schools for the Europeans in cities like Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were also opened. Earlier these were meant for the orphans of Christian parents, or children of mixed parentage—both Protestants and Catholics. Children were to be taught about Protestant religion. Parents not doing so, were to be deported back home.⁴⁶

Orphans were extended monetary support as well. However, this privilege was specifically meant for children of Protestants. In Bombay, some (eight) orphans of English parentage were maintained under the guardianship of some families with an allowance of 117 Xeraphins a year. In 1679, the allowances were withdrawn by the Company and the guardians threatened to send the orphans to Madras where all the Englishmen were to stay if not in the service of the Company. Surat Council under President Rolt took a lenient view and justified the allowances saying that, if not paid 'the orphans would either starve or must be allowed to be adopted by the Portuguese Padres and brought up in the Romish religion'. Later the allowances were fixed (for six orphans) at the rate of 8 Xeraphins per month to save them from perishing as they were still small and not fit to serve the Company.⁴⁷

III

Abilities/qualifications of a chaplain were to be considered before sending him to overseas establishments. A minister was supposed to be highly qualified, able to enter into polemics and win an argument. In a letter from Surat dated

45 William Foster, *English Factories in India*, vol. I (1618-1621), pp. 25, 32.

46 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I., p. 260.

47 Charles Fawcett (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. III, New Series 1678-1684, pp. 56, 66.

25 January 1647 with a request for the appointment of a minister, President and Council wrote that- *he should be of good abilities., in regard many Portuuggez, Jesuits, Friars, and c., frequently pass this way, between whom arguments often arise, which for the reputation of our profession we wish may in the future (as formerly) be ably maintained.*⁴⁸

Joseph Salbank, a factor wrote in 1617 that they had to deal with arch rivals Jesuits here; and asked the Directors to send 'sufficient and solid divines, that may be able to encounter with the arch-enemies of our religion, if occasion should so require, those main supporters of the hierarchy of the Church of Rome; I mean the Jesuits, (as I may truly term them) or rather Jebusites, whereof some are mingled here in places in the King's dominions amongst us'. He asked to send 'godly, zealous and devout persons' who could be of good example for the fellow Englishmen and at the same time encounter the Jesuits.⁴⁹

Character of chaplains always remained under scanner. Involvement of the chaplains in conspiracies was common. An example in this regard would not be out of context. One Roberts Jeffries at Surat on March 14, 1621, complained to the Company that he was banished from his Persian employment because of the treachery of the Agent Edward Monnox, carnal minister Mr. Cardro and physician George Strachan. The reason for removal from the service mentioned by Jeffries is interesting. That while in Shiraz, on accusation brought against him by Strachan, and he (Jeffries) was charged by the Agent for having shared with a Portuguese Gies Gonsalves in the town about Queen Ann of England that she died as a Catholic. Further, Jeffries was also accused to have told Gies that Prince Charles (the future King) was *also tutored in the Papist religion, wherefore yt was presumed there would be a marriage with the daughter of Spaine.* He was sent to Jask port and thence

48 William Foster, *English Factories in India*, vol. VIII (1646-1650), pp. 92-93.

49 Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India*, p. 25.

on an English ship to Surat. Here he convinced President Kerridge about his innocence.⁵⁰

Minister at Surat Patrick Copland's predecessor one Mr. Golding was accused by Copland himself for being a 'gentlewoman's chaplain at Surat', for he immensely enjoyed the company of Richard Steel's wife in the town, Richard Steel being in the service of the English Company. When Steel was to visit Ahmadabad along with his wife, Golding insisted President Kerridge to allow him go along with them, but his request was turned down. He disguised himself in the 'Moors apparel' and followed the husband-wife. His act was considered 'rebellion'.⁵¹ Later he was pardoned for his acts. He died in Surat in 1620. His case was reported to the Archbishop of Canterbury on his return to England by Thomas Roe. His case has also been reported by an adventurer Thomas Coryat and Chaplain Edward Terry in their respective memoirs. Later on, Copland was charged for indulging in private trade and making a fortune out of it.⁵² In Madras, Agent Edward Winter faced various charges in 1665 and his successor George Foxcroft had to scrutinize the witnesses. He was being favoured by his old Council and the chaplain Simon Smiths. The chaplain who had married a niece of Edward Winter, however, was a man of a bad repute. He is depicted as 'a hard drinking, pleasure-loving ecclesiastic who could not abhor Roundheads'.⁵³

In Bombay, in 1679 chaplain John France complained against Captain Nicholas to the authorities of having been defamed by him. John France alleged that in September 1679, Nicholas had 'slandered' him by claiming that he (John France) was the father of child which Mrs. Minchin had

50 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. I (1618-1621), pp. 237, 241-242.

51 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. I (1618-1621), pp. 25, 32-33, 184.

52 Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company- 1601- 1858*, p. 64.

