

Asian History, Culture and Environment: Vernacular and Oriental Paradigms

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

Vol. IV

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
2017

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* The name of Mr. Arslan Ahmed was written mistakenly as Muhammad Arslan in the previous three volumes.

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>xix</i>

Vol.I

No.	Title	Author	Page
1.	An Analytical Approach to the Asian Historiography	<i>Dr. Saud-ul-Hassan Khan Rohilla</i>	1
2.	Intransient Colonial Paradigm? Patterns of Development and Urban-Administrative Centrality in the Peripheral Multan 1885-1985	<i>Muhammad Shafique</i>	6
3.	Mahabharata as a Source of Historiography of Ancient South Asia	<i>Jehanzeb Khan</i>	19
4.	Philanthropy for Royal Merit: The Making of Cities in Siamese Colony, Case Study Payap Circle 1899-1932	<i>Pinyapan Potjanalawan</i>	28
5.	Post Modernist Approach and the Discipline of History	<i>Akhtar Rasool Bodla</i>	47
6.	Futuristics as Future History	<i>Dr. R.M. Ikram Azam</i>	62
7.	Mamak-Malaysia: Space and Social Interaction	<i>Yanin Wongmai</i>	71
8.	The Composite Culture of India and its Historiography	<i>Sabah Mushtaq</i>	80
9.	Representing the Intellectual World of the Indo-Persian Elite: Visions of the New World	<i>Dr. Gulfishan Khan</i>	94
10.	Culture and Identity: Implications in Nigerian English Usage	<i>Maurice Enobong Udom</i>	110
11.	Muslim Identity in Multan between Empires: Comparing Narratives and Experiences	<i>Prof. Diego Abenante</i>	134
12.	Tradition and Dissent in Ancient Kashmir (A.D 6th – 12th Century)	<i>Dr. Younus Rashid</i>	145

No.	Title	Author	Page
13.	Understanding three different Discourses on Fall of Sindh at the Hands of Arabs in 712: A Social Constructionist Perspective	<i>Dr. Saeed Ahmed Rida Muhammad Qasim Sodhar</i>	160
14.	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	<i>Hassan Imam</i>	171
15.	The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact-1937	<i>Khaleel Khan</i>	193
16.	Recreation of Death: The Role of Cementerio Generals in the Sanitation and Health System during Spanish Colonial Period, (1863-1889)	<i>Mr. Chen V. Ramos</i>	203
17.	Colonialism and South Asia: European Contribution to the Evolution of Strategy in the Indian Ocean	<i>Dr. Rashid Ahmad Khan</i>	217
18.	Women's Struggle for the Right of Vote in Colonial India: A Cause Study of Jahanara Shah Nawaz and Sarojini Naidu	<i>Dr. Zahida Suleman</i>	232
19.	Colonizing the Desert: Socio-Economic Transformation in the Cholistan – Bahawalpur	<i>Zahra Akram Hashmi</i>	245
20.	Political Developments and the Role of Notables in Colonial Multan: 1900-1947	<i>Sajjad Akhter</i>	263
21.	Role of Sindh in the War of Independence 1857: An Analysis	<i>Rasheed Ahmed Mirani Dr. Amir Ali Chandio</i>	280
22.	Sir Fazl-i-Hussain-Jinnah Relations: A Reappraisal	<i>Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla</i>	294
23.	The Pastoral Tribes of Punjab and the British Imperialism: A Case Study of State Making in the Wastelands of Punjab 1849-1885	<i>Ahmed Ibrahim</i>	309
24.	Colonial Legacies and their Impacts on Human Rights in Post-Colonial Societies: A Case Study of Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR)	<i>Noor Hamid Khan Mahsud</i>	329

No.	Title	Author	Page
25.	Language Riots in Sindh and Impact on Sindhi Politics	<i>Dr. Mussarat Jabeen Syed Abul Hassan Naqvi</i>	374
26.	Silencing of Women in Chishti Hagiographical Tradition in South Asia	<i>Adeela Ghazanfar</i>	391
27.	The Virāhīnī Motif in Sufi Lyrics of Shah Husayn of Lahore	<i>Tanvir Anjum</i>	404
28.	Growth of Sufism on Silk Route: Connecting South Asia with Medieval Ottoman Empire	<i>Dr. M. Waseem Raja</i>	423
29.	The Sufi Practice of Samā': A Historical Study	<i>Farrah Amanullah</i>	436
30.	Keeping the Faith Intact: Religious Life of the English East India Company's Servants during the Seventeenth Century	<i>Dr. Nishat Manzar</i>	449
31.	Indian Cultural Amalgamation along with the Impact of Regional and Foreign Influences on the Jain Manuscript of Kalpasutra	<i>Saima Syed</i>	475
32.	8th Century Buddhism and Lifestyle in Kashmir as Recorded by Korean Monk, Hye Cho	<i>Dr. Kyosoon Park</i>	483

Vol.II

No.	Title	Author	Page
33.	Causes and Effects of Charter of Democracy: 2006	<i>Benish Khan Rath</i>	491
34.	Abdul Wali Khan: The Man and his Struggle	<i>Anwar Ali</i>	500
35.	War of 1971: Narratives of Separation, Migration and Crossing of Border in Tharparkar, Sindh	<i>Vikram Das Meghwar Dr. Nadeem Rao Alam</i>	517
36.	The Politics of Saraiki Province Movement: A Matter of Identity or Regional Disparity?	<i>Misbah Shaheen</i>	532
37.	The Introduction of Legal-Administrative Reforms in FATA: Problems and Prospects	<i>Dr. Altaf Ullah</i>	550

No.	Title	Author	Page
38.	Institutional History Writing in Pakistan: A Study of Parliament	<i>Dr. Mahboob Hussain</i>	568
39.	A Comparative Study of Local Government System during Ayub and Musharraf Regime	<i>Ali Nawaz Soomro</i>	584
40.	Taxation Politics in Gilgit-Baltistan	<i>Faiz Ali</i>	597
41.	Contested Legacy of Sheikh Abdullah	<i>Yasir Bashir</i>	653
42.	Scope for the Cultural Relation between Kashmir and Mughal India: Studies on Development of industrial Crafts and Trade Routes under Mughal Kashmir	<i>Sajad Subhan Rather</i>	682
43.	Role of Punjab Press in the Inception of Kashmir Press during the First half of 20th Century	<i>Firdous Hameed Parey</i>	704
44.	India, Pakistan and the Functioning of Propaganda Machinery over Kashmir from 1947-58: A Comparative Study	<i>Safeer Ahmad Bhat</i>	721
45.	Administration of Justice in Kashmir: 1846-1885 A.D.	<i>Amir Sultan Lone</i>	744
46.	Society, Superstitions and Religious Beliefs of Kashmiris during Dogra Period: A Critical Evaluation mainly through Travel Accounts	<i>Mohmad Ashraf Khaja</i>	759
47.	The Problem of Kashmir's Unwritten History and the Perennials' Perspective on the Study of Religions and Interfaith Dialogue	<i>Muhammad Maroof Shah</i>	783
48.	Youth Identity and Political Turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir: A Sociological Perspective	<i>Ajaz Ahmad Lone</i>	849
49.	Population Distribution in Mega Cities of Pakistan: Karachi as a Dynamic Urban Sprawling City in Asia	<i>Nisar Ali Muhammad Ilyas Ali Khan</i>	862
50.	Sindh: One of the Heirs of Indus Valley Civilization	<i>Uzma Khalid Ghori Aleena Khalid Ghori</i>	879

No.	Title	Author	Page
51.	Islam and Visual Culture: Reflection on the Art of Muslim Bengal	<i>Prof. Dr. Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq</i>	884
52.	Dawoodi Language Revitalization in Pakistan from Domaaki to Dawoodi: The Mominabad Language Revitalization Program in Pakistan	<i>Ijlal Hussainpur Habibullah Jan</i>	923
53.	On the Ethnic Cultural Heritage around the South China Sea: A Case of Ceramics and Brocade of Guangxi Province	<i>Yu Wenjie Lian Shiming</i>	936
54.	Pluralism of Funerary Monuments: Reading Architectural Encounters at Makli Necropolis	<i>Rabela Junejo</i>	946
55.	Heterodox Traditions of Udasipanth in Sindh: Case Study of Sri Chand Darbar, Thatta	<i>Zahida Rehman Jatt</i>	975
56.	Indo Islamic Architecture in South Asia: A Study of Mughal Lesser known Monuments at Agra	<i>Dr. M. K. Pundhir</i>	998
57.	Kalinjar Fort: An Archaeological Survey	<i>Dr. Vinod Kumar Singh</i>	1015
58.	Talpur Forts in Thar: Symbols of History and Strategy	<i>Prof. Noor Ahmed Janjhi</i>	1037
59.	Reappraising the Modern Philippine Urban Environment, 1898-1941: American and Filipino Interactions, and Native Leadership	<i>Prof. Ian Morley</i>	1043
60.	An Ethnographic Study of Culture as an Identity of Baloch People	<i>Shehnaz Mehboob Baloch</i>	1068
61.	The Social and Cultural Impact on Common Man of Privately Executed Urban Mega Projects: Case of Bahria Icon, Karachi	<i>Suneela Ahmed Rahat Arsalan</i>	1077
62.	The Paris Agreement and the United Nations' Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights as Tools for Global Governance and the Environment in Facing the Asean Economic Community	<i>Kania Mezariani Guzaimi</i>	1095

No.	Title	Author	Page
63.	The Dynamic of the Muslim Community Settlement: A Case of Nakhon Si Thammarat Province, Thailand	<i>Manawat Promrat</i>	1113
64.	The Changing Terrains of Patriarchy: The Female Spotlight on Islamic Laws of 20th Century India	<i>Faiza Rahman</i>	1123
65.	Impact of Hindu Wedding Culture upon Muslim Culture: A Case Study to Analyze Cultural Interaction of Two Heterogeneous Societies	<i>Sumaira Bibi</i>	1144
66.	History through the Lens of Gender: A Critical Appraisal of the Medieval South Asian Narratives	<i>Dr. Humera Naz</i>	1158
67.	Honour Killing and Obligations of Present Dispensation: A Historical & Legal Perspective (2000-2016)	<i>Shazia Tasleem</i>	1168

Vol.III

No.	Title	Author	Page
68.	Fazl-i-Husain as Education and Public Health Minister	<i>Baljeet Singh Cheema</i>	1175
69.	Life and Works of Saint Shah Daula Gujrati: Revisited	<i>Dr. Javed Haider Syed Qudsia Batool</i>	1183
70.	Sir Ganga Ram: A Great Soul of Punjab	<i>Farah Gul Baqai</i>	1201
71.	Indus Water and Social Change: The Evolution and Transition of Agrarian Society in Pakistan by Saiyid Ali Naqvi	<i>Dr. Zarina Salamat</i>	1207
72.	The Reflection of Fear and Anger in Thai Society before Thammasat University Massacre on October 6, 1976	<i>Miss Pattarat Phantprasit</i>	1218
73.	Difficulties Faced by English Language Teachers in Teaching Writing Skills to Mild Mentally Retarded Students in ICT	<i>Mamoona Sajid</i>	1233

No.	Title	Author	Page
74.	An Alternative Model to Promote Education: A Case Study of Roshan Girls Primary School	Gohar Ali Iftikhar	1252
75.	A Comparative Study of Mosques and Modern Institution's Role in Education of Sindh	Mahboob Ali Dahraj	1269
76.	Current Teaching Practices in Grammar Teaching: A Case Study from Pakistan	Zaigham Aizad Malik	1278
77.	China's Policy towards Afghanistan Since 9/11	Arshad Ali Shah Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai	1295
78.	China for Connectivity and Development in South Asia	Mushtaq Ahmed Abbasi	1306
79.	Comparative and International Politics of Pakistan and Malaysia: An Analysis of Difference in Economic Growth	Muhammad Jahanzaib	1324
80.	Rapprochement between China and South Korea: Implications for United States of America	Nida Khalid	1337
81.	Mamluks of the Sultans: Evolution of Military Slavery in the Delhi Sultanate	Dr. Fouzia Farooq Ahmed	1353
82.	Tourism in Asia: An Environmental Perspective	Savitri Shrestha	1376
83.	Promoting Heritage Tourism in Pakistan using Volunteered Geographic Information: An Investigative Outlook	Munir Ahmad Asmat Ali Malik Sikander Hayat Khiyal	1390
84.	Language used in Advertisements: Promoting Culture and Ideology	Aisha Niazi Naheed Ashfaq Faiza Abid	1400
Urdu Papers			
85.	نو قد قریش: ماوراء النہر میں عرب کا ایک تاریخی شہر اور اس کے بعض مشہور علماء	استاذ محمد شاہ عالم	1409
86.	اکبر آبادی مسجد: متنازع آثار قدیمہ	ڈاکٹر انجم طاہرہ	1428
87.	روشنیہ تحریک کے سیاسی اور سماجی پہلو	ڈاکٹر جاوید اقبال	1444

No.	Title	Author	Page
88.	بنگلادیش میں اردو	ڈاکٹر محمد محمود الاسلام	1457
89.	سندھی زبان و ادب پر فارسی زبان و ادب کے اثرات	ڈاکٹر منظور علی ویسریہ	1467
90.	تہذیب ہند اور پشتون	ڈاکٹر محمد حنیف خلیل	1480

Vol.IV

No.	Title	Author	Page
91.	Keynote Address by Prof. Khurram Qadir at the Opening Session of the 24 th IAHA International Conference of Historians of Asia, NIHCR, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan, December 5-9, 2016	<i>Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir</i>	1503
92.	Keynote Address by Mahendra Lawoti, Ph.D. Professor, Western Michigan University at the Inaugural Session of the 24 th IAHA International Conference of Historians of Asia, NIHCR, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan, December 5-9, 2016	<i>Prof. Dr. Mahendra Lawoti</i>	1516
93.	Rudiments of Occidentalism in Indian Subcontinent	<i>Dr. Jamil Ahmad Nutkani</i>	1525
94.	Cultural and Linguistic Ties between Ottoman Turks and Muslim Rulers of Sindh	<i>Prof. Dr. M. Yakub Mughal</i>	1539
95.	Madness, State and Structure	<i>Shilpi Rajpal</i>	1549
96.	Making of Colonial Multan	<i>Fakhar Bilal</i>	1569
97.	Changing Conceptions of Tasawwuf in Iqbal's Writings	<i>Haider Ali Agha</i>	1602
98.	Sufism in Pashto Literature: A Study of the Pashto Literature of Swat	<i>Muhammad Ali Dinakhel</i>	1627
99.	Religion and Belief Systems: Challenges to Islamic Civilization and Resurgent Movements in Subcontinent	<i>Dr. Syed Qandil Abbas Ms. Aqeela Asif</i>	1642

No.	Title	Author	Page
100	Specter of Waste in Pakistan: Colonial and Postcolonial Images	<i>Tasleem Malik Faiz Ali</i>	1663
101	An Analysis of Kashmir Ecology: Geo-Historic Perspectives	<i>Mumtaz Ahmad Numani</i>	1693
102	Signs Taken for Wonders: A Sociology of Knowledge Production in South Asia	<i>Nadeem Omar Tarar</i>	1714
103	Understanding Pakhtun Conversion to Islam: A Theoretical Analysis	<i>Dr. Himayatullah Yaqubi</i>	1723
104	Transgressing Gendered Boundaries: Case Studies of the Quilt, Slipperiness and Third Gender	<i>Abdul Rehman</i>	1749
105	Role of Museums in Learning Process: The Indian Perspective	<i>Dr. Nazim Husain Ali Jafri</i>	1763
106	Shah Rating: Spiritual and Cultural Heritage	<i>Stanislav Karolov</i>	1771
107	Fatima Begum: A Narrative of Unsung Legend of Pakistan Movement	<i>Dr. Naumana Kiran</i>	1774
108	The Paradoxical Evolution of China's Kashmir Policy	<i>Shoaib Saadat Saadat Nazir Awan</i>	1788
109	Hofstede Cultural Dimensions' Cross National Evaluation: Individual's Cultural Values, Attitudes, and Behavioural Reactions Towards Web-Based Advertising	<i>Syed Hassan Raza Sanan Waheed Khan</i>	1800
110	Mediatization Compromising Democracy: A Case of Leading Pakistani Magazines	<i>Hassan Shehzad Shafqat Munir</i>	1815
Urdu Papers			
111	ہلکت میں مذہب اسماعیلیہ کے درود کا ایک تحقیقی جائزہ	ڈاکٹر ساجد علی ریکیسی	1827
112	قاضی عطاء اللہ خان کی زندانی تاریخی کتاب "دہشتجو تاریخ" پشتونوں کی تاریخ کا تحقیقی اور تنقیدی جائزہ	نور البصر امین	1835
113	اردو ناول: برطانوی عہد میں برصغیر کی تاریخ و ثقافت کا امین	ڈاکٹر شاہد نواز	1845

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 PEDTA 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, Schoppenhauer), 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 Europeans 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

**Keynote Address by Prof. Khurram Qadir
at the Inaugural Session of the 24th IAHA
International Conference of Historians of Asia,
NIHCR, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad,
Pakistan, December 5-9, 2016**

**VERNACULAR WISDOM OF ASIA AND INDIGENIZATION
OF KNOWLEDGE IN PAKISTAN**

Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir*

Honourable Chief Guest and Dignitaries; Worthy Delegates;
V.C QAU, Dean of Social Sciences; Director, NIHCR;
Colleagues and Scholars, Al-Salam-o-Alaikum!

I am beholden to IAHA and more particularly to Dr. Sajid Awan for inviting me to deliver the 'Key Note Address' at this august conference. It is an honour and I will cherish for the rest of my life the privilege of having addressed an international galaxy of scholars who are devoted to rectifying the balance of perspective between the Asian and European cultural ethos. I would like to prefix the keynote on the Vernacular perspective of this conference with two personal

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comments and a statement of my own credentials and posture on the subject.

In 1986, the concepts of Indigenization and Decolonization of knowledge were initially coined. Despite its inherent appeal, the movement did not take root in the 'mainstream' of Academia because of the colonial antecedents of modern system of education. The parallel attempt of generating knowledge in the social sciences in the vernacular [local/Desi] languages of Pakistan has also not found an appreciative audience among the academic elite.

Prominent among the few kindred spirits that I came across during my wanderings in the deserted portals of Indigenization in Pakistan is the current president of IAHA. Dr. Awan came to the TIAC seeking answers to the cause of xenocentric tendencies in the Pakistani elite and has been in search of the European Drama to contrast with Myrdal's Asian Drama. This conference is a befitting milestone in Dr. Awan's life-long quest to find the source of legitimacy of definition; a right which the west has arrogated to itself over the past five centuries.

On a personal note, I have been conscious of the fact that 'solutions' to social problems and plans for progress and development are gradually becoming less effective; and that they bring in their wake more problems than they solve. I attribute this to the failure of epistemic teleologies in integrating the forms of social interaction in a multi-cultural world. This is a classic case of theory lagging behind practice and the attempt to resolve paradoxes instead of reconciling them. It is this very problem that the IAHA forum is best suited to deal with. I feel privileged to have been given a part in the proceedings of this great venture and am overwhelmed at the opportunity of delivering a keynote address.

Present talk is focused on three issues: first, what is the nature of vernacular content in historical data? Second, what is the utility of such content for nation building in the present times! In this context, the subjects of bias and perspective

will be dwelled only briefly to postulate the meanings by 'rectifying the balance of perspective' before passing on to the concept of how local alternatives can be used to avoid the derogatory implications of the term vernacular while revelling in the need to be vernacular. These themes will be developed to lead from one to the other such that papers focusing on the 'Vernacular' component of the conference can be seen to contribute to the 'Oriental' perspective. I will also try to illustrate how neither term needs to be considered derogatory.

What is the Nature of 'Vernacular' Content in Historical Data?

In the concept note circulated along with the call for papers, it has been mentioned that there was simplicity in pre-modern oriental historiography. The simplicity referred to there was in fact the complexity of social understanding as a composite where history did not distinguish between its political, social, cultural and economic processes but treated them as dramatist personae who took center stage according to their role in a historic event or process. The informal structure of our quest for identity in the vernacular was galling to the western mind. It consequently produced remarks like 'in this source, an ounce of fact/data is buried under a ton of opinion'.

For our purpose, vernacular means colloquial. Not only in language but also in material remains and art forms, concept structures and worldview of the nationals of each state. Thus music, poetry, literature, architecture and other fine arts are all 'vernacular' expressions of the history of peoples. The rest of the talk will be based on this premise. In fact some of the examples belong neither to language nor material remains. Asia, being the most populous of continents has myriads of languages and art forms within each of its states. It is also the cradle of so many ancient and pre-modern civilizations that its vernacular wealth is phenomenal.

The desire for neatly compartmentalized and systematized realities is innate in the 'analytical' and 'logical'

epistemology. It was this irresistible urge that forced the humanities into the mold of the 'social sciences' rather than in the relatively ambivalent and amorphous form of the arts. Contrary to this, Oriental-Vernacular comprehension of realities is more holistic, intuitive, comprehensive and integrated. In general, it eschews both theory and classification. When forced to classify, it will tend to organic classifications where even structural-functional forms are vaguely distinguishable from each other. Such a classification often applies across the board for level of depth rather than a spectrum of subject or system specific adjectives of equal magnitude; thus making it easier to give emotions, sensations, feelings, conditions of mind and body, experiential identities or intuitive comprehension a shape that allows for subjective communication which needs no deconstruction.

The international mainstream has learnt in the past century or less, the art of qualitative research as a result of the failure of logical positivism/empiricism to provide viable and effective solutions to many problems. Foucault and Derrida have contributed to an 'orientification' or 'orientalization' of the knowledge produced in the post-colonial world, which coincides more or less with the rise of post-modernism as an intellectual tool. This was the analytical-logical response to challenges arising from the resolution of paradoxes instead of reconciling to them. While the vernacular and oriental paradigms find it difficult to address empirical data and abstract speculation, they are quite at home in reconciling paradoxical realities. Challenged by logical positivism, scholars in Asian countries have tried to learn the art of empirical and quantitative data management.

As a preface to the third section of the present paper, the path through which Asian scholars have travelled to arrive at their current state in the social sciences is focused. Following principles of anthropology and the sequencing mechanism of archaeology, it is visible that traditions and norms of the ancestors of modern Asian nations were grounded in intuition but each of them followed a different

scheme of thought in order to arrive at pre-modern civilizations. Successes achieved by them have been lost to the modern mainstream because the rationale within which they operated needs the adaptation of modern tools beyond the reach of postmodernism. As a consequence, the officially sponsored education has moved slowly between analytical tools evolved in the west and local demands for comprehensible social knowledge and indigenous social issues.

Some of the art forms which hold the key to understanding the south Asian vernacular are being enumerated. Persian literature invites the reader to empathize with the author's experience whether through a similar experience or a similar emotive response. The literature of Bharat, especially the poetry of the geet, invites the listener to enter the ethos or *sama/kaifiyat* experienced by the poet. Starting from soma worship of the Vedic and Gandhara periods to the Qavvali of the Mughal times, through the *haal* or *dhamal*, the emphasis is on entering a mood. Similar variations can be seen in most art forms from both sides of the Indus Enclave. Mediums like Qavvali provided the conduit for linguistic and ethnic integration of communities in the plural societies of late pre-modern times. The *Ghazal* and *Nazam* have evolved in a similar path. Drama and Film also exhibit the variation of perspectives. *Khayal* and *Dhurpat* are similarly two sides of the same South Asian coin.

The art forms of poetry and music listed below carry vital clues of the DNA of the cultures and culturemes that they represent. They are repositories of social thought patterns and their evolution highlights the genetic modification over time. *Doha, kafi, geet, bhajan, dadra, thumri, naat, hamd, raags of peelu, multani, bhairvi, malhar* are some such forms.

As mentioned earlier that European thought moved from humanities to social sciences rather than to the arts in the quest for quantifiability and accuracy. This has been a gradual movement punctuated by many biases and

abandoned perspectives. In the process, the researcher was pushed back into subject specific methodologies and reinstated under the umbrella of theory, definition, school of thought and several standardized research tools. Nonetheless, after a few years we need to revisit the toolshed and create problem solving methodologies. The oriental mechanism was artistic. For our ancestors, refinement lay in the human element; the handling of tools and the honing of skills. Matter, like animate spirit had an observable behavior pattern. It is for this reason that the entire list of cultural data consists of arts. For the oriental mind, medicine and engineering are also arts. Nowhere is this more manifest than in the Asiatic handling of civil engineering problems.

What is the Utility of such Content for Nation Building Today?

When the west was at the receiving end of seminal ideas and cutting-edge technologies from the east, it had to deconstruct the holistic and organic forms of thought. In so doing, it often ended up by inverting the Oriental construct. The map of the world is a typical example. Arab geography depicted a world with the south at the top of the map; Europe has placed the north there. A similar condition can be seen in the methodology of identifying literature. Persian and Arabic literature generally placed the name of the author at the end and verses were placed in the sequence of the last syllable of the couplet. Europe placed the name of the author at the beginning of the text and maintained ascending or descending order by the first syllable. It is often difficult to ascertain which ideas the west has derived from the east because of this change of form. The fact that the west is quite miserly in acknowledging intellectual debt only makes this task more difficult.

It is not to advocate that we begin a hunt for debts owed to the orient. Let us be magnanimous and refrain from claiming petty property rights for the wheel and the concept of governance. More to the point is where we go from here to

integrate our national polity by bridging gaps between the officially sponsored academic vision and the locally generated knowledge. In the following section of the present paper, the concept of 'balance of perspective' and the relationship between bias and perspective are explained.

A physicist could well allege that the biologist is biased towards chemistry and the physician may claim that the surgeon is more inclined to physical conditions rather than bringing chemistry to the aid of medicine. The perspective of the mathematician, though closely related to the physicist is at variance with the scientific code because it is almost entirely tautological in its construct. As such it is not bound by natural limitations that force the other disciplines to make compromises with their own postulates. Un-natural elements have been constructed to fill the 'natural' gaps in the periodic table. Quantum theory has to be called to the aid of relativity to answer for 'irregularities' in the performance of physical particles. All this turns to bias when the analyst fails to understand that these perspectives are to facilitate comprehension not to reject other forms of knowledge.

The 'balance of perspective' is a concept that is being presented before this august assembly to bring into focus the fact that by promoting indigenization, decolonization and vernacular history or any form of subaltern study, the paradigm of analytical-logical history need not be sidelined. However, since the long period of studies under the modernist international mainstream has occluded these perspectives, a balanced and judicious mixture of both paradigms is needed.

The essential component of humanities and social sciences is the human or social perspective that they are committed to. Consequently, it is inevitable that a non-scientific element is injected in our search for knowledge. This is the region governed exclusively by perspective. While such pockets are also to be found in sciences as illustrated above the justification and inevitability of this element in social knowledge is overwhelming. The need of balancing the

perspective in decolonized areas of the world is the disconnect between modernists and traditionalists in our societies can be bridged and an integrated polity can emerge even when its fault-lines are active.

It can be said that subjective perspective and objective reality can be merged in an ontological comprehension. It is difficult to conceive of a purely objective study of history or any other discipline related to the human mind. Elliott and Dawson were quite candid in admitting that their object was to illustrate how much better their subjects were under British rule compared to their previous experience with governance. The mantra of the 'free world' and the slogan of capitalism changed from 'in god we trust' to secularism when the Soviets collapsed and the *jihadis* became terrorists. The same *jihadis* had been the bastion against the dehria of the Communist world. This is the objective reality of all social knowledge which must be analyzed in context with the group aspirations of nation, tribe, family or union of states. A polity divided against itself, must disintegrate; it is this truism that has led to covert support of insurgencies as a tool of statecraft. The same tool is needed to reverse the process and integrate polities. The vernacular must be put to use for social knowledge in conjunction with the international mainstream for Asian states.

How Local Alternatives can be Used for Bridging the Gap of Perspectives?

In order to bridge the gap between perspectives, a rapprochement between formal academic circles and indigenous expressions of life is needed. It can be explained through an example of a commercial paradox in the Pakistani bazars. It has been tried to find an adequate economic explanation for why Pakistani shopkeepers promote their competitors. For the sake of experiment, a shopkeeper was asked for an item that is obviously out of stock and received the response: please go to this shop and get a discount by using my reference. The answer needs to be found but must be approached from a vernacular

perspective; in fact from a vernacular mindset of mutual favour. This tradition goes back all the way to the Harappan and Vedic eras and the rural barter of services in the saipi system. This kind of conundrum illustrates why vernacular is defined not merely as a linguistic class but also as a class of art forms and even thought processes.

As members of the so called main-stream of global academia, we are fairly well versed in that paradigm of analytical epistemology supported by logic and empiricism. As members of contemporary vernacular modern social communities, we are entirely at home in our native intellectual and conceptual traditions. As participants of the IAHA forum, we are not alien to the varieties of non-western society and not unsympathetic to any cultural comprehensions of the world around us that do not originate from the analysis-synthesis form of a Humpty Dumpty explanation of the world around us. However, we suffer from two potential disadvantages.

- a. Limitations of finding common ground through the alien medium of a European language and its epistemic/research paradigm
- b. An alienation from our traditional education system which may in some form even today be the source of knowledge and understanding of the mainstream of our own society. Due to our interface with the “International mainstream”, we are often unaware of intellectual and conceptual responses to the challenges of modernism. These responses are being led by the traditional academic cohort of our society.

The title of the present conference highlights the disadvantage of the first category, but focuses on the potential of removing or reducing the second. While the terms ‘oriental’ and ‘vernacular’ tend to indicate traditions “left behind” by modernism, the fact that they are in focus for scholars assembled here indicates that the possible gap with our traditional paradigms is being bridged. A negative commonality also links the IAHA cohort which comprises of several epistemic forms all of which are non-analytical. The

obverse of this is the positive association with some intuitive comprehension of our environment which involves a non-empirical sensory perception.

The advantage in approaching hard core history from a cultural perspective is that local paradigms become easier to understand. Among the problems of the mainstream analytical epistemology is that every study has to be prefixed or grounded in a theoretical or conceptual posture. Thus the 'modern researcher' is constrained to prepare a conceptual model when using 'vernacular and oriental' data. If this model is constructed from traditional western data sources of hard-core history, the study tends to become stilted and awkward. The smooth comprehension of standard research and the applicability of model or theory is not achieved in such conditions.

Naturally, historiographic assessment of form, content, authorship, occupation of the historian, purpose of text and reliability of witness are standard means which can be applied to almost all historical material with varying advantage. However, sources of other data of a historical nature are more valuable when we move away from the mainstream subject.

Literature is the most reliable source of cultural data while language is the most valuable source of social knowledge, especially when an ethno-genesis leads to a lingua-genesis. The medium of expression for high culture [sculpture, painting, architecture, poetry, drama, music and dance] also indicate vital traits of cultural evolution. In the latest stage of Third World research theory and postulates have also found a place in traditional arts but the base retains its emic character.

Referring back to the list of art forms, mentioned earlier, *raags* like *Multani*, *Peelu* and *Pahari* were more in tune with the Indus polity whereas *Bhairvin* was more popular in the Doab. The *Geet* was used more in Bharat and the *Ghazal* came with court life under the Muslims but the Sufi tradition relied more on the *kafi*. A study of the history of such art

forms can help in the formulation of a set of postulates regarding the interpretation of vernacular sources of history.

While it will need a great deal of time to illustrate how the cultural DNA can be derived from such sources, architecture and civil engineering provides an easy to explain mechanism. The domestic architecture of the *Deohri* and *Sehn* in contrast with the *Ahata* with outhouses on one side and the attached bath style of the modern house indicate the socializing priorities of various cultures. The downtown concept of planning cities or the 'wrong side of the track' of social hierarchy depicts the evolution of the west while the *muhalla* and *haveli* are South Asian forms. The dome, *squinch* and *muqarna* as distinct from the gothic structure and flying buttresses are equally valid examples each of which is worked out on different principles of epistemology. The oriental forms are based on a geometric art in the use of the arch whereas the occidental ones rely on algebraic principles. This practical difference pervades the entire spectrum of social history from Hindu/Aryan, through Turk or Arab Muslim to British/Christian colonial management. Any expectation that characters of Vedic history would respond to administrative challenges the same way that the Arabs, Turks or British did is as meaningless as the expectation that the British would be able to manage a caste or Biradri system of society or an economy based on verbal trust.

The concepts of ethno-genesis and lingua-genesis are essential for the cultural-contextualization of what has been termed as vernacular research. The essence of language is manifest in an implicit anthropological negative nuance associated with vernacular as a term of reference. When the British used the term for 'colloquial', verbal or regional languages within their empire, they gave it an essentially parochial persona. We can use this to advantage while analyzing oriental data especially for the complex ethnic construct of a multi-tiered ethno-genesis which has spawned local and central variations of its lingua-genesis.

The term of ethno-genesis was coined by Russian authors to describe the formation of ethnicities through crossbreeding of plural racial/tribal/ethnic communities. The term lingua-genesis is my corollary to it. It is postulated that all ethno-genesis is accompanied with a parallel lingua-genesis because the integration of society depends on common linguistic markers. Thus the 'host' and the 'guest' communities which are integrated through ethno-genesis in a region need common terms for communication. Urdu and English are the major success stories known to have emerged as a result of linguistic cross fertilization but Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi and Baluchi also exhibit similar trends. In fact, Punjabi with its deeper affinity to Urdu could even hold important clues to evolution of Urdu. If we approach oriental history as a process of ethno-genesis Language is the key or prism which can help us decode the colours of a society's communal and ethnic construct. Without such an exercise of decoding readers are not only likely to miss important realities mentioned in sources but may deduce something entirely different from that which was meant by the author.

This is the process of deciphering a lingua-genesis which is formed by the cultural accommodation, adjustment or tolerance of various ethnicities involved in ethno-genesis. This IAHA conference portends to exactly this form of study by integrating Asian History and Culture but goes the extra mile by addressing issues of environment. In a remarkably intuitive flash of ontological reasoning, the conference has identified the vital environmental difference between the orient and the west. European ecologies, habitats and biomes are essentially different from Asiatic ones even in the colder parts of Asia. This is the reason why the Americans, as inheritors of the European mindset treat desert life also in a manner which is very different from Asia's desert dwellers.

The fact that the conference has included in its scope the work of civil society, media and industry is very useful for socially grounded and intuitively powered work beyond the analytical spectrum. Approaching an oriental and vernacular

paradigm will become much easier with the inclusion of these communities in a multi-occupation team for comprehending our respective societies. This is particularly true of media and the civil-society in Pakistan today because of the flowering of these communities in the past three decades. The path to decolonization and indigenization of knowledge could not be found even after a brilliant start more than three decades ago. It is highly encouraging that the historicity of IAHA research has focused on these aspects for its current conference.

In the end I would like to propose that while we can retain the term vernacular as a commonly agreed translation of words that connote the same in our national and parochial languages, we may agree on some standard translations which could be viable on a regional basis. Over the years I have noticed that in many Muslim countries, the term 'normal' has been adopted in local languages to denote, ordinary, average, medium and even sub-standard depending on the context. Vernacular could be granted that status as well but in south Asia the term *Desi* is perhaps an already established substitute. Similar terms may be found and instituted in other regions or language groups.