53 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. XII (1665-1667), pp. 120-122.

delivered. Nicholas denied to have said anything like.⁵⁴ Another chaplain Peachy Watson (1679) was considered wanting in pious ways of life and was suggested to remain in under the 'pious care and good example of the chaplains'.⁵⁵

IV

Enmity with Jesuits and other Catholics in Europe also shaped the relations of Protestant English in India with the Portuguese and the French. Interaction with these people was generally avoided. Sometimes Englishmen faced enquiries on such account. In 1678, a priest in Madras was asked to depart the town of Madras for baptising a 'Slave Boy', perhaps a Catholic.⁵⁶

In 1677, one of the charges brought against William Langhorne by Streynsham Master (whom Master had succeeded the former) was 'irreverence and disregard of religion'- that he paid little attention towards building a chapel inside the Fort. A hall was doubled up as a dining area and a chapel. While he took extra interest in supporting the expansion of French Padre Church for the 'Papists' in the town, nothing was forwarded to build a protestant church.⁵⁷ In 1678 in Madras, orders were issued by the Committee that no Papist or French Padre will bear office in the garrison of Madras comprised of their own people, but as decided by the English.⁵⁸

When Streynsham Master joined his office in Hugli, he was to enquire a particular case involving Mathias Vincent, then Chief of Qasimbazar and then of the 'Bay' [of Bengal]. The charge was perhaps brought against him by Joseph Hall that his house in Qasimbazar was a resort of Papists. It was

54 Charles Fawcett (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. III, New Series, pp. 68-69.

55 Charles Fawcett (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. III, New Series, p. 59.

56 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I, p. 73.

57 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I, p. 65. Other charges included were- infrequency of the meetings; mismanagement; monopolising the command of military; useless disbursement of Company's money, etc.

58 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I, p. 71.

reported to the Court of Committees in London, where it was not approved. A letter dated 24 December 1675 from London to the Agent in Madras reiterates the same- *We are informed that our Factory at Cassambazar is frequently visited by Jesuit and Romish Priests, that goes up and down up to Mr. Vincents wife and family which we required to be wholly refrained if he stay and remaine in Our service.*⁵⁹ More than Vincent, his wife was under scanner. Another detailed letter having the same date and year was sent by the Company from England to Hugli on the eve of departure of Streynsham Master, a clear example of the anxiety of the Court of Committee there. Enquiries were already in process in this case in Hugli. However, Master was specifically directed to enquire it afresh. That's why, Vincent's house had become a *great resort of Romish Priests to Our factory (in Qasimbazar) upon account of his Wife, which We looke upon to be of Dangerous Consequence both to as Perverting of Our Servants and the hazard Our States may runne in Case of his Death, which We require you to prohibit and prevent and give Us an account of your Proceedings herein by the first [conveyance], And whether he educates his Children in the Protestant or Romish Religion.*⁶⁰ After examining six witnesses of those who had been in Qasimbazar during Vincent's stay there, it was found that since Vincent's posting there in 1671, only one Franciscan Friar was seen in the town in 1675 while passing through that area.⁶¹ The letter sent to Madras also has elsewhere a more detailed paragraph on general behaviour of the English servants in Fort St. George and other factories located up to Bengal in regard to their misdemeanours. Hence Company's concern was obvious.

We have been informed that it hath often been the Practice both at Fort and also the Subordinate Factories, by Our Servants and other English, to be marryed, buried, and

59 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I, p. 252.

60 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I., p. 313.

61 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I., pp. 153, 395.

Cause their Children to be baptized by Romish Priests, which We looke upon as a thing so scandalous to the professors of the Reformed Religion, that We cannot but dissallowe of all such practises; And therefore We doe Order that you doe prohibit the same for the future in all Our Factories. And if after this notice given, any shall dare to doe the Like, that You Cause them to be Sent home by the first Ships, and take Care to give Notice to all the Subordinate Factoryes, and send Us an account thereof by the next opportunity.⁶²

'Guy Fawkes Day' also became an occasion to celebrate in memory of the incident of 1605 failed plot of Guy Fawkes- an English Catholic, to assassinate the King James I of England. He became a subject of condemnation in England. However, it is more interesting to know that the tradition of ridiculing the Catholics reached India in the seventeenth century as has been reported in the account of Streysham Master's Diary.

Since the very beginning of the seventeenth century, Portuguse had opposed the presence of Protestants in India. In 1689, John Ovington remarked about the behaviour of Portuguese in general and a Jesuit 'Senior Padre' de Pandara (living in an island adjacent to Bombay) in particular, that he who considered himself the *most Christian* was in fact *the principal Adversary to invade the Rights of Christendom*. It was he who invited *the Sidy to exterminate all the Protestants there. To facilitate which pious Design, he allowed the Sidy's Army all the Revenues belonging to himself to aid and support the Work that was to be carried on*. The agreement was that when the English were beaten off, Siddi will restore the Island of Bombay and its churches to the Jesuits. This padre assured the supply of provisions to Siddi. Ovington gives the proof of generosity of the English, that when Siddi was defeated, the English allowed the

62 *Diaries of Streysham Master*, vol. I., p. 260.

Portuguese continue in the Island.⁶³ It is believed that Jesuits had resentfully opposed the transfer of Bombay to the English. Later, in 1691, their agricultural lands lying north of the Island were confiscated by the English for their helping the Sididi.⁶⁴

It is again interesting to mention that help from French padres and others was sought in time of need. When Edward Winter, Agent, rebelled in Madras in 1665 along with his supporters, situation took an ugly turn. Various reports were sent by Edward Winter, members of his Council, as well as President at Surat to the Court of Committees in London. Letters were despatched to Surat also. A letter from French padre Ambrosio in Surat, who was the 'the head of all the Capuchines in India' was procured by President Oxinden for the French padres in Madras if they could be of some help. Edward Herries, one of the factors of Madras and a sympathiser of Foxcroft, was to receive this letter. Separate instructions were given to Herries to share the instruction with the 'honest' ones. It is quite fascinating that President Oxinden urged him in 1666 'to endeavour to gather "proselites", using bribery if necessary'. Also, he was to convince the French padres in Madras to induce Portuguese soldiers with promise of rewards to quell the rebellion.⁶⁵ Perhaps the man could not do much as the padres in Madras were not at good terms with the Portuguese. On the other hand, Edward Winter was claiming for having the support of Portuguese soldiers there.⁶⁶ In fact these padres later faced threats from Edward Winter.⁶⁷ At

63 John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, pp. 95-96. Siddis were of the African stock sailors who had settled on the west coast of India. At this juncture they were the custodians of an island fort namely Janjira on Konkan coast and were helping the Mughals against the English.

64 John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, p. 96n.

65 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. XII (1665-1667), pp. 126, 222-223.

66 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. XII (1665-1667), pp. 226,235.

67 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. XII (1665-1667), pp. 247-248.

the same time news arrived of possible attack of France on England in connivance with the Dutch, hence, factors in Madras were advised to keep a watch on the activities of French padres as French ships could attack the English in Madras.⁶⁸ It shows the bonhomie was quite short lived.

In Madras, the English had a big chunk of Catholic soldiers of Portuguese decent. In the first decade of their establishment in Madras, these Catholic soldiers requested a French Capuchin father Ephrem de Nevere, who was passing that territory, to stay there. English Governor of the town not only gave his consent, also allowed to build a church for them in the vicinity of the Fort. More interesting is the fact that this father Ephrem used to perform rites for the English in 'English' language till a suitable arrangement was made for a chaplain from England.⁶⁹

Though conversion was not on the list of interests of the Company, still few 'pious' ministers regarded it with much interest and an act of piety. As early as 1617, a Mughal 'atheist' was converted (perhaps in Surat).⁷⁰ They saw some prospects of conversion in India, but the problem was explained that their chapels were located inside the factories where outsiders had no access. Further, method of appointment of chaplains and Governors (Agents and President) was also a hindrance in this path- they sometimes being Conformist and sometimes non-Conformists. It would definitely lead to differences amongst themselves. This was also considered a reason for Catholics to draw away people from the English nation.⁷¹ A report for the last quarter of the seventeenth century suggests that on the advice of some scholars from Oxford, Company was giving a serious

68 William Foster (ed), *English factories in India*, vol. XII (1665-1667), pp. 240, 251.

69 Daniel O'Connor- *The Chaplains of the East India Company: 1601-1858*, p. 76.

70 Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India*, p. 25.

71 Daniel O'Connor- *The Chaplains of the East India Company: 1601-1858*, p. 61.

thought to train chaplains, and translate Bible (Anglican version) in eastern languages.⁷²

V

It is very obvious from the seventeenth century accounts that Englishmen often lived in Indian style- wearing dresses like 'Moors' (Muslims) and speaking 'Hindustani', Persian or Turkish. Their food habits had also changed and *pulav*, kebabs and *dumpukht* were part of regular diet. They maintained both Indian and European cooks. However, they were not to take liberty as far as religious obligations were concerned. Presidents and Agents were given the privilege to punish the offenders and those who transgressed the limits of religion. Despite all these efforts, they sometimes failed to leave a good example of their being the followers of 'true religion'. Terry wrote that Indian people generally had formed a mean estimate of Christians. He insists that it was not uncommon to hear them utter 'Christian religion, devil religion; Christian much drunk; Christians much do wrong, much beat much abuse others'. Merchants, if offered less price than quoted by the dealer, latter would aptly say- "What, Do'st thou think me a Christian, that I would go about to deceive thee?".

Terry's observation may be substantiated with a Spaniard's statement that had been to Goa in the company of a Spanish envoy. He posed as a very influential person. However, he was detained for his brawls, which he claimed was the result of defending himself and his spotless character. Ultimately he killed someone and fled to Surat saying that he did not want to stay with Christians (of Goa) but the English, when told that English too are Christians, he exclaimed "Jesu Maria", he never thought of them being Christians.⁷³

The problem could be an undue emphasis on maintaining the purity of ways and belief. Complaints against

72 Daniel O'Connor- *The Chaplains of the East India Company: 1601-1858*, p. 50.

73 Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India*, p. 26.

Streyنشam Master would serve the best example in this connection. Reports were sent to London about his being too rigid in making others follow the tenets of Protestant religion. In 1678, his cousin James Oxinden from England informed him about his reputation of being 'a little too rigid a Church of England Man and had not latitude enough'. About his treatment to, or expectations from the priests in Company's service, by reason of 'contrariety in their Principles', he was asked to be more accommodating.⁷⁴

74 *Diaries of Streyنشam Master*, vol. I., pp. 68-69.

Indian Cultural Amalgamation along with the Impact of Regional and Foreign Influences on the Jain Manuscript of Kalpasutra

Saima Syed*

ABSTRACT

The tradition of creating manuscripts was held by the three ancient Indian religious schools of thought (before Islam) like Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. The collections of these manuscripts were kept in the Bhandaras for the recitations. A Jain manuscript contains topics which were considered as worthy of transmission by the Jains. This manuscript was comprised of handwritten text which was written by a Jain monk, layman, or even a professional scribe employed by Jain. This manuscript is a lively living object which provides information on social history and social networks. It is a serious job for scribes and they bear pain to work (spent a lot of time and money on this task). This might be lawful for all manuscripts, but holds a particular value in the Jain context.