**Keynote Address by Mahendra Lawoti at the
Inaugural Session of the 24th IAHA International
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**DEMOCRACY IN POOR AND DIVERSE SOCIETIES:
ENDURANCE, BREAKDOWN AND EROSION
IN INDIA, NEPAL, AND SRI LANKA**

Prof. Dr. Mahendra Lawoti*

I am really grateful to the IAHA conference organizers for inviting me to deliver my Key Note Address to the inaugural session of the International Conference of Asian History Culture and Environment: Vernacular and Oriental Paradigms. Basically I am a political scientist so my approach is probably different than what the historians do. My present contention is essentially a part of an ongoing research project so your input and feedback will be highly appreciated.

Democratization Challenges

Democracy has broken down more often in diverse societies and even more often in poor societies. Does this mean that poor and diverse countries may not be able to consolidate

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their democracies due to either one or double challenges? However, a few poor and diverse countries have avoided breakdown of democracy. What can we learn by comparing countries where democracy has broken down with those that have avoided breakdown of democracy? Democracy has broken down more often in diverse and poor societies. Does this mean that poor and diverse countries may not be able to consolidate their democracies due to either one or double challenges? However, a few poor and diverse countries have avoided breakdown of democracy. What can we learn by comparing countries where democracy has broken down with those that have avoided breakdown of democracy?

Democracy is supposed to be a workable mechanism to manage conflicts peacefully. However, sometimes mobilizations have led to violent conflict and breakdown of democratic systems. Different groups of people mobilize in varying democracies based on their identity and/or class interests. So it also needs to be explored that when do mobilizations lead to empowerment and when do they lead to violent conflict and breakdown of democracy?

Democracy and Diversity

It is generally observed that the countries with majoritarian institutions have witnessed recurrent conflicts and breakdown of democracies. Such majoritarian institutions create permanent majority and minority in the democracies they are part of. On the other side, diverse countries that have adopted accommodative institutions have witnessed stability and consolidated democracy. These accommodative institutions accommodate different groups to prevent violent conflicts and breakdown of democracies.

Every functional democracy requires an inclusive mechanism of power sharing. There are some important institutions that may/may not help accommodating diversity in democratic politics; these are:

- i. Autonomy: federalism/non-territorial federalism
- ii. Recognition

- iii. Representation
- iv. Access to resources: affirmation action, reservation etc., proportionality
- v. Veto power
- vi. Informal power sharing norms and practices

Political elite may get away doing whatever they want, including undermining democracy. Poor people may not participate in non-vibrant democracy or they may prefer to support “strong”/autocratic leaders who promise to deliver them with goods and services. They can also use their demographic strength to pressure the government to address their needs and preferences through which vibrant democracy may ensue. But the wealthy and powerful may feel threatened and undermine/dismantle democracy. In such a scenario it is important to analyse that is the poor segment of the society active enough to defend democracy? Can the threat (direct and indirect) to democracy from both the poor and powerful be reduced to avoid breakdown?

Poverty and Democracy

As far as relationship between poverty and democracy is concerned, the poor people may not participate in democracy especially if it is a non vibrant one. Reason being that the political elite therein may get away doing whatever they want, including undermining democracy. So much so, the poor people there may support “strong”/autocratic leaders who promise to deliver them with goods and services. However, if it is a somewhat vibrant democracy, the poor populace may use their demographic strength to pressure the government to address their needs and preferences. Quite contrarily sometimes a vibrant democracy may lead the wealthy and powerful feel threatened and undermine/dismantle democracy. It generally happens first; when the poor segment of the society is not active enough to defend democracy. Secondly, when there is no mechanism available to avert the threat (direct and indirect) to democracy from both the poor and powerful in order to avoid breakdown.

Democracy and Responsiveness

Functional democracies require making their governments responsive. First step in this regard is competitive elections and alternation of power periodically. Secondly, an effective horizontal accountability mechanism is required. Vibrant media and civil society is also required to restrain power abuse in the society. Decentralization at different levels and participation beyond local government is another prerequisite for participatory democracy. Finally, the pro-poor policy without threatening the wealthy and powerful is inevitable for a democracy to prosper.

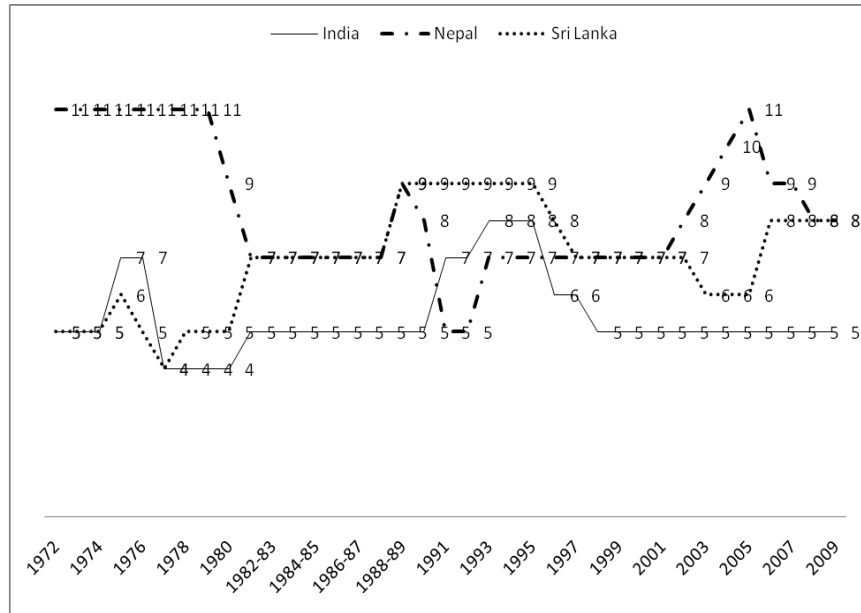
Comparative Analysis of Democracies of India, Nepal and Sri Lanka

In order to substantiate the argument certain identical cases can be compared with similarities and differences in the cases. Such identical cases selected from South Asia as India, Nepal and Sri Lanka. All these countries have similar socio-economic and cultural conditions. They all won independence/freedom at the same period. They however have adopted different set of political institutions with different set of welfare policies. Eventually, they have got different political outcomes — endurance, breakdown or erosion of democracy. The Figure 1 shows comparison between these three countries.

Democracy in India

Democracy in India since independence, except for brief interruption in mid 1970s, had higher rating from the Freedom House and Polity IV. Though, some problems remained there such as violent conflicts in Kashmir and northeast areas, Hindu-Muslims riots and Maoist mobilization, however, these problems do not seem to be a threat to democracy. All established democracies took a long time to consolidate and deepen through democratic process.

Comparison between Democratic Periods



To accommodate diversity, the Indian government adopted linguistic, national, religious and administrative federalism. It created new provinces keeping the majority of dominant linguistic groups in consideration. It also declared itself a secular state without adopting dominant religion by the state. Through institutions like federalism and reservations the government of India gave incentives to majority religious group to mobilize along intra-religious cleavages to prevent mobilization along majority religious identity. It also made constitutional provisions recognizing personal law of religious minority groups and multiple languages. It also reserved rights of various marginalized groups through informal inclusion of different groups/ regions in the executive etc. Representation of marginalized groups in public offices and symbolic inclusion of national holidays during festivals of different groups are other important steps of government of India to create a viable democracy in India.

Through such incentives all demands and concerns of all the groups may not have been addressed but some major issues and concerns of major groups have been addressed.

This is the main reason that violent ethnic conflicts not threatened democracy as the conflicts are often confined to certain regions and areas for example:

- a. Muslims in other parts of India do not participate or actively support the Kashmir issue
- b. Some separatist (Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Mizoram etc.) movements have declined after reaching autonomy settlements
- c. Some conflicts persist in the North-east
- d. Problems in the borderlands

Extensive welfare policies in socialist/interventionist India from early on particularly land reforms in different parts of India, decentralization, creation of multiple institutions at the center, judicial activism, vibrant media, vibrant civil society and ingrained non-violent movement culture are the major features of Indian democracy. Increasing power of the provinces – judicial ruling, rise of regional parties, and increasing right to generate revenue after liberalization also played important role in the growth of democracy in India.

Violent class (Maoist) conflict has existed since the late 1960s but it is mostly limited within forested tribal areas. People are not highly alienated due to material deprivation as basic material needs are addressed to some extent. Indians engage in non-violent protests, many are not attracted to violent means. Jaya Prakash Narayan led non-violent movement against the state of emergency declared in 1975 to retrieve democracy. Powerful sections of the society, including the army, may not be able to derail democracy due to political consciousness among a substantial population. Economic growth particularly after 1990s reform and growth of private sector have also an important role in the growth of democracy although rapid economic growth may not be necessary to sustain democracy.

Democracy in Sri Lanka

Regular periodic elections since independence remained a prominent feature of Sri Lankan polity. Although it witnessed

three decade long very violent civil war and state of emergency implemented for around three decades which shows that electoral democracy persists but has been eroding.

Seventy-five percent of Sri Lankan population consists of Sinhalese. The other major portion of Sri Lankan population, Tamils is divided into Sri Lankan, Indian and Moors. To maintain peace and order in the region the government provided certain privileges to each section of the state for example it provided privileged position to Buddhism in a new Constitution. At the same time denial of citizenship to Indian Tamils and decision to send them back to India is another significant step of the Sri Lankan government. Sinhalese have been struggling for language policy for a long time. Other prominent features of the Sri Lankan polity are unitary state system having high concentration of power at centre with majoritarian political institutions.

Certain other policies of public welfare like food subsidy to the poor (case benefits after the 70s), universal health insurance, universal and compulsory free education — from kindergarten to university, social security to working class and public employee, social services, housing and public utilities worked positively in Sri Lanka. As Maoist insurgencies arose twice in Sri Lanka but the state was able to repress it mainly due to its poor friendly policies.

Multiple governments changed in Sri Lanka but Sinhalese always managed to get a leading position in government. Tamils have been struggling for linguistic equality and autonomy. Responding to the Tamil struggle government signed multiple agreements but has never been able to implement them which resulted giving birth to Tamils' support the separatist group during late 1970s. Three decade long separatists' civil war began in early 1980s. Government not only further concentrated power to repress Tamils rather it also constrained political rights and civil liberties, militarization of society and governing the country

under the law of 'state of emergency for nearly three decades'.

Democracy in Nepal

In Nepal, Monarchy with the support of army interrupted democracy twice in 1960 and 2002 due to rapid growth of violent Maoist conflict in 1996-2006. Although the first non-democratic period prevailed for thirty years, from 1960-1990 but the second non-democratic phase was brief which lasted for four years from 2002-2006.

The most prominent feature of Nepal's democracy is support of 31 percent of the population for the ruling group — Khas Arya/CHHE. At the same time minorities — Dalit, Indigenous, Madhesi, Muslim — are facing under-representation in the government institutions. Hill Hindu monarchy and pervasive hill Hindu symbolism is the key feature of the population. Minorities are not allowed religious conversion. Citizenship rights are denied to Madhesi and others. The government has discriminatory policy towards language as well. Khas-Nepali is the only medium language. The government has also banned "ethnic" political parties. Unitary state and absence of autonomy to minorities with no affirmative action/reservation to marginalized groups are other prominent features of the democracy of Nepal.

Poor people and particularly minorities are facing further problems as they are not provided any subsidy on food with no health insurance and limited health services. The government started old age pension from mid-nineties. Governance crisis, power abuse, and alienation are also major problems of Nepal. To manage concentration of power even the elected governments did not introduce any land reforms and very few resources and limited powers are provided to lower level governments.

Marginalized groups formed political parties, ethnic associations, NGOs and began to organize and spread awareness about inequality and exclusion. Maoist launched a violent rebellion from 1996 which attracted rapid support

from rural areas and that of minorities'. Furthermore, a large number joined the armed Maoist rebellion which promised major transformation of Nepal government system. Even a limited number of people supported the king who dismissed the elected government in 2002 and ended democracy in the name of establishing peace by ending the rebellion.

Democracy in Poor and Diverse India, Nepal and Sri Lanka

	Diversity management	Poverty and socio-economic policies	Democracy
Nepal (1990-2002)	Majoritarian institutions and non-accommodation of diversity	Weak pro-poor and social-welfare policies	Breakdown of democracy: both challenges of poverty and diversity not address; poor and marginalized groups challenge the regime and support non-democratic forces
Sri Lanka	Majoritarian institutions and non-accommodation of diversity: refusal to provide autonomy to Tamils through federalism	Very high pro-poor policies and welfare policies	Electoral democracy persists but democracy is eroding: strong armed rebellion from the minority Tamils; Maoist movement based among the dominant group does not lead to breakdown of democracy- pro-poor policies are not sufficient to prevent erosion of democracy
India	Diversity managed; the dominant group is divided to reduce its domination from demographic strength	Some level of pro-poor policies	Democracy sustains: both diversity management institutions and pro-poor policies are necessary to sustain democracy

Rudiments of Occidentalism in Indian Subcontinent

Dr. Jamil Ahmad Nutkani*

ABSTRACT

Putting the discussion of this article in nutshell, it could be said that with the arrival of Portuguese in southern coast of India, the interaction between the West and the East began. The people of Portugal that reached India first, were navigators and seamen. Along with them Jesuit Fathers also came to India. Portuguese made Goa their Eastern Capital and commercial centre of their Asiatic trade along with missionary centre, as Christianity was their religion. When Portuguese came to India, the Great Mughals were ruling over it. With this interaction, a perception of the West and Western people, their language, religion and culture began to be shaped in the minds of Indian people. According to Gulfishan Khan: at the same time, another image of Europe developed; a negative one. It concerned to the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to reach India towards the end of fifteenth century with the result that in the sixteenth century, all the sea-routes connecting India with the rest of the world were dominated by them. It was the origin of Occidentalism in India. It indeed is the scholarly knowledge of western cultures, religions, languages, and thoughts. It is a counter-field of research, which developed or can be

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developed in the Orient in order to study the West from a non-Western World's point of view. The Eastern Christianity was in practice in the southern part of India especially along the coastal areas. Although Muslims of this area were familiar to the Eastern Christianity with which they were well conversant through the Islamic literature like Quran, Hadith, Fiqh and Islamic History but the Christianity of Europe was different in the sense that it was coupled with the Papal touch and missionary zest. Above all the colonial ambitions of the European Christian nations made the relations worst. All this made the adherents of two revealed religions rivals of one another. This rivalry shaped the atmosphere of the Indian Subcontinent throughout the colonial era. In this article it has been tried to elaborate the Christian-Muslim relations in the region and their response to each other.

Ontology of Occidentalism

To understand the different aspects of this topic properly, it is necessary to understand the term "Occidentalism".

Occidentalism¹ is the scholarly knowledge of Western cultures, religions, languages, and thoughts; especially the thoughts of the Orientalists about Islam; and the scholarly response of the eastern scholars to the literature produced by the Orientalists i.e. Orientalism and the onslaught of the missionaries on Islam and the Prophet (PBUH).²

Borrowing from Edward W. Said's definition of Orientalism and rephrasing it in the following words:

Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Occident and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, philologist or a religious scholar either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Occidentalism, and what he or she does is Occidentalism.³

1 For detailed discussion on Occidentalism see Jamil Ahmadm, "Introduction to Occidentalism," *Al-Adwa'* 22, no 30 (December 2008).

2 Ahmad, "Introduction to Occidentalism."

3 Ahmad, "Introduction to Occidentalism."

Dr. Hassan Hanafi explains the term Occidentalism in the following words:

Occidentalism is a counter-field of research, which is developed or can be developed in the Orient in order to study the West from a non-Western World's point of view.⁴

The First Christian-Muslim Interaction in Subcontinent

To properly understand the rudiments of Occidentalism in Colonial Subcontinent, it is necessary to trace back and study the early contact of Europeans with the people of Indian Subcontinent before the direct colonial rule of the Europeans.

Prior to a direct contact with the West, before the Colonial Period of Indian Subcontinent, only a rudimentary knowledge of Europe existed in the literary circles of India. It was primarily the Portuguese who were known, because of their forceful presence in Southern India. The Mughal Emperor Akbar's attempts to establish a channel of communication with the lands of Europe remained unsuccessful. It was common knowledge that the entire Europe had professed Christianity. The Christian religion was a traditional concern of Muslims; under the patronage of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, it was primarily the works related to the Christian faith that were translated into the vernacular. Indian knowledge of the Christian faith was based on texts that had been passed down from one generation to another and to the present one. Our writers defined the Christian religion as a revealed faith and Christians as 'the People of the Book' (Ahl-i Kitab). Muslim ulama (scholars) sought to access Christianity in terms of their own faith and also manifested purely intellectual motives for doing so. In fact, Muslims had their own viewpoint from which they considered issues of the Christian Faith. From the beginnings, Muslim thinkers regarded Jesus Christ as one of the authentic prophets and attributed to him a unique and distinguished place among the prophets. This Quranic Jesus was ever present

4 Hassan Hanafi, "From Orientalism to Occidentalism," www.fortschritt.weltweit.de

in the Muslim imagination and belief before any contact was made with the West. At the same time, any idea of the divinity of Christ was simply against the uncompromising monotheism of Islam.⁵

On the other hand, Western Christians especially missionaries considered Islam as a Christian heresy and the general atmosphere about Islam was ensured that it is the religion from an impious, imposture and a false prophet. Obviously, Evangelical Christian missionaries in India could not accept Muhammad (PBUH) as a prophet of God bringing a message that replaced the Gospel and that denied the deity of Jesus Christ. By sending missionaries and religious scholars to the Eastern countries, especially to India, a religious apologetic and controversial element was added in the Christian-Muslim relations. Founded in 1524 by St. Ignatius Loyola, the Jesuits⁶ were used for this purpose in all over the world especially in the southern coast of India. It was the origin of Occidentalism in India.

Mughals were ruling over India, when the Portuguese reached Calicut, the South-West Coast of India. They tried to build up relations with Mughal Emperors. The people of Portugal that reached India first, were navigators and seamen.⁷ Along with them Jesuit Fathers also came to India. Portuguese made Goa their Eastern Capital, commercial centre of their Asiatic trade and their missionary centre.

According to Henry Whitehead D.D: "When the Portuguese arrived in India at the end of the fifteenth century, they were

5 Gulfishan Khan, *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West during the Eighteenth Century* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 369- 70.

6 The Society of Jesus is a male religious congregation of the Catholic Church. The members are called Jesuits. The society is engaged in evangelization and apostolic ministry in 112 nations on six continents. Jesuits work in education (founding schools, colleges, universities and seminaries), intellectual research, and cultural pursuits. Jesuits also give retreats, minister in hospitals and parishes, and promote social justice and ecumenical dialogue. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Society_of_Jesus

7 See Admiral G. A. Ballard, *Rulers of the Indian Ocean* (Lahore, al-Bairuni, 1979).

delighted to find a Christian Church established on the West Coast; but it was a shock to find that they were Nestorian heretics and knew nothing of the supremacy of the Pope.”⁸

Professor Sayyid Muhammad Salim wrote that when Portuguese came to India, the Great Mughals were ruling over it. They developed relations with Mughal Emperors. Among the Portuguese who came to India, Jesuits⁹ were most active in doing so. Jesuit Missionaries spread all over Africa and Asia. In Goa, [the Capital of the first European State in India], Jesuits were the strongest. When Akbar was researching in religious matters, he gathered scholars of different religions around him. He also called for Jesuit Fathers from Goa. In 1580, Akbar invited a Jesuit mission to his court. This led to the establishment of a church and a Jesuit mission at Agra (Northern India) which continued till 1803.¹⁰

Fr. John Felix Raj, S.J. writes:

In September 1579, Akbar’s ambassador arrived at Goa with a letter, asking for two learned priests to be sent to Akbar’s court. To quote Akbar’s letter: “... I am sending Abdullah, my ambassador, and Dominic Perez (an Armenian Christian, the interpreter) with the request that you will send me two learned Fathers and the books of Law, especially the Gospel, that I may know the Law and its excellence...” He wanted them to provide him and his Muslim and Hindu courtiers with first-hand knowledge about Christian doctrines (which, according to him, consisted of the message of the Torah and the Gospel).

8 Henry Whitehead D.D., *Indian Problems in Religion, Education Politics* (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1924), 56.

9 To encounter the Reformation Movement of 1517, Pope launched an Anti-Reformation Movement in 1540 known as “The Society of Jesus”. Jesuits were activists of this movement.

10 Sayed Muhammad Salim, *Magharbi Zabanoon ky Mahir Ulama* [Scholars of Western languages] (Lahore: Idara-e Talimi Tahqiq, 1993).

The invitation elicited great hopes among the Goan Jesuits.¹¹

In his opinion the response of Muslim rulers to the Missionary Orientalists and other religions was very tolerant. Rev. James Hough writes: "It ought, however, to be remarked, that the Moguls generally, whether from indifference, or liberal sentiments, were very tolerant of all religions."¹²

Impact of Missionary Activities on the People of India

Gulfishan Khan writes that at the time, together with a tolerant one, another image of Europe also developed — a negative one. This was because of the rapid expansion of dominance over sea routes and the tyranny of the newly established inquisition (a former tribunal of the Roman Catholic Church, 1232-1820, created to discover and suppress heresy) upon the local people by the Portuguese. The earliest known reaction to the Portuguese domination of Southern Seas came from Sheikh Zain al-Din Ma'abri of Malabar (d. 1583), who may have been an eyewitness to the activities of the Portuguese in the coastal regions, where the impact of their arrival and subsequent expansion would have been more closely felt by the local population. Sheikh Zain al-Din, writing in 1580, perceived them as a form of divine punishment for the Muslims. He writes:

It would have been understood that the Muslims of Malabar formerly lived in great comfort and tranquillity, in consequences of their abstaining from exercising any oppression towards the country; as well as from the consideration which they invariably evinced for the ancient usages of population of Malabar and from unrestricted intercourse of kindness which they preserved for them. Subsequently, however, they were guilty of ingratitude towards God, forgetting the blessings that they had

11 Fr. John Felix Raj. S.J., "Jesuits at the Mughal Court," <http://www.goethals.in/collections/felixrajarticles/MughalCourt.htm>

12 Rev. James Hough, *The History of Christianity in India: From the Commencement of Christian Era*, vol. II (London: Fleet Street), 261.

enjoyed by going astray and becoming divided into schism. On the account, therefore, did God bring down upon them the people of Europe, the Frank, Christians by religion, who began to oppress the Muslims and to bring ruin amongst them; being guilty of actions the most diabolical and infamous such indeed as are beyond the power of description.¹³

The author of *Tuhfat al-Mujahideen* noted that, although their primary motive was to trade in ginger and pepper, the Portuguese engaged in the forcible conversions of the local population to Christianity and other such subversive activities, leading to misery and despair for the local people. They destroyed the main mosque (Jami' Masjid) of Calicut in 1509, and demolished another one in Cochin and erected a church in its place.¹⁴

Contrary to the behavior of Portuguese of Goa to their Muslim minority, Christian Missionaries were enjoying the

13 Sheikh Zain al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Ma'abri was a grandson of Zain al-Din Abu Yahya (d. 1521) who founded a school and a hospice at Ponani in the Deccan, famous for attracting scholars from far and wide, including the East Indies, the grandfather's work were well known in Egypt (where they were published in the nineteenth century). And one of these, *Hidaya al-Azkiyya*, received commentaries both in Hijaz and Java. His commentaries on Shafi'ite law also gained recognition in Egypt and the East Indies: cf. Zubaid Ahmad M.G., *The contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic Literature from Ancient Times to 1857* (reprint, Lahore, 1968), 185. The grandson, in turn, became famous as the author of *Tuhfat al-Mujahideen*, a historical account of the struggle against the Portuguese (1498-1581), dedicated to 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (1558-1580). It begins with the account of Malabar, a history of the advent of the Muslims in Malabar. It continues with the account of the spread of Islam in the region and the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498; then it describes their subsequent clashes with the Samuri chiefs and their alliances and counter-alliances with the potentates of the Deccan up to 1581. Zain al-Din's *Tuhfat al-Mujahideen* is the first known work, which presents a picture of reaction to the Portuguese arrival in the Indian Ocean. There exists an Arabic edition as well as English translations of this work. Cf. Sheikh Zain al-Din Ma'abri, *Tuhfat al-Mujahideen*, ed. Hakim Sayyid Shams Qadri, Historical Society of Hyderabad, Historical Text Series No.3 (N.D.). For a Literal English translation of Arabic text, cf. J. Rowlandson, *Tuhfat al-Mujahideen fi bad ahwal al-Burtukaliyyun*, ed. and tr. (London 1833), for the above passage, 103-107.

14 Khan, *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West during the Eighteenth Century*, 41.

liberty of preaching their religion in all over India not only to the masses but also to the rulers of India. Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power wrote that, "Akbar felt the want of a new religion, and Christianity made so strong an appeal to him that, if he could have accepted its dogmas, he would probably have been baptized. Explain the Incarnation to me," he once said, "and I will become a Christian, though it will cost me my kingdom."¹⁵

He writes about Jahangir that:

All men hoped much from the new King, and especially the Fathers, who believed that his accession would lead many to embrace the Christian faith. For up to that time he had been looked upon almost as a Christian, and had been openly spoken of as such by his adherents. But these hopes were disappointed, for he had sworn an oath to the Moors to uphold the law of Mafamade [Muhammad] and being anxious at the commencement of his reign to secure their good will, he gave orders for the cleansing of mosques, restored the fasts [ramesas: Ramazan] and prayers of the Moors, and took the name Nurdin [Nur-ud-din (Light of Faith)] Mohammad Jahanuir [Jahangir (Conqueror of the World)], which signifies .The Splendor of the Law of Mafamade [Muhammad], Conqueror of the World.. Of the Fathers he took no more notice than if he had never seen them before.¹⁶

Prince Salim took the name Jahangir when he took the throne and his attitude towards Christian missionaries and a discourse on religion within his court was similar to that of his father. Low conversion rates continued though "Xavier attended... audiences (at Lahore) throwing the hook into the water, hoping the fish will bite". The most notable of all conversions during Father Jerome's charge of the mission was the conversion and baptism of three nephews of Jahangir in the summer of 1610.

15 E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power (ed.), *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (London: George Routledge, 1930), xix.

16 Ross and Power, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, 3.

Akbar's open-mindedness gave it impetuosity to this thirst of knowing about one another. In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century, this branch of knowledge i.e. Occidentalism expanded from the courts of rulers to the bazaars of the cities. Encounters, known as *Munazras*, between Muslim Ulama and missionary *Padres* (Fathers) began to occur frequently during the colonial rule in India. After the entry of C. G. Pfander and Sir William Muir, it reached to the height of scholarly level.

Occidental Works in Pre-colonial Subcontinent

Edward Said claimed in his magnum opus *Orientalism* that the East was passive when the literature on Orientalism was being produced. Mohammad Tavakoli-Targhi refuted this in his book *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography*.

Many Indian Muslim scholars' works on Occidentalism endorsed the idea of Mohammad Tavakoli-Targhi. One of these works which were traced down in this era is as follows:

Translation Work

To understand the cultural aspects, religious views and social values of European people some important translation works carried out in this era are as under:

Translation of Gospel/Evangel

Following the instructions of Akbar, the then Empror of India; Abu al-Fazl (d. 1602), seeking guidance from the Padries translated Gospel in 1587 A.D. /997 A.H.¹⁷

Samtart-ul-Philasifah

Its other name is *Ahwal-e-Frangistan* [Persian: A History of Europe]. This book is the history of Rome and its philosophers. It was translated from Portuguese to Persian in 1603 A.D./1011 A.H., by 'Abd al-Sattar Bin Qasim, the son of famous historian Qasim Farishta. Its manuscripts are

17 Abdul Qadir Badayoni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, vol. II (Calcutta: 1865), 260.

preserved in Asfiya Library Hyderabad Deccan India, King's College Library Cambridge, and John Rayland Library Manchester.¹⁸

Seerat-e-Masih

Jerome Xavier's *Seerat-e-Masih* [Persian: Nature of Jesus] is also known as *Mirat al-Quds* [Persian: Mirrir of Holiness] and *Dastaan-e-Masih* [Persian: Story of Jesus]. It was translated in Persian by him with the help of 'Abd al-Sattar bin Qasim. This translation was completed in 1602. It was presented to the Mughal Emperor Akbar in the same year. Its manuscripts are available in Serampore College Calcutta, School of Oriental and African Studies London, and in Lahore Museum. The manuscript present in Asfiya Library Hyderabad Deccan, India has the date of 1605. All the manuscripts have the stamp of Akbar and aignatures of the author. Later; a Latin translation of this book was published by Dieu, Professor of Arabic and Persian, University of Leiden Holland.¹⁹

Tarikh-e-Maryam

The author of *Tarikh-e-Maryam* [Persian: History of Mary] book is also Jerome Xavier, who came from Portugal to Goa and then from Goa to Lahore in 1594. He learned Persian. For missionary purpose, he needed some evangelical books in Persian language. It basically consists of the parts of Gospel related to the life of Mary, the mother of Jesus; Christians refer to her as the Virgin Mary. One of its manuscripts is available in Curzon Collection of Royal Asiatic Society Bengal (D. 329). It too has the stamp of Akbar.²⁰

18 *Detailed Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in Curzon Collection*, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1926.

19 *Catalogue of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. I, UK.

20 *Detailed Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in Curzon Collection*.

Historia S. Petri Persica

It is a Persian translation of Jerome Xavier's book that was originally written in Portuguese. Abd al-Sattar bin Qasim had already translated some volumes of this book. Persian translation of first four volumes was presented to Akbar, in 1605. However, translation of all the volumes into Persian was completed in the year 1607 and was presented to the then emporor Jahangir, the successor of Akbar. One manuscript of the book is available in State Central Library (Asfiya Library) Hyderabad Deccan. It is worth mentioning that the Urdu translation of the very same book has been published from Sardhna in 1894 under the title of *Kitab Barah Hawariyeen* [Persian: Book of Twelve Apostles].²¹

Aina-i Haqq-Numa

After a long stay in Subcontinent, Hieronymo Xavier or Jerome Xavier got command over Persian modes of reading and writing. He started writing his book '*Aina-i Haqq-Numa* [Persian: The Truth Reflecting Mirror] in 1602 A.D. and completed it in 1609. Jerome Xavier also wrote its shorter version with the title *Muntakhab 'Aina-i Haqq-Numa* [Persian: The Selected Truth Reflecting Mirror] and was dedicated to Jahangir; the King of India. One copy of its manuscript is available in the Library of the Queen's College Cambridge. Interestingly the refutation of this book also exists in the very same library with the title of: *Lawami' al-Rabbani der Shubhat e Nasrani* [Persian: The Divine Rays in Refutation of Christian Error] by Sayyid Ahmad Bin Zain al-Abideen.²²

Prominent Occidentalists in Pre-colonial Subcontinent

After having a brief introduction to some important works of that era, a brief introduction of some of the scholars is provided who studied the Christian-Muslim discourse.

21 Salim al-Din Quraishi, *Mahnama (Monthly) Kitab*, (Lahore: November 1985).

22 *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (Lahore: 1975), 417.

Abd al-Raheem Khan-e-Khanan

During his research in religious matters, Akbar invited different religious scholars for help and guidance. Among them Jesuit Fathers, Father Edward Leyton and Father Christopher de Vega, from Goa were prominent who attended his court at Lahore in 1591.²³ Akbar ordered Khan-e-Khanan (Xanacane) to learn Farangi Language. Maulana Shibli writes, "When I went to Calcutta in December 1906, I saw a manuscript of *Ma'athir-e-Rahimi* [Persian: Characteristics of Rahimi] in Asiatic Society. It is a biography of 'Abdur Raheem Khan-e-Khanan, who was a Commander-in-Chief in Akbar's Court authored by 'Abd Al-Baqi who was an Iranian and belonged to a noble family and a contemporary of 'Abdur Raheem Khan-e-Khanan. Source of information is personal observation and government documents. It is original manuscript of author that has been written by a katib (copyist).²⁴

Shibli Nomani quotes a paragraph from *Ma'athir-e-Rahimi*:

Since most of the coasts of India were in the custody of Portuguese and King of India and Farangi Kings exchanged the letters, therefore Akbar ordered that Commander-in-Chief [i.e. 'Abdur Raheem Khan-e-Khanan] to learn the language of Christians and its mode of writing. Moreover, he made relations with Christian traders and tourists to learn their language and its mode of writing. Ultimately he got command on it.²⁵

'Abd al-Sattar bin Qasim

Another prominent scholar who worked on the languages of Portuguese and Latin is 'Abd al-Sattar bin Qasim. In 1595, the arrival of the Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier (1549-1617), a

23 Rev. Father Felix, *Mughal Farman, Perwanas and Sanads* (Agra: 1908), 16.

24 Shibli Nomani, *Maqalat-e-Shibli* vol. IV, ed. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (Lahore: National Book Foundation Pakistan, 1989), 65.

25 Nomani, *Maqalat-e-Shibli* vol. IV 68-69.

Navarre's²⁶ and the grandson of St. Francis Xavier's sister, resulted in the establishment of a new kind of relationship with Muslim India. Xavier learnt Persian at the court and gave lessons to 'Abd al-Sattar in Portuguese as well as Latin, enabling the latter to assist in the translation work. This is the first known example of the collaboration and cooperation of an Indian Muslim to translate European knowledge into Persian. The work produced by Xavier with the assistance of 'Abd al-Sattar covered a wide variety of literary matter and it found its way into other Muslim countries, Persia, for example, as well as in some European countries, such as England, the Netherlands, and even the Vatican City in Italy. The fact that these works survived in the libraries of the Indian Subcontinent as well as in Europe in considerable numbers testifies to the popularity and fame of the works produced. These works introduced the Indian scholars to European Christianity, and the scholars used these works in the late eighteenth century when direct exposure to the Western world took place.²⁷

In 1603, 'Abd al-Sattar compiled the *Samarat al-falasifah*, again with the help of Jerome Xavier, a work also known as *Ahwal-i Frangistan*. This work was concerned with the history of the Roman Empire (*Salatin-i Rum*), with special reference to its rulers and wise men (sayings of Greek and Roman philosophers are included in it). It also includes the life of Christ. The work was based on the New Testament (*Injil*) and the *Kitab Sant* asnin. In the preliminary introduction to the *Samarat al-falasifah*, 'Abd al-Sattar postulated that two major factors maintained an iron curtain between the lands of Europe and India: firstly, the immense geographical distance, and, secondly, linguistic barrier.

26 Navarre is an autonomous community in northern Spain, bordering the Basque Country, La Rioja, and Aragon in Spain and Aquitaine in France. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Navarre>

27 Khan, *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West during the Eighteenth Century*, 145.

There was no bilingual expert, who knew the two languages (mutarjim; literally the translator).²⁸

Muhammad Shaf'ai Warid (Yazdi) [Danishmand Khan]

Danishmand Khan's real name was Muhammad Shaf'i Yazdi. He was also known as Mulla Muhammad Shafz'ai Warid (Yazdi). He was, according to Bernier, foreign minister of Aurangzeb Alamgir as well as mir bakhshi²⁹. He was familiar with French language. He was interested in Western scholars' writings like Descartes. He was very interested in the subjects of history, astronomy, geography and philosophy. He gathered Hindu and Christian scholars in his court. After spending some time in the services of Mughal prince Dara Shikoh, Bernier served in the court of Danishmand Khan.³⁰

28 Khan, *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West during the Eighteenth Century*, 39-40.

29 The head of the military was called *Mir Bakshi*, appointed from amongst the leading nobles of the court. The *Mir Bakshi* was in charge of intelligence gathering, and also made recommendations to the emperor for military appointments and promotions.