The most important and recited book by Jains is Kalpasutra. Its recitation and understanding is very important for the followers of the Jain. Indian techniques of illumination are employed for the beautification of this holy book. Vermillion

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and blue background attract the reader's attention. An analysis of this manuscript revealed multiple elements of Indian cultural and regional influences which contributed in the beautification like human figures, red dots, colours, geometrical shapes, marginal frames, rosette, medallion, marginal design, variance in paper/page size and binding style etc.

The aim and objective of the present study is to find out the style and techniques involved in making of Kalpasutra by Indian people in 14-15th century. Many replicas of Kalpasutra were produced in 15th century, which are found in the different museums and libraries of the world. This study is conducted under the framework of art history and manuscriptology.

Introduction

The Kalpa Sutra contains a life story of Mahavira¹, Jain philosophers and prominent leaders². In the "Glimpses of Indian culture" Dinkar Joshi explains the meaning of *Kalpa* as action, method and procedure. He further describes the division of the Kalpasutra, like Shraut sutra related to performing Yagna (food) as we found in Hinduism in *Yajur* and *Sam Veda*, *Guhyasutra* is about thread ceremony (*upanayan*) and marriage (*Vivah*), *Dharma Sutra* is about the four *venues* or classes. Being a minority in India Jain community is always attached to their culture along with a fusion pattern in their rituals and beliefs. Manuscripts scribing is one of their favorite ways of promoting their culture. Their temple libraries are full of numerous extraordinary manuscripts of Jain, Hindu and Buddhist text. Jain painting is a salient example of manuscript illustrations. It is mostly inspired by the classical Indian painting and

1 Considered as founder of Jainism, he was 24th Tirthankara of Jainism. First, Rishabha dev was belong to the Indus Valley Civilization according to the Vaibhav Jain in his research article "Legal Aspects of Separate Entity".

2 Kramrich. Stella and Joykumar Nahakpam, "Jain Painting from Western India", Jain Art and Architecture, Gujarat State Committee for the celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavira Nirvana, Ahmedabad, (1975), 338,391

Buddhist art³. It illuminates the different aspects of Jain art and religion. Initially, palm leaves were used for manuscripts (Figure 1). In 14th / 15th century paper was introduced for the Jain manuscripts as well. Paper changed the layout and design of the manuscripts respectively.

Western Indian land (Gujarat and Rajasthan) was famous for the Jain manuscript production. This regional style is formed by the commissioned craftsman⁴. The faithful Jains and wealthy persons sponsor the art and craft for the manuscripts. Just for promoting Jain ideology and for the sake of fame among the community members. They were totally dependent on the mode of artist or craftsman's technique/skill. They even commissioned the non Jain artist for the illumination of the manuscripts (Kalpasutra). Due to the multicultural influences, Kalpasutra is a specimen of religious lavish and heretic manuscript. Many Jain *Acharyas*⁵ have adjacent libraries. Over the centuries, Jain preachers and philosophers were busy to preserve their rich heritage for upcoming generations. The significant forms in Jain art are human figure, and projection of the eyes along with imagery of animal/birds and foliage. During the sultanate period, western Indian/Gujarati school of art was highly inspired by the Persian painting style (figure 2-3).

Painting of Kalpasutra

The composition is managed in a rectangular surface of page, further divided into square and columns. Generally entire folio was occupied by the text and images. The initial style of (thirteenth century) Kalpasutra has less images and more text on palm leaf (figure 1). A new style developed in 15th century, which is providing the new surface for work and freedom of size, colour, and images/designs. The text box is

3 J, Vaibhav, "Legal Aspect of Jain Religion as Separate Entity", *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 19, no.2, (February 2014):08-19.

4 Kruger, Patrick, "Aspect of Kalpasutra Paintings", *Centre of Jain Studies Newsletter*, 08 (March 2013): 40-41.

5 Means Jain temples

highlighted with the upper and lower border of foliage. Images of great persons are captured in right side of the text and decorative images on the left. A prominent mark is placed in the centre of the page, within the text box in the shape of square, asymmetrical circle/rectangle. The prominent mark actually borrows from the old style of Kalpasutra, which was a central hole for cord, just to bind or keep the entire folios in a book form. The background colour transform from deep red to blue, but the figures are enriched with red and golden colour.

Body contour, tall and stiff figures without muscular development, wide open eyes, prominent chest, clouds, trees, mountains and rivers are signs of West Indian style.⁶ Yellow, golden, blue and red are used frequently in the painting of Kalpasutra. Indian female dancer's movement is more lyrical and well rendered, but Indo-Persian is captured in the round, Mongolian face with a double chin.

Page Layout

Mostly text holds half of the page and rest of spaces used in the iconography of Mahavira/Tirthankara with flat deep red background. In Figure 3, the text is designed in two columns of different sizes (narrow and wide). The seated Tirthankara image is flanked by the pair of stylized trees. Upper and lower zigzag border prominent the text. A leaf has two pages or side (recto side and the verso⁷). Generally, folio's number is found on the verso side. Page numbers are shown with numerals (introduced on paper) and letters/syllables (used on palm leaf manuscripts). Blank spaces are kept without marginal planning in early specimen of Kalpasutra; later on it is organized for decoration (in the left or right margins like in figure 3 and 4). Small red vertical lines are indicators as a

6 S. Seetharaman, Dr. Anup Kumar Chand "A Survey of Rajasthani Miniature Painting (15th -17th C)", *International Journal of Advancement in Social Sciences and Humanity*, 1, no 1(Jan-June 2016):86-97.

7 The terms *recto* and *verso* refer to the text written on the "front" and "back" sides of a leaf of paper in a bound item such as a codex, book and broadsheet.

full stop. At the core of the folio blank space (empty or filled with colour, as shown in figure 4 and 6) is designed as a square, rectangle or lozenge. This space is a reminder of the hole (to bind the entire manuscript) found in the earlier (figure 1) palm-leaf manuscripts. Prakrit and Sanskrit languages are common for Kalpasutra in mid 15th century. Most selected scripts for Kalpasutra are Devanagari (each letter has a horizontal line as shown in figure 3), Tamil and Kannara. These scripts are written formation from left to right.

Colours

Majority of western Indian painting's colour are extracted from minerals, natural salts and vegetable. Gold leaves (the mineral source) of gold are used with the help of suitable binding media for writing in the Indian manuscripts but rare⁸. According to Norman Brown, Indians are aware of, how to use gold in painting by the end of the 14th century⁹. A close observation of western Indian manuscripts shows that the gold/silver powder and carbon/red inks are not only used for filling a design but also for the writing. No doubt black (carbon) ink is common for all written documents. Only religious and important books are ornamented or written with precious minerals (silver and gold). Red ink is preferred to indicate the ends of the chapters, circles, straight lines and outlines of objects/images. White, red, yellow, blue and black are considered as basic colour initially. Other shades are produced by the artist with the mixing of these colours. After the 14th century, artists are capable to obtain green by the mixing of blue, white and yellow with a different range. In the 15th century and later, a new technique was applied to get a different shade of green, prepared by the treating pieces of copper with vinegar called verdigris. It is an excellent fresh

8 Chandra. Moti, "Jain Miniature Painting from Western India" Sarabhai Nawab Publication (Ahmedabad, 1949), 88.

9 Brown. Norman, "Stylistic Varieties of Early Western Indian Miniature Painting about, 1400 A.D.", *Journal of the Indian Society Oriental Art*, No.5 (1937 Calcutta):5-6.

green, but with the passage of time, it would be dark and leave black spots on the paper.

Influences

During the sultanate period of Gujarat, Persian influence took place on a Gujarati school of art. The Persian style of textile, jewellery, furniture and animal representation are all commonly painted in Indian manuscripts¹⁰. Mandu Kalpasutra is the best example of Persian influence on Indian manuscript¹¹. The use of carmine ultra mine and gold colour, fine surface, oval faces, direction of the eyes are according to the face, formation of costumes and arms rise out of Persian clutch¹² etc. Division of page layout, like image and text is enclosed with borders of different colours and filled with foliage is also a specialty of Persian artist. In the first quarter of 14th century Gujarati culture assimilates some art reforms from Muslim culture (Khilji and Tughlaq)¹³. Another school of art (called Patan School of art) is introduced in Gujarat, because Patan remained the capital of Sultans until 1411A.D and prestigious centre of Jain as well. Patan artist painted very beautiful and symmetrical eyes, face with small chin and ling nose with fine outline.

Conclusion

The earliest Jain manuscripts are painted on prepared palm leaf. These leaves are bound with cords passing through holes in the folios. Wooden decorated covers encased those carefully. The folios are encased in wooden covers. *Kalpasutra* book of ritual contains very few illustrations in the beginning, but gradually it has more paintings with fine

10 Kramrich, Stella, "Jain Painting from Western India", Jain Art and Architecture, Gujarat State Committee for the celebration of Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavira Nirvana, Ahmedabad, 1975), 396-397.

11 Chandra. Moti, and Karl Khandalavala "New Documents of Indian Painting a- Reappraisal", Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay, 1969), 14.

12 Khandalavala. Karl "New Documents of Indian Paintin: A Reappraisal", Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay, 1969), 15.

13 Parimoo, Ratan, "Gujarati School and Jain Manuscripts Paintings", Gujarat Museum Society (Ahmedabad, 2010), 99.

details. The Classical tradition of the Gujarati school of painting has opaque monochrome background, sharply pointed gestures and prominent eyes. Vacillating outlines of the drapes are creating the illusion of movement in three dimensional spaces. In the fifteen century, it has fine, clear lines and fresh, lively compositions. *Kalpasutra* manuscript (of the late 15th to early 16th centuries) has illustrations in a slightly later style with blue and gold predominant. The majority of illustrations in the *Kalpasutra* folios deal with episodes in the lives of the Jinas, especially Mahavira. Although the compositions used in depictions of such events may be similar in different manuscripts of *kalpasutra*, the contrasts in colour scheme, appearance of text, marginal decoration and so forth are striking in these examples. Gradually, it absorbed the regional as well as foreign influences for the progress of the art of the book.

Illustrations

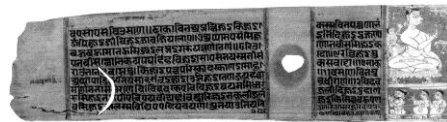


Figure.1: Threenth century *kalpasutra* written on palm leaf manuscript with reed pen and ink. (Image source: Google Image and also found on the Paintings of Southeast Asia, Butterworths & Co Ltd.)