30 F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mugul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, Eng. Translation A. Constable (1891), 385.

Cultural and Linguistic Ties between Ottoman Turks and Muslim Rulers of Sindh

M. Yakub Mughal*

ABSTRACT

The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 A.D. by Sultan Muhammad Fatih was a great event in the history of Islam. After this event, diplomatic relations between the Bahmani King of India and Ottoman Turks were established for the first time. In this paper the expedition of Suleyman Pasha to India in 1538 A.D. will be discussed briefly. The present paper will also focus on the circumstances that were faced by Syedi Ali Reis, the then Naval Commander of Turkish fleet, due to destruction of this fleet in 1553 A.D. in the result of a severe storm in the Indian ocean and Naval clash with the Portuguese. The important events and observations of Sidi Ali Reis about the routes of Sindh in his travelogue "Mirat-ul-Memalik" or "Mirror of the Countries" which he wrote after his return to Turkey will also be highlighted. In this paper attention has been paid to the Linguistic and cultural impact of Mamluk expeditions on the Muslim India in general and Sindh in particular.

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Introduction

Long before the Ghaznavid invasion of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, many Turkish tribes like Kushans, Yuchi or White Huns invaded this region, but their influence on the culture and languages of the Subcontinent has not yet been fully assessed.

Islam penetrated into the heart of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent first through Arab traders and sailors who had settled all along shores of Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal.

After the conquest of Sindh and Multan in 712 A.D. by Muhammad bin Qasim, the new era started in the Subcontinent and this region came under the direct contact with Islamic Culture and Civilization. Three centuries later, the Central Asian Turks, who had by that time embraced Islam, organized their migration-cum-conquest West wards to Turkey, came also in search of new homes in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent. The Arab conquest of Sindh was preceded by Muslim settlements on the Indo-Pak coasts; followed by small colonies of Muslims in the Punjab and Kashmir under the Ghaznavid rule. From the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna to the middle of the Ninth century a large part of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent was being ruled by the Turks of Turkistan and Azerbaijan. Arghuns and Tarkhans, who ruled Sindh from 1521-1612 A.D., were also Turks. Thus, the history of Hind and Sindh is largely the history of Turks and it has not only left an indelible impression on the subcontinent but has deeply influenced this region culturally and linguistically.

Cultural relations between the Subcontinent and Ottoman Turks were established, for the first time, in the days of Sultan Muhammad-II (1451-1481) the conqueror of Istanbul, in 1453 A.D. and credit for establishing these relations goes to Mahmud Gawan (1463-1481), the grand Vezir of Sultan Muhammad Shah-III (1461-1482) the Bahmani ruler.

Mahmud Gawan was also responsible for extending the Indian Trade into the Ottoman territories like Balkans.¹

During the reign of Sultan Selim-I (1512-1520 A.D.) these relations were further strengthened. After the conquest Egypt and of the whole of Arab world by Sultan Selim, letters of goodwill were exchanged, which produced fruitful results. It should be recalled that Sultan Selim had ordered for the construction of fleet of fifty ships² and desired to send in near future a fleet arranging a large army to drive the Portuguese out of Muslim India. The extension of Turkish power in Red Sea during the reign of Sultan Selim and Sultan Suleyman Khan brought the Ottoman Turks, for the first time into direct contact with Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent and its problems. Resultantly, the trade route to the Europeans to the East.³

In 1536 A.D. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat sent an ambassador to Sultan Suleyman Khan to solicit his aid against the Portuguese, who meanwhile managed to come to the Indian Ocean via Cape of Good Hope and captured some parts in the coastal area of south-western India.⁴ Ultimately, Sultan Suleyman dispatched a great armada under the command of Khadim Sulayman Pasha in 1538 to shatter the power of the Portuguese in India once for all. However, the Turkish expedition could not crush the Portuguese Sea power in the Indian Ocean because of the misunderstanding which grew up between the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan and the Turkish admiral Khadim Suleyman Pasha.⁵

1 Bernard Lewis, "The Mughals and the Ottomans," *Pakistan Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (Karachi: 1958): 5.

2 M. L. Dames, "the Portugese and the Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1921): 1-28.

3 Riaz-ul-Insha, *Hyderabad Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani (1948), 33-36, 201-205, 391-96.

4 Lewis, "The Mughals and the Ottomans," 5.

5 Faria, Y. Souza, *The Portugees Asia* Vol. 1, (London: 1695), 434. Also see R.S. White Way, *The Rise of Portugese Power in India*, (London: 1979), 257-58.

In 1553 the Turkish fleet under the command of Seydi Ali Reis was destroyed because of a severe storm in the Indian Ocean and naval clash with the Portuguese. Seydi Ali Reis with much difficulty, managed to approach the Indian coast and cast anchor before the fort of Demon belonging to Sultan Ahmed, the ruler of Gujarat. Seydi Ali Reis was advised to return to Istanbul by land route as it was dangerous to return to Egypt with damaged ships. Seydi Ali reported that he was offered the Governorship of Province by Sultan Ahmed of Gujarat but he did not accept it and agreed to return as soon as possible to Turkey by land route. However, he allowed 200 men to join the service of Sultan of Gujarat and suppress the rebels in his territories. In January, 1555 Syedi Ali left for Turkey via Sindh. At the time of his arrival in Sindh, Mirzah Shah Hussain Arghun was the ruler of Sindh. Seydi Ali Reis in his travelogue "*Mirat-ul-Memalik*" or "Mirror of the Countries", which he wrote after his return to Turkey, gives the details of his adventure and unusual experiences on his way back to Turkey.⁶

This is the first book in Turkish which deals with the cultural and political conditions of this region in sixteenth century. He gives the details of the behavior of the rulers he met, the mausoleums of saints that he visited and praises the hospitality and good behaviour of the people of Sindh. Shah Hussain Arghun, the ruler of Sindh was in conflict with the Tarkhans. In Sindh he received an offer to join the services of the ruler of Sindh, but he politely declined; however, he took part in a battle for him. Since the Ottoman soldiers, who were with Syedi Ali Reis, were well-trained in the use of Cannon and Muskets, they were often forced to take part in local wars.⁷

Seydi Ali Reis was one of the first Ottoman Scholars-cum-soldier, who introduced Sindh in the Ottoman Turkey. His

6 A. Vambery, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, trans. *Mirat-ul-Memalik* (London: 1899), 33-34.

7 Seydi Ali Reis, *Mirat-ul-Memalik* (Istanbul: 1313 A.H), 36.

travelogue *Mirat-ul-Memalik* is not only a book of travels, but also a historical document which deals with Sindh and other parts of Indo-Pak Subcontinent.⁸ After Seydi Ali Reis, good relations prevailed with Ottoman Turks till the end of Mughul rule in India in 1857. During the Khilafat Movement, Sindh played a prominent role but this has no direct bearing on connection with this region as far as cultural and linguistic ties are concerned.

As a matter of fact, Sindh region has been influenced by the Turks directly in the field of culture and language. The Arghuns and Tarkhans who ruled this region for about a century were from the Turkish tribes in Central Asia and direct descendants of the Transoxanian warriors, who came with Babur to India and later established their rule in Sindh. Many other Turkish tribes were also settled in this region and many Turkish words were adopted in Sindhi language. From the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs until the beginning of the British rule in Sindh, Arabic and Persian flourished as official languages of this region and local language was spoken by the natives. In other parts of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Turkish was the language of the royal household and Persian remained the official language of administration. Thus, it is very difficult to determine the number of words adopted into Sindhi language indirectly through these languages or directly because of Arghuns and Tarkhans, Turkish rulers of Sindh and emigrants, who had settled in Sindh.

Under the impact of the Arghuns and Tarkhans a number of Turkish words, phrases and idioms entered in Sindhi alongwith numerous Turkish names that are being used for various foods and cooking utensils, dresses and in everyday life. Traces of Turkish culture are also evident in our culture. The mores of life, the habits and customs of this region and sad occasions and manners of celebrating festivals were

8 R.B. Sergeant, *The Portugese of South Arabian Coast* (Oxford: Hadrami Chronicles, 1963).

similar till the end of Mughul rule in the Subcontinent in 1857 A.D. Turkish language was studied by the scholars of this area. Turkish verses of Amir Khusru, a fourteenth century poet of Delhi have survived to this day. Shaikh Abu al-Faiz ibn al-Mubarak al-Hindi, known as Mullah Faizi, his brother Shaikh Abdul Fazal ibn al-Mubarak, Shaikh Faizullah al-Hindi, Shahab-uddin Ahmed Umar al-Hindi, Mullah Abdul Hakim of Sialkot and many others were famous in the literary circles of the Ottoman Empire and their manuscripts had reached Istanbul and were studied by scholars of those days. These manuscripts are still preserved in the libraries of Istanbul.

Words which have become now obsolete in Turkish but are used in Sindhi, Urdu and other Pakistani languages are given below:

Apa	An elder sister, a nurse.
Chapqalish	A row, analtecation, crowding, want of room.
Chiq	A hanging screen made of split bamboos.
Chughl	A tell-tale; a tale-bearer (T) an informer Tale-bearing, back biting, (T) (Police) information; treachery.
Saughat	A rich present; a rarity; a curiosity, a woolen carpet; tapestry.
Qormah	A highly spiced and tasty curry without turmeric with very kittle gravy. A pair of scissors, a truss.
Yalghar	The sudden assault of an army on the enemy, forced march of an army; sudden incursion.

Turkish Words of unclear or doubtful etymology being used in Sindhi and other Pakistani languages:

Baba	father, elderly man.
Pilav (Pulao)	boiled rice prepared with butter, broth, etc., and a favorite dish in East.

Corap (Chorab) stocking.

Corba (Chorba) soup.

Cadir (Chadir) tent.

Shalvar trouser.

Early influences of Turkish, probably through Arghuns and Tarkhans or even earlier Turkish settlers:

- a. There are at least two Sindhian communities; Turk and Kazak who are originally Turkish communities. Perhaps through these communities some words which entered Sindhi have preserved its original form. For example:

Bayrak a flag, banner, standard.

Kara black.

- b. Also some common names of Turkish origin words are being used. For example:

Arsalan lion, surname adopted by several kings of Persia.

Hatun (khatun) lady, a noble woman.

Kilic (kilich) sword.

- c. Turkish words which are known to Sindhi and Pakistani languages, but in Sindhi these words have acquired a new meaning. For example:

Otaq a tent, a nomad's house that can be moved from place to place (In Sindhi) the men's sitting place inside or outside the house.

Kaftan robe of honor, robe. (In Sindhi) (Kaptan) Thick cloth of silk.

Cag (chagh) active, alert, time, age, period, maturity, Strength (In Sindhi) healthy.

Bibi a lady, used also as a title like Mrs. Madam, paternal aunt (In Sindhi) pious lady belonging to a religiously respected families, e.g. a woman of Sayyids, Makhdooms etc.

- d. Some words which are used in Sindhi (and other Pakistani languages) and are supposed as of Turkish

origin are not actually Turkish in origin.

Effendi	Aphendis (Greek word) Lord, master, gentleman
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Barud,	Barut (Greek word) gun-powder, not-tempered man
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e. New phrases formed under Turkish influence:

Kapi	door, gate from Kapi Sindhi verb kabu karan i.e., to tight or to secure is formed.
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According to an enumeration there are at least 3500 words which are commonly used in Turkish and Pakistani languages.⁹ Following the above mentioned details it is imperative to give details of the words of Turkish origin and the influence of Turkish grammatical rules on Sindhi language:

f. Words of Turkish origin which are used in Sindhi, Urdu and Pakistani languages. For example:

Aga (agha)	a lord or master, chief.
Atabek	a prince father; lord-protector to a minor.
Ataturk	Kemal Ataturk, founder of modern Turkey and first President of the Turkish Republic, father of Turks.
Atalik	1. fatherhood, paternity; 2. a (Minor's guardian; tutor; a teacher.
Ordu (urdu)	an army, an army corps, a camp one of the national languages of Pakistan, Urdu, originated in the days of the Mughuls who settled and ruled over Indo-Pak Subcontinent from 1526-1857 A. D.
Ordugah	a camp.

9 Muhammad Yakub Mughul, *Heritage of Common Words in Use in Turkey, Pakistan and Iran* (Ankara: 1980).

Elci (elchi)	1. an agent, a man who brings a message or is empowered to speak or act for another; 2. an envoy, minister, ambassador.
Baci (baji)	an elder or eldest sister.
Bohca (boghcha)	a bundle in a whapper; a bundle of cloth or clothes.
Bey (beg)	a prince; a title borne by certain provincial nobles; a lord or nobleman.
Bey Zade	a child of a lord, a nobleman or gentle man.
Begum	begum (a lady of high rank in Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent.
Pasa (pasha)	a pasha, a head man, chief, title of Turk chiefs.
Top	a cannon, also artillery, gun.
Topcu (topchu)	an artillery man, a gunner.
Tophane (topkhane)	a factory where cannon aremanufactured, an arsenal.
Tarhan (tarkhan)	tarkhan, Turkish tribe in central Asia.
Tatar	a tatar, the tatar people.
Tatarhani (tatarkhani)	the khan of tatars.
Tughra (tughra)	an ornamental arrangement, or monogram, of the name of title of the Sultan.
Turkiyat	the study of things.
Tuzuk	rules and regulations.
Tumen	a host, a crowd, troops, castle, clan, brotherhood.
Tava	a frying pan, a pan or sheet of iron (on which bread or cakes are baked).

Turkmen	a Turkman, Turkman, Tur'coman.
Caki (chaku)	pocket-knife.
Cati (chhat)	roof, frame-work (of a roof), skeleton.
Cakmak (chakmak)	pocket-lighter.
Comca (chamcha)	spoon.
Turkish Han (khan)	sovereign, oriental title of princes.
Turkish – Hanim <small>(khanum)</small>	hakan
Khakan	oriental potentate; sultan.
Daroga (darogha)	head-man of an office, overseer or supervisor.
Dede (dada)	grand father, old man, dervish.
Tabanca (tabancha)	pistol.
Selcuk (seljuk)	seljukian.
Kasik (kashik)	spoon, spoonful.
Kap	a vessel, a case, a large dish used for serving rice etc., a large plate.

Madness, State and Structure

Shilpi Rajpal*

ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the matrix of daily governance within the asylum space. It seeks to explore the manner in which insanity was managed behind the walls of the asylum. How were the 'mad' categorized, diagnosed and treated? What role did architecture play in the 'therapeutics of space'? How did the personnel run these institutions? How did the personnel and the patients live their lives within these spaces? This paper would broadly focuss on the physical, professional and medical structures of colonial psychiatry. Spaces such as lunatic asylums are not only implicated in power relations as Micheal Foucault has argued, but their governance was result of bureaucratic and medical experiences. This paper examines the ways in which these experiences were structured, organized and refined into what can be understood as 'the polity of everyday governance'.

Space, Place and Architecture

Nineteenth century 'asylum science' laid enormous emphasis on the architecture of the asylum. In subsection, the spatial organisation and placing of asylums in colonial

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north India is scrutinized. The following discussion focuses on exterior and the interior planning of asylums and attempts to understand how they were linked to the politics of everyday governance. These asylums, it may be mentioned, were usually located away from urban areas.

The moral management system gave importance to the spatial construction of the asylum. The York Retreat set up by William Tuke in 1796 was a place known for its therapeutic and home-like atmosphere. Barry Edginton suggests that “the Retreat was the first ‘purpose built’ [institution] for moral therapy and Tuke’s work at the Retreat instigated a movement in design that affected asylum construction for the next century”.¹ Edginton feels that historians have overlooked the significant role that the York Retreat played in promoting a new architectural style. He points out that “for the Retreat architecture was treatment in itself rather than a method to assist treatment.”² The design had a therapeutic value that would help in inculcating an ordered life and ‘proper classification to afford treatment’.³ Asylum design featured spaces like big windows, huge gardens, verandas, day spaces for leisure, etc., that were intended to reflect serenity which would be comforting and soothing. John Conolly was influenced by Tuke’s ideas on asylum architecture. According to him “the building of the wall, the rising of the room, the alteration of a door or a window or window shutter, may materially affect the daily comfort of patients, and the safety of others.”⁴

The point that a particular view of built space was an important part of colonial psychiatry is indicated by the fact

1 Barry Edginton, “A Space of Moral Management: The York Retreat’s influence on Asylum Design,” in *Madness, Architecture and the Built Environment* (eds.) Leslie Topp, James E. Moran and Jonathan Andrews (London: Routledge, 2007), 90.

2 Edginton, “A Space of Moral Management,” 87.

3 Edginton, “A Space of Moral Management,” 88.

4 John Conolly, *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums and Hospitals for the Insane* (London: Churchill, 1847), 7.

that considerable details related to asylum architecture were provided in the James Clark Enquiry. The questions formulated by the Enquiry, such as — “Were these [buildings] originally designed for a lunatic asylum? Do they form a part of other buildings such as hospital, prisons etc.?”⁵ It shows the fact that the government consciously approved structures originally built for other purposes to be appropriated for use as asylum. Only fifty percent of the buildings were purpose-built as asylums, the rest were older structures that were converted into asylums. Seventy percent of these second hand structures had formed a part of buildings such as jails; a clear pointer towards their being perceived of as punitive spaces.

Notions relating to ‘medical topography’ played crucial role in the selection of sites for constructing, purpose built’ asylums. Mark Harrison argues that the mapping of India’s climatic zones was similar to that of the botanical and military topographic surveys conducted in the eighteenth century. He asserts that this process known as ‘medical topography’ led to categorisation of climatic zones as healthy or unhealthy in the nineteenth century. These ideas influenced views regarding the well-being of superior race, prevalent in Anglo-Indian medicine.⁶ A number of sites for the asylums’ construction were at times chosen and then abandoned as they were regarded as unsuitable in terms of ‘medical topography’.

The asylum in Delhi had been in existence since 1820s. This was a ‘native’ lunatic asylum. The Delhi asylum, before its proper establishment in the 1840’s, was temporarily placed in a ‘native’ bungalow in Daryaganj. Initially the institution housed not more than forty inmates. It may be noted that according to the Delhi State Gazetteer the lunatic asylum

5 Sir James Clark’s Enquiry as to the Care and the Treatment of Lunatics, Home Dept./Public Branch, File No. 22-23, December 19, 1868, NAI.

6 Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600-1850* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 114.

was founded in 1840.⁷ It was situated outside the walls of the city of Delhi, near the Delhi Gate and was about 200 yards away from the Delhi jail. This asylum was sacked on May 11, 1857 and all the 110 inmates escaped.⁸ After the 1857 Rebellion the asylum was again reorganized and continued to function till 1861. Thereafter, the inmates were transferred to the Lahore asylum, and the building was used as a workshop of the Delhi jail. The Delhi asylum was re-established in 1867 due to the significant effort of the civil surgeon of Delhi, Dr. J. C. Penny. The government was reluctant to establish an asylum in Delhi. It was due to the persuasive attempts of Penny that the Delhi asylum was re-established. Penny argued that “the memory of sending off the last batch is such that I hope I may never have to do so again. The relatives ought surely to be considered, and to them it was separation forever.”⁹ His zeal finally bore fruit as after some resistance an asylum was re-established in Delhi. We should bear in mind that after the revolt Delhi was administratively part of the Punjab.

Subsequently however, “the Delhi asylum was permanently closed and by March 1, 1900 onwards a new asylum at Lahore was established and all the patients — 103 males and 35 females — of the Delhi asylum were transferred to the new Lahore asylum on March 23, 1900.”¹⁰ Henceforth, the Punjab only had a central lunatic asylum — the Lahore lunatic asylum. Throughout the period, Delhi was considered

7 *Gazetteer of the Delhi District, 1883-84*, Compiled and Published under the authority of Punjab Government, 156.

8 *The Annual Reports of the Lunatic Asylums of the Punjab for the year 1871*. New research has revealed that all inmates of the Delhi asylum did not escape during the revolt of 1857. The asylum continued to provide shelter to some of the insane. For details see, Mahmood Farooqui, *Besieged: Voices from Delhi 1857* (Delhi: Penguin, 2010).

9 Letter from T. H. Thornton, Secretary to the Government of Punjab and its Dependencies, to E. C. Bayley, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dept., Public Branch, October 25, 1865, No. 67-71, NAI.

10 *The Annual Report of the Lunatic Asylum of the Punjab for the year 1900*.

to be an unsuitable place for the establishment of the lunatic asylum.

Agra was considered to be a suitable place for the establishment of an asylum for 'native' lunatics. George Cowper Barnet, secretary to the government of NWP writing to the government of India, declared "it is not so distant from Ajmere, or from the district of the Jhansie Division...the climate is believed to be congenial to the native constitution...."¹¹ Agra was regarded as an unhealthy location as far as the European constitution was concerned. At the time of the reorganization of the lunatic asylums in 1897, it was suggested that "an asylum for European and Eurasian inmates be established at Nasik."¹²

However, plans for the construction of an asylum at Nasik were abandoned and a central asylum for the European patients was set up at Ranchi in 1918. The notions about medical topography revolved around European bodily constitution. While the constitution of the 'native' was taken into consideration, yet priority was given to strategic locations on the basis of European requirements. During the first half of the nineteenth century smaller lunatic asylums were established as cities were not connected by networks of transportation. By the beginning of the twentieth century a number of asylums came up as these were constructed as the central asylums and were regarded to be financially viable due to being better connected by railways and the other transport facilities.

In the case of the Delhi asylum, a map before the revolt of 1857 shows that this was situated outside the walled city of Delhi — it was built opposite to the Jail (see Illustration 1). It is pertinent that, according to Foucault, "it was this separation and confinement that hid away unreason, and

11 Proposal for the Construction for the Lunatic Asylum at Agra, Home Dept./ Public Branch, October 20, 1862, *File No. 26 to 30, NAI*.

12 Proposed Improvement in the Administration of Lunatic Asylum in India, Home Dept./Medical Branch, File No. 97-99, March 1895, NAI.

betrayed the shame it aroused; but it explicitly drew attention to madness and pointed towards it.”¹³ However, there were notions other than those of stigmatization of madness that played role in the location of asylums at a distance from the urban centres. Lunatics were considered to be dangerous and senseless. Their insanity deprived them of their senses and thus they had forgotten the essential difference between black and white. The asylum was to be located far away from European habitation as the appearance of filthy and naked insane on the streets or in close proximity to Europeans was disturbing.

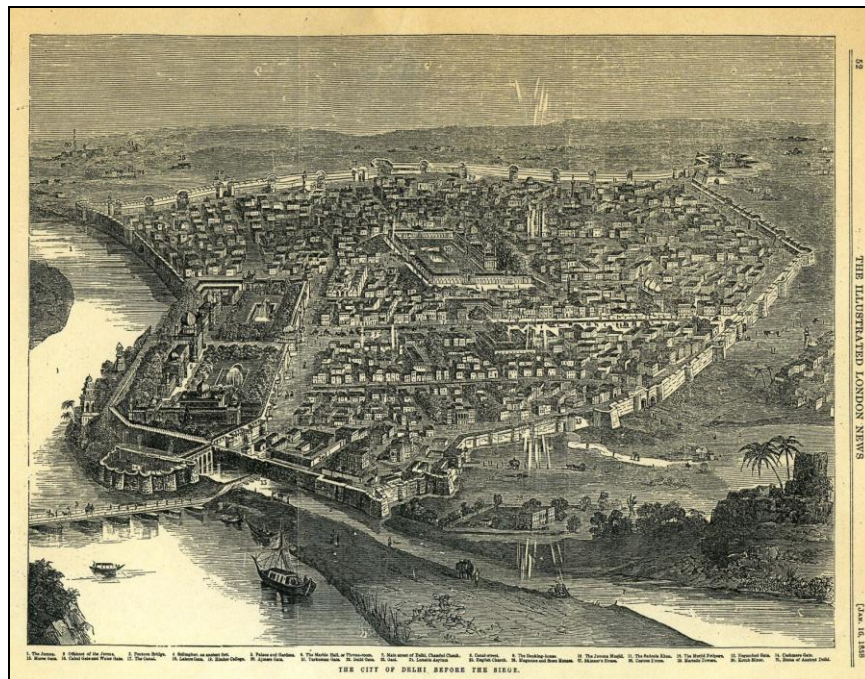


ILLUSTRATION 1: The City of Delhi before the Siege (1857)

The Professional Apparatus

The asylums in colonial India were rigidly hierarchical spaces. The hierarchies were not just based on professional stature, but also depended on the racial difference. At the

13 Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Routledge, 2001), 65.

top was the superintendent whose task included management and validation of these so called 'philanthropic' institutions. The superintendents were mostly European till the second decade of the twentieth century. From the 1920 onwards, a general process of 'Indianization' enabled a few Indians to be appointed as superintendents. Prior to this, Indians sometimes were appointed as overseers, or deputy superintendents. There were 'native' doctors as well. The attendants included cooks, water carriers, armed guards and various subordinate officials who helped in running these institutions. This section is an attempt to describe the hierarchical organisation of these institutions.

The superintendent was the head of the asylum. Throughout the nineteenth century, the civil surgeon of the area in which the respective asylums were located functioned as their superintendents. They had to supervise an array of institutions such as jails, hospitals, asylum and dispensaries. It was only from 1900 onwards that fulltime superintendents began to be specifically appointed to head the central asylums. The moral management system assumed the superintendent as a fatherly figure whose paternal affection and authority were essential for the treatment of the asylum inmates as suffering from some mental 'astray'. His zeal for reform and his notions about madness, diagnosis and treatment were crucial for everyday governance. The superintendent often shaped the understanding and experiences of the staff and the inmate (who spent a large part of their lives behind the walls). The superintendent's ideas were therefore important in shaping the management of the mental institution and treatment of the inmates.

The 'native' doctors often had some education and at times also had medical training of some sort. Since the 1880's a deputy superintendent was appointed regularly in the asylums. He helped in the everyday functioning of the institution along with the hospital attendant, the head attendant and the matron. The deputy superintendents were usually of European origin, as were the matron. The head attendant, the other hospital attendants as well as the

subordinate staff were Indians. Every asylum had a few European patients who could only be treated by whites. The European staff was thus pertinent to maintaining the racial difference.

James H. Mills observed day-to-day working of the lunatic asylums in India. These asylums were managed by the Indian subordinate staff. He argues that "the Indian staff, who often had their own ideas about what should go on, actually determined conditions and experiences. They at times frustrated and disrupted the management plans but, worked meticulously at others."¹⁴ The asylum reports are replete with examples of assistance that the Indian subordinate staff rendered and the obstacles they placed in everyday working of the asylum. At the end of each asylum report, the superintendent gave a detailed description of the functioning of the staff. He applauded the efficiency of the staff at times and at other times complained about the unavailability of efficient subordinate staff.

There were constant complaints regarding the non-availability of good attendants. James Cleghorn, the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab wrote to R. E. Younghusband, the junior secretary to the government of the Punjab that "the superintendents of both asylums (Delhi and Lahore) complain of the indifferent class of men employed as warders. The rate of pay being much lower than that given in jails renders it impossible to secure the services of efficient men."¹⁵ G. F. W. Ewens, the superintendent of the Punjab asylum, stated in the annual report for the year 1902:

The inmates, as a whole, form a far more dangerous, noisy and troublesome class and are infinitely more difficult to properly supervise, especially when it is remembered that the attendants obtainable here are of a very low order while they are also few in point of number. Rightly or

14 James H. Mills, *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism: the 'Native-Only' Lunatic Asylums of British India, 1857-1900* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 158-59.

15 *The Annual Report of the Lunatic Asylums of the Punjab for the year 1893.*

wrongly, the fact remains that the duties of an attendant in the asylum are considered as objectionable, and though the pay is relatively good, it is extremely difficult and rare to obtain men of good standard. No pensioned sepoy will undertake the work or stay at it more than a few days, except Mazbi Sikhs [i.e., Sikhs who have Dalit origins], and the more rational lunatics object to on the ground of caste. The increased pay in the higher grade attracts a certain number of reliable men, and those of long service often attain to a good practical knowledge of the peculiarities and modes of managing individual patients. Still the general number leaves much to be desired. The strictest and most careful supervision is exercised to prevent any harshness and abuse of power, and such cases are severely dealt with. As a result, one can confidently assert that very few instances arise. The female attendants obtainable are of very low order, and compare very unfavourably with the male, and for this no remedy seems at present forthcoming.¹⁶

Notions of caste were also seen as obstacles to the appointment of attendants and nurses. The Mazhbi Sikhs belonged to the lower castes. They had embraced the Sikh faith. Attendants belonging to lower castes were considered problematic due to their untouchable status in Indian society. The lunatics often refused to eat or drink from their hands. Even their presence was at times objected to.¹⁷ Ernst remarks:

16 *The Annual Report of the Lunatic Asylum of the Punjab for the year 1902.*

17 There exists number of works on the status of lower castes in colonial and postcolonial India. Some of these works have argued that the colonial state failed to emancipate the lower castes. The colonial education system further entrenched the caste rigidities as education in the colonial period was only available to the high castes. The lower castes, thus, failed to rise in the compartmentalised hierarchical structures and were forced to do menial jobs. For further reference see, Dilip Menon, *Caste, Nationalism and Communism in Malabar* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1994); Vijay Prasad, *Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of a Dalit Community* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000); Mark Jurgensmeyer, *Religion as Social Vision: The Movement Against Untouchability in Twentieth Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Vidhya Raveendranathan, *Constructing the Scavenger: Caste and Labour in Colonial South India*,

The subordinate officers segregated patients according to their caste and tribal background; they organised water carriers of different religious denominations (for example Hindu and Muslim); and they decided on the details of food preparation which constituted matters of importance to the various groups among the inmates (for example what sort of person was allowed to cook for particular groups of patients; what sort of cooking utensils were to be made available; who was permitted to do their own cooking; which fire locations were suitable for different groups etc.).¹⁸

In this rigid milieu, the staff belonging to the lower castes lived on the margins because of hatred that they had to face by the patients and the asylum personnel.

Ernst aptly suggests that “ever since the establishment of the lunatic asylums in India... the subordinate staff, and in particular asylum keepers or attendants were extremely poorly paid, and work in a *pagal-khana* or madhouse did not appeal many.”¹⁹ Being located at the lowest rung of the hierarchy, the attendants were subject to double violence. At one level they had to cope with constant humiliation by the white authorities and at other level they were subject to violence at the hands of the insane. Overcrowding and lack of staff were a common phenomenon. Lack of training and lack of status, along with discriminatory wages marred the efficiency of the Indian subordinate staff.

Diagnosis and Categories

The diagnosis and categorization of madness in the modern period has been a long drawn process. This process started

1860-1940, Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, Department of History, University of Delhi, 2011.

18 Waltraud Ernst, “Out of Sight and Out of Mind: Insanity in Early Nineteenth Century India” in *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800-1914: A Social History of Madness in Comparative Perspective*, (eds.) Joseph Melling and Bill Forsythe (London: Routledge, 1999), 260-61.

19 Waltraud Ernst, *Mad Tales from the Raj: The European Insane in British India 1800-1858* (London: Routledge, 1991), 106.

with 'the rise of the asylum' as a special institution to incarcerate the 'mad'. Historians of psychiatry concede to the fact that segregation and incarceration of the insane is a modern phenomenon. Roy Porter has pointed out that "more formal segregation began to emerge towards the end of the middle ages, often inspired by the Christian duty of charity."²⁰ The Bethlehem or Bedlam was the earliest asylum that was established in London as early as 1247. It was founded under the auspices of the religious order of St Mary of Bethlehem.²¹ However, it was not before the eighteenth century that organized efforts were made to develop a system for regulating lunacy

British India had no vagrancy laws. Vagrancy laws meant provision for the poor which was not feasible since poverty was not recognized as a problem in the colony. David Arnold remarked that Indians were deemed too numerous to receive systematic relief, and, anyways as the influential administrator and evangelical Charles Grant argued giving further weight to the naturalization of Indian poverty, they lived in a country where climate and customs have combined "to keep down the standards of wants among the Indian poor. The tropical climate minimizes the need for food and artificial warmth and so simplifies the mere act of living."²² Vagrancy, however, was considered to be a greater threat in the colonies. The colonial state thus devised an array of laws to deal with vagrant and nomadic ways of life. Darwin's discoveries added a hue of criminality to vagrancy. This had severe repercussions in the colonies where a whole set of communities and tribes were labelled as 'criminal'. Tim Lloyd closely looked at the 'Anti-Thuggee Campaign' (1829-1841). In the colonial period, 'thugs' were considered to be

20 Roy Porter, *Madness a Brief History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 90.

21 Porter, *Madness a Brief History* 90.

22 David Arnold, "Vagrant India: Famine, Poverty and Welfare under Colonial Rule," in *Cast Out: Vagrancy and Homelessness in Global and Historical Perspective* (eds.) A. L. Beier and Paul Ocobock (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008), 121.

professional criminals who looted and killed innocent people and travellers. He contends that in the colonial period, 'thuggee' as a category was expounded and exploited by the colonial state which was attempting to establish its political sovereignty in the early years of the Company Raj. Lloyd argues that "The historiographical claim here is that 'colonial sovereignty' names a type of power that British administrators demanded, and instituted, for the control of certain individuals whose actions transgressed the threshold of their modes of comprehension and categorization. 'Thug' was the name given to a figure located beyond the pale of 'civil' society, and held to be a member of a community of irreclaimable predators upon it, who could not be socialized into conventional law."²³ Kim Wagner noted that "The men involved [in Thuggee] were part of the military labour market, sometimes joining larger armies and sometimes serving petty zemindars, and when faced by demobilization they had to find other ways of gaining a livelihood. In other words: Thuggee was the continuation of a predatory lifestyle...."²⁴ Therefore, the suppression of 'thuggee' was actually destruction of these itinerant ways of life. These efforts continued throughout the nineteenth century during which a number of attempts were made to control those communities and individuals who were considered irascible and dangerous. The Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 was one such prominent mechanism. Meena Radhakrishnan points out that "the ostensible purpose of the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 had been to suppress 'hereditary criminal' sections of Indian society."²⁵ She further comments that the Criminal

23 Tom Lloyd, "Thuggee, Marginality and the State Effect in Colonial India, Circa 1770-1840," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 45, no. 2 (2008): 233.

24 Kim Wagner, "The Deconstructed Stranglers: A Reassessment of Thuggee," *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no.4 (2004): 963.

25 Meena Radhakrishnan, *Dishonoured by History: "Criminal Tribes" and British Colonial Policy* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2001), 2.

Tribes Act “arose out of policies of political control rather than social concern for escalating crime.”²⁶

There were, however, groups that could not be bought under the purview of the law. It would thus not be far-fetched to argue that policies pertaining to lunacy attempted to bring these ‘irascible’ individuals and groups under the political control of the state. Madness as a term encompassed various forms of deviancies ranging from vagrancy to spirit drinking to hemp drug users. The so called ‘delinquents’ were considered dangerous and thus were shut away in the asylums. An analysis of these groups would further allow us to unravel the nature of psychiatry. Mills has used the case notes of the Lucknow asylum to throw light on the kind of people who were incarcerated. He shows through these case notes that the wanderers were considered to be a menace and threat:

...Act XXXVI of 1858...gave the colonial authorities the power to detain all those individuals that they considered to be ‘wandering’ and ‘lurking’ in their districts. These legislative provisions dealing with individuals should be seen alongside legalisation like the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871...this act was aimed at providing a legal framework within which the colonial state could prevent the movement of whole groups of Indians. The nomadic lifestyle at the communities identified in these acts was rendered illegal by the colonial state and systems were established to manage and prevent those lifestyles. Provisions included having suspect tribes register themselves in fixed places and necessitated the possession of a license before travelling.²⁷

These categories included spirit users, hemp and opium users, and mendicants (yogis, faqirs, qalandars and sadhus). These were people who were generally very poor. Economic changes had left many of them unemployed. Poor laws and pauper lunacy laws were based on the basic

26 Radhakrishnan, *Dishonoured by History*, 4.

27 Mills, *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism*, 72.

assumption of differentiating individuals on the basis of their ability to work. Since colonial India did not have workhouses in the European sense the lunatic asylums became the abode of these people. Madness and delinquency were thus coterminous in colonial India.

The first category of such delinquents was that of the hemp users. From the 1850's onwards hemp started getting linked to insanity. Consumption of hemp was linked to crime, immorality and insanity. The drug came under close scrutiny when the colonial state set up the Indian Hemp Drug Commission in 1893. It aimed to probe the moral, social, economic and mental effects of the use of hemp. The Commission concluded that "there was no trustworthy basis for a satisfactory and reasonably accurate opinion on the connection between hemp drugs and insanity in the asylum statistics appended to the annual report."²⁸ It also declared hemp to be part of the Indian social and cultural milieu.

The Indian Hemp Drug Commission's denial of links between hemp, immorality, crime and insanity was to a great extent determined the fact that hemp generated a significant amount of revenue which the state could not easily forgo. Under the circumstances a better policy was to incarcerate hemp users in asylums. The supposed association between hemp and insanity diminished but the link never vanished. Jal Edulji Dhunjibhoy, the superintendent of Indian Mental Hospital, Kanke, Ranchi, wrote an article on hemp insanity in 1930.²⁹ He described in detail the preparation method of ganja, charas and bhang and discussed the ways in which they were consumed. According to him there were three types of hemp insanity: "(i) acute mania, (ii) chronic mania, and (iii) dementia. The difference between these types is

28 *Report of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission 1893-1894*, Vol. I (Simla: Government Central Printing Office, 1894), 237.

29 Jal Edulji Dhunjibhoy, "A Brief Résumé of the Types of Insanity Commonly Met with in the Country India, with a Fully Description of "Indian Hemp Insanity" Peculiar to the Country," *Journal of Mental Sciences* 76, (1930).

only a question of degree.”³⁰ He also underlined the supposed connection between crime and insanity. Dhunjibhoy claimed that “excessive or prolonged use of hemp drugs degrades the mind and character of the consumer and predisposes him to commit crime. Thus hemp is one of the most effectual means of increasing the criminal classes in India. It is also largely consumed by bad characters to fortify them for crime.”³¹ Dhunjibhoy had internalized colonial notions of a link between hemp insanity and crime which was now termed as ‘hemp psychosis’.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the basic categories of insanity were mania (acute or chronic) and melancholia (acute or chronic). Epilepsy and idiocy were seen as distinct from other forms of insanity. Certain forms of insanity were regarded to be commonly found in India where the absence of some was considered to be peculiar. Dr. Scriven, the superintendent of the Lahore asylum, pointed out in the annual report of 1871:

The classification of the forms of madness as manifested in natives is, in my opinion susceptible of a more simple arrangement...in which we have acute and chronic mania, and also acute and chronic dementia. Instead of these four heads, I would make two great forms of mental derangement, one characterized by visible excitement, the other by depression. Melancholia, when the mind is engrossed in some painful sentiment, with perhaps propensity to suicide or homicidal impulse, may complicate almost every form of derangement of mind, but it is always dependent on delusion expressed or not, and, therefore, is correctly made a separate disorder. Females are more subject to melancholia than males. I think paralysis, which one so often sees and hears of in the Lunatic Asylums at home, is not common out here, in fact, in my little experience in India I think it is very rare. Idiocy of course

30 Dhunjibhoy, “A Brief Résumé of the Types of Insanity, 232.

31 Dhunjibhoy, “A Brief Résumé of the Types of Insanity, 234.

comes under a separate heading. Epileptic mania is very common and has been placed under chronic mania.³²

There existed a popular notion that insanity was induced by the stress of 'civilization'. 'Nomads' and 'uncivilized races' were close to nature and thus insanity was not that widely prevalent among them. A simple arrangement of categories was thus considered enough in the case of colonies.

Insanity was believed to be caused by moral and physical factors. Moral causes included worry, grief, loss of property and even religion in the Indian context. Madness caused due to emotional factors was loosely known as moral insanity. Physical factors ranged from the use of hemp to spirit drinking and from heredity to epilepsy. The distinctions were often arbitrary. In the colonial context, degeneration blurred the difference between moral and physical causes. Diagnosis of insanity and attribution of a cause for it had become vague. Sally Swartz has pointed out that: Mental illness, a form of degeneration, and symbolizing the confrontation between civilization and savagery, through the person of the deranged lunatic, became an arena within which colonial authorities formulated their response to otherness...thus degeneracy theory, and the evolutionary ideology it carried, explained the cause and perceived spread of mental illness and also justified domination of one group by another.³³

Treatment and Medicines

Enlightenment rationality gave rise to confidence in dealing with insanity. Pinel's act of freeing the insane from shackles reflected this enthusiasm and assurance of triumph over irrationality. As stated before, moral management was a widely accepted for managing insanity in the nineteenth century. The basic principles of moral management were observation and control. This control would enable lunatics to develop their will power and allow them to differentiate

32 *The Annual Report of the Lunatic Asylums of the Punjab for the Year 1871.*

33 Sally Swartz, "Colonizing the Insane: Causes of Insanity in the Cape," *History of the Human Sciences* 8, no. 4 (1995): 39-40.

between right and wrong. Moral management was popular in Indian asylums. The superintendents of asylums were well acquainted with the moral management system. In the words of Dr. Penny, the superintendent of the Dehi asylum:

I believe that scrupulous cleanliness, liberal diet, affording them means of recreation or occupation, and attention to the function of body are the foundation of the medical treatment and moral management of lunatics...Good feeding, great kindness and indulgence of every harmless kind, strict cleanliness, tobacco and carefully watching all the functions of body contribute towards the relief of these most unhappy sufferers.³⁴

Nevertheless the evidence suggests that throughout the nineteenth century restraint in one form or another was resorted to. The civil surgeon of the Lucknow asylum pointed out that "the only restraint employed is the straitjacket and this is only used in the most extreme cases, and then for a very short time. This occasion does not happen once a month. There are three jackets in the store room."³⁵ The superintendent-in-charge of the Moydnapore asylum exclaimed that "Handcuffs are now and then resorted to. None is kept in the asylum, but when required, have been borrowed from the jail, which is near at hand."³⁶ In England, blood-letting was regarded as controversial since Philippe Pinel had discarded the practice. In British India, however, the practice was prevalent; the superintendent-in-charge of the Patna asylum stated, "I frequently resort to topical depletion, applying, as needs be, three to twelve leeches to each temple."³⁷

Dr. Wise of the Dacca asylum pointed out "confinement in a solitary cell for a few hours, curtailing the daily allowance of tobacco, or prohibiting their attendance to the nautches, are

34 *The Annual Report of the Lunatic Asylums of the Punjab for the Year 1871.*

35 Sir James Clark's Enquiry.

36 Sir James Clark's Enquiry.

37 Sir James Clark's Enquiry.

found to be sufficient punishments for the mischievous and unmanageable patients.”³⁸ Every asylum had several solitary cells to sequester the refractory inmates (see Illustration 2). Sometimes hot and cold baths were given to cure insanity.

Dr. Fairweather of the Delhi asylum wrote in 1875, “little treatment of a medical kind has been attempted except in cases of great excitement, when the warm bath with cold douche to the head has been found useful, or occasionally a dose of chloralhydrat, or a blister to the back of head.”³⁹ Blisters were commonly used in India to calm down the difficult patients. Sedatives such as hydrocyanic acid were believed to be beneficial in calming the excitable patients.

The superintendent-in-charge at the Bareilly asylum remarked that “the bromide of potassium has been found to be a valuable remedy in cases of insanity, accompanied by sleeplessness.”⁴⁰ Liberal diet, light labour and amusement were considered imperative for the treatment of the insane. However, neither was the diet ‘liberal’ and nor was labour ‘light’. Colonial psychiatry in sum had little to offer in the nineteenth century as far as the treatment of the insane was concerned.



ILLUSTRATION 2: Ten Solitary Cell also known as *Dus Kothi* at the Bareilly Mental Hospital (2012).

38 Sir James Clark's Enquiry.

39 *The Annual Report of the Lunatic Asylums of the Punjab for the Year 1875.*

40 Sir James Clark's Enquiry.

Conclusion

A closer reading of the available archival material allows understanding the working of bureaucratic structures in institutions for the treatment of the insane. They offer insights into official attitudes and should be considered significant for writing social histories of the people who lived and worked (staff and inmates) in these institutions. These structures evolved and devolved over the centuries. For example, once the notions about 'martial races' became prevalent the Punjabis were regarded as 'brave' and 'manly'.

This paper examined the diagnosis and treatment, personnel and architecture of mental asylums. It has contended that institutional structures were based upon mundane experiences. The bureaucracy that governed them was not a monolithic entity. The lunatic asylum was a highly hierarchical place that contained different strata and groups having varied aspirations and separate identities. The 'thick narrative' has helped in corroborating experiment and experience, research and practice, self and society, displacement and identity and isolation and solidarity. The dynamics of colonialism, institutionalisation and human agency to some extent have been explored and highlighted. They sometimes worked in harmony with each other but at other times clashed.

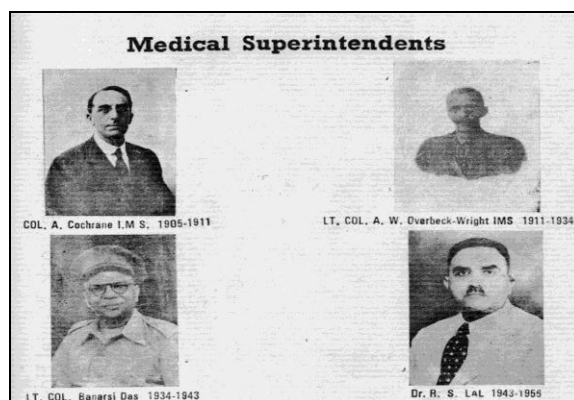


ILLUSTRATION 3: Medical Superintendents of Agra Mental Hospital



ILLUSTRATION 4: Agra Mental Hospital (2011)



ILLUSTRATION 5: Bareilly Mental Hospital (2012)

Making of Colonial Multan

Fakhar Bilal*

ABSTRACT

Over the centuries, Multan has been overrun by many peoples who advanced in to southern Asia across the Chenab River on the plains of Punjab. Multan was practically an independent kingdom but at times remained under rulers like Greeks, Arabs, Mughal, Afghans, Sikhs and the British. The British took the control of this city in 1849 and introduced reforms in all circles including communication, technology, governance, irrigation, canal colonies, administration or justice. After partition of India, Multan became part of the new state Pakistan. The city grew slowly than the other centres in the Punjab who surpassed it in size and trade. Present study is an attempt to analyse the development that took place during the British rule.

Introduction

Since the sixteenth century, the term 'Punjab' has been employed to denote not one but several regions: a geographical region, a cultural region and a number of political and administrative regions.¹ The Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849. From the time of annexation till the dawn of the twentieth century, the Punjab witnessed a slow but really fruitful social and economic changes brought

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1 J. S. Grewal, *Miscellaneous Articles* (Amritsar, 1974), 1-10.

about by the new administrative set up of the British. This paper is an attempt to study social and economic change in Multan from the British annexation of 1849 onwards. By social and economic change, we mean 'significant alteration in the social structure (i.e., of patterns of social action and interaction), including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values and cultural products and symbols".²

The Punjab was always the first target of foreign invaders aspiring to rule or plunder India. The rivers and canals were prepared to irrigate the arid but potentially fertile lands throughout the province. Forests were cleared, roads, railways and communication was built for development purposes. These steps stimulated trade and agriculture to an advantageous extent in the entire province. The Punjab was primarily an agricultural province; in other words, agriculture was its main industry.³ The Punjab region, a name given to an area of about 10,000 square miles, was gifted with natural boundaries. In the north, the Himalayas served the purpose of a wall between the region and Tibet, in the north-west river Indus provided 1,050 miles long natural river boundary. Further towards the south-west, the Hindu Kush mountain range and the Sulaiman Mountains with famous Bolan and Khyber passes separated the region from Afghanistan and Balochistan.⁴

Water was the life of Punjab. It gave strength to Punjab's agricultural growth. Even the name of the region is derived from the five perennial rivers flowing within its boundary. In fact, Punjab is land of six rivers including Indus but those who named the region Punjab, did not count Indus River in

2 Shyamala Bhatia, *Social Change and Politics in Punjab, 1898-1910* (New Delhi: Enkay Publishers, 1987), 1.

3 B. S. Saini, *The Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1901-1939* (Delhi: Ess Ess Publication, 1975), vi.

4 Bhatia, *Social Change and Politics in Punjab*, 10.

it.⁵ The five rivers that give the name to region are *Jhelum*, *Chenab*, *Ravi*, *Sutlej* and *Beas*. These five rivers contributed to the fertility of the province and divided it into five natural sections. These natural divisions of land are called *Doab*; *Do* mean two and *ab* mean water. The two rivers that enclose that particular land division give the name to that *Doab*. Sindh-Sagar Doab is the area enclosed by Indus on one side and Jhelum and Chenab on the other. The Chaj or Jetch Doab is between Jhelum and Chenab, the Rechna Doab is amid Ravi and Chenab, Bari Doab is between Beas and Ravi and the fifth Doab is Bist Jalandhar between Beas and Sutlej. The Bari Doab comprised the famous cities of Lahore, Amritsar and Multan.

The British initiated many social and economic changes in the Punjab and the most notable development was introduction of irrigation system.⁶ The agricultural colonisation began rapid and extensive economic growth of the Punjab during the British rule from the late nineteenth century onwards. This resulted from the development of canal irrigation, accompanied by process of settlement.⁷ The Punjab became a new agrarian frontier under the supervision of the British who planned canal colonies a phenomenon of major importance for the entire province by transforming desert waste to best pastoral land of South Asia.⁸

Multan has been considered one of the ancient living cities of the world. The archaeological excavations in and around Multan during the second half of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century confirm that Multan has

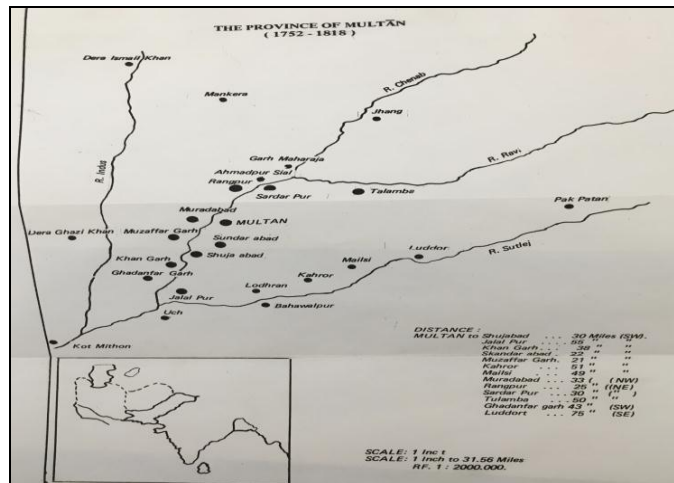
5 Syed Mohammad Latif, *History of the Punjab* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 1997), 1.

6 Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj: 1849-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988), 10.

7 Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism: 1885-1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1.

8 Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism*.

been a center of a civilization since ancient times.⁹ Multan remained under the command of a variety of rulers and served as a socio-economic hub for the South Punjab. Multan was good manifestation of multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-racial societal composition. The geographic locale of Multan explains its importance. The city lies on the main east-west highway running from Gomal and Kurram passes of the western frontier and surrounded by four big rivers Ravi, Chenab, Indus and Sutlej. It is a tropical hot region and the central place between Harappa and Mohenjodaro, two famous centres of ancient civilization.¹⁰



SOURCE: A. M. K. Durrani, *Multan under the Afghans: 1752-1818* (Multan: Bazme Saqafat, 1981).

There are numerous old names which are associated with the city of Multan according to various local beliefs, communities and religious affiliations like Malli/ Malohi/ Maluvasthan (The city of Malaya tribe who worshipped Sun

9 Muhammad Shafique, "Religious Locale and Inter-Religions Demographic Structure of Colonial Multan," *Pakistan Journal of Islamic Research* 11 (June 2013): 45-58.

10 Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 15. See also Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 20.

god), Kasyapapura (The origin-land of Sun gods), Hanspura (The land of Sun), Bagapura (The land of Sun), Parhaladpura (City of Parhalad (god), Adysthana (The land of Sun god), Kaspapurose, Kaspaturese, Kasperia (The city of Sun), Sambapura (The city of the worshiper of Sun), Mulsthanapura (The city of god of sun rays), Sauvira (The land of great heroes) etc.¹¹

International Route Links of Multan

Multan was not only a city of pilgrims but also served as hub for international trade. There were numerous routes established to link Multan with Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia and Arabia in the North West and to link Delhi, Rajputana, Gujrat and Sind in the South and East. Multan also served as major junction linking main routes and regions during early times.¹²

1. **Multan-Quetta/Qandahar Route:** linking Multan through Kurram and Gomal Passes with Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia.
2. **Multan-Quetta-Persia Route:** linking Multan with Persia and Central Asia.
3. **Multan-Gomal Pass-Central Asia Route:** linking Multan with Central Asian religions and races.
4. **Multan-Khyber Pass Route:** linking Multan with Northern Afghanistan and Central Asia through Potohar region.
5. **Chennab-Indus Water Channel:** linking Multan with Middle East and Persian Gulf through Arabian Sea.
6. **Multan-Lahore Road:** linking Multan with Lahore and Hindostan.

11 Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *Multan under the Afghans, 1752-1818* (Multan: Bazm-e-Saqafat, 1981), 2-4. See also Humaira Arif Dasti, *Multan: A Province of the Mughal Empire* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1998), 2.

12 Shafique, "Religious Locale and Inter-Religions Demographic Structure of Colonial Multan," 45-58. See also Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982); Bernard. S. Cohn, *India: The Social Anthropology of a Civilization* (New Jersey: Englewood Cliff, 1971), 25.

7. **Multan-Delhi Road:** linking Multan with Hindustan through Delhi.
8. **Grand Trunk Road:** linking Multan with Northern India and Bengal.
9. **Multan-Abohar Route:** linking Multan with trans-Sutlej Cholistan, Rajasthan, Sind

Multan also attracted people from various parts of India and constant flow of people to and from Multan tells its rich history and civilization. The process of ethnic and cultural interaction increased during the British era owing to the faster means of communication like railways. The following table provides statistics of immigrants and emigrants during the last fifty years of the British rule.¹³

Table 1: MIGRATION (MULTAN) UNDER THE BRITISH RULE 1901-1931

Census Year	Immigration	Emigration
1901	616,000	616,008
1911	802,264	728,782
1921	788,028	788,028
1931	1,022,624	1,022,624

After having a brief glimpse of the Multan's complex society and geography, its socio-economic conditions and development since 1849 under British administration which was a crucial point of transition for the Punjab from sovereign region to British imperial province will be analyzed. The British Raj left blessings in shape of administration including law and order, irrigation, canals, roads and bridges, schools, railways, telegraph and public health.¹⁴

13 *Punjab District Gazetteers, volume XXVII. Part B. Multan District Statistical Tables* (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1936), xxxiii.

14 Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century 1857-1947* (Berkely: 1968), 13.

Agrarian Developments in Multan

Multan was one of the rich agricultural lands in the Punjab. It was popular for mangoes and cotton. Multan produced 40 percent of total mango in the country.¹⁵ Government established experimental agricultural farms throughout the district for research on seeds, land types, usage of agricultural machinery and animal husbandry. Before the British arrival, Multan was one of the centers for handicraft. Multan's traditional *lungis*, *dorias*, fancy embroidered clothes were sent throughout India and out of India.¹⁶

After the war of 1857, the colonial administration decided to use the local elites as intermediaries amid the masses and administration. There was huge increase in the value of land and prices of agricultural land due to political stability and enormously improved communication and irrigation facilities in the region. Multan's economy was based on agro-productions but agriculture was largely dependant upon rivers, canals and wells due to limited rainfall. The availability of water was crucial to the economic growth and well-being of Multan.



SOURCE: *Punjab District Gazetteers, Multan District 1923-24. With Maps* vol. VII Part A (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing Punjab, 1926).

15 Mahar Abdul Haq, *Multan* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 1980), 28.

16 Haq, *Multan*, 29.

Multan was divided into three well marked divisions: low lying lands on the river, land accessible to canal irrigation and desert areas inaccessible to canals.¹⁷ There were two main harvests, the *rabi* or *hari* (spring) sown in October-November and reaped in April-May and the *Kharif* or *sawani* sown from June to August and reaped from early September to end of December. The *kharif* crop included rice, *jowar*, *bajra*, millet and maize, while the *rabi* included wheat, barley and oats. With the development of canal irrigation, the wheat crop assumed great importance. Since most of the agriculture remained dependent on rainfall, it was the failure of *kharif* harvest which always resulted in draught and famine.

Table 2: ANNUAL RAINFALL IN DISTRICT MULTAN IN 1881

District	Average Annual Rainfall in inches	Area in square miles	Percentage of cultivation on total area	Population	Population per square mile
Multan	6.6	5,882	16.5	471,563	80

SOURCE: *Punjab Census 1868*, General Statement no. 2. and *Punjab Census 1881*, Abstract no 14, 35.

Punjab was both a 'bread basket' and a 'sword arm' for the British Raj. Bearing in mind the nature and custom of the agrarian world, the British government gradually converted the Punjab into an agrarian land.¹⁸ Large amounts of capital were invested by the British government in building canal irrigation system in West Punjab which brought new and barren land under cultivation and increased agrarian production.¹⁹ In this region of canal colonies, agriculture was transformed into a capitalist venture. A major part of agricultural production was transported through the newly established railway system from the Punjab to other cities for

¹⁷ *Settlement Report 1899-1900*, Lahore.

¹⁸ Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab: 1926-47* (New Delhi: Anupama Publications, 1979), 2.

¹⁹ Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism*, 4-5.

export to different overseas ports and markets. The introduction of technology in shape of railway increased the importance of Punjab as a province. Multan was one of the major contributors in imports and exports of goods. The fiscal year of 1880-1881 proved Multan as major city for the development of the economy. Multan was third largest town after Amritsar, Delhi and ahead of Lahore in imports and exports.



Source: *Punjab District Gazetteers: Multan District, Statistical Tables. With Maps. 1904, vol. XXXIII B* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1908).

**Table 3: IMPORT AND EXPORTS WITHIN PUNJAB IN 1880-81
(VALUE IN RUPEES)**

City	Value of Imports	Value of Exports	Total Value
Amritsar	31, 534, 287	13,030,985	44,565,272
Delhi	22, 072, 933	9,874,125	31,947,118
Multan	8, 404, 104	3,703,382	12,107,486
Lahore	7, 333, 518	1,202,717	8,536,035

SOURCE: Punjab Government, *Report on the Internal Trade and Manufactures of Punjab: 1880-81* (Lahore: 1882), 12-17.

Multan's growth and development as center of economy changed its importance for the British and they started considering it one of the major markets. Multan's geographic location in the South of Punjab further made it convenient for the British to have a control and watch over Bahawalpur state and further adjacent areas. The commodities and goods were all transported via railway through Multan to the major towns and cities like Jhang, Bahawalpur, Khanewal, Kabirwala, Dera Ghazi Khan and Sind as well.

**Table 4: IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF AGRO-COMMODITIES
IN TONS DURING 1880-81**

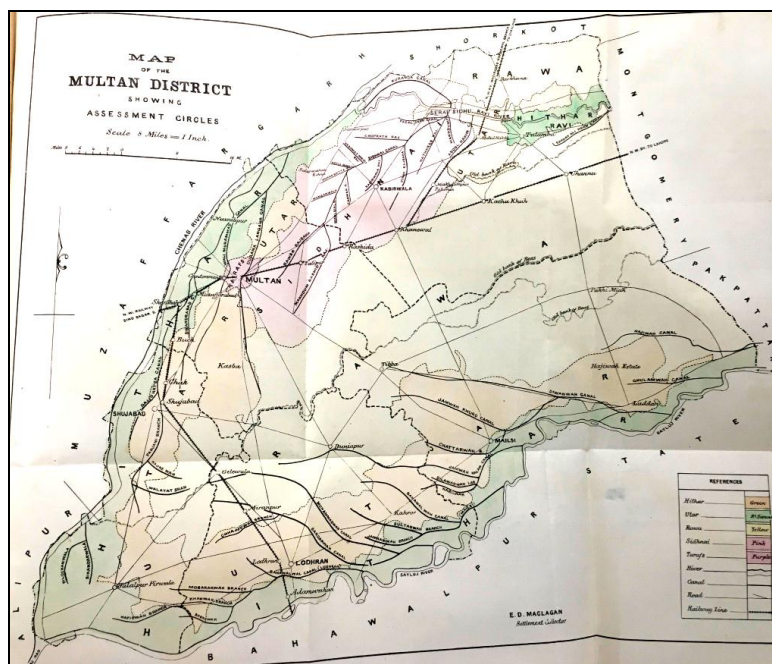
Commodity	Import (in tons)	Export (in tons)
Raw Cotton	714	562
European Cotton	85	2
European goods	867	520
Indigo	490	379
Wheat	10,223	541
Seeds of all sorts	3,757	626
Raw Silk	49	17
Refined Sugar	2,206	825
Unrefined Sugar	2,384	1,325

SOURCE: Punjab Government, *Report on the Internal Trade and Manufactures of Punjab: 1880-81* (Lahore: 1882), 12-17.

The agrarian developments in Punjab opened new avenues of economic development for the local community and surrounding areas of Multan.

It is generally understood that the time of British colonialism in India is divided in three broad phases which are connected to one another and revolve around the accumulation of wealth of India. The first stage was (1757-1813) as a colonial trader. The second stage was (1813-1860) as controller of state power and collecting government revenue and third stage was (post 1860) when they invested

capital in many fields like railways, irrigation, plantation and many other areas to compete in a global market.²⁰



SOURCE: E.D. MacLagan, *Settlement Report of Multan District* (1901). (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1901).

The Structure of Local Power

The political scene in Multan was pure manifestation of traditional setup. The population of the city can be classified in three categories; tribe/caste, religion and profession. Tribe and profession marked the identity distinction and religion and culture had a profound impact on professions.²¹ The British government's key aim was to balance economic changes and maintenance of political stability. The colonial administration used local elites as a buffer between people

20 Sanjay Kumar, "Colonialism and Rural Society in Punjab: 1901-1947" (diss., Kurukshetra University, 2012), 4.

21 Shafique, "Religious Locale and Inter-Religions Demographic Structure of Colonial Multan," 45-58.

and administration. The local castes and creeds of Multan simultaneously served the British and got influential powers and appointments with the passage of time. The famous families who served in various capacities and were conferred with favours from the British include Gardezi Saiyids, Qureshis of Kabirani, Qadirpur Jalalpur and Ghauspur, Gillani Saiyids, Sadozais, Badozais, Khakwanis, Mullazais, Bosans, Khokhars, Bagai and Raizadgans.²²

Saiyids and Qureshis were the biggest beneficiaries of such policies.²³ These elites performed duties of local administrators well before the colonial era. This patron-client relationship of colonial administration and local elites developed over time. All the colonial policies like Revenue Free *Jagirs*, Court of Wards Management and Land Alienation Act of 1900 were in favour of these local elites including *Jagirdars*, *Pirs* and *Sajadah Nashins*. These local elites were also granted with the posts in local administration as *zaildars*, honorary titles and huge land grants too.²⁴

These local religious elites have their lineage back to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) or Pious Caliphs. This influence and attachment with religion and religious figures gave them a sense of superiority and respect among the common masses. This religious fervour of masses paved way for these religious elites to control and command them. One example of this traditional genealogical connection of Saiyids can be found in the table given below.

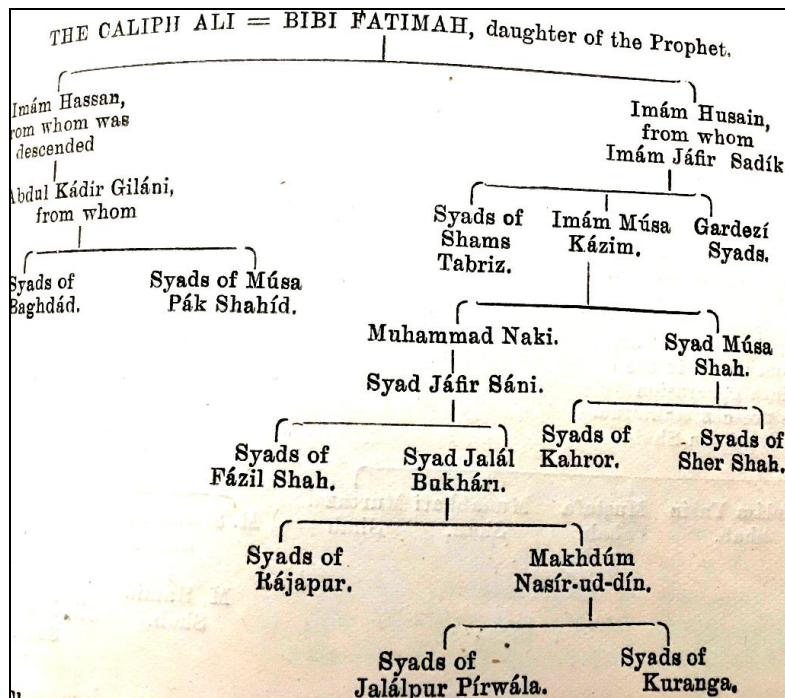
Religious factor played a vital role in maintaining relationship of religious elite like Gardezi Saiyids, Qureshis of Kabirani, Qadirpur Jalalpur and Ghauspur, Gillani Saiyids with the British authority. British considered them as good

22 For details see, Syed Muhammad Aulad Ali Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan* (Lahore: Jazib Publishers, 1995).

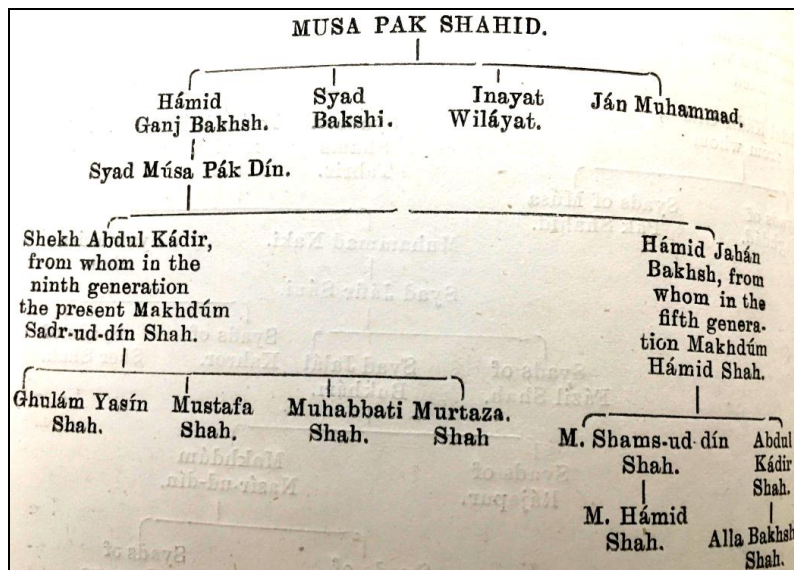
23 *Punjab Government Report on the Revenue Administration in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1865-66* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1867), 65-66.

24 *Settlement Report of Multan District (1880)* (Lahore: 1880), 31.

intermediaries. This relationship was somehow like patron client relationship because all these families and groups received favours from the British. Another example of such genealogical tradition can be seen in following table in which Gillanis of Multan trace their lineage from Musa Pak Shahid.



SOURCE: E.D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District: 1901-02* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1902), 149.



SOURCE: E.D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District: 1901-02* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1902), 150.

Few cases and examples of this patron-client relationship of elites and colonial administrators are as following. From Gardezi Saiyids, Saiyid Murad Shah was the first focal contact who went to serve the British when Multan was surrounded in 1848.²⁵ Murad Shah was on the way to his native town Korai Baloch which was 15 miles away from Multan, at the time of British advent at Sardarpur. They needed some local sharp individual who was famier with the region and people. Murad Shah was recommended by the locals owing to his clever wit and sharp mind, being one of respectable Saiyids. Murad shah was immediately summoned by Major General and requested to stay and live with the British camp for safety, security and making local area accessible for its troops. Murad shah accepted the offer and started serving the British army. This was the beginning of Murad's career. When Punjab went under the command and control of East India Company and Murad was appointed *Peshkar* of Shorkot on June 8, 1849. Murad was

25 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 235.

promoted to *Teshildari* in 1850 and served for thirteen years at different places.²⁶ His relations with the British flourished day by day and he managed his locales and posting stations in such good condition that he got promotions. In 1864, Murad was promoted as Extra Assistant Commissioner and next year was appointed as Native Agent Bahawalpur State.²⁷

Murad's sudden death on Jan 10, 1876 paved way for his son Saiyid Hassan Bakhsh Gardezi to the administrative apparatus as reward for his father's loyalty towards the British. Hassan got numerous appointments like Member Municipal Committee Multan in 1882, Vice President of the Municipal, Honorary Judicial Magistrate in 1891 and promoted with power and duties in 1893 and received title of *Khan Bahadur* in 1899.²⁸ Hassan reached from Divisional Darbar to Provincial Darbar in 1905, only in two decades from his initial appointment. Hassan's loyalty was unquestionable like his father. He contributed eight thousand rupees for First World War fund to the British government. Madrassa Bab ul Ulum of Multan²⁹ was established on five *muraba* acre (125 acres in measurement) donated land of Hassan Bakhsh which was a *shia* seminary.

Another example of local power structure and elite group is of Qureshis who were religious elites and their lineage started from Ghaus Baha ul Haq Zakaria Multani. Many of the descendants became *sajjada nashins* (hereditary successor of Sufi shrine, pir or custodian) in Multan. During Sikh rule many of the lands and associated properties of shrines were confiscated. In 1818, Ranjit Singh, the then ruler of Multan, fixed property of amounting 3,500 rupees annually for the shrine of Ghaus Baha ul Haq Zakaria

26 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 236.

27 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 236.

28 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 241-42.

29 Justin Jones, *Shi'a Islam in Colonial India: Religion, Community and Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 38. Also See Gillani. *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 243.