Figure.2: Jain *Kalpasutra* (1475 Devasano Paintings) on paper with coloured Ink and gold, Dimension: 4 7/16 x 10 1/4 in. (11.2 x 26 cm)
Source: Google Image (also found Museum Rietberg Zürich).



Figure.3: Jain *Kalpasutra* on paper (size 30x12 cm);mid fifteen century A.D, Script is *Devanagari*, Source: Google Image (also found on Acc .No 28.29)



Figure.4: Verso side of *Kalpasutra* (Mostly page number is written on the verso side), Source:Google image



Figure.5: Punctuation marks in *Kalpasutra*, Source: Google Image (also found on British library)

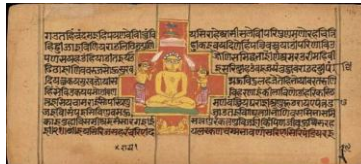


Figure. 6: The section title and number is emphasized with black ink/ red or emphasized with red/ orange powder, Source: Google Image

8th Century Buddhism and Lifestyle in Kashmir as Recorded by Korean Monk, Hye Cho

Dr. Kyosoon Park*

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to contribute towards awareness of deep Buddhist historical background of 8th century Kashmir. In Kashmir very important activity for the Buddhist religion took place. The focus is on the historical background of Buddhism in Kashmir as described in the travelogue of Korean monk Hyecho. Generally accepted view is that Kashmir is 'Paradise on Earth' but unfortunately current situation makes it completely opposite. According to Hyecho many Buddhist temples, independently built by the king, queen, prince, princess or any other authorities, which means that there should have been many temples in Kashmir but currently there is no trace of it. Zen Buddhism in Korea, China and Japan originated in Gandhara especially Kashmir region. Kashmir was an ideal place for meditation which the Zen Buddhism practiced for communicating purifying themselves. Although the Zen Buddhism is flourishing in China, Korea and Japan but nowadays the meditation is popular in the western countries.

Presently, in the Kashmir, there is complete religious turmoil and people are living in agony it is about time that we show

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to the world the Buddhist historical background of this region as shown in the records left by Hyecho and other monks.

Korean Monk Hye Cho Memoir's in Kashmir

Introduction

Korean monk Hye Cho visited Kashmir around AD 726.¹ During that time, many Buddhist monks from China, were very passionate to visit the places from where the Buddhism originated. According to Palman, daejangkyung (Korean Tripitaka) lying in Haein sa temple which is engraved in wood. It is mentioned that over one hundred of monk visited this area but unfortunately, so far we have only found the record of monk Hye cho.

In this paper, I would like to point out how he describes his visit to Kashmir.

My main objective of this paper is to bring to your knowledge how passionate the Buddhist monks and followers were to visit the Buddhist holy site in Gandhara, with hope to revive that, in the 21st century, by allowing them to visit all those places as pilgrims. Nowadays, the world tourism trend is religious tourism as people want visit holy sites and places from where their religion originated.

Nowadays, trend for tourism in the world is to trace their cultural and religious roots and visit these sacred places to pay their respect. Gandhara region in Pakistan covers entire Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, a vast area of Punjab and Kashmir. This entire region is very sacred for the Buddhists from all over the world especially from Korea, China and Japan, because they were directly influenced from Gandhara.

From culture and art point of view, Gandhara art is extremely important as Eastern art is based on Buddhism art which started from Gandhara. Gandhara region is for the Buddhists what Mecca is for the Muslims. Since China and Korea received Buddhism from Gandhara and Kashmir during the

1 Jeong Sooil: 2004, p.244

4th-5th century AD, it gave rise to Buddhist pilgrimage from China and Korea to Gandhara. All the important monks from Korea and China, who visited Gandhara and Kashmir in different periods and left significant traces of their footsteps. In 21st century, we need to identify the footsteps of some of these ancient monks like Hye cho, a Korean monk in the 8th century and Xuan Zang, a Chinese monk in the 7th century.

It will bring not only a tourism boost but also peace and stability in these region.

Brief Historical Background of Buddhism and Hye-cho Memoir's in Kashmir

1) Brief Historical Background of Buddhism

The earliest to the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir are preserved in the Ceylonese chronicle the Mahavamsa² and the Tibetan Dul-va.³ The earliest propagation of Buddhist regions in Kashmir and Gandhara is during the reign of Mauryan king Ashoka in the 3rd century B.C. In fact, Buddhism was introduced in Kashmir by king Ashoka (273-232 B.C) himself brought 5000 monks for permanent settlement here and eventually made a gift of the valley to the Sangha for propagation of Buddhism.⁴

The kingdom of Kashmir appears in ancient records as a part and parcel of Gandhara. In the list of sixteen Mahajanapadas, the Buddhist texts mention Kasmira-Gandhara as one Janapada indicating thereby that the two countries formed are political unit in the pre-Asoka's days.⁵ That it continued to be so is evidenced by the Greek records in which (Kaśpapyros= Kaśyapapura= Kashmir) is described as a Gandaric city.⁶ In the Milindapañha⁷, Alasanda-

2 Mahavamsa XII,3

3 . Dul-va A, S, B, Xylograph, vol. XI 684-690

4 Bamzai:1994, p.10

5 Dutt,1939, p.3

6 Watters, I, p.261; Rajat.I, p.27; Ray choudhari, PHAI (1932), p.103

7 Milindapañha, p.331

Kasmira-Gandhāra, the two countries are compounded as Kasmira-Gandhara. According to historical record, Buddhism has spread in Kashmir approximately a hundred years after the Buddha's death.