Multani but Diwan Sawan Mal paid 1,600 annual to the *sajjada nashin*.³⁰ During 1848-49 siege of Multan, Makhdoom Shah Mahmood, a descendant of Baha Uddin Zakria Multani, supported British against the Sikhs and recieved 2,000 rupees and half of the land of a *mauza* (a type of administrative district, corresponding to a specific land area within which there may be one or more settlements) as personal gift of land grant.³¹

Makhdoom Shah Mehmood served the British government in 1857 war. He kept informed Commissioner of the entire situation and helped in recruitment of police force. Shah Mehmood himself stood in battle field with Colonel Hamilton. He rendered services for safety and security of the British camp, war equipment and weapons. In 1860, Makhdoom was granted Begiwala Bagh, eight *chahat* (land irrigated by wells) amounting 550 rupees and annual *jagir* of 1,780 rupees as reward of war services.³² For Makhdoom Shah Mehmood's funeral local government observed public holiday for paying him homage and reverence. His son Makhdoom Bahawal Bakhsh was coronated by Deputy Commissioner as next *sajjada nashin*. Bahawal Bakhsh was also one of the beneficiaries and got allocation of nine *mauzas*. In 1877, he was appointed honourary magistrate and Member of local Municipality. In 1880, he was rewarded with a robe of honour in rendering his services for Kabul war.³³

Gillani Saiyids were also another elite group favoured and supported by the *Raj*. Gillani's trace their roots back to Imam Hassan, Hazrat Ali Murtaza (R.A) the fourth caliph of Islam. Many of the descendants of the Gillani's remained close and loyal associates of the British. Haji Saiyid Muhammad Saddru ud Din Shah is one of such benifisiries who became

30 Gillani. *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 251.

31 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 251.

32 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 252.

33 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 252.

sajjada nashin after the death of his father Makhdoom Saiyid Muhammad Ghous Salis (R.A) in 1878.³⁴ Saiyid Muhammad Saddru ud Din Shah's was nominated as provincial *darbaris* (courtiers). He also served district jail Multan for four years as honorary visitor. He was member of *Anjuman-i-Rausa*. He was invited to the coronation ceremony of Delhi Darbar in 1911 as religious head and landlord of the Punjab.³⁵ Haji Saiyid Ghualm Yasin being his elder son became *sajjada nashin* as his successor. Ghualm Yasin also served in various positions like honorary magistrate from 1918 to 1922. From 1918 onwards, he remained member of Multan Municipal Committee and later on assumed the office of the Vice President of committee.³⁶

Multan administration, as other districts of the Punjab, was also composed of *Lambardars*, *Zaildars* and *Tehsildars* to monitor administrative structure. Majority of minor elite groups belonged to Muslim society like Saiyids, Qureshis and Gillanis etc. Pathans and Balochs were from the warrior class and Syeds and Qureshis represented the religious elite. These groups held large areas of land which was gifted by the British government for their loyal association and support. Out of 1,375,747 acres, held by Muslims at the time of the second regular settlement of Multan (1874-1880), Syeds and Qureshis, who comprised less than 5 percent of the Muslim population, controlled 213,548 acres which is 16 percent of total land. As compared to that Pathans and Balochs comprised roughly 6 percent of the Muslim population, held 124,135 acres which was around 9 percent of land.³⁷

Multan's local power structure was weaved in by the British to have a close group of loyal local servants and associates

34 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 292.

35 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 292.

36 Gillani, *Muraqqa' i- Multan*, 296.

37 Himadri Banerjee, *Agrarian Society of the Punjab: 1849-1901* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1982), 28.

for helping them conquer and later on rule the place smoothly. In this entire epoch, the religious elites turned landlords served the purposes and became influential with the passage of time.

Religious Harmony in Multan

Multan was multi-ethnic and multi-cultural city accommodating population of world leading religions by the end of nineteenth century. Multan also became a centre of Sufi activities and leading shrines concentrated huge disciples. Multan is known as city of saints and pious people because numerous shrines of sufi saints like Muhammad Yousaf Gardezi, Sheikh Baha Uddin Zakariya, Sheikh Saddar Uddin Arif, Sheikh Rukun Uddin Fateh, Syed Musa Pak Shaheed, Shah Shams Sabzwari, Hafiz Muhammad Jamal Multani and Hafiz Ubaid Ullan Multani are in Multan city.³⁸

Table 5: RELIGIOUS DEMOGRAPHY OF DISTRICT MULTAN FROM 1881-1931

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Year	Population	Hindu	Sikh	Jain	Muslim	Christian	Parsee	Jew
1881	68674	29962	661	46	36294	-	-	1711
1891	74562	32130	961	24	39765	1672	09	01
1901	87394	36947	1588	134	46899	1777	49	-
1911	99243	38341	2659	388	55686	2105	58	-
1921	84806	25339	1573	28	55864	1955	47	-
1931	119457	40424	2960	424	72134	1823	-	-

SOURCE: The Punjab Government, *Punjab District Gazetteers*, vol. XXVII. Part B. *Multan District Statistical Tables* (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1936), xxviii.

However, Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Parsees and Jews were also found in Multan. These religious groups were further divided into sects. The following table shows the

³⁸ Abdul Haq, *Multan*, 30-31.

population of various religious groups in the censuses of India from 1881 to 1931.

Hindus and Muslims were major groups inhabiting Multan. However, Muslims not only formed a definite majority, but also increased their strength in number during the first half of twentieth century under the imperial administration. According to the census of 1881, the population of Muslims was 52.84 percent of the total population of Multan city and Hindus formed 43.63 percent. The population of Hindus decreased in terms of fraction, according to the census report of 1891 especially due to a minimum level conversion of Hindus to Christianity, therefore the population of Muslims increased in fractions in comparison with the Hindus. However, the Jew population seems to have migrated and no census evidence of existence of Jews after 1891 is available. Multani society was based on caste and clan system, having distinction of customs, traditions and rituals. Major number of castes and clans had equal following of Islam and Hinduism.

Hindu Castes and Clans: Arora, Arya, Brahmin, Bagaria, Khatttri, Bhabhra, Chimar, Churra, Kori, Ood.

Muslim Castes and Clans: Khoja, Khokhar, Shaikh, Marth, Mughal, Pathan, Qureshi, Syed, Baloch, Chishti, Daudpotra, Arain.

Communication Network and Development in Multan: Irrigation, Roads, Railways and Education

After the annexation, Lord Dalhousie put the Punjab province under a Board of Administration. The settlement of land, assessment of land revenue, adjudication of rights and interests and registration of tenures were conducted by the Board with admirable efficiency. The Board was abolished in 1853 and its power vested in a Chief Commissioner.³⁹ Initially in the Punjab, the land revenue was collected from an estate as a whole. This was called *Mahalwari* system;

39 James Douie, *The Punjab, NWFP and Kashmir* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 188-89.

however, it was changed with the passage of time. The state authorities later adopted the *Rayiat*, in which they collected revenue from the cultivators directly.

Table 6: IRRIGATED AREA FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES IN DISTRICT MULTAN (000 ACRES)

Year	Public Canals	Wells	Misc. Sources	Total Irrigated Area	Total Sown Area
1901	4561	3747	574	8851	23212
1906	6801	3132	825	10758	29875
1911	6964	3420	570	10955	26309
1916	8072	3433	691	12196	31704
1921	4997	3587	709	13293	31026
1926	9586	3484	609	13679	30407
1931	9929	3767	571	14267	32007
1936	10886	-	632	15605	32643
1941	11639	4618	658	16915	32299
1946	12780	4190	601	17571	32699

SOURCE: M. Mufakharul Islam, *Irrigation, Agriculture and the Raj: Punjab, 1887-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997), 158-59.

The British introduced a land settlement to maximize the land revenue. This process by which the government officials determine the land revenue payable was called the settlement of land revenue. Commercialisation of agriculture was an outcome of the development of transportation. The new means of communication like railways and roads resulted in faster movement of various agricultural commodities at cheaper rates. British policy to increase cultivated area and land revenue led to an extensive program of canals and colonization in the Western Punjab. The network of canals and irrigation system of Subcontinent increased ratio of production and radical changes in crop patterns under the British policies.

a. Irrigation

Maximum area of the Punjab was irrigated by river channels, canals, water tanks and wells etc. The following table shows the irrigation from different sources:

The natural means of irrigation in the Punjab were rivers, canals and rains. Wells, canals and *jhallars* were the important artificial means of irrigation. Wells were of two kinds: *kachcha* and *pakka*. The *kachcha* wells were dug in the earth without masonry walls. In some districts they worked with a type of *Persian wheel*. The use of wells was sole mean of irrigation confined to the non-canal villages in and around Multan.

Table 7: WELLS IN DISTRICT MULTAN IN 1921

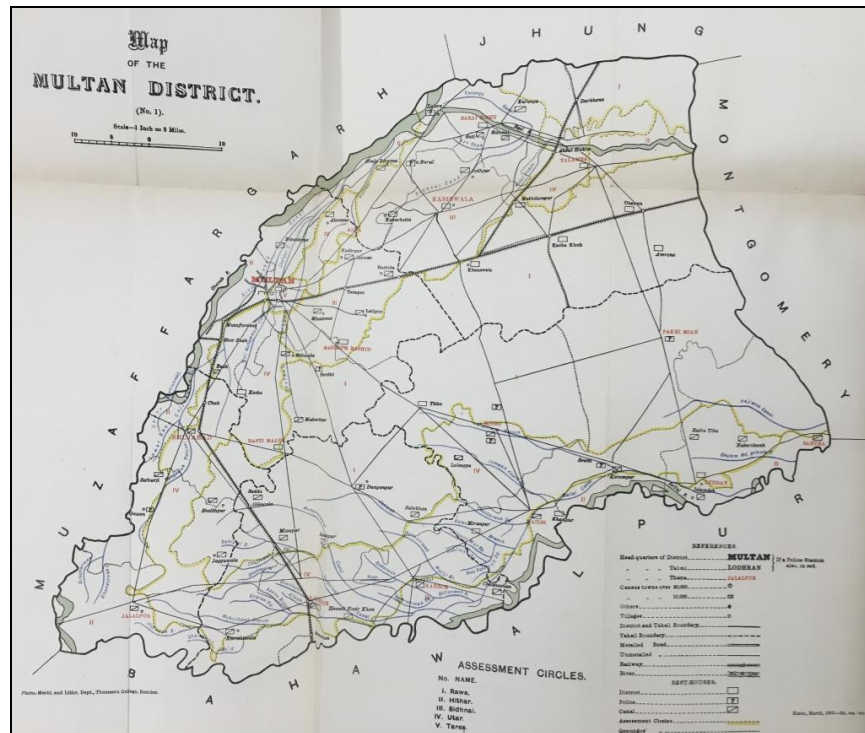
Multan Tehsil	Wells (Condition)	During Settlement Period	In 1921
Multan	In use	3,946	6,192
—	Capable of use	481	430
Total	—	4,427	6,622

SOURCE: H. W. Emerson, *Final Settlement Report of the Multan District* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1921), 4.

The value of well irrigation was affected by a variety of causes; the area well has to serve, the nature of soil, the character of canal irrigation, efficiency of tenants and number of well-catties were the chief factors.⁴⁰

The method of water supply drew immediate attention of the British rulers of the Punjab. It was believed that regular supply and availability of water in this area would bring a vast land under the cultivation and provide occupation to the people. Rural economy of the Punjab based on the rain and rain varied from region to region due to geographical and demographic factors. Rainfall in the Punjab was brought by monsoon's winds arriving from the east and the south-east.

40 H. W. Emerson, *Final Settlement Report of the Multan District* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1921), 4.



SOURCE: *Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol. XXXIII B. Multan District, Statistical Tables, With Maps 1904* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1908).

Table 8: RAINFALL IN DISTRICT MULTAN IN 1900 AND 1936 (IN INCHES)

District	Year 1900	Year 1936
Multan	9	7

The British carried out an extensive irrigation work in the colonial India. The sole purpose of the British was to improve landscape and production of India. The Indian irrigation work became model for others to follow. The British pursued irrigation development towards a variety of ends. The initial aims of the colonial irrigation were to encourage agricultural settlement and political stability, boost production, increase state revenue, and improve communications. Protection

against drought, and prevention of famine were secondary aims which subsequently became much more important.⁴¹

b. Roads

Roads are also part of effective communication but the British invested too little in the construction and maintenance of roads, so most fell into disrepair within a few years and became impassable.⁴² The only exception to this rule was the Grand Trunk Road which was once stretched from Kabul to Dhaka. The British rebuilt this between 1833 and 1855 and made it navigable for faster horse teams.⁴³ After the Great Rebellion, initial plans were made for the operation of state road system as 'imperial roads' to join British India at district and regional level with already emerging railway network which was to open up the Subcontinent.

Roads in Multan were initially not metalled. With the passage of time this development took place. The un-metalled roads were also in fairly good condition. The major roads were; the old road from Multan to Lahore which was running parallel to the railway, the road from Multan to Lodhran and Bahawalpur which lay to the East of Indus valley rail line and the old customs road coming from Pakpattan and the Montgomery district was going towards Mailsi and Lodhran.⁴⁴ Another road leaves Lahore road at Tulamba and runs around the district passing through Serai Sidhu, Multan and Shujabad and finally crossing the Sutlej into Bahawalpur. Besides these main roads, there are cross

41 William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire: Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 134.

42 Michael Mann, *South Asia's Modern History: Thematic Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2014), 347.

43 Mann, *South Asia's Modern History*, 347.

44 Charles A. Roe, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Multan District of the Punjab: 1873-1880* (Lahore: W. Balls, 1883), 32.

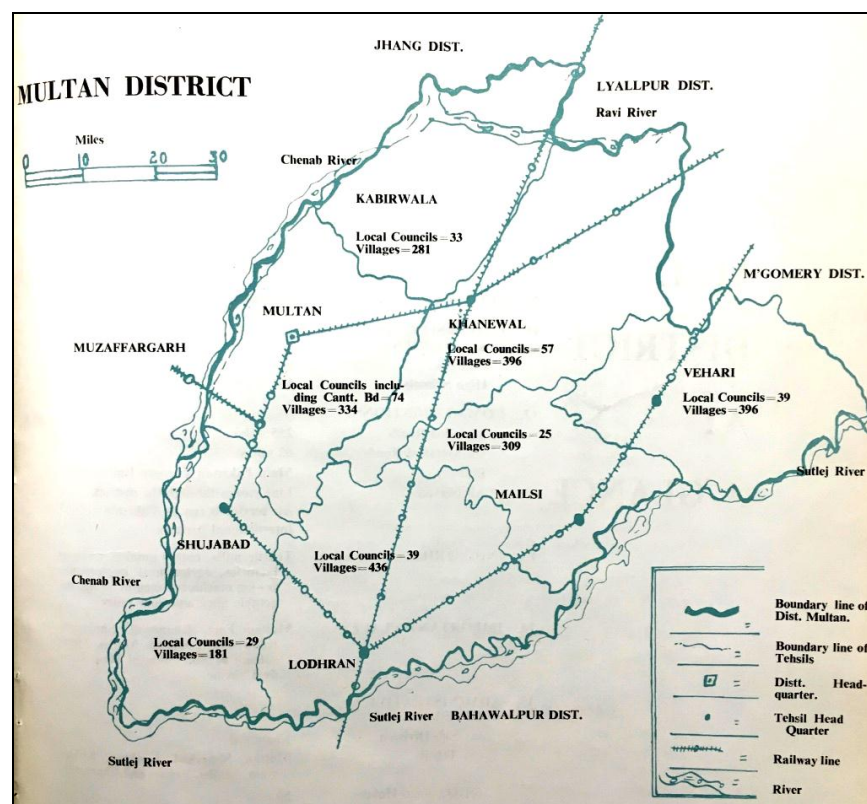
rodas from Multan to Luddan and Mailsi and to Kahrur via Duniapur.⁴⁵

c. Railways

Transport is an important infrastructure inevitable for the development process of a country. Progress of a country depends upon the availability of a viable system of transport facilities. Railways played a vital role in the political and economic development and integration of Colonial Indian Empire. The introduction of Railways, which is one of the legacies of British rule in India has caused a remarkable increase in the communication between different parts of Indian Subcontinent but also brought about profound changes in the habits and outlook of society.

The British capitalists invested their capital for the construction of railways in India. The British introduction of railways to India had multi-pronged interests and reasons behind it. The first and foremost interest was of commercial nature and India was going to serve the British factories raw material and eventually better transportation and communication would serve a good selling market for British finished goods all over India. The second motive of construction of railways was frequent and hassle free movements of troops throughout India. The British military motives in addition to the establishment of cantonment cities and later on connecting them to rail network was need of the hour. The last but not the least was political interest of the British in introducing railways was maintenance of efficient political administration throughout India for peaceful and tranquil maintenance of law and order.

45 Roe, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Multan District of the Punjab*, 33.



After the annexation of the Punjab, the British were anxious to connect the region with the rest of India. Different companies were created under single administrative control for this purpose namely; the Sindh Railway Company, the Indus Flotilla Company, the Punjab Railway Company and the Delhi Railway company to connect all major economic cities and hubs through railways.

Multan-Lahore-Amritsar Line: The colonial government allowed in 1856 a survey of constructing a railway line from Multan to Lahore and Amritsar. The Punjab Railway Company was separately established for this purpose. The work on the line started in 1859.⁴⁶

46 Edward Davidson, *The Railways of India: With an Account of their Rise, Progress, and Construction* (London: E. & F. N. Spon, 48 Charing Cross, 1868), 311.

Lahore-Multan Line: Construction of this line was started at Sher Shah on the Chenab River to the city of Multan. Initial 11 miles long line was opened in 1863 for carriage of goods for construction and finally this line was made functional in 1865. Being a unique line in the history of world railways; it was a straight line running for 114 miles due to plain land amid Lahore and Multan.

Multan-Kotri Line: This line stayed in different debates until 1878, the year of its completion. The basic purpose of connecting Multan with Kotri was providing a viable connection between Karachi port, Lahore, Delhi and Amritsar at the end of the day. But the River Indus and its delta changes were a constant hurdle in this completion. The line was built on the left bank of the Indus. Multan's railway line and station served as one connection for the development and socio-economic change of the city. The nature and course of trade changed once the railway station was made operational. In the year 1896 and 1897, Multan district railway station had record imports and exports transported.

Introduction of railway brought changes in fares, profit and revenue trends throughout India. Railway also enhanced the capacity of commuting goods, individuals, commodities and import and export at a large scale. Multan was also one of the hubs for trade and commerce activities. The colonial state ownership of the railways took many advantages of it. The performance of Indian railway was quite different before and after 1920. There was trend to higher output, productivity and profits between 1850 and 1919 when the traffic flow was not on much higher scale but 1920s onwards this profit started decreasing and the local trade was only operational because the freight charges and taxes levied on

import and export discouraged the foreign business in colonial India.⁴⁷

Table 9: IMPORT AND EXPORTS OF VARIOUS ARTICLES VIA MULTAN DISTRICT RAILWAY STATION IN 1896-97 (IN MAUNDS)

Articles	Imports	Exports	Articles	Imports	Exports
Cotton seed	280	137,021	Salt	19,164	291
Cotton loose	31,272	16,500	Kerosene oil	9,088	66
Cotton press	475	168,102	Common oil	5,802	424
Wool raw	40,170	19,799	Dried fruit	16,297	11,484
Gunny-bags	17,176	14,468	Fresh fruits	136	3,260
Edible grain	1,92,288	136,364	Bones	489	8,743
Wheat	98,690	414,962	Hides, Skin	2,006	25,383
Rice	37, 654	2,733	Iron	27,788	1,228
Oil seeds	27,266	796	Piece goods	26,101	---
Sugar refine	58,600	610	P G Indian	7,098	270
Gur	130,210	7,143	Multani mitti	552	---
Ghee	15,074	682	Sajji	260	2,876

SOURCE: *Report on the Internal Trade of the Punjab by Rail and River for the Year: 1895-96* (Lahore: 1896) also see, Multan Statement No.3 and *Report on the Internal Trade of the Punjab by Rail and River for the Year: 1896-97* (Lahore: 1897), 1-30.

In terms of economy, railway played a major role in integrating markets and increasing trade. Domestic and international economic trends further shaped the pace of railway construction and the demand for important traffic flows to the ports. In terms of politics, railways shaped the finances of the colonial government and the Princely states.

47 Dan Bogart and Latika Chaudhary, *Railways in Colonial India: An Economic Achievement?* (May 1, 2012), 23-24. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2073256> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2073256>

Lastly, railways increased national income and integrated the Indian markets.

d. Education

Education is process of facilitating learning, acquisition of knowledge, skills, values and sometimes beliefs and habits as well. Educational learning is of various types and kinds including formal an informal learning and environments. The British accepted education as duty of the State in memorable dispatch of the Court of Directors in 1854.⁴⁸ British introduced primary, secondary, college and university education all over the India. The British continued with the traditional modes of instruction in education as per policy to get support from Indian rulers. The Calcutta Madrassa for Muhammadans was founded by Warren Hasting in 1782.⁴⁹ Multan's first madrassa was established in the seventh century by Muhammad Bin Qasim.⁵⁰ Besides this, Sheikh Baha Uddin Zakariya also established a madrassa in Multan fort where Maulan Ala'u Din, Allama Abdul Qadir, Maulana Muhammad Idress, Maulana Imam Bakhsh and Mulana Ilm Din use to teach Fiqh, Quran, Hadith, Tafseer and logic to the students coming from different areas.⁵¹ Nasir Uddin Qabacha established a madrassa which was run by Allama Kashani.⁵²

Education also flourished in Multan under the British government. Primary education is the instruction of masses through the vernacular. Primary schools in India flourished with each passing day. In 1870-71 there were 16,473 schools with 607,320 scholars; in 1881-82 there were 82,916 with 2,061,541 scholars and by 1891-92 this increased to

48 *Indian Educational Policy: Being a Resolution Issued the Governor General in Council, on March 11, 1904* (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1904), 1.

49 *Indian Educational Policy 1904*, 2.

50 Abdul Haq, *Multan*, 33.

51 Abdul Haq, *Multan*, 33.

52 Abdul Haq, *Multan*, 34.

97,109 schools with 2,837,607 scholars. But gradual decline was observed and the figures of 1901-02 show 98,538 schools with 3,268,726 scholars.⁵³ The expenditure upon primary education was taken from provincial, local and municipal funds. The funds from provincial sources were lesser than local and municipal funds. In 1886-87 provincial fund for primary schools was Rs. 16,000,239 and local/municipal contribution was Rs. 26,07,624 and total was Rs. 42,07,863. For the year 1891-92, provincial grant was Rs. 13,43,343 and local finances were Rs. 35,86,208 which was total of Rs. 49,29,551. In 1901-02, this funding was total Rs. 63,02,901 in accumulation of provincial Rs. 16,92,514 and local was Rs. 46,10,387.⁵⁴ The secondary education gradually increased because of the growth of massive primary education throughout India. The number of secondary schools increased in 1901-02 from 3,916 to 5,493 and their pupils from 214,077 to 558,378.⁵⁵

The question of direct religious and moral instructions was raised at a local conference held in Bombay and later on at the imperial conference, held in Allahabad in February 1911.⁵⁶ There was a huge difference of opinion to the possibility or advantages and disadvantages of introducing religious education into schools. In the education policy of 1913, there was a focus on Muhammadans education. Facilities offered to Muhammadans vary in different provinces and special institutions such as madrassas, *maktabs* and hostels. Students of the institutions were also awarded scholarships.⁵⁷ While making provision for scholarship on modern lines, the Indian Educational Policy of 1913 recommended grants to various colleges, indigenous

53 *Indian Educational Policy 1904*, 16.

54 *Indian Educational Policy 1904*, 17.

55 *Indian Educational Policy 1904*, 21.

56 *Indian Educational Policy: Being A Resolution Issued by the Governor General in Council, on the February 21 1913*. (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1913), 4.

57 *Indian Educational Policy 1913*, 42.

institutions, madrassas and *maktabs* in order to secure better educational output and emphasized the provision of posts for highly qualified *maulvis* etc.⁵⁸

While looking on the major Indian scale, Multan was much ignored. There were 4 Middle, 36 Primary schools and one lower school.⁵⁹ In the Middle schools, English was taught with vernacular, Persian and Urdu both were taught in primary schools education which was totally in vernacular. The town schools were normally attended by Hindus and village schools by all classes. The following table shows schools strength:

Table 10: SCHOOLS AND STUDENT STRENGTH IN DISTRICT MULTAN IN 1883

School Description	No. of Schools	Hindus	Mohammedans	Others	Total
Middle	4	337	124	3	464
Primary	36	460	1,038	—	1,498
Average	—	13	29	—	42
Lower	1	270	113	3	386
Total	41	1,067	1,275	6	2,348

SOURCE: Charles A. Roe, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Multan District of the Punjab: 1873-1880* (Lahore: W. Balls, 1883), 36.

Besides these schools, there were a few madrasas in Multan. *Madrassa Khair ul Madaris* was initially started in Jalandhar under the supervision of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi.⁶⁰ The administrator of this madrasa Maulana Khair Muhammad came to Multan as migrant in 1947 and started it afresh at Hussain Agahi road Multan. This madrasa was

⁵⁸ *Indian Educational Policy* 1913, 44.

⁵⁹ Roe, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Multan District of the Punjab*, 35.

⁶⁰ Maulana Noor Ahmad Khan Faridi, *Tareekh-i Multan*, vol. 1-2 (Multan: Qasr- ul Adab, Writer Colony, 1971), 371.

providing education to both male and female students. Second famous madrasa was *Madrasa Qasim ul Uloom* funded by Maulana Mufti Muhammad shafi in a mosque. This madrasa belongs to Deobandi sect.⁶¹ *Madrasa Anwar ul Uloom* was founded by Makhdoom Syed Sadar ud Din in 1944 under the influence of Maulana Syed Ahmad Saeed Kazmi Amrohvi.⁶² This madrasa was initially patronised by Munshi Allah Baksh. *Madrasa Khair ul Ma'ad* was established by Maulana Hamid Ali Khan in Rehtak and he served this madrasa in Rehtak till 1959 and then he established it in Multan at Churi Sarai.⁶³ *Madrasa Mazhr ul Uloom* is opposite Aam Khas Bagh Multan and established by Mulana Muhammad Sharif. *Jamia Arbia Taleem ul Ibrar* is situated at Khaniwal road Multan. It was established in 1945 by Syed Mubarak Shah Baghdadi.⁶⁴ Besides these madrasas, there were few more like *Madrasa Anwar ul Ibrar* at Aurangzeb road, *Madrasa Rumia* in Pakdaman graveyard, and *Madrasa Rizvia Anwar ul Quran* in Kaly Mandi.

Development of Canal Colonies and Multan

Between 1885 and 1926, the British government embarked upon a successful agricultural expansion plan. The process of agricultural colonisation started in western Punjab from 1885 and continued till the end of British rule. The nine canal colonies were developed during this period.⁶⁵ The colonisation project was based on the construction of a network of canals. These canals were constructed on uncultivated land which resulted in possible migration into this area from other parts of the Punjab.

61 Faridi, *Tareekh-i Multan*, 373.

62 Faridi, *Tareekh-i Multan*, 373.

63 Faridi, *Tareekh-i Multan*, 374.

64 Faridi, *Tareekh-i Multan*, 374.

65 Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism*, 8.

Table 11: CANAL COLONIES IN THE PUNJAB

Name of Colony	Period of Colonisation	Doab	Districts	Name of Canal Work	Estimated Cost of Construction (Rs 000)
Sidhnai	1886-1888	Bari	Multan	Sidhnai	1,301
Soda Para	1886-1888	Bari	Montgomery	Lower Sohag Para	1,803
Chunian	1896-1898 1904-1906	Bari	Lahore	Upper Bari Doab	—
Chenab	1892-1905 1926-1930	Rechna	Gujranwala, Jhang, Lyallpur, Lahore, Sheikhupura	Lower Chenab	53, 072
Jhelum	1902-1906	Jech	Shahpur, Jhang	Lower Jhelum	43, 613
Lower Bari Doab	1914-1924	Bari	Montgomery, Multan	Lower Bari Doab	25, 086
Upper Chenab	1915-1919	Rechna	Gujranwala, Sialkot, Sheikhupura	Upper Chenab	43, 596
Upper Jhelum	1916-1921	Jech	Gujrat	Upper Jhelum	49, 770
Nili Bar	1926- (not completed by 1940)	Bari	Montgomery, Multan	Sutlej Valley Project	83, 787

SOURCE: Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism: 1885-1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 9.

Multan's geographic locale was important and it was part of three major colonisation projects of the Punjab. Multan was part of Sidhnai Colony and this settlement was in 1886-1888 and total land allocated was around 250,000 acres.⁶⁶ Lower Bari Doab Colony was the second settlement which started in 1914 in which Multan was considered with Montgomery. The original land allotted for this project was 1,192,000 acres but later on reduced to 900,000 acres in 1916.⁶⁷ The last

⁶⁶ Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism*, 14.

⁶⁷ Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism*, 30.

major settlement project under the British was Neeli Bar Colony started in 1925 and continued until 1940. The land allocation for this last Multan related project was divided into two types; 1,000,000 acres perennial and 2,710,000 non-perennial and it was further divided into state and private land.⁶⁸

Table 12: SIDHNAI COLONY LAND DISTRIBUTION IN MULTAN DISTRICT

District	Muslim Number of Grantees	% of Allotted Area to Muslims	Number of Grantees Hindus and Sikhs	% of Allotted Area to Hindus and Sikhs	Total Number of Grantees	Total % of Allotted Area
Multan	607	37.32	73	4.21	680	41.53

SOURCE: Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism: 1885-1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 46.

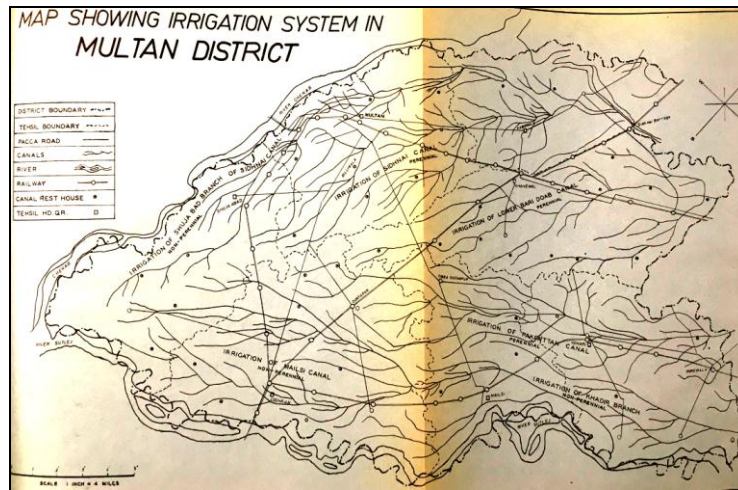
Canals are cut from the main rivers in different length and width. Multan has been surrounded by three different routes of canals; the Sidhnai, Chenab and Sutlej Canals. Sidhnai Canal was dependent on the Ravi. Sidhnai Canal system comprised of main canal, the Abdul Hakim, Fazal Shah.⁶⁹ A small area of Kabirwala and large area of Multan and Shujabad were dependent on canals of Chenab. Out of the four running canals from Chenab; Sikandarabad was the most efficient. Second canal of Chenab Canal system was the Durana Lantana and Wali Mohammad separating at boson regulator. The Matithal was third canal serving parts of Kabirwala and Multan and Balochanwah was the last and fourth one running through Shujabad serving about 20 villages.⁷⁰ On the Sutlej River four canals were serving namely the Mailsi, Muhammadwah, Sardarwah and

68 Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism*, 38.

69 H. W. Emerson, *Final Settlement Report of the Multan District* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1921), 2.

70 Emerson, *Final Settlement Report of the Multan District*, 3.

Bahawalwah-Lodhran. All these canals were unified by the irrigation department for controlling them.⁷¹



In short, Punjab always attracted the British and after getting hold of this as administrative unit, the waste and barren land was converted into rich and fertile land as a major economic factor in the British colonial economy. The introduction of comprehensive canal system, agrarian policies, land allocation and introduction of means of communication and technology changed the face of Punjab. Multan also remained as focal point of the British attention since annexation in 1849 till the time of partition. The importance of Multan city can be seen as a major beneficiary of all development carried out in every field of life including agriculture, administration, irrigation and communication.

71 Emerson, *Final Settlement Report of the Multan District*, 3.

Changing Conceptions of *Tasawwuf* in Iqbal's Writings

Haider Ali Agha*

ABSTRACT

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal is regarded as one of the greatest Muslim thinkers of the twentieth century and ideologue of Muslim nationalist state in India. This paper aims at exploring Iqbal's changing conceptions of tasawwuf in his writings. It also briefly examines the socio-political milieu which helped shape Iqbal's conception of tasawwuf at different stages of his spiritual and intellectual life. In the Urdu world, Iqbal has earned epithets: sha'ir-e mashriq (Poet of the East), and Hakimul Ummat (Philosopher of Muslims) in virtue of his poetry and philosophy. He holds the high rank of 'prophet of ideological state of Pakistan.' Iqbal's ideas on Sufism and philosophy are also found in his letters and articles which make manifest the changes his mind was undergoing. Iqbal's philosophical conception and his admiration for Wahadatul Wajud underwent change during his 3-years stay in England and Germany when he completed his doctoral dissertation. Iqbal's early ideas about tasawwuf began with his admiration for Vedantic and Wahadatul Wajud of Ibn-ul-Arabi. His doctoral thesis The

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Development of Metaphysics in Persia (published in 1908) appreciated the spirit of Persian Sufism which contributed immensely to Islamic philosophy. His experience of the socio-economic contradictions of both Indian society and Europe brought change in his outlook. He abandoned universalistic thought of tasawwuf which embodied content of different religions and became inclined to sharia-based tasawwuf, wahadt-ul-shahud whose chief exponent he found in Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind. This papers seeks to analyze the arguments which Iqbal developed to renounce his former position on tasawwuf and also at the contradictions which his new position brought up.

Tasawwuf and Sufism: An Introduction

Iqbal's intellectual voice began to be seriously considered by Muslim intelligentsia of India by 1920. Iqbal was raised in an environment imbued with Sufi influences. His father voraciously read Sufi writings particularly those of Ibnul Arabi.¹

Tasawwuf or Sufism has been greeted with variety of responses from different intellectual circles of society. Those who believe in literalist interpretation of the Quran suspect *Tasawwuf* as heresy borne out of alien un-Islamic Hellenic-Persian culture. There is a section of people who confine Sufism mostly to reverence for saints and shrines having ambiguous ideas about it. Some people think of Sufi's way of life as sanctification of escape from coarse and incompatible realities. *Tasawwuf* evokes imagery of occult mysteries, enthrallment of cults of saints and shrines, access to the

1 Shuja-Al Haq, *A Forgotten Vision: A Study of Human Spirituality in the Light of Islamic Tradition* (Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, 1996), 84. Iqbal was born in 1876 in Sailkot, a city about a hundred miles from Lahore. Iqbal left for England for doctoral research in 1905. His first poetical work in Persian *Asrar-i-Khudi* [Persian: The Secrets of the Self] appeared in 1915 which marked departure from his former ideas of *Wahadat-Al Wajud*. His lectures on the subject of philosophy and Sufism delivered in Hyderabad Deccan and Aligarh during 1928-1929 appeared in the book *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Iqbal's collection of Urdu poems appeared in 1924 in *Bang-i-Dara* [The Sound of the Caravan's Bell].

world of spirits, ceremonial orgies, indulgence in dancing (*sama*), mystical visions, miracles (*karamaat*), and amorous poetry.