The king Ashoka had sent to missionary all neighboring countries to propaganda Buddhism. Therefore, the Buddhism has become the world religion. At this time, Buddhism reached in Kashmir by Majjhantika, Majjhantika brought with him many monks to Kashmir and lay devotes and increased the wealth of country by introducing the cultivation saffron.⁸ After that, Buddhism and Buddhist art was flourished in Kashmir under the rule of Kushan dynasty. King Ashoka making a gift of the Kashmir valley to Sangha (Buddhist communities) so that many monks and Buddhist scholars and intellectuals permanently settled in the valley.⁹ The core of Mahayana Buddhism thought written in Kashmir by Vasubandu and Asanga¹⁰ and the core of Buddhist literature Buddhacarita¹¹ written here too by Asvaghosa¹² The one of the main cause is Kashmir has the perfect natural environment condition for meditation, study, and to receive universal energy.

8 Watters, I, p.262

9 Bamzai, 1994, p.71

10 Vasubandhu was a Buddhist monk from Gandhara (4th century) and, along with his half-brother Asanga, one of the main founders of the Yogacara school of Buddhist philosophy. Vasubandhu is one of the most influential figures in the entire history of Buddhism.

Asanga was a major exponent of the Yogacaratradition in India, also called Vijñānavāda. Traditionally, he and his half-brother Vasubandhu are regarded as the founders of this school.

11 Buddhacharita("Acts of the Buddha"; Buddhacaritam, Devanagari is an epic poem in the Sanskrit mahakavya style on the life of Gautama Buddha by Aśvaghosa, composed in the early second century CE. Of the poem's 28 cantos, the first 14 are extant in Sanskrit complete

12 Aśvaghosa (80 –150 AD) was a philosopher-poet, born in Saketa in northern India to a Brahmin family. He is believed to have been the first Sanskrit dramatist, and is considered the greatest Indian poet prior to Kālidāsa. He was the most famous in a group of Buddhist court writers, whose epics rivaled the contemporary Ramayana. Whereas much of Buddhist literature prior to the time of Aśvaghosa had been composed in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Aśvaghosa wrote in Classical Sanskrit.

So, since ancient time, the Kashmir had been placed for meditation, discussion intellectual thought and religious philosophers by missionaries, scholars made philosophy come from all over the world.

The Kushan dynasty king Kanishka organized the fourth Buddhist council in Kashmir which was undeniably a landmark in the history of Kashmir.¹³ The reason held by Buddhist council is after the passing away the Buddha, the Dharma (Buddha teachings) passed teachers to student orally, original teach transferring divided and misunderstanding among the disciples therefore for accuracy teachings into written records forever for the next generation. For this reason, proper venue is Kashmir because calm, surround beautiful nature and especially universal energy converged this valley. This written Buddhist text is a very important for the Buddhist equal to Bible and Koran.

Hye Cho Memoir's in Kashmir

“From Sindhugula,¹⁴ I walked for fifteen days towards north, entered a mountainous place, the country is called Kaseobmira which is also a part of north India. It is a rather large country compared with other countries in the northern India. The king possesses three hundred elephants and lives in the mountains. The access to this country is very rough and roads are quite dangerous, because of that it has not been invaded by any foreign country. The population of this country is quite high but most of them are poor and few of them are rich. The king, chiefs, and rich men wore similar dress which is like that of central India, the rest of the people warped woollen sheets around their bodies covering their private parts.

13 Majumdar, 2009, p.41

14 Sindhugula: About location of Sindhugula, there are many different opinions, so far we don't know where it exactly is. It is probably next to the Indus river (previously called Sindhu river) where Gujrat is located that's why he must have called Sindhugura.

The products of this land are copper, iron, woollen fabrics and felt. There are elephants, cows, sheep and small horses, the crops are rice, grapes etc. The land is extremely cold, which is different from the countries which I visited earlier. There is frost in autumn and snow in winter. In summer, there is plenty of rainfall, the plants are always green with thick leaves. In winter, the grass withers.

The valley is narrow with small stream. The boundaries of the flat land of this valley from south to north, it takes five days, from east to west it takes one day to complete by foot. The rest of the land consists of dense mountains. The roofs of the houses are covered by rows of planks. Straw and tiles are not used. The king, chiefs, and the common people greatly revere the Three Jewels.¹⁵ There is a dragon lake.¹⁶ The dragon king gives daily offerings to Arhat monks. Although, no one has witnessed these holy monks taking food, after the ritual, breads and rice have been seen coming up from below the water. From this, it is known that dragon king has offered food to the monks. To this day, these offerings have not ceased but have continued. The king and chiefs ride on elephants when they go out. Minor officials ride on horses while the common people all go on foot. There are numerous monasteries and monks in the country. Both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are practiced.

Following the practice of the five regions of India, from the king, the queen, consorts, and princes, down to the chiefs and their wives, all separately build monasteries in accordance with their respective capabilities. They say, when each person has his own meritorious virtues, why should joint effort be necessary? Such being the case, other princes follow that practice.