The etymology or origin of word 'Sufi' or *tasawwuf* has been a matter of controversy among the writers of early texts about *tasawwuf*. Abu Nasr al Sarraj (d. 988), the author of one of the earliest Sufi texts *Kitab al Luma fi al Tasawwuf* is of the view that the word 'Sufi' was current in the pre-Islamic days for excellence of virtue. In order to prove this point, he refers to *History of Mecca* by Muhammad bin Ishaq bin Yasar and others.² Abul Qasim al Qushayri explicitly states that the word 'Sufi' was 'well-known to people' before 200/815.³ Ali b. Uthman Hujwiri in his treatise on *Tasawwuf* dates back the use of word 'Sufi' to the time of Holy Prophet (PBUH) when he narrates a Tradition: "And the Apostle has said: "He that hears the voice of Sufis (*ahl-tasawwuf*) and does not say Ameen to their prayers is inscribed before God among the heedless."⁴

The English word 'Sufism' is employed to translate *Tasawwuf* which, according to one point of view, is said to be derived literally from *suf* or wool which 'was the dress of eastern Christian and Muslim renouncers'. Its more common meaning was belonging to the faith and doctrine of the people called Sufis' or trying to become *Sufi*.⁵ It became a tradition among Muslim mystics to wear wool in the times of *tabi'un* (successors of the companions of Holy Prophet PBUH) like Hasan al Basri (642-728) through whom the Sufis trace their spiritual descent to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Ali bin Abi Talib. Hasan is said to have

2 M. Hamiduddin, "Early Sufi Doctrine," in *History of Muslim Philosophy*, ed. M. M. Sharif, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishing House, 1963), 311.

3 Hamiduddin, "Early Sufi Doctrine," 316.

4 Ali B. Uthman al Jullabi al-Hujwiri, *Kashf Al-Majub*, trans. Reynold. A Nicholson (Lahore: Islamic Research Centre, n.d), 30.

5 Julain Baldick, *Mystical Islam: An Introduction to Sufism*, 2nd ed. (New York: I.B Tauris & Co.1992), 3.

remarked: "He who wears wool out of humility towards God increases the illumination of his insight and his heart, but he who wears it out of pride and arrogance will be thrust down to Hell with devils."⁶

Tasawwuf exalts the ideal of *faqr* (poverty) and enjoins control over unruly desires for pleasures. The Sufis express their love for God by getting themselves busy in *dhikr* [Urdu: remembrance of God] and tread the *tariqa* [Urdu: Way] in order to achieve special relationship with God and to have knowledge of *Haqiqah* [Urdu: Reality]. The *tariqa* leads them through repentance and *maqamat* [Urdu: levels] by raising the status of their relationship with God, to higher *ahwal* [Urdu: ecstatic states] signifying their absolute trust in Him. These states culminate in the Sufi's *fana* [Urdu: passing away] in order that his higher self may be adorned with attributes of God with a transformed personality which Sufis call *baqa* [Urdu: survival].⁷

Titus Burckhardt regards 'Sufism or *Tasawwuf* as esoteric or inward (*batin*) aspect of Islam based on contemplation of divine and eternal realities. It is distinguishable from outward (*zahir*) or exoteric aspect of Islam based on fulfilling the Quranic Laws or *Shariah*.⁸ The Muslim spiritualists who strive for the advancement of their intuitive faculties through contemplation, ascetic exercise, and renunciation or self denial are known by different names such as Sufi, Wali-Allah, *dervish* or *faqir*.⁹ *Tasawwuf* or Islamic mysticism may also be "described as the urge to reach out to the Infinite."¹⁰ The Sufis dedicated themselves to lives of *wara* [Urdu: piety], *khushu* [Urdu: submission] and *fikr* [Urdu: reflection] in

6 Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Munsihram Monoharlal Publisher, 1986), 28.

7 Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, 3.

8 Titus Burckhardt, *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, trans. D.M. Matheson (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 2005), 3.

9 Rizvi, *A History of Sufism*, 1.

10 Majid Fakhri, *Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Mysticism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2000), 73.

order to experience the Quranic truth that God is nearer than to him than his jugular vein.¹¹ The Sufis seek *fana* [Urdu: extinction] of the created in the Uncreated; of the temporal in the Eternal, of the finite in the Infinite.¹² The goal which the Sufis strive for in *fana* is *marifat* or *irfan* [Urdu: gnosis of Hellenistic theosophy] which is fundamentally different from *ilm* or ordinary knowledge.¹³

Wahdat Al Wajud

Pantheism¹⁴ is the doctrine held by some mystical schools of thought that the "Divine is all inclusive and that man and nature are not independent of God but are all modes or elements of his Being. Any theology stressing God's infinity and omnipotence gives some weight to pantheism."¹⁵

Abul Yazid al Bistami and Hussain bin Mansur al Hallaj were the two main Sufis to espouse the doctrine of wahdat al wajud in the early history of tasawwuf.¹⁶ Abu Yazid al-Bistami (d. 877 A.D), a Persian Sufi, was born in Bistam (Basam) in Western Khurasan. An Indian Sufi Abu Ali Sindhi cultivated his interest in secrets of *fana* or self-annihilation. Early Sufi sources ascribed to him a great many extravagant utterances (Shatahat) which glorify the concept of intoxication (Fikr), mystical passion (wajd) and ecstatic union with God. One of such utterance speaks of total fusion with God thus:

11 Fakhri, *Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Mysticism*, 73. Also see 50:15.

12 Martin Lings, *What is Sufism?* (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2005), 25.

13 Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1914), 71.

14 Iqbal applied the term 'pantheism' to explain the Sufi doctrine of wahdat-al wajud, though now some western authorities on Ibnul Arabi like Louis Massignon translate it as 'existential monism'; Affifi approves of the term and uses 'Islamic pantheism' and Unity of Being. Burckhardt another authority on Ibnul Arabi discards the use of 'pantheism' in connection with *wahdat-al wajud*. Schimmel uses 'essential monism'. See Rizvi, *A History of Sufism*, 105.

15 Antony Flew ed., *A Dictionary of Philosophy* (London: Pan Books, 1979), 261.

16 Fakhri, *Islamic Philosophy*, 75.

I plunged once into the angelic sea (*malakut*) and the veils of divinity (*lahut*), until I reached the Thorn, and lo, it was vacant. Therefore, I threw myself upon it and said: 'Lord, where will I find You?' and behold, I was I, yes I was I. Then I returned to what I was seeking, and it was no other than I.¹⁷

Junayad al Baghdadi believed his status to be as high among Sufis as that of Gabriel among angels.¹⁸

Husayn bin Mansur al Hallaj was born in Bayad at Tur, a town in Iran. In the course of his mystical development, he reached a state described by him as the 'essence of union' or *ayn-al-jam* in which the mystic and divine object, I and Thou became one.¹⁹ Al Hallaj uttered the famous words *ana al haq*. [Arabic: I am God or Creative Truth]. He was, on account of his pantheistic beliefs, charged with blasphemy and Qarmatian beliefs. A canonical jury condemned him to death and he was crucified in 922. Nicholson thinks that Hallaj's *ana-al-Haq* did not imply idea of *halul* of which he was accused and was unjustly punished. Nicholson explains his idea of fusion of two natures, human and divine thus:

According to Hallaj, the essence of God's essence is Love. Before creation God love himself in absolute unity and through Him revealed Himself to Himself alone. Then desiring to behold that love-in-aloneness, that love without otherness and duality, as an external object. He brought forth from non-existence an image of Himself endowed with all His attributes and names. This Divine image is Adam, in and by whom God is made manifest-divinity objectified in humanity. Hallaj however distinguished human nature (*nasut*) from the Divine (*lahut*). Though mystically united they are not essentially identical and interchangeable.²⁰

17 Fakhri, *Islamic Philosophy*, 76.

18 Rizvi, *History of Sufism*, vol. 1, 43.

19 Fakhri, *Islamic Philosophy*, 76.

20 Reynold A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 80.

He also quotes Hallaj's famous verse:

I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I
We are two spirits dwelling in one body,
If thou seest me, thou seest Him,
If thou seest Him, thou seest us both²¹

The orientalist like Tholuck, Max Schreiner and Duncan Black Macdonald regard al Hallaj as 'full-fledged pantheist'.²²

Twelfth century was the watershed in history of Sufism in which great Muslim mystic Ibn al-Arabi transformed the prevailing Sufi thought through his greatly influential works *al-Futhhat al-Makkiyya* [Arabic: Meccan Revelations or Victories], *Fusul al Hikam* [Arabic: Bezels of Wisdom], and *Raisalat al-Ahadiyah* [Arabic: Epistle of Unity].

Muhyud-Din Ibnul Arabi says in his *Raisalat al-Ahadiyah*:

None grasps Him save He Himself. None knows Him but he Himself...He knows Himself by Himself...Other-than-He cannot grasp Him. His impenetrable veil is His own Oneness. Other-than-He does not cloak Him. His veil is His very Existence.....His Prophet is he Himself. His envoy is He. His message is He. His Word is He....Other-than-He cannot have existence and so cannot bring itself to naught.²³

Ibnul Arabi was born at Murcia in South East Spain in 1164. He is said to have descended from ancient Arabian tribe al-Ta'i. Affifi explains the kernel of Ibnul Arabi's mystical thought in *Preface* of his book, "He (Ibnul Arabi) has a definite philosophical doctrine of pantheism, the bearing of which is shown in every part of his system."²⁴ Ibnul Arabi means to express himself in pantheistic way²⁵ Ibnul Arabi

21 Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 80.

22 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 64.

23 Burckhardt, *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, 24.

24 A.E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1979), xi.

25 Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi*, xviii.

does not conceive of God in a transcendental way. He conceived of God as Absolute Being; manifesting Himself in every form of existence, and in the highest degree in the form of Perfect Man (*al insan al kamil*).²⁶ Ibnul Arabi thought of Universe as 'Big Man' created by God in order to see Himself, while Man was a small universe, well-polished mirror reflecting objects as they really were. The universe was the embodiment of all attributes found in man. Mystical union, to him, was the realization of the union of man with God which already existed rather than a new event of 'becoming' one with God.²⁷ The author claims that *Futuhat* were dictated to him by God through the angel of inspiration, whereas the *Fusus* were inspired by the Prophet²⁸, though the claim is considered extravagant by the orthodox theologians.

Iqbal's Early Conception of *Tasawwuf*

Iqbal's early mystical conception which had underpinnings of Vedanta and *wahadutul wajud* was to be negated in *Asrar-i-Khudi* in which he elaborated the cardinal notion of *Khudi* or Self or as he himself called ego. The Ego is starting point both of Fichte and Iqbal.²⁹

"It is not strange that Iqbal in his early philosophical period was an adherent of pantheism."³⁰ Iqbal in his letter to Shah Suleiman Phulwari expresses his love for Ibnul Arabi. He also tells about his father's fondness for *Futhat al Makkiya* (The Meccan Revelations) and *Fusul ul Hikam* (The Bezels of Wisdom) and his influence on him.³¹ The poetical work *Bang-i-Dara* evince the transition from his mystical views

26 Rizvi, A History of Sufism, vol. 1, 106.

27 Rizvi, A History of Sufism, vol. 1, 108.

28 Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 265.

29 Bashir Ahmed Dar, *Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism*, 2nd ed. (Lahore: Bazam-i-Iqbal, 2000), 59.

30 Dar, *Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism*, 56.

31 Bashir Ahmed Dar, *Anwar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy of Pakistan, 1967), 178.

imbued with *vedantic* and Ibnul Arabi's *wahdtul wajud* influences to the rejection of what he called Persian *tasawwuf*. The Urdu poems written during 1901-1905 exhibit Iqbal's pantheistic tendencies which echo the mystical ideas composed in any pantheistic and vedantic poetry. Indo-Sanskrit philosophical and poetic tradition enriched Iqbal's poetry in *Bang-i-Dara* where hymn of Rig Ved, Gayatri mantra was translated in the poem *Aftab*.³² Even in *Bal-i-Gibrail*, little gem of Bhatihari and also there is some mention of Vishwamitra and Bhartrihari in *Javed Namah*. In *Bang-i-Dara* the poems like Ram and Swami Ram Tirath evince the influence of Indo-Sanskrit tradition on Iqbal. Iqbal also intended to translate into Urdu *Ramayana* and *Bhagvad Gita*.³³ In 'Tarana-i-Hindi' and 'Hindustani Bachon ka Geet', he praises Hindustan as the best of all lands.³⁴ In the songs of Bhaktis, Iqbal combines the notions of power and peace. The salvation of all the inhabitants of the motherland (des) lies in love. He regards the messages of Shaiks of Ajmer and Guru Nanak as identical, both preaching the the Unity of God.³⁵ In another poem Nya Shiwa [Urdu: new temple], Iqbal takes both Brahmin and Wais to task for creating discord among the adherents of their religions.³⁶

In his essay 'The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as Expounded by Abdul Karim al Jilani', Iqbal admits 'the superiority of the Hindu in point of philosophical acumen'. He further adds that the Muslims in initial stages of their history did not and could

32 Ghulam Rasul Mehar, *Matalib-i-Kalam-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1997), 50.

33 Shamsur Rahaman Faruqi, "How to Read Iqbal", *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 20, (2005): 19. See also S. M. H. Burney, ed., *Kulliyat-e Makatib-e Iqbal*, vol. II (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1991), 86 and 282. See also Iqbal's letter to Maharaja, Prime Minister of Hydrabad Deccan, Sir Kishan Parshad Shad, dated April 25, 1919, and another letter to the Maharaja dated October 11, 1921, regarding his intention to translate the *Ramayana* and the *Bhagwat Gita* into Urdu,

34 Mehar, *Matalib-i-Kalam-i-Iqbal*, 123.

35 Mehar, *Matalib-i-Kalam-i-Iqbal*, 130.

36 Mehar, *Matalib-i-Kalam-i-Iqbal*, 132.

not produce men like Kapila and Shankaracharya.³⁷ In the same essays, Iqbal shows profound interest in al-Jilli's doctrine of Absolute Unity or *wahdat al-wajud* and thinks it 'matter of regret' that 'Muslim thinkers could not appreciate this kind of speculation.'³⁸ *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* is Iqbal's earliest work on philosophy and mystical speculation. It shows his deep insight into western philosophy and eastern mystical thought. In this work, his advocacy for Islamic origins of Sufism is profoundly maintained in these words: "No Idea can seize a people's soul unless, in some sense, it is the people's own. External influences may make it up from its deep unconscious slumber, but they can not so to speak, create it out of nothing."³⁹ Having rejected the Orientalists' claims about the origins of *Tasawwuf* in Hellenic philosophy of neo-Platonism, Buddhism or Vedantism, Iqbal enumerates various religious, political, cultural and social factors which led to the rise of Sufism. He ascribes the origins of Sufism to combined effects of these factors alongside 'innate tendency of Persian mind' to monism.⁴⁰

He praises Indian Vedantist teaching that all pain is due to our mistaken attitude towards the universe and man should change his thought rather than activity or will to avoid pain. Sufism, according to Iqbal, is golden mean or synthesis of Semetic strict code and Vedantist ideas in the higher category of love.

37 Latif Ahmad Sherwani, ed., *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, 3rd ed. (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), 69. This essay was published in *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, and September, 1900.

38 Sherwani, ed., *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, 85.

39 Muhammad Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004), 89. The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, dissertation, first presented to the Cambridge University, in March 1907 for his B.A. Degree and later on, with some modifications and additions, submitted for his Ph.D. to the University of Munich. He was awarded a degree on it on November 4, 1907. The dissertation was first published by Luzac & Co, London, in 1908.

40 Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 90-91.

On the one hand, it (Sufism), assimilates the Buddhistic idea of Nirvana (*Fana*-Annihilation), and seeks to build a metaphysical system in the light of this idea; on the other hand it does not disconnect itself from Islam, and finds the justification of its view of the Universe in the Quran.⁴¹

Iqbal refers to the verse of the Quran to justify the Sufi's position on esoteric knowledge-wisdom. "As we have sent a prophet to you from among yourselves who reads our verses to you, purifies you, teaches you the Book and the Wisdom, and teaches you what you did not know before."⁴² The Sufi contends that the 'wisdom' spoken in the verse is distinct from the Holy Book. He further says:

It can, I think, be easily shown that in the Quran, as well as in the authenticated traditions, there are germs of Sufi doctrine which owing to the roughly practical genius of the Arabs, could not develop and fructify in Arabia, but which grew up into a distinct doctrine when they found favourable circumstances in the alien soils.⁴³

He is highly appreciative of the contribution of Persian mystical tradition. He holds Shaikh Shahab-al-Din Suharwardy known as Shaikh-al-Ishraq-al-Maqtul in high esteem. He praises him in these words:

His is the genuine Persian brain which, undaunted by the threats of narrow-minded authority, asserts its right of free independent speculation. In his philosophy, old Iranian tradition, which found only a partial expression in the writings of the physician of Al-Razi, Al-Ghazali, and the Isma'ili sect, endeavours to come to a final understanding with the philosophy of his predecessors and theology of Islam.⁴⁴

He condemns those orthodox theologians or *ulama* that instigated Al-Malik-Zahir, the son of Sultan Salah-al-Din to

41 Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 95.

42 Sura 2: V 146.

43 Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 96.

44 Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 106.

kill Shaikh-al-Ishraq, as 'slaves of blood thirsty Dogmatism'. He regards Shaikh-al-Ishraq as 'martyr of truth'.⁴⁵

Iqbal also thinks of Ismailian doctrine as the first attempt to amalgamate the contemporary philosophy with Persian view of the universe, and to restate Islam. He regards Ismailis as the forerunner of the method of allegorical interpretation of the Quran, a method which according to him was later adopted by the Sufis.⁴⁶ Iqbal makes sympathetically objective appraisal of 'assassins' movement which is imputed to Ismailis. He thinks it was "the most barbarous persecution which drove the Ismailis to pay red-handed fanaticism in the same coin".⁴⁷ In *Stray Reflections*, Iqbal admired Hafiz's poetry and his spiritual awareness thus: "In words like cut jewels, Hafiz put the sweet unconscious spirituality of the nightingale."⁴⁸

Iqbal's Revolt against *Wahdat Al-Wajud* and Persian Sufism

Iqbal seems to have turned his back on mysticism which he was formerly fond of. In his essay "Islam and Mysticism" he uses the words 'dusky valleys for Hellenic-Persian Mysticism' in which Muslim 'prefers to roam about'.⁴⁹ He criticizes Persian mysticism as 'self mystification and Nihilism which seeks "Reality in quarters where it does not exist. He calls it 'physiological symptom which gives me a clue to the decadence of Muslim world."⁵⁰ He takes to task the Persian *tasawwuf* thus: "The tendency to ignore the Law of God (*Shaira*) was a direct consequence of a false Mysticism born out of heart and brain of Persian."⁵¹ This

45 Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 107.

46 Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 63.

47 Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, 61.

48 Javid Iqbal, ed., *Stray Reflections*, 3rd ed. (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2006), 137.

49 Sherwani, *Speeches, Statements and Writings of Iqbal*, 121. The Essay "Islam and Mysticism," *The New Era*, (July 28, 1917).

50 *Speeches, Statements and Writings of Iqbal*, 121.

51 *Speeches, Statements and Writings of Iqbal*, 122.

'Persianisation of Islam' was responsible for the relapse of 'Moslem Democracy into pretended Spiritual Aristocracy'. In the same vein he says: "The conquest of Persia meant not the conversion of Persia to Islam, but the conversion of Islam to Persianism."⁵² He condemns the Ismailis allegorical method and distinction of knowledge into exoteric and esoteric. He concludes his essay with this preaching. "Come, then out of the fogs of Persianism and walk into the brilliant desert sunshine of Arabia."⁵³

Iqbal embarks on the journey to restore the pristine purity of Arabian Islam which to him was the true Islam of Prophet Muhammad and his companions. Iqbal, who was not only a 'neo-Platonist but also full-fledged pantheist in his youth up to 1908,⁵⁴ became a great adversary of Persian Sufism. He adopted Rumi as his guide in *Javidnama*, *Payam-i-Mashriq*, *Bal-i-Jibrail* and *Asrar-i-Khudi*. He ignored all those passages in Rumi's *methnawi* which could be interpreted pantheistically and acknowledged personalist elements in his mysticism.⁵⁵

The Development of Metaphysics in Persia was not translated into Urdu in Iqbal's life as his conscience was not easy with this work. He became least interested in its publication by 1917 and no subsequent edition of it appeared during Iqbal's life time.⁵⁶ Eighteen years after its publication, a friend of Iqbal requested him to get it translated into Urdu but Iqbal refused this entreaty by

52 *Speeches, Statements and Writings of Iqbal*, 122.

53 *Speeches, Statements and Writings of Iqbal*, 123.

54 M. M. Sharif, "The Genesis of Iqbal's Aesthetics," *Iqbal*, 1 (1952): 25.

55 Annemarie Schimmel, "Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938): The Ascension of Poet," *Die Welt Des Islams, New Series* 3, no.3/4 (1954): 151.

56 B. A. Dar, *Anwar-i Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977), 201. See, Muhyidin Qadri Zoor, *Shad Iqbal* (Hyder Abad: India, 1942), 45; *Makatib Iqbal banam Khan Niaz-ud-Din* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1986), 50; where he discouraged a would be translator of the aforementioned work by indicating the obsolescent nature of the work.

replying that his ideas had passed through revolutionary transformation.⁵⁷

Iqbal gave somewhat sympathetic treatment to the approaches taken up by heterodox movements like those of Sufis and Ismailis towards God, the world and spirituality which were not in agreement with those of orthodox theologians. This sympathetic treatment could prove to be an obstruction to his project of building idea of Muslim nation as a distinct entity and purifying Islam of all Persian mystical elements. He became involved in the quest for revivalist manifesto that could serve as the rallying point for Indian Muslims. The ideas presented in his first work could defeat his purpose, if went unchallenged. The experiences of cultural alienation and colonial or racial prejudices in Europe affected the highly sensitive mind of Iqbal. He went to Europe as an advocate of pantheism and came back as the bitter critic of it. As he himself said, "Europe's environment made me a Muslim."⁵⁸

Iqbal returned from Europe as a transformed personality. The question which seriously occupies his mind was: what caused the Muslims to lose their dominance over the world or what caused the decline and loss of Muslim power and glory in the world? The answer he found lay in negating his formerly held conception of *tasawwuf*. It was Persian Sufism which led to the decline of Muslim power and also led the Muslims to deviate from true and pure Islam. The conception of *wahdat al-wajud* that he cherished and espoused formerly began to appear as malady afflicting Muslim society. He thought Sufism taught other-worldliness or withdrawal from the world and eschewed the strife and activity which is the mode of existence of Ego or *Khudi* as he called it. Whether Rumi or Western Voluntarism led to Iqbal's dissatisfaction with Vedantic pantheistic mysticism is not clearly known as Professor B.A Dar surmises: However, his *Asrar-i-Khudi* was

57 Dar, *Anwar-i Iqbal*, 201.

58 Dar, *Anwar-i Iqbal*, 176.

modeled on the style of famous Rumi's *mathnavi* as Nicholson observes in the introduction to the translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*.

Asrar-i-Khudi was the first book he wrote after his return from Europe which unmistakably shows the influence of Fichte, Bergson and Nietzsche. He reproduced "several anecdotes from *Thus Spake Zarathustra* with minor changes. The chapter on the names of Ali expounds his doctrine of Will to Power. But none of them is mentioned by name."⁵⁹

The influence of western thought on Iqbal is not as great as that of orthodox tradition of Muslim thought having elements of both mysticism and rationality. It was the pantheistic mysticism that was held to be the second main cause of Muslim decay and he criticized it.⁶⁰ In the introduction to the first edition of *Asrar-i-Khudi* (1915), Iqbal criticized Hindu thought for abhorring the desire for activity which in Iqbal's view is the very nature of the Self.⁶¹ Sahikh-i-Akibar Ibnul Arabi followed the point of view adopted by Sankra in the interpretation of Gita when he himself sought to interpret the Quran. In India pantheism remained the philosophical doctrine, but in Iran it went beyond its limits and in the hands of the poets and began to appeal to the heart, with the result that it reached every nook and corner of the Islamic world and became the main cause of social and political decay.⁶² "The idea of *fana* which has been taken in the meaning of complete obliteration of the 'Self' became completely unacceptable to Iqbal."⁶³ He categorically rejected all doctrines concerning *fana* which according to him was apt to destroy human personality and individuality. *Fana* for him

59 Dar, *Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism*, 7. See for the names of Ali, Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, 86-89.

60 Dar, *Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism*, 12.

61 Dar, *Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism*, 12.

62 Dar, *Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism*, 57.

63 Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing: A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963), 366.

was more dangerous than the destruction of Baghdad because it led to stagnation of intellectual life.⁶⁴ “Thus Iqbal assails the sacred institution of Sufis because he felt that they turned into empty facades behind which no true religious life, nor genuine communion with the Divine was existing.”⁶⁵ The Sufi has taken the “Wine of the Day of Covenant as an excuse for doing nothing” as we see in the “poetry of Hafiz, Omar Khayyam and their imitator’.”⁶⁶ He himself writes in one of his essays: “By Persian mysticism the enchantment of the heart, beauty and glamour have appeared in literature, but in such a way that human nature is debased by it. In Islamic mysticism there appears power in the heart and the effect of this power is also exerted on literature.”⁶⁷

The publication of *Asrar-i-Khudi* in 1915 was greeted with protest from different sections of literary and intellectual circles. The *mathnavi* was looked on as critique of Sufism.⁶⁸ The writers like Hasan Nizami, the custodian of dargah Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, protested against it. Iqbal sought the help of Akbar Allahbadi and Sayyid Sulayman Phulwari to settle the issue. In the second edition, he expunged the verses against Hafiz of Shiraz whom he accused of poisoning the minds of the people through his mysticism.⁶⁹

In the introduction to his translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Professor Nicholson writes:

He (Iqbal) sees that Hindu intellectualism and Islamic pantheism have destroyed the capacity for action, based on scientific observation and interpretation of phenomena which distinguishes the Western people ‘and especially the

64 Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, 367.

65 Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, 367.

66 Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, 367.

67 Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, 366.

68 Bashir Ahmed Dar, ed., *Letters of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1978), 139.

69 Dar, *Letters of Iqbal*, 139.

English.’ Now this capacity depends ultimately on the conviction that *Khudi* (selfhood, individuality or personality) is real and not merely an illusion of mind.⁷⁰

The cry back to the Quran and back to Muhammad became allied with revolutionary force of western philosophy as Professor Nicholson notes.⁷¹

In *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Iqbal contradicts his conceptions of *Tasawwuf* developed in his doctoral research *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* and early part of *Bang-i-Dara*. In chapter IV of the *Asrar*, he arrives at the moral that negation of the self is a doctrine invented by the subject races to sap and weaken the character of the rulers. Iqbal, further, alludes to the Persians who were subjected by the Arabs. In their sheep-natured vengeance, Persians employed the weapon of mysticism to make the Arabs weak. He narrates a tale in allegory in which the sheep-herd was attacked by the tigers and the sheep in order to neutralize the power of the tigers invented the doctrine of self-denial. For Iqbal domination and power is the manifestation of *Khudi* which could develop in tiger-oriented Muslim awareness of *Khudi* and sheep-natured Sufi preaching of self-denial is its antithesis.

Conquest and dominion are signs of strength
 Victory is the manifestation of Strength
 Those fierce tigers beat the drum of sovereignty
 They deprive the sheep of the freedom
 One of the sheep which was clever and acute
 Old in years, cunning was a weather beaten wolf
 Being grieved at the fate of his fellows
 And sorely vexed by the violence of the tigers
 Made complaint of the course of Destiny
 And sought by craft to restore the fortunes of his race
 The weak, in order to preserve themselves
 Seek device from skilled intelligence

70 Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, xii.

71 Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, xii.

In slavery, for the sake of repelling harm
 The power of scheming becomes quickened
 'Tis not possible
 However much one exhorts and counsels
 To create in a sheep the disposition of a wolf
 But to make the furious tiger a sheep-that is possible
 To make him unmindful of his nature-that is possible
 He became as a prophet inspired
 And began to preach to the blood-thirsty tigers
 He cried out, "O ye insolent liars
 Who want not of a day of ill luck that shall continue for
 ever!
 I am possessed of spiritual power
 I am an apostle sent by God for the tigers
 I come as a light for the eye that is dark
 I come to establish laws and give commandments
 Repent of your blameworthy deeds
 O plotters of evil, bethink yourselves of good!
 Whose is violent and strong is, miserable
 Life's solidity depends on self-denial
 The spirit of the righteous is fed by fodder
 The vegetarian is pleasing unto God⁷²

In Hafiz, the famous Persian Sufi poet, Iqbal found the main
 advocate of self-denial whom he also calls theologian of the
 race of drunkards and the leader of helpless or *bechargan*.
 He warned Muslims to beware of Hafiz whose poetry he
 likened to 'a cup of deadly poison' who was snake in the
 grass and acted to lull his victim to sleep before
 administering poison.⁷³ In the same books, Iqbal subjects

72 Muhammad Iqbal, *Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self): A Philosophical Poem*, trans. Reynold A Nicholason (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), 48-53.

73 Dar, *Letters of Iqbal*, 139. The writers like Hasan Nizami protested against it. Iqbal sought the help of Akbar Allahbadi and Sayyid Sulayman Phulwari to settle the issue. In the second edition, Iqbal expunged the verses against Hafiz of Shiraz, whom Iqbal accused of poisoning the minds of the people through his mysticism.

Plato to harsh criticism for being 'a sheep in man's clothing' and for poisoning the mind by intoxication.⁷⁴

In this *mathnavi*, Iqbal's concept of *Khudi* is not that of a universal man, but that of a Muslim. To Iqbal, *Khudi* can only belong to a Muslim as Professor Nicholson remarks about Iqbal:

He is a religious enthusiast, inspired by the vision of a New Mecca, a world-wide, theocratic, Utopian state in which all Muslims, no longer divided by the barriers of race and country, shall be one... It must be observed that when he speaks of religion he always means Islam. Non-Muslims are simply unbelievers, and (in theory, at any rate) the Jihad is justifiable, provided that it is waged "for God's sake alone."⁷⁵

The tigers fall into the artful devices of the sheep and hence the message to Muslims is that they have been weakened by Sufi quietism and self-annihilation, as Elizabeth Sirriyeh observes.⁷⁶ The first edition of *Asrar* was greeted with storm of criticism as Iqbal's sense of Islamic morality was overwhelmed by merciless blood-thirsty nature of tigers which was not Prophet's Sunnah but embodiment of assertion of Nietzsche's will to power.⁷⁷ The development of the notion of *khudi* brought Iqbal into conflict with the wahdat *al-wajud* teachings of eminent Sufis like al-Hallaj and Ibnul Arabi. He also thought of Ibnul Arabi's *Fusus- al Hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) as 'blasphemous and anti-Islamic.'⁷⁸ In a letter to Shah Suleiman Phulwari, Iqbal states his belief that Ibnul Arabi's teachings were not according to the Quran.⁷⁹ In another letter of July 10, 1916 to Siraj-ud Din Paal, Iqbal

74 Iqbal, *Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self)*, 57-59.

75 Iqbal, *Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self)*, x-xi.

76 Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufis and anti-Sufis: The Defense, Rethinking and Rejection of Sufism in the Modern World* (Surrey, London: Curzon Press, 1999), 131.

77 Sirriyeh, *Sufis and anti-Sufis*, 131.

78 Sirriyeh, *Sufis and anti-Sufis*, 132.

79 Dar, *Anwar-i-Iqbal*, 178.

repudiates the teachings of *Fusul-al Hikam* as *alhad* and *zandiqa* (apostasy and heresy).⁸⁰ After reading Louis Massignon's translation and notes on *Kitab-al Tawasin*, he wrote in letter to Aslam Jira Japuri dated May 17, 1919, this book helped him to justify the death sentence imposed on al-Hallaj. He hoped that the new researches would expose Persian *tasawwuf* and its hidden relations.⁸¹ It is irony that Rumi, whom Iqbal regards as his master in poetry for the expression of his ideas, has made many allusions to Hallaj in his *Diwan* and *Mathnawi* calling him 'the martyr of love' and quoting his verse "kill me o' my trustworthy friends". Rumi, in contrast to Iqbal regards Hallaj's death as remaining faithful to the Prophetic tradition, 'die before ye die'.⁸²

Iqbal holds 'Speculative Sufism' responsible for minimizing the sense for matter.⁸³ *Rumuz-i-Bakhudi* (The Mysteries of Selflessness), also a Persian poem like *Asrar*, was published in 1918. A. J. Arberry translated it in English in 1953. The Muslim community is addressed in this poem rather than universal human community. The ego of individual Muslim is the reflection of that of community, as these lines in the *Prelude* show:

The link that bind the individual
To the Society a Mercy is
His truest Self in the Community
Alone achieves fulfilment
Wherefore be
The individual a Mirror holds
To the Community, ad they to him⁸⁴

80 Pervaiz, *Tasawwuf ki Haqiqat*, 6th ed. (Lahore: Tuloo-i-Islam Trust, 2004), 275.

81 Pervaiz, *Tasawwuf ki Haqiqat*, 274.

82 Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 320.

83 Iqbal, *Stray Reflections*, 156.

84 Muhammad Iqbal, *Rumuz-i-Bakhudi (The Mystries of the Selflessness): A Philosophical Poem*, trans. Arthur J. Arberry (London: J Murray, 1953), 9.

Asrar and Rumuz both constitute the whole of Iqbal's theory of Selfhood. Arberry in the Preface of translation of the *Rumuz* comments on Iqbal's ideal community of the Selfhood of Muslims was to create in these words: "In the *Rumuz*, Iqbal states the case for international Islam. In this phase of his life he was still thinking most intently of the possibility of a revival of caliphate, bringing together in single theocracy the 300,000,000 Muslims of the world."⁸⁵

Iqbal prodigally praises Mughal King Aurengzeb Alamgir and his adherence to *Sharia* or the Quranic Law whose sword was like 'faith's torch which burnt to ground harvest of impiety. He terms the liberal and secular ideas espoused by Akbar as heretic and those of Dara as source of corruption.