15 The Three Jewels, also called the Three Treasures, Three Refuges, Precious Triad, or most commonly the Triple Gem Pali:Tiratana, Sanskrit: (triratna), are the three things that Buddhists take refuge in, in, and look toward for guidance, in the process known as taking refuge. The Three Jewels are: Buddha, Dharma (The teachings of the Buddha, the path to Enlightenment).and sangha (the community of Buddhist monks and nuns).

16 Wular lake on the Indian side Kashmir

Whenever a monastery is built, a village and its inhabitants are immediately donated as an offering to the Three Jewels. They don't only build the monastery but whenever they built it they also take care of the people. This being the practice of this foreign country, the king and his wives have separate villages with their inhabitants. The princes and chiefs also have their village after consulting the King. This also applies in the case of building monasteries. When necessary to build, they do so without asking the king. The king does not stand in the way because he is afraid that it would taint him with bad deeds.

If they have many inhabitants in their country, then they don't donate to the village. They try their best to build monasteries and manage them by themselves. Whenever they obtain things, they offer them to the three jewels. As in the five regions of India, human beings are not sold. Since there are no slaves, it is necessary to donate villages and their inhabitants to the monasteries".¹⁷

Conclusion

Every country in the world concerned the tourism industry nowadays. It is very attractive industry with friendly environmental industry so that every country focus on development special their unique tourism sources and make tourism specific products. Current tourism trend is culture, and historical religious pilgrimage. The most important Buddhist pilgrimage is a fourth Buddha holy places like birth place of Buddha, enlightenment of place, first preaching and death place.

The Gandhara-Kashmir is an equal important place because birth of Mahayana Buddhism and Buddha in human form is started here, especially Kashmir is the place of written core of Mahayana Buddhism philosophy and thought which is now flourished China, Korea and Japan. Kashmir is a very attractive place for Buddhist beautiful natural environment

17 Translated by Jeong soo il, from original Chinese manuscripts into Korean, 2004, translated from Korean into English by myself.

with Buddhist pilgrimage but unfortunately after 9th and 11th, 2001 tourism almost dead in Gandhara region and Pakistan side of Kashmir.

Kashmir was distinguished for it's learning intellectual and spiritual atmosphere.

Sadra was a learning centre of Sanskrit language. When fourth Buddhist council held in Kashmir, the Buddha correct teaching was written in Sanskrit, this text book has been translated all different languages and widely reading by the Buddhists all over the world. But it seems nobody recognized here.

Currently, the world tourism concerns even though they don't have cultural, religion heritage of mankind historical background but they are by creating specialized tourism products. Compare this of thing, Kashmir has a great potential tourism resources.

Kashmir has been known to paradise on earth
Now dowe feel Kashmir is a paradise on earth?
How to make true paradise on earth in 21st century?
We should do join effort to recover the Kashmir paradise
on earth through the use historical background of
Gandhara Buddhism.

Hye cho



PARTNERS OF International Conference of Historians of ASIA



NIHCR: The National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (NIHCR) was established in December 1973. The Institute has conducted research and published research works on the subjects which are relevant to the history and culture of Muslims of South Asia, Muslim Freedom Movement, Quaid-i-Azam and the Islamic State of Pakistan. It has a rich library which attracts a large number of researchers and scholars from far flung areas. The Institute has organized many Seminars, Conferences and Workshops on National and International level.



IAHA: The first Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA) was held at Manila in 1960 and since then it has been held regularly once in two years in different capitals/cities of Asia. Over the years, its membership increased immensely. It also played an important role to bring scholars working on Asia from different parts of the world on a single forum which provided the opportunity to explore broader themes with reference to the research about Asia.



QAU: Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU), Islamabad, Pakistan is an international seat of higher, advance, intellectual learning that illuminates the human minds and broadens the vision bringing back home all kinds of opportunities and development. Quaid-i-Azam University (once named Islamabad University) was established in July 1967 under the Act of National Assembly of Pakistan. QAU has consistently been ranked the top university in the country by the Higher Education Commission. In addition, according to the *U.S. News and World Report*, QAU is the only academic institution in Pakistan among the top 500 universities in the world.



HEC: The Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC) is an autonomous institution of primary funding, overseeing, regulating, and accrediting the higher education efforts in Pakistan. The HEC is assigned the challenging task of formulating higher education policy and quality assurance to meet the international standards, development of new institutions, and uplift of existing educational institutions in Pakistan. Over the several years, the HEC is playing a leading role capacity building in Pakistan by giving out hundreds of doctoral scholarships for education abroad.



SBBWU: Shaheed Benazir Bhutto Women University (SBBWU) Peshawar is a premier women university of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It has earned this position by virtue of its futuristic outlook towards higher education, strong emphasis on research and focus on innovation and entrepreneurship. SBBWU has come a long way to develop into a global centre of excellence for imparting higher education. The university at large has assumed the role of teamster of knowledge inventors and discoveries under the dynamic leadership of its VC, Prof. Dr. Razia Sultana.



PEDA: People Empowering & Development Alternatives (PEDAI) International is an independent, non-political and non-governmental think tank aiming to provide alternative and innovative solutions to private, non-profit and public institutions on development and humanitarian issues. Its primary mission is to promote innovative research, which may lead to poverty reduction, alleviate the suffering and achieve sustainable integrated development.