By Akbar nourished, sprang and sprouted fresh
 In Dara's soul, the candle of the heart
 Was dimmed in every breast, no more secure
 Against corruption our Community
 Continued; then God chose from India
 That humble-minded warrior, Alamgir
 Religion to revive, faith to renew
 The lightning of his sword set all ablaze
 The harvest of impiety; faith's torch
 Once more its radiance o'er our counsels shed
 Many the tales misguided spirits told
 Blind to the breadth of his percipient mind
 He was a moth that ever beat its wings
 About the candle-flame of Unity
 An Abraham in India's idol-house
 In all the line of kings he stands alone
 His tomb is witness to his saintliness⁸⁶

Iqbal prefers *taqlid* (strict conformity to or imitation of tradition) to *ijtihad* (the employment of reasoning or logic to interpret *Sharia*) in the times of decadence. In the *Rumuz*

85 Iqbal, *Rumuz-i-Bakhudi (The Mystries of the Selflessness)*, 3.

86 Iqbal, *Rumuz-i-Bakhudi (The Mystries of the Selflessness)*, 17.

Iqbal expressed his belief in *taqlid* and its potential to save the community as:

Destroys the balance temperament of life
 Then the community may look to find
 Stability in strict conformity
 Go thou thy father's road
 For therein lies Tranquility
 Conformity connotes
 The holding fast of the community⁸⁷

Ijtihad, according to him ruins the community as these lines tell:

The ruin of thy fortune
 In the time of decadence
 To seek to exercise
 The speculative judgment of the mind
 Completes the people's havoc finally⁸⁸

Aurengzeb became the paragon of Iqbal's *Khudi*. The symbols of sword (*tegh*, *shamsir* or *talwar*) and hawk or Eagle (*Uqaab*, *Shaheen*) are integral part of the activity of *Khudi* of *mard-i-momin*. The themes of conquest and *jihad* recur in *Asrar-o-Rumuz*. Iqbal condemns the western nationalism and replaces it with Muslim nationalism which transcends barriers of race and geography. But in so doing, unconsciously, builds up *Khudi* or Ego of Muslim that smacks of Islamic racism. He considered Plato's theories of Ideas and Ibnul Arabi's *wahdat-al-wajud* were a potent threat to the divine purpose of creating a Muslim with indomitable quest for dominance.⁸⁹ Professor Athar Rizvi comments on Iqbal's adherence to Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani: "Iqbal's invitation to Muslims to follow the leadership of Mujaddid was not only consistent with his religious and political philosophy but was

87 Iqbal, *Rumuz-i-Bakhudi (The Mystries of the Selflessness)*, 40.

88 Iqbal, *Rumuz-i-Bakhudi (The Mystries of the Selflessness)*, 41.

89 Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Munsihram Monoharlal Publisher, 1992), 464.

the corner stone of his ideas on Muslim dominance which as he saw, should be on world-wide scale.”⁹⁰ Ahmad Sirhindi is usually considered Ibnul Arabi’s antagonist while Ibnul Arabi is looked on as ‘representative of Islamic panthiesm’.⁹¹

Iqbal is profuse in his admiration for Abdullah ibn Wahab⁹² in whom the ‘spirit of Ibn Taimiyyah’s teaching found a fuller expression’, and whose movement arose from the ‘sands of Nejd’ in the eighteenth century had immense potentialities. He thinks of Ibne Wahab’s religious movement as the first throb of life in modern Islam which inspired nearly all great modern movements of Muslim Asia and Africa. Iqbal likened him to Ghazali’s disciple Muhammad Ibn Tumart, the ‘Berber reformer who appeared amidst the decay of Muslim Spain’.⁹³

Iqbal’s critique of *wahadat-al-wajud*, based on dualist character of his thought, is itself fraught with insoluble question: how can Infinite pass into loving embrace of finite? It is just as to say that ocean can come into loving embrace of a drop. He admitted that he abandoned his natural and ancestral inclination towards Sufism ‘for the sake of Quran after deep contemplation on the Quran and serious study of history of Islam. He had to wage terrible mental and emotional *jihad* against his natural and ancestral inclinations’.⁹⁴

Iqbal uses popular mystic images and motifs such *ishq*, *faqr*, *rind* and *qalandar* differently as they were used by Hafiz,

90 Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, 467.

91 Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 263.

92 Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792) from Najd, now Saudi Arabia, claimed to represent a movement to purge Islam of all elements foreign to Islam. Ibne Taimiyya’s writings influenced him. He leveled the grave of Zayd ibn al Khattab. His follower Abdul Aziz bin Muhammad bin Saud attacked and captured the holy cities of Karbala and Najaf in 1801 and 1802 and destroyed the holy shrines of Imam Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Imam Ali.

93 Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, ed. Saeed Sheikh (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 2003), 121.

94 Shuja-Al Haq, *A Forgotten Vision*, 103.

Rumi, Sanai and Omar Khyyam. *Qalandar* in their poetry transcends finitude of self, and distinctions of belief and unbelief. He is living in self-renunciation. Iqbal's connotation of *qalandar* is closer to conservative interpretation of Islam.⁹⁵

Conclusion

Iqbal, in his latter writings, condemned the concept of *wahadat-al-wajud* for eliminating the distinction between individual self (*Khudi*) and God, a distinction which is necessary for perpetual activity. The Quran, in his view, maintains such distinction. He contradicts the Sufi position that there is single essence inherent in the whole universe by asserting that all life is individual life. Moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation; an ideal which attains by becoming more and more individual. The man becomes more and more complete individual by coming nearer to God. As he becomes 'completest' he absorbs God into Himself rather than he absorbs himself into God a condition which results in the death of his individuality.⁹⁶ "In the higher Sufism of Islam, intuitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own identify by some sort of absorption into the Infinite Ego; it is rather Infinite passing into the loving embrace for the finite."

Iqbal posits a movement between God and man, it does not matter whether infinite absorbs finite or finite absorbs the infinite. The difference between God and man is individual's self upholding inflated pride and individuality and seeking to absorb God into itself rather than absorbing itself into God. A follower of *wahdat al wajud* may wonder whether it is possible with this pride by keeping oneself individual to have any idea of God, let alone 'absorbing God into oneself.

While Sufis like Hallaj, Ibnul Arabi, Rumi and Hafiz saw truth in unity of all religions and preached love for whole of

95 J. C. Burgel, "The Pious Rogue: A Study in the Meaning of Qalandar and Rend in the Poetry of Muhammad Iqbal," *Edibiyat, A Journal of Middle Eastern Literature*, 4, no. 1 (1979): 51.

96 Iqbal, *Asrar-i-Khudi (The Secrets of the Self)*, xviii-xix.

humanity, Iqbal turned to dominance of world through the development of *Khudi* whose expression could be found in conquests and victories in war. It is clear that the notion of love used in the pantheistic poetry of Rumi and other Sufis evolved as yearning for communion with God which could be achieved by renunciation of individual self. Schimmel rightly says that Iqbal uses Rumi's style and symbols while he ignores his pantheist beliefs. Iqbal, who began his intellectual career in a universal spirit of early Sufi masters, became inward-looking and turned to exclusivist interpretation of Islam and *Momin* in the latter phase of his writings.

Sufism in Pashto Literature: A Study of the Pashto Literature of Swat

Muhammad Ali Dinakhel*

ABSTRACT

Swat has a distinctive cultural, social, literary, and political history. Many important literary works in Pashto literature belong to Swat. Various religious movements started here from time to time. In this regard the first literary and religious movement is that of Akhund Darweza. In Swat, Akhund Darwiza and his muridin (aspirants on the path) are few of the pioneers of mysticism in the literary works. In this article, the tradition and evolution of mysticism in the Pashto literature of Swat are analyzed. Tradition of mysticism and its impact on the culture and literature will also be critically evaluated.

Mysticism/Sufism

Mysticism and sufism are used synonymously. It is also called Tasawwuf. Sufism is commonly known as 'Muslim Mysticism'. This expression owes certain relevance if one understands it as the knowledge of the 'mysteries', as a communion with the divine through intuition and contemplation. The Koran [Quran] distinguishes the 'world of Testimony' (*'ālam al-shahāda*), i.e. the perceptible world,

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from the “world of Mystery” (*‘ālam al-ghayb*) and asks the faithful to believe in the Mystery of *‘ālam al-ghayb* [the world not accessible to sight]. One of the goals of Sufism, precisely, is to pierce through the opacity of this world in order to contemplate spiritual realities that lie beyond simple faith.¹ It is also said that *Tasawwuf* as a moral virtue is the backbone of inner discipline and, an advanced stage in the spiritual journey.²

Ayeda Naqwi writes about Sufism in these words:

Sufism is Islamic mysticism, the spiritual side of Islam. All religions have their mystical sides but Sufism is more than merely Islamic spirituality. It is a way of love, a way of devotion and a way of knowledge; often described as a path, suggesting both an origin and a destination. Sufis aim to eliminate all veils between an individual and God. A synonym for Sufism in Arabic is ‘path’ or *tariqa*. Sufis believe it is the following of this path that will lead them to the divine essence within themselves. Often compared to therapy, the goal of a Sufi is a complete transformation of the self. They say, there are seventy thousands veils between ourselves and God. These are habits and ideas that prevent us from remembering and being aware of our connection with the Divine. Each time we lift a veil, we come a little closer to our own spiritual center. Sufism is all about polishing the mirror of the heart, so that one is able to see in the reflection of the Divine.³

Reynold A. Nicholson says that the sufis distinguish three organs of spiritual communication: the heart, which knows God; the spirit, which loves Him; and the inmost ground of

1 Eric Geoffroy, *Introduction to Sufism: The Inner Part of Islam*, trans. Roger Gaetani (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2010), 2.

2 Muhammad Mahmood Ali Qutbi, *Fragrance of Sufism* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1993), 1.

3 Nafees Iqbal, *Urdu Shaeri mi Tasawwuf: Meer, Sawda awr Dard ke Ehad mein* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007), 23-24.

the soul, which contemplates Him.⁴ Faqir Muhammad Abbas Qadria, in his book, *Tasawwuf*, writes:

د تصوف معني د صوفيانو عقیده يا مذهب - د معرفت علم د
نفساني خواهشاتو نه پاکيدل - خدائي اخلاق اختيارول - هغه علم
چي د هغي په ذريعه د زړه صفائي او پاکيزه والے حاصليري - يا
داسي به ووايو چي د نفس د صفائي يا د تذکيه طريقي ته تصوف
وائي.⁵

Translation: The meaning of *tasawwuf* is the belief and religion of sufis. [It is] the knowledge of marifat (knowledge of God), purifying from personal wishes and attaining of godly ethics. [It is] that kind of knowledge through which we can get purification of heart. In other words the way of the purification of *nafs* (the carnal soul, the ego) is called *tasawwuf*.

In the cited above book Faqir Muhammad Abbas Qadria traces back the term of Sufi to the end of the eighth century. Jaber bin Hayan Kofi and Abu Hasham Kofi are among the first sufis.⁶ In Sufism *Bi-at* [Committing to follow instructions of a pious teacher], is very important. Shah Waliullah writes about Bi-at in these words:

بيعت واجب نہیں سنت ہے - اس لئے کہ لوگوں نے رسول اللہ
صلی اللہ علیہ و آلہ وسلم کی بیعت کی - اور اس کے ذریعے اللہ
تعالیٰ کا تقرب چاہا - اس ضمن میں کہیں اس بات کی دلیل نہیں
ملتی کہ جس نے آپ کی بیعت نہ کی وہ گنہ گار ہوا - اور نہ
کسی امام نے رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کی بیعت نہ کرنے
والے کو برا قرار دیا ہے - چنانچہ اس امر پر سب کا اجماع ہے
کہ بیعت واجب نہیں۔⁷

Translation: Bi-at is not *wajib* but it is *sunnat* because the people did the bi-at of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and thus attained the closeness of God. In this connection,

4 Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1914), 68.

5 Faqir Muhammad Abbas Qadria, *Tasawwuf* (Peshawar: Rahman Gul Publishers, 1979), 41.

6 Qadria, *Tasawwuf*, 42.

7 Hazrat Shah Waliullah, *Tasauf ke Adaab-o-Ashghal awr un ka Falsafa* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 4th Edn. 1981), 45.

there is no evidence that those who did not do Bi-at, became sinful. Neither an Imam declared those people as bad people who who did not do Bi-at with Prophet (PBUH). Therefore all the people unanimously agreed that Bi-at is not *wajib*.

To understand Sufism in its entirety; one has to embark on the Sufi Path.⁸ Although reading the travelogues of the prominent Sufis who have actually followed the Path may be beneficial, it cannot take one to the ultimate goal.⁹

Main Theories of Sufism

There are two main theories of Sufism. Dr. Iqbal Nasim Khatak writes about these theories in these words:

د تصوف دوه غټې نظريې تر اوسه د يوې بلې په مقابل كېنې راروانې دي - چې يوه وحدت الوجود ده او بله وحدت الشهود - د وحدت الوجود فلسفه د نو فلاطونيت د فلسفې نه راوتې ده - د اسلام نه اگاهو اسكندريه او مدائن د نو فلاطونيت¹⁰ د فلسفې مركزونه وو - هر كله چې د عباسيانو په دوره كېنې يوناني علوم عربي او فارسي ته منتقل شول او دغه فلسفې د وحدت الوجود رنگ واخستو نو بيا ذوالنون مصري ، بايديد بسطامي، جنيد بغدادي، حسين ابن منصور حلاج، ابوبكر شبلي، شيخ علي هجويري، مولانا رومي، خواجه معين الدين چشتي، شيخ محي الدين ابن عربي، او مولانا جامي دغه نظريې ته بڼه ترقي ورکړه او په تيره تيره شيخ محي الدين ابن عربي دغه فلسفه يو خاص مقام ته ورسوله خو په يولسمه صدۍ هجري كېنې شيخ احمد سرهندي مجدد الف ثاني د دغه فلسفې مخالفت اوکړه او دا يې نامکمله فلسفه اوگڼله او د دې په ځاي يې د وحدت الشهود فلسفه راوړاندې کړه. د دغه مخالفت باوجود هم د وحدت الوجود فلسفه په خپل ځاي ولاړه ده او جرړې يې دومره مطبوعي دي چې په اسانه يې ختمول گران دي.¹¹

8 Jawad Noorbakhash, "Foreword," in, *The Heritage of Sufism* vol. II, ed. Leonard Levisohn (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003), xvii.

9 Jawad, "Foreword," xviii.

10 Plotinus (A.D. 204-70), the founder of Neoplatonism, is the last of the great philosophers of antiquity. His life is almost coextensive with one of the most disastrous periods in Roman history. Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1946/1999), 289.

11 Muhammad Iqbal Nasim Khattak, *Durdane* (Peshawar: Haram Printers, 2000), 11-12.

Translation: There are two main theories of tasawwuf running against each others. The one is called *Wahdatul Wajud* (the Unity of Being) and the other is called *Wahdatul Shahud*. The philosophy of the Unity of Being is derived from the philosophy of Neoplatonism. Before Islam, Iskandarya and Madyan were centres of the philosophy of Neoplatonism. During Abbasyed period the Greek sciences were translated into Arabic and Persian, and the theory of Neoplatonism was adopted as *Wahdatul Wajud*. Later on Zo-alnoon Mesri, Bayazid Bustami, Junaid Bughdadi, Hussain Ibni Mansoor Hallaj, Abubakar Shibli, Shaikh Ali Hajwiri, Mawlana Rumi, Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, Shaikh Mahuddin Ibni Arabi and Mawlana Jami greatly contributed towards this Philosophy (*Wahdatul Wajud*). Shaikh Mahuddin Ibni Arabi took this philosophy to a distinctive position. During the eleventh century, Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi Mujaddid Alif Sani opposed this philosophy and declared it as incomplete philosophy. Despite, he presented the philosophy of *Wahdatul Shahud*. In spite of this opposition, the philosophy of *Wahdatul Wajud* is deeply rooted among its followers that it is very difficult to eradicate it.

Misuse of Sufism or Mysticism

Some people considered mysticism a 'life-denying' and 'fact-avoiding' attitude of mind which is not the right thing.¹² Some people say that religious experience is individual which is incommunicable.¹³ In this regard Iqbal says: "The fact, however, that religious experience is incommunicable does not mean that the religious man's pursuit is futile. Indeed, the incommunicability of religious experience gives us a clue to the ultimate nature of the ego."¹⁴

Evolution of Sufism in Pashto Literature

To begin with, Sufism in Pashto literature is analysed with reference to the literary works of Bayazid Ansari. Akhund

12 Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1986), 143.

13 Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam*, 145.

14 Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam*, 145.

Darwiza became a staunch opponent of the ways and sect of Bayazid Ansari. Dr. Leyden writes about Bayazid Ansari in these words: "Having been the founder of a heretical sect, which attained a very formidable degree of power, and was suppressed with extreme difficulty, his works have been proscribed, and his memory regarded with horror among the greater number of the Afghn."¹⁵ The order (Sufism) of Bayazid Rokhan is known as Rokhani Tasawwuf. The first follower of Bayazid Rokhan in Rokhani Tasawwuf was Arzani Khwishki.¹⁶

There are eight steps in the *Rokhani Tasawwuf*. These steps have been described by Arzani Khishki as: shariat, tariqat, haqiqat, ma'rifat, qurbat, waslat, wahdat, sakunat.¹⁷

In another place he says:

شریعت دے طریقت دے	حقیقت دے معرفت دے
هر چي دا څلور ئي خپل کره	د بابا ادم پر پت دے
بل قربت بل ئي وصلت دے	بل وحدت بل سکونت دے
دا ساکن اراسته شوے	د مرسله په سنت دے ¹⁸

Translation: There are shariat, tariqat, haqiqat and ma'rifat. Those who followed these four (steps)/ he is on the way of Adam. Besides, there are qurbat and wasalat, wahdat and sakunat.

The poetry of Mirza Khan Ansari also describes the theory of *Wahdatul Wajud*.¹⁹ A few verses of his poetry are given below:

د مولا د نزدیکیه خبر نه دي
بي ابو د ژوندون طمع کا له کبه

15 Leyden, "The Rosheniah Sect and its Founder Bayezid Ansari," *Asiatic Researches*, xi (London: 1812).

16 Arzani Khwishki, Da Arzani Khishki Kulyat Samawna aw Sirana Dr. Pervez Mahjoor Khishkay, (Peshawar: Pukhto Academy University of Peshawar, 2005), 70.

17 Khwishki, Da Arzani Khishki Kulyat Samawna aw Sirana, 71.

18 Khwishki, Da Arzani Khishki Kulyat Samawna aw Sirana, 71.

19 Mirza Khan Ansari, Da Mirza Khan Ansari Diwan Samawana aw Sirana Dr. Pervez Mahjoor Kheshkay (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, 2004).

خلق واره د خالق په هستی هست دي
د صفات جامه په ذات ده مرتبه²⁰

Translation: they are not aware from the closeness of God; they expect a fish to live without water. All the creatures are existed due to the existence of Creator; attributes are based on the Existence of Being.

In another place he says:

ذات بي مثله جلوه اوکړه
له پرتوه ئي صفات شه
بناخ به خو پائي بي بېخه
دا صفات دليل د ذات شه²¹

Translation: The Existence (God) lightened; its shining became its attributes. How long a branch can live without a base (stem); these attributes is a proof of the Existence.

In Pashto modern poets Hamza Shinwari belongs to the Unity of Being (*Wahdatul Wajud*). He is a disciple of *Chishtia Silsilah*.²² Although Hamza believes in the apparent rules of religion but he does not consider it as enough as he says:

دا علمونه ظاهري دي ټول هډونه
باب د علم روږدې کړې په نلي يم

Translation: Apparently, all of the disciplines of knowledge are like bones; I am interested in bone marrow.

It means that he is more interested in internal meanings rather than the apparent meanings.

The Philosophy of the Unity of Being

This is called *Falsafa Wahdatul Wajud* but some people do not agree to name it as philosophy. In this regard Dr. Jawad Noorbakhash writes:

20 Ansari, Da Mirza Khan Ansari Diwan Samawana aw Sirana, ک.

21 Ansari, Da Mirza Khan Ansari Diwan Samawana aw Sirana, ک.

22 Muhammad Iqbal Nasim Khattak, *Durdane* (Peshawar: Haram Printers, 2000), 12.

A philosophy is something invented by the mind and, hence, subject to change. The awareness of the Unity of Being, though, is a perception of the heart, so that it is everlasting and unchanging. Philosophy pertains to the mind and discourse, whereas perception of the Unity of Being pertains to love, revelation, and vision. Therefore, in our view, it is better to refer to it as the principle, rather than the philosophy of the Unity of Being.²³

The followers of the philosophy of *Wahdatul Wajud* say that there is only One Being and whatever exists is a manifestation or realization of that Being.²⁴ From the Sufis' point of view, God is Absolute Being, and whatever exists is a determination or manifestation of Him. The Sufis maintain that all existence is through God and is a manifestation of that being, without which there would be nothing.²⁵

دا ټول دي حجابونه چې انبار يې کرل په مخ
درک يې په تفسير ، فقه ، حکمت کښي نشته هيڅ

Translation: All these are curtains that covered His face; there is no evidence (of these things) in the *tafseer* (Interpretation of Quran), *fiqah* (Islamic Jurisprudence) and *hikmat* (philosophy, logic, wisdom) [sources of Islamic knowledge].

These two philosophies of *tasawwuf* are closely related without any major difference.

حمزه که شي حجاب د ما سيوا د زړه نه دور
کثرت عين وحدت دے په کثرت کښي نشته هيڅ

Translation: Hamza! If the curtain of others removed from the heart; (then) the abundance is unity and there is nothing in abundance.

ته که په پرده کښي وے پرده به پاتې نه وے
ستا بي پردگی هم پردي دي پيدا کړي

23 Jawad Noorbakhash, "Foreword," in *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. II, ed. Leonard Levisohn (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003), xvi.

24 Noorbakhash, "Foreword," xv.

25 Noorbakhash, "Foreword," xv.

Translation: if you were in veil then he would not be able to survive as veil; you being curtainless have created veils.

Hamza does not completely deny the philosophy of *Wahdatul Shahud* (the unity of contemplation).

که هر خو گوره کثرت زما خوښ نه دے
ولي بي د دي وحدت زما خوښ نه دے

Translation: Although I don't like the *kasrat* (manifestations); but without it I don't like *wahdat* (Unity of Being).

حاصل له ډېرو ښکلیو مي وحدت کړو د ښائست
کثرت د بت خاني نه مسلمان راغله بم

Translation; I gained the beauty of *wahdat* (Unity of Being) from many beauties; I have become monotheist through tis manifestations.

Although Hamza does not deny the *kasrat* but he does not admit it as reality.

يا خو هيڅ نشته دا واره وهم و خيال دے
او که وي نو بس د يار به وي وجود

Translation: Either there is nothing and all are just imagination; or it is the existence of Beloved.

ادراک دے د وجود او نور سيوا چي دے عدم دے
دا څه چي مونږه گورو هم هغه دي نور څه نه دي

Translation: It is only the perception of the existence and besides there is nothing (exists); that which we see is His existence and nothing else.

يا محسوس په حقيقت کښي هم هغه دے نور څه نه دي
په پټو سترگو گوره چي دا گوري دا لیده شي

Translation: In reality He is only perceivable and nothing else; look with closed eyes and you will see.

Sufism in the Pashto Literature of Swat

Sufism is a religious movement. Dr. Sultan-i-Rome states about the role of religious leaders in Swat in these words: "A number of religious leaders gained prominence in Swat and

religious classes had great influence on the traditional and tribal society of the state."²⁶

How a man can get the high status of a *Pir* and *Akhund*. In this regard Makhdum Tasadduq Ahmad writes:

If any person continued religious activities persistently for a number of years he could become a *pir*, or a religious guide, or even an *Akhund* which denotes greater holiness. A notable instance is that of the *Akhund* of Swat who became the spiritual leader and virtual master of Swat because of his personal religious merit. He was born in a poor farmer's family in upper Swat.²⁷

Religious families have been respected in Swat. As Makhdum Says:

A large number of *Pakhtuns* as well as the *serai* owners pay a thanks-giving tax, locally called the *shukrana*, to a family of *sahibzadas*, who are living in Kohat, even to this day. It is said that the *sahibzadas*, have received the *shukrana* from generation to generation since the conquest of Swat by the Yusufzais. It was believed that but for the prayers of Seyyed Banur, an ancestor of the *sahibzadas*, Malik Ahmad and his Yusufzais followers could not have obtained their present home.²⁸

Even the graves of the religious leaders and saints were respected in Swat as stated by Makhdum:

It was also thought that the *stanadars* were able to exercise their powers after death. The testimony of this may be seen in large groves of ancient olive trees here and there which stand in contrast to the barren naked hills. Evidently, the reason why the groves have escaped the ravages of the axe lies in the fact that within them are the graves of saints to which men and women come every Thursday for favours. The trees and shrubs in the vicinity

26 Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State: 1915-1969* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 227.

27 Makhdum Tasadduq Noorbakhash, *Social Organization of Yusufzai Swat* (Lahore: Punjab University Press, 1962), 36.

28 Ahmad, *Social Organization of Yusufzai Swat*, 39.

of the groves are not molested lest wrath of the saint should befall the "sinner".²⁹

The first writer in the Pashto literature of Swat, who discussed the subtleties of Sufism is, Akhund Darwiza. He was motivated by Pir Baba. Akhund Darwiza considers shariat and order of Sufism very important. He expresses his views in this regard in the following verses of his Alifnama.

هر چې بي پیره پيري کا هم مريد مستقيم نه کا
د ايمان سپينکے کاروان يي شياطينو دے وهلے
هغه پيردي پيري کاندې چې په شرع مستقيم وي
هم يي اذن لاس په لاس له نبي رخه راوړے³⁰

Translation: Those who want to be a pir with out a pir (teacher) can not bring his murid (disciple) to right path; His caravan of belief has looted by satans; Sufism is allowed for a pir who know the shariat (Islamic law); and he has an order which reaches to the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Akhund Darwiza belongs to Chishtiya order of Sufism.³¹ The son of Akhund Darwiza, Akhund Karim Dad also belongs to this order.³² Akhund Darwiza stresses on the shariat and good deeds.³³ He does not admit logic and reasoning in Sufism.³⁴ Akhund Darwiza is of the opinion that in *Wahdatul Wajud*, when a Sufi is in the full senses, it is not possible for him to see the Reality (Almighty). When some one wants to see the Almighty; he must prepare himself for sacrifices.³⁵ Akhund Karimdad is the elder son of Akhund Darwiza who compiled all of the books of his father.³⁶ As mentioned

29 Ahmad, *Social Organization of Yusufzai Swat*, 39.

30 Akhund Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface by Syed Taqwimul Haq Kaka Khel* (Peshawar: Pashto Academy University of Peshawar, 1969/1987), 82.

31 Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface*, 80 and 111.

32 Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface*, 134.

33 Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface*, 89.

34 Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface*, 78-9.

35 Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface*, 78.

36 Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface*, عا، عب.

earlier, Akhund Darwiza stresses on shariat and respect of religious leaders but his son Akhund Karimdad does not give such a great importance to these things. He describes the Sufism in the following verses:

که طالب د حقیقت یی اول مه شه پر شکم
کم خفتن کره کم گفتن کره کم دینار شه کم درم
کم پوشش کره کم نوشش کره که چارپائے نه ئے آدم³⁷

Translation: If you are a seeker of Reality, first do not eat too much; reduce your sleep, talking and money; reduce your clothing and drinking because you are not an animal rather you are an human being.

Akhund Darwiza does not believe to see the Almighty but his son Akhund Karimdad considers it possible. It is necessary to lose his existence to find the Reality (meaning) as stated by Karimdad:

دا معني به هغه مومي کریمداده
چه صورت یی واره شوے رېز مرېز ده³⁸

Translation: O Karimdad! That person will find the meaning (Reality); who converted his body into pieces (lost himself).

Akhund Darwiza has been praised in the Pashto literature of Swat as compared to Bayazid Ansari:

دروېزه اخون وارد غني مولی کره
بایزید خدائے په ډېر سختو مبتلا کره³⁹

Translation: God sent Akhund Darwiza; God Bayazid engaged in difficulties.

Bayazid Ansari has not been praised:

ده ته پیر تاریک وئبلے پښتنو وه
پښتانه ده ډېر وژلي په کینو وو

37 Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface*, 199-198.

38 Darwiza, *Makhzan with Preface*, 172.

39 Taj Muhammad Khan Zebsar, *Urooj-e-Afghan*, vol. I (1941): 59.

دے اکبر او پښتنو لره افت وۀ
دهر يو علتۀ جور د ده صورت وۀ⁴⁰

Translation: Pashtuns called him as Pir Tarik; He killed many Pashtuns in prejudices; He was a catastrophe for Akbar and Pashtuns; He was an embodied evil.

Impact of Sufism on the Culture of Swat

Khushal Khan described the influence and misuse of Sufism on the culture of Swat. He condemned the trend of pir and murid in Swat.

مبتلا په څو څو رنگه پليدي دي
مريدي دي، عنيدي دي، نديدي دي -⁴¹

Translation: they are suffering from numerous bad practices; like muridi, enmity and ignorance.

که په مکر څوک عالم شي يا دروېش شي
څوک به نه وي چې خبر د ده په کيش شي⁴²
و عالم وته پلار قطب نيکه غوث کا
خپل ځان لا څه الوده په بل بل لوټ کا⁴³

Translation: if a clever person pretends to be a scholar (in Swat); no one knows his reality. He shows to the common people his father as qutab and grand father as ghous (qutab and ghous are steps for a Sufi); he pollutes himself (by telling lie) in different ways.

In the time of the Pir Rokhan the Pashtuns were strictly following pir (sufis), as stated by Khushal Khan Khattak:

هغه وخت چې پيروېشان فساد بنياد کړ
پښتنو ورسره ټينگ کار د ارشاد کړ

40 Zebsar, *Urooj-e-Afghan*, vol. II (1941): 106.

41 Khushal Khan Khattak, *Swat Nama with Muqaddima: Tahqiq aw Samon da Hamish Khalil* (Akora Khattak: Markazi Khushal Adabi wa Saqafati Jarga, 1986), 64.

42 Khattak, *Swat Nama with Muqaddima*, 65.

43 Khattak, *Swat Nama with Muqaddima*, 93.

پښتانه په هغه دور پير پرست وو
 څوک مريد د شاه عيساي څوک د سرمست وو⁴⁴

Translation: when the Pir Rokhan started spreading destruction; the Pashtuns were following him. The Pashtuns were following pir (sufis) in that time; some of them were the followers of Shah Esa and some of Sarmast.

Abdul Azim Swati, another poet of that time described the situation of those who misused Sufism in the following verses:

اوس زمونږ په زمانه کښې بزرگان
 د دروغو پيدا کيږي ډېر تګان
 چې يې خوي خصلت عمل وټه اوګوري
 ته به وائي مشرورور دے د شېطان
 د دنيا د سسود دپاره سره نيسي
 کور په کور کلي په کلي مريدان
 يو بېخه طرريقه به کړي روانه
 پرې تېر باسي بي عمله جاهلان
 شکراني به کړي جاري په مريدانو
 په چاګه په [چا] چيلے په چا چرګان⁴⁵

Translation: Now in our era, the saints and holy men; many people are telling lie and disguised themselves as saints;

When you look to the character and action; you will call him as elder brother of Satan;

They engage for mundane benefits; *murids* (disciples, followers) in every village;

They start a new method; to deceive the illiterate and ignorant people;

They start getting *shukrana* thanksgiving amount from *murids*; they receive goats, sheeps and fowls from *murids*;

44 Khattak, *Swat Nama with Muqaddima*, 96.

45 Abdul Azim Swatay, *Diwan-i-Abdul Azim* (Peshawar: Idara Ishaat-i-Sarhad, 1959), 72-74.

Famous *pirs* in this area are *pir* baba and Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani.⁴⁶ Another important icon is Mianoor⁴⁷ and Akhund Darweza.⁴⁸ The people of Swat have a great respect for the book of Akhund Dawweza, *Khair-ul-Bayan*.⁴⁹

Conclusion

Sufism/mysticism is the dominant theme of the classical Pashto literature. In the early times of Pashto literature of Swat, dominance of Sufism is evident. Besides, when Sufism was at its peak, there were people who pretended to be *pirs* for mundane benefits. So many poets warned the common people against these fake *pirs*. The cultural and social life of the people was influenced by the Sufism. Some influences of the Sufism are still evident in the present day society of Swat. All these influences have been reflected in the Pashto literature of Swat.

46 Dost Muhammad Khan Dostay, *Ganjat-ul-Gawhari: Samawana aw Sirana Badrul Hakim Hakimzai* (Swat: Mashal Pukhto Tolana, 2014), 467.

47 Khattak, *Swat Nama with Muqaddima*, 91.

48 Khattak, *Swat Nama with Muqaddima*, 97.

49 Khattak, Khushal Khan, *Kulyat-i-Khushal Khan Khattak Muqaddima aw Sharha da Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil* (Peshawar: Idara Ishaat-e-Sarhad, 2nd ed., 1952/1960), 879.

Religion and Belief Systems: Challenges to Islamic Civilization and Resurgent Movements in Subcontinent

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Ms. Aqeela Asif**

ABSTRACT

If simply History is defined as the study of past events, particularly in human affairs, then history may consider as study of human belief systems. Because human beings live, move and act in certain belief system. Consequently, concerned belief system constitute the base of human life, the land on which they live and all their conducts. There is very close relationship between religion and belief system so that any challenge posed to religious structure of a civilization may affect Vernacular and Oriental perspective of that civilization. During more than one thousand and four hundred years of Muslim history, civilization based on Islamic belief system has gone through several ups and downs but compared to other civilizations, it remained more intact and effective. However, like other religious belief systems, Islamic belief system also confronted and still confronting with number of Internal and external challenges

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mostly emerged from diverse interpretations. Because of its overall structure, Islamic belief system kept saved which also helped Islamic resurgent movements to rescue Islamic civilization after every challenge. Nevertheless, such Islamic resurgent movements' always had differences in their interpretations about past, present and future of Islamic civilization.

This paper will try to examine that how different internal and external factors posed challenges to Islamic civilization as well as belief system in the Subcontinent. It will also analyse that despite number of Islamic resurgent movements in this region, why Muslims lost their sociopolitical dominance in the Subcontinent? Many Islamic dynasties ruled parts of the Indian Subcontinent started after the dawn of Islam in Arabia. This paper is based on the study of different eras and stages of the development of Islamic civilization in Subcontinent and also presents an analysis of the decline of Islamic civilization as a result of different socio-political transformations which left a huge gap yet to be filled in their religious belief system.

Introduction

The fundamental prerequisite of humanity is to control over the wild human nature¹ and creation of environment for peaceful human society. Therefore, the ability to switch over the nature and excellence of one's life is the spirit of humanitarian values, based on some rules and norms which are called belief systems. Human activities are categorized by a number of essential structures that function through incredible and well-designed realization.

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Nature*, vol. I A-J, ed. Bron Taylor, UK, 1746. <https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=i4mvAwAAQBAJ&pg=PA1746&lpg=PA1746&dq=control+over+the+wild+human+nature&source=bl&ots=sx2SKxVZMH&sig=KxPQ8aPEuNyDau90WU8hcUuPdAo&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwirlOjwjKvPAhVDQBQKHQJ6D5QQ6AEIIDAA#v=onepage&q=control%20over%20the%20wild%20human%20nature&f=false> (Accessed on September 22, 2016).

It is a famous proverb that man is a social animal, but along with that he is a sensible creature of this universe. Humans created many systems and opened the door of awareness by introducing several branches of knowledge e.g. logic, mathematics, philosophy, science, jurisprudence, sociology etc. In this era of knowledge and information, all such rational or abstract thoughts provided strong base to modern era of science and technology. Societies were originated, adhered, progressed, degraded and died; based on their belief systems. A belief always promoted by knowledge, awareness, involvement and association. Such experience is the preceding and integration of beliefs and reasoning, and this motivation desires experience to be formed. So, reasoning is the prerequisite for the comprehensive belief system.

Belief systems are assemblies of norms and values that are unified in systematic manner. These are promoted with the blend of 'Reality', which enables human beings to sense the mechanism that influence at individual as well as the masses to apply it within their respective societies. Members of specific social setup tend to construct all rituals of beliefs at individual and collective level to manage smooth social setup. Beliefs are often measured as verdicts or as ideological principles based on theoretical and practical compatibility. If deeply investigated to such convictions, it may be interpreted through the belief system and such system might lead the recipient to rationalize.

Almost 80 percent of the world's population is associated with different belief systems² but only few of them appropriately practice their ideologies and religion.

2 Garry Richard Walz, Jeanne Bleuer and Richard Yep, *VISTAS: Compelling Perspectives on Counseling, 2006* (American Counseling Association, 2006, the University of Michigan, Digitized, 2007), 110. <https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=jQdHAAAAMAAJ&dq=Almost+80%25+of+the+world%E2%80%99s+population+is+associated+with+belief+system&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=Almost+80%25+of+the+world%E2%80%99s+population+is+associated+with+belief+system> (Accessed on September 22, 2016).

Historically under some belief system people became more confident in working with innovative ideas of their own and others. They felt themselves more responsible for their societies and responsive to others. They engaged intellectually and work to develop their societies. In this way, religious belief systems remained one of the strongest phenomena regarding shaping of customs, rituals, traditions, festivals, languages, dress code, literature, architecture and norms in several societies during different historical eras.

Islam emerged as a perfect religious belief system and in fact the completion of the Lord's favour upon man so far.³ Islamic thought arisen as unique motivational force especially for the savage and Arabian Bedouins who were far from civilized aspects of human life. Despite some grass root contradictions, Islamic belief system amazingly appealed and attracted them.

One of the great impressions of Islam is that it succeeded in changing such rough and coarse Bedouins into a civilized nation of human beings. Not only were they guided to the right path and elevated from animalists to the loftier spheres of humanity, but they also became guides who directed humanity to the path of God. This is a clear illustration of Islam's miraculous ability to civilize people, refine souls and construct history accordingly.

The refinement of the soul is in itself a noble end worthy of human aspiration and motivation; it is one of the ultimate goals of civilization. But Islam was not contented with mere refinement. It always adopted all the manifestations of civilization which capture popular interest as the core of life. Islam patronized and fostered civilizations of all the regions it conquered so long as such civilizations were not contrary to monotheism and did not divert people from doing good actions.

3 *Al-Qur'an*, 5:4.

Islam also patronized and adopted the other civilization's logical heritage including medicine, astrology, mathematics, physics, chemistry and philosophy. As a belief system, it continued to add new scientific achievements. The European Renaissance and its modern scientific inventions were based on Muslim's scientific achievement.⁴

Islamic civilization in subcontinent also flourished in its different aspects and Islam as newly born Arab centric religion gradually dominated native belief systems in Subcontinent. Islam challenged longstanding Hindu belief system, particularly its strict caste system in the Subcontinent. Sociopolitical discriminations based on Hindu caste system were causing dissatisfaction especially in its lowest cast; shudras and untouchables. Such discriminations challenged by Islamic belief system and consequently socially dissatisfied classes of Subcontinent were attracted to Islamic principles based on social justice.

Characteristics of Belief Systems

Belief systems sometimes are considered as the stories to describe individual understanding of 'Reality'. So every human being may have individual belief system. But Belief system which is based on some religion, explains the attitudes of its followers towards mythical, paranormal and divine aspects of a faith. Religious beliefs and practices are the two sides of the same coin, however, some believers may not fully practice religion and some practitioners may not strongly believe in certain religious dogmas.⁵ Belief system has the different indicators based on its cognitive

4 Muhammad Kutub, *Islam: The Misunderstood Religion*, <https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/muhammad-qutb-islam-the-misunderstood-religion.pdf> (Accessed on September 16, 2016).

5 John Pittard, "Religious Disagreement," *Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (Yale University, U. S. A.), <http://www.iep.utm.edu/rel-disa/> (Accessed on September 10, 2016).

and social significance. Some characteristics of belief systems are⁶:

1. Personal level
2. Societal level
3. Regional level
4. International level

Personal Level: Personal level of a belief system is based on personal commitment which is one of the most visible features of an ideology. Such personal commitments provide foundation for collective obligations and social consequences. For example on personal level, the core of religious practice is prayer in Muslim societies. According to worldwide survey by the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life:

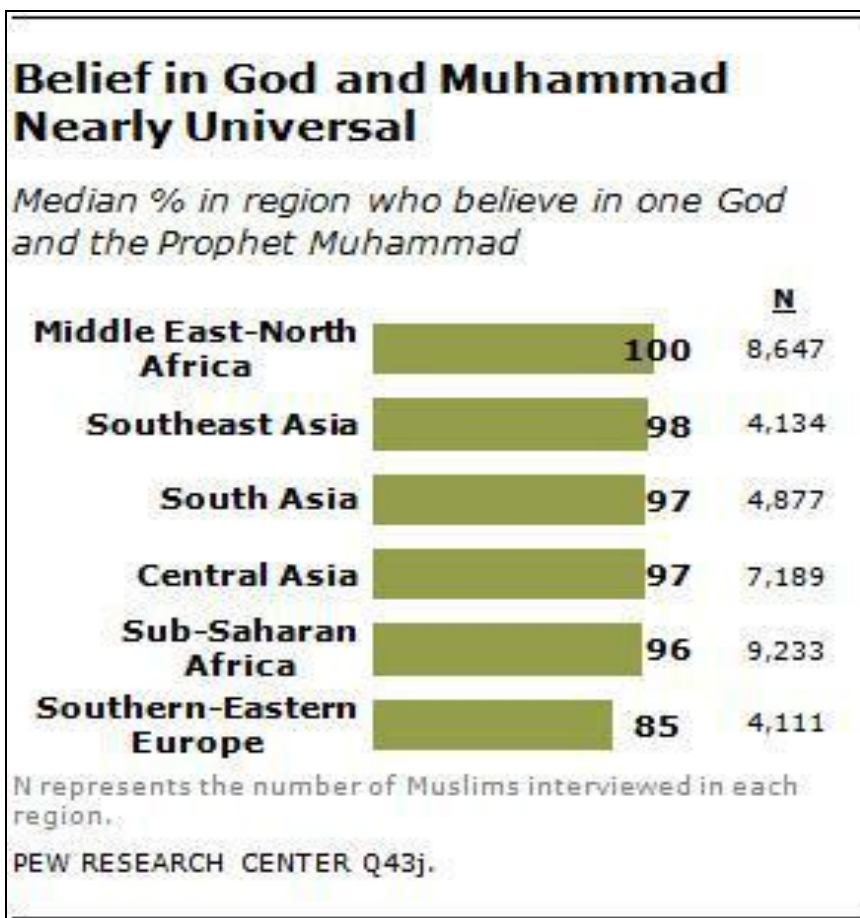
The world's 1.6 billion Muslims are united in their belief in God and the Prophet Muhammad and are bound together by such religious practices as fasting during the holy month of Ramadan and almsgiving to assist people in need. But they have widely differing views about many other aspects of their faith, including how important religion is to their lives, who counts as a Muslim and what practices are acceptable in Islam.⁷

There are many Muslims in the world who are strongly associated with basic Islamic beliefs. Following is the survey report sowing data of belief at personal level in different Islamic societies⁸:

6 J. L. Usó-Doménech and J. Nescolarde-Selva, "What are Belief Systems?," <http://www.vub.ac.be/CLEA/FOS/cfp/what-are-belief-systems.pdf> (Accessed on September 10, 2016).

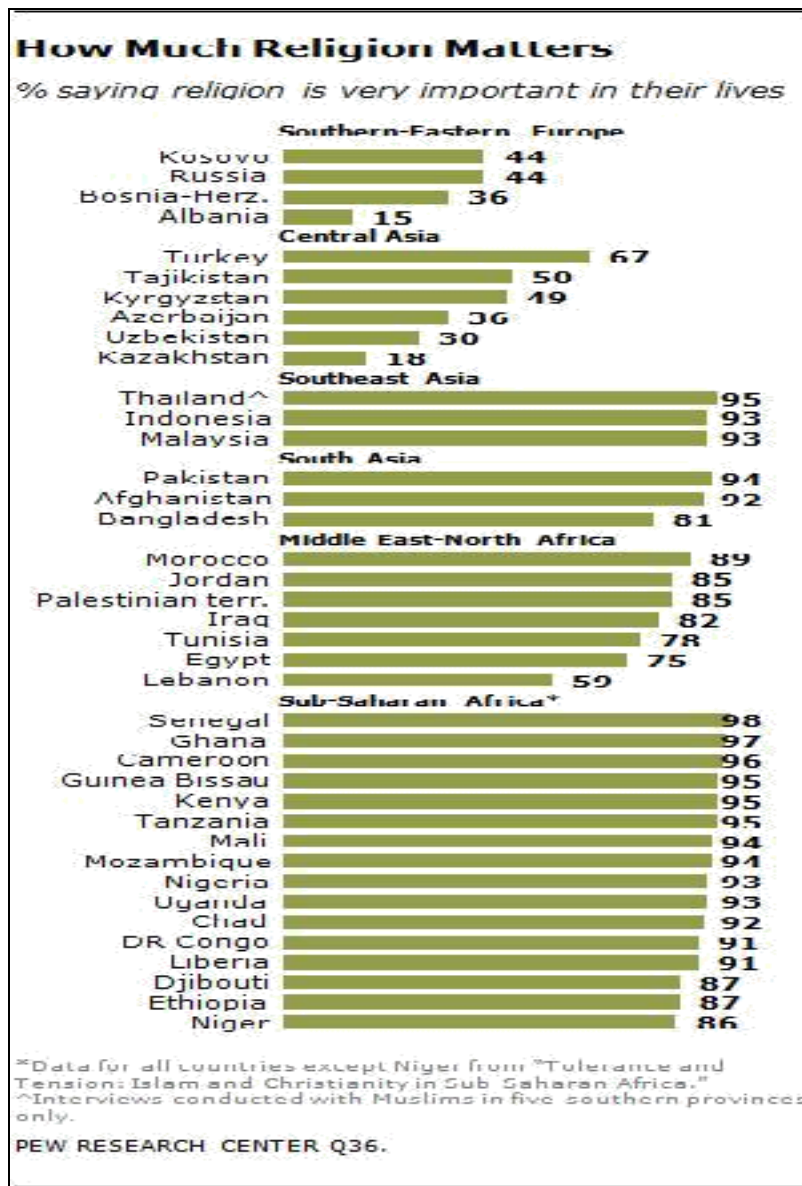
7 PEW Research Center, *The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity*, Religion & Public Life, EXPERTS POLLING AND ANALYSIS, Washington, August 9, 2012.

8 PEW Research Center, *The World's Muslims*.



Another perspective of personal belief level in different Islamic countries is a concern about how much religion matters in personal lives of citizens. Such personal concern is remarkably indicated in following survey report⁹:

9 PEW Research Center, *The World's Muslims*.



Societal Level: It is the followers of any religion that make it an example in world community. Islam is not only a faith; it has introduced comprehensive system of human society based on certain rules. There is no example of complete implementation and practice of Islamic laws in today's world including Saudi Arabia and Iran etc. The Muslim world is not

united and it is divided into different groups and sects. Historical evidences tell us about the glorious rule of Muslims when the whole world was keen to know the secret of Muslims rule and success in all spheres of life. At that time Christian Europe was passing through the 'Dark Ages'. Subsequently, Europe abandoned the church and managed the society towards development.¹⁰ It is very interesting phenomena that Europe achieved glory without including religious factor in practical life and Muslims achieved glory through adopting religion in every sphere of life. In the contemporary era, Muslims started avoiding implementation of Islamic system in their respective societies, which led them towards societal deterioration keeping this contrast in view, it can be stated that Islamic belief system has played major role for the development of Islamic civilization in different regions of the world in general and in Subcontinent in particular.

Regional Level: Islam has had insightful impact in different regions of the world in general and in Middle Eastern region in particular. Islamic conquests and rule was started in this region in seventh century and lasted roughly until the thirteenth century. At that time the Muslim world was the center of learning and knowledge. Baghdad was known as the center of education for thinkers, arithmeticians and researchers. Other major branches of education were Mathematics, Linguistic, Astronomy, Medicine etc. It was the special effect of belief system which was originated from Islamic faith and particularly influenced the masses' of different regions. Therefore, they developed the culture of learning and knowledge and provided it a strong base which can be observed in Subcontinent. The noticeable fact was the level of faith of the public and leaders of that time in Islamic belief system.

10 Will Coster, Andrew Spicer eds., *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 149.

International Level: Arab traders played a major role for preaching Islamic faith especially in South and Southeast Asia. They had trading links with India, Aceh, and Northern Sumatra in Indonesia and China. Many historians and scholars acknowledged that Muslim influence in South and Southeast Asia is centuries old, as it was started 1100AD. Different regions of Indian Subcontinent, Malaysia, Southern Thailand, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Southern Philippines welcomed the new faith with all customs and beliefs.

Islamic Civilization in Subcontinent: Challenges and Opportunities

Rise and fall of civilizations depends on the assurance and consistency with the basic principles of a civilization.¹¹ The development and growth of some civilizations strongly adheres with the principles of obligations towards inhabitants of a particular society and any carelessness in this regard brings fall of the civilization. In case of decline and decay of civilization, the efforts for resurgence of civilization are required.¹² Therefore, the main objective should be the revival of the general principles and foundations of the particular civilization. World history is witnessed for rise and fall of different civilizations on such grounds.

In the Subcontinent the Islamic political history begins from the rule of Muhammad Bin Qasim (712).¹³ Prominent dynasties of this region are the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526)

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- 11 Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, "Hobbes's Moral and Political Philosophy," First published February 12, 2002; substantive revision February 25, 2014, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hobbes-moral/>, (Accessed on January 10, 2016).
 - 12 Israr Ahmad, translation, Sanaullah Ansari, (Lahore: Markazi Anjuman Khuddam-ul Qur'an, 2002), http://data.tanzeem.info/BOOKS/Tarajim/Rise_and_Decline_of_Muslim_Umah.pdf (accessed on January 08, 2016).
 - 13 Asif Haroon, "Muhammad Bin Qasim to General Pervez Musharraf: Triumphs, Tribulations, Scars of 1971 Tragedy and Current Challenges," (India: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004), 21 and 50.

and the Mughal Empire (1526–1857).¹⁴ These empires worked for the growth of Islamic civilization. These dynasties remained successful till they followed basic principles of Islam.

In the first half of eighteenth century Muslim rule in Subcontinent cope with number of challenges. Multiple regional interpretations of Islamic principles by the ruling elite, their sincerity for Islamic civilization became apprehensive which was manipulated by the British colonial elements to strengthen their hold in the region.¹⁵ In the middle of eighteenth century the British Empire defeated Mughals and took over the control of the Subcontinent. The shift in the leadership, the British colonial hegemonic designs posed new challenges to the Islamic civilization in the SSubcontinent¹⁶, hence Islamic resurgence was sought as mechanism for the liberation of Muslims at different levels.¹⁷

Generally, 'cultured individuals' can be identified as a group living within a specific area with an advanced knowledge in major fields of life. Politics, culture, economy and technological advancement of a particular region at a given period can be considered as civilization. However, the term civilization is often used as a synonym for the broader term 'culture' in both popular and academic arena. Hence the arts, customs, habits, beliefs, values and behavior that constitute people's way of life can be considered as important elements of civilization. But in specific terms "*Civilization refers to the sum total of intellectual, aesthetic,*

14 Gerhard Böwering and Patricia Crone, *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Islamic Political Thought* (Oxford: Princeton University Press and Oxford, 2013), 127.

15 <http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/imperialism.aspx> (Accessed on January 12, 2016).

16 Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (Routledge 2003), 17-26.

17 Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi (ed., *Islamic Resurgence: Challenges, Directions & Future Perspectives -A Roundtable with Prof. Khurshid Ahmad* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1995), 61-77.

technological, and spiritual attainments of a particular society."¹⁸

Civilizations can also be identified as the sophisticated level of social interaction and cultural fabric. It is the diversification of economic and cultural activities characterizing civilization as a whole. Civilizations such as Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, India, China and Arabia are all testimonies of such variations. Islamic or Muslim civilization is based on an 'Islamic Ideology' which thrived during Muslim rule started from first State of Islam at Madinah (632 AD). The culture initiated and developed by Muslim rulers and society afterward recognized as Islamic civilization. Muslim communities under such civilization are collectively known as *ummah*.

The Islamic civilization was one of the most advanced in the world during the middle ages, but was surpassed by Europeans with the economic and military growth. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Islamic dynasties such as the Ottomans and Mughals fell under the sway of European imperial powers. In the twentieth century new religious and political movements led to the revival of Islamic precepts though such efforts did not deplete challenges.

Geographically Islamic civilization covers a very vast area from North African shores of the Atlantic to the western side-line of the Pacific and from Central Asia to Sub-Saharan Africa. It is linked by the shared heritage of Islam and its associated intellectual traditions. Islam being predominantly practiced in northern Africa, Middle East, and to some extent in South Asia, availed these regions to remain under the Islamic civilization.

Islam has been portrayed differently in multiple regions with reference to the growth of Islamic civilization. At times it seems a successful and progressive religion but at some

18 T.R. Nanda, *Anmol Dictionary of Political Science* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1997), 86.

stages Islam was portrayed as rigid sociopolitical system; lacking compatibility with modern era. However, both, internal and external elements played role in the rise and fall of Islamic civilization. There were three main external ramps behind the down fall of Islamic civilization: first Crusades, second Mongol Invasion and third Colonial rule of the Western nations. These three inclines proved disastrous for Muslim civilization.

There were three major attempts which could be considered in the Muslim World for 'Resurgence of Islamic civilization: first; Safavids in Iran, second; Ottomans in Turkey, and third; Mughals in the Subcontinent. Like Turkey and Iran, lot of developments took place in Subcontinent during that period. Especially Islamic architecture, literature, art and other indicators of Islamic civilization received an enormous attention of Muslim rulers in Subcontinent.

Muslim civilization of Subcontinent was based on Indus civilization — the bronze-age culture of the Indus valley — that flourished from about 2600-1750 BC. In the Subcontinent Muslims came across a civilization which in many respects, was a complete antithesis of Islam. Hindus had highly developed civilization but major elements of their civilization were influenced by Hindus' cast system based on Brahmins' dominance. By the advent of Islamic civilization in the Subcontinent, the principle of complete equality and similar opportunity was promoted by Islam. With a collaboration of Islamic rituals a new conception of human relationship began in the Subcontinent.

Almost all Muslim courts in Subcontinent maintained a tradition of encouraging art, literature, customs, habits and values which indeed helped the growth of Islamic civilization in this region. Administratively Muslim rulers integrated and centralized India. The unification and centralization which was made possible by the administrative ability and skills of the Muslim rulers, led to closer political, linguistic, cultural integration of various parts of the Subcontinent.

Muhammad Bin Qasim (712-714)

The spread of Islam in the Subcontinent was initiated by the Muslim Merchants, Traders, Sufis, Saints, Theologians, and Invaders. The Muslim political rule was formally started with the conquest of Debal and defeat of Raja Dahar by Muhammad Bin Qasim (712). However, he could not sustain a strong Muslim empire and went back because of the Umayyad decline in Arabia, after a very short period of rule. Another era of Muslim rule started with this socio-political addition in the Subcontinent which lasted for several centuries. A prominent achievement was the established traditions of sound administrative system.¹⁹

Sultanate Period (1206-1526)

After the downfall of Ummayyads, the Sultanate Period in Subcontinent was one of the most important cultural centers of the Muslims. After the invasion of Baghdad (1258) by Mongols, cultural centers of Central and Western Asia were destroyed. The poets, scholars and men of letters from these areas took refuge in the Subcontinent as had happened at the invasion of Baghdad by Hulagu.²⁰ During Sultanate period, several progressive activities took place in the field of education, literature, art, architecture, and other elements of civilization that provided solid grounds for specific Muslim civilization in Subcontinent during Mughal period.

Mughal Dynasty (1526-1857)

In the early sixteenth century, the Mughal dynasty was established on the ruins of the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi. The Mughal dynasty ruled over Northern India and eventually controlled most of the South, until the last Mughal emperor was expelled by the British in 1858. In fact, there was broad continuity in Muslim history of the Subcontinent, but with the foundation of the Mughal Empire in 933/1526,

19 K.S. Lal, *Early Muslims in India* (New Delhi: Book & Books, 1984), Passim.

20 S.M. Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 2000), 217-20.

Muslims of this region extended a political and cultural seminal moment. Mughals ushered in an era of a much richer cultural life. They patronized and encouraged literature, painting and music. In the realm of architecture, their monuments were a challenge for similar activities anywhere in the world.²¹

The Mughals not only buildup a vast empire and administered it on principles of religious tolerance and justice, but their achievements in the cultural sphere were equally outstanding. In the field of architecture, they have left exemplary masterpieces. They built fortresses, villas, towers, sears, schools and reservoirs. In this way, architecture which had already achieved a high level of development under the sultanate era further developed under the Mughals. Similarly their painting and music received tributes from all over the world.

In literature, Mughal Subcontinent shined under the influence of Iran, Afghanistan and Turkistan. Persian had been the official language of the Muslim government. It was also the literary language. A very large number of prominent Iranian poets, like Urfi, Naziri, Talib and Kalim migrated permanently to the Subcontinent because of literary environment of this land. Persian literature attained higher status in Mughal India than in contemporary Safavid Iran. Amir Khusrau, Bedil, Ghalib and Faidi are some other examples of literary developments in Subcontinent. Besides, languages; Persian, Hindi and Urdu received great patronage at the Mughal court and lots of literature produced in these languages received appreciation, particularly, from the ruling elite.

The momentum which promoted intellectual thoughts and social sciences like logic, philosophy, and Ilm al-kalam [scholastic theology] during Mughal's reign could not be denied. The study of medicine such as Yunani tibb, reached a new stage during Mughal era, especially during

21 Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 279-89.

Aurangzeb's reign.²² As Rawlinson has pointed out, "the high degree of culture in Mughal India was largely the result of the excellent system of education".²³

Decline of Mughal Empire

With the decline of the political power, Mughal rulers lost interest in the education, fine arts and literature which resulted in the decrease of patronage of the same from government. Decline of Mughal power in the region encouraged the British to extend their colonial objectives towards the Indian Subcontinent. The British colonial features with 'civilizational hegemonic elements' moved stealthily towards the center of the Subcontinent which facilitated the confrontational challenge posed by the British authorities against Muslim civilization. In fact such confrontational challenge manifested in colonialism with an attack on Islamic value system generally and on Muslim civilization specifically. Eventually the cultural jolt and compelling power of the intruder (British) sooner converted into the fall of the Mughal Empire, and it tremendously affected the local Muslim civilization in the Subcontinent. Resultantly, supremacy of Islamic belief system declined and Hindu-British alliance emerged as terminating factor for Islamic civilization.

End of Mughal Empire and the imposition of British rule in Subcontinent directly affected the Islamic Civilization and the sociopolitical structures of Muslim society of the Subcontinent. A number of efforts were carried out by Muslim religious and political leaders, and different Islamic/Muslim movements also participated in the resurgence of Islamic Ideology and civilization in this region.

Islamic Resurgence in Subcontinent

Islamic resurgence is a widespread traditional, cultural, and political phenomenon in modern time period. Generally,

22 Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 625-57.

23 Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 626.

Islamic resurgence is reinterpreted as the Islamic tradition in a creative and unique way. Although, prominent leaders of the Islamic Movements have placed philosophy outside the golden teachings of Islam; one is tempted to study Islamic resurgence as a philosophical expression of modern and contemporary Muslim societies.²⁴ The main objective of Islamic resurgence or revival is to attain the Islamic ideal welfare society. In other words the concept of Islamic resurgence and revivalism is basically concerned with the model Islamic civilization, culture and society, and to believe Islam as complete code of life as well as to answer the question that how do we revive the great Islamic Civilization?²⁵ But misperceptions about meaning of resurgence especially about acceptance or rejection of modern thoughts and inventions became obstacles on the way of concerned practical efforts for resurgence of Islamic civilization. But despite that still is considered as major rival of dominant western civilization.²⁶ Some scholars considered Islamic resurgence as modern phenomenon which enables it to use Islamic symbols which enable it to face the challenges faced during the twenty-first century..²⁷

One can differentiate three phases in the history of Islamic resurgence in the Subcontinent:

- 1 Pre-Colonial Period
- 2 Colonial Period
- 3 Post-Colonial Period

Pre-Colonial Period

24 www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/islamicresurgencewritings/1.htm.

25 Abu-Rabi, Y a-t-il un Prométhée Oriental? 111-16. http://www.persee.fr/doc/comm_0588-8018_2005_num_78_1_2285 (Accessed on september 16, 2016).

26 Abdul mumini A. Oba, "Human Rights and Beyond: Some Conceptual Differences between Islamic and Western Perspective of Human Rights," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, 2, no: 2 (Fall 2012).

27 Abu-Rabi, Islamic Resurgence, 16-17.

During pre-colonial period Islamic resurgence was a response to internal and external trends against Islamic civilization. Internally, social, cultural and political policies of Muslim rulers were seen as dead set against Islamic civilization. Especially Akbar's 'Din-e-Elahi' and his attempts for mixing Hinduism with Islam were taken by Muslim religious personalities as severe threat to Islamic civilization in the Subcontinent.

During pre-colonial period, some Muslim rulers like Siraj'-ud Dollah, Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan made efforts to resist colonial elements and on the other hand some religious personalities like Mujadid Alif Thani, Shah Wali Allah, Shah Abdul Azia, Syed Ahmad Breilvi and Shah Ismaeil endeavoured to counter colonial acts against Muslims. Haji Shariat Ullah and Titu Mir were also active in Bengal in this regard.

Muslim personalities may have not achieved any considerable success but they succeeded in saving their religious identity from complete collapse. Furthermore, they provided grounds for struggle to the Muslims of Subcontinent. War of Independence in 1857 was one of the major outcomes of the efforts of Muslim Thinkers.²⁸

Colonial Period

After the crisis of 1857, during colonial period Muslim struggle took serious stance on educational, ideological and political aspects. It is generally thought that in the case of Subcontinent the actual history of Islamic resurgence after the downfall of the Mughal Empire. Following decline of Mughal Empire and internal instability, foreign colonial elements targeted this region for their political and economic objectives mainly through East India Company. Gradual hold of British colonial elements on the Subcontinent stimulated different dimensions of Muslim reaction and they started

28 Ali Akbar Velayati, *Pooyaei-e-Farhang-o-Tamadan: Islam-o-Iran*, vol. 4 (Tehran: Markaz-e-Asnad-o-Khadmat-e-Pozohishi, Wizarat-e-Khareja), 1383 and 320-36.

struggle against Colonialism. In this period, Sir Syed Ahmah Khan under Aligarh Movement stressed that to avoid backwardness and to withstand the aftermath pressures of the revolt of 1857; Muslims should learn English language and modern education. He also suggested coexistence with the British. The main purpose of Sir Syed was to educate Muslims of the Subcontinent.²⁹ Religious Movements of Subcontinent like Deo-Band, Nadwa tul Ullama and other spiritual factions had traditional approach. Under these movements, religious elements of Muslim community made efforts to prevent the overriding and challenging influence of other religious beliefs; most particularly Christianity under the patronage of the the British. Preliminary religious and educational activities of these resurgent movements later on transformed into preparatory activities for political revivalism of Muslims in the Subcontinent.

Partly due to the forces which were released during the British period and partly owing to the fundamental divergence between the Hindu and Muslim on the one hand and within Muslim points of view on the other hand, the equilibrium which had been maintained during the Muslim rule was upset and due to economic, political and ideological factors, the bases for harmony were shattered.³⁰ In such circumstances, the Muslim community of the Subcontinent got divided into two factions; one who wanted separate homeland for the Muslims of the regions and the other supported United India. This division in Muslims working for Islamic revival and resurgence had great impact on their future political and religious structures. Great Muslim revivalist, Allama Iqbal (d. 1938) called for a return to the original ethos of Islam and promoted the idea for establishment of the independent state of Pakistan which finally came into being in 1947 under leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinah. Establishment of this new state

29 Velayati, *Pooyaei-e-Farhang-o-Tamadan*, 324.

30 Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 659-71.

on ideological basis considered as partly resurgence of Islamic civilization.

Post-Colonial Era

After the First World War, Muslims asserted that they needed both political and intellectual-cum-ideological freedom.³¹ The social and economic changes of the colonial period in the Subcontinent had far reaching impact on the objectives and expectations of the educated classes. It gave an entirely new foundation to the traditional, cultural, linguistic, communal, and religious differences and divergence of social interests.³² Under colonial experience Muslim primacy was also re-examined by their religious and political leaders and Muslims of the Subcontinent realized that for resurgence of Islamic civilization, political freedom must be attained. During post-colonial period Muslims of the Subcontinent were divided into different countries like India and Pakistan and later Bangladesh came into being. Differences among the religious groups shaped their political diversities more wide and in this way the vision of Islamic resurgence in its real sense, still remains a dream.

Conclusion

Islamic resurgence is primarily a religious and ethical movement. In fact, the unique contribution of the Islamic revival is due to re-affirmation of spiritual integration and material dimensions of life. According to available evidences, whenever the reversal process takes place, it is initiated from the groundwork of the Islamic traditions and endorsed by the basic institutions of society such as education, law, judiciary, economy, family, and the military sectors. It covers all spheres of elementary societal setup and maintained the status of Islamic ideology and identity. However, during the colonial period, most of these institutions were gradually

31 Abu-Rabi, Islamic Resurgence, 65-67.

32 S. A. A. Rizvi, *Landmark of South Asian Civilizations* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983), 389-390.

changed and replaced by Western institutions. These Western ideas and institutions infiltrated into every aspect of Muslim societies to such an extent that even the basic family system is restructured and 'modernized' along Western models. As a result of this phenomenon, educational institutions and society has produced a new leadership, whose roots were not in either the Muslim tradition or the Idea of Islamic civilization. In such circumstances, Islamic civilization declined in the Subcontinent. As a result, whole societal setup is yet to be revived and problems still need to be addressed for solutions.

Specter of Waste in Pakistan: Colonial and Postcolonial Images

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ABSTRACT

Waste is the political 'other' of value and work in modern, western and capitalist modes of representation, structured along binary oppositions. It has been an identity marker: defining borders and margins of society and civilization, self and other, norms and standards as well as the rationality to control. The waste appeared as a discursive practice and a tool of colonial strategy to control and dominate the waste (both wasteland and wasted lives) as dangerous 'Other', through launching a crusade of norms, order and development. Postcolonial waste imagination is extension, mimicry, fear and memory of the colonial waste images. As a colonial heritage and mindful of the 'permanent gaze', the postcolonial governments showed no lesser concern with urban images. Although not taken to the fore, the waste remains there, embedded in all postcolonial 'relations of power', haunting as a mere justification for power.

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This paper aims at establishing this return of waste in the postcolonial memory. The proposition is established by analyzing the post-colonial development struggles in Pakistan ranging from urban infrastructure and urban cleansing, etc. (through health, safety and development campaigns, cleansing the cities off slums/kacchas, as hideouts of terrorism and crime). The paper develops on the inter-textual reading of waste imaginations coming from structuralist and poststructuralist interpretations of waste, particularly the works of Locke, Homi Bhabha, and others. The method is primarily inter- textual reading and interpretation of the trajectories of waste imaginaries in postcolonial world, transformed from colonial imaginations of waste, as central to all power relations.

Introduction

Waste having multiple connotations, meanings and interpretations eludes definition. The figure of refuse, excess, superfluity, extravagance, uselessness, worthlessness, rubble, ruin and destruction gathered around the sign of 'waste'. Waste is a by-product. It is something waiting for the final fate. In structural taxonomy, waste is the political other of value, worth, productivity, efficiency, reason, purity, cleanliness, etc. It is the 'absent' in modern imagination, something to be fixed just to find a subordinate place for it in (power) structures. Waste, in its very nature, is problematic to be used as a medium through which normalizations, fixities and standards must be set and met. Assigning the status of waste to lives and matter is a social and cultural construct.¹ Waste may have value for some and may be worthless for others. Thus, to assign fixed identity and to define self through such a slippery concept reveals the violent act and injustice of structured discourses.

1 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Waste is temporal and spatial.² It is material as well as human. Waste as by-product of modernity means both wasted materials and wasted lives.³ Both in its material and human form, it is a matter out of place and needs human enterprise to find a proper place for it.⁴ Humans, as wasted lives, are the thrown down and debased lives expelled as a 'matter out of place'. Foucault's work on bio-politics and state racism⁵ takes these wasted lives as other and dangerous and available for the exterminating crusade of rationality and modernity. In Marxian politico-economic analysis, wasted lives are the surplus population of capitalist production system.⁶ It is dangerous and causes horror⁷ in its material form; as disturbing and disrupting the ordered urban spaces, and in human form, the threatening bodies of terrorists, slum dwellers and refugees as redundant, unproductive, worthless lives.⁸

Bauman has included the categories of unemployed redundant selves, the refugees and terrorists in the domain of wasted lives.⁹ They disturb the binaries of inside/outside, designed to protect 'us' from 'them'. Like the material waste, the removal of human waste or wasted lives involves 'the activity of separation', in the form of 'new ghettos', prisons¹⁰,

2 William Viney, *Waste: A Philosophy of Things* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014).

3 Melanie Beacroft, "Bauman, Wasted Lives and the Eclipse of the Political" (paper presented to the Australasian Political Studies Association Conference, University of Adelaide, September, 29 – October, 1, 2004). https://www.adelaide.edu.au/apsa/docs_papers/Others/Beacroft.pdf

4 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.

5 Mauro Bertani et al., *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976* (New York: Picador, 2003).

6 Karl Marx, *Capital: Volume 1: A Critique of Political Economy* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1992).

7 Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

8 Beacroft, "Bauman, Wasted Lives and the Eclipse of the Political."

9 Beacroft, "Bauman, Wasted Lives and the Eclipse of the Political."

10 Beacroft, "Bauman, Wasted Lives and the Eclipse of the Political."

and cleansing operations (developmental and military) targeted at social and criminal exclusions as well as separation. However, waste is not just lacking worth, value and power needed to be at the top of binary hierarchies. It is resistant and disruptive, and challenges the structures. It holds agency which is expressed in the idea of specter of waste which returns and haunts the very subjectivities, colonial as well as post-colonial.

Waste appeared as a discursive material practice and a tool of colonial strategy, to control and dominate the waste (both wasteland and wasted lives) as dangerous 'Other', through launching a crusade of norms, order and development. For the colonizers, it was a discursive strategy to challenge the legitimacy of claims of the natives and the colonized to their right and ability to rule. Postcolonial imagination is extension, mimicry, fear and memory of the colonial waste images as it is impossible to delink or break completely with the postcolonial world system.¹¹ The control and autonomy at nation state level and change in borders does not imply disentanglement from the 'colonial power matrix'.¹² The decolonized still remain in a colonial situation, even though the colonizer is invisible and the colonized are not colonially administered. As a colonial heritage and mindful of the 'permanent gaze'¹³ and their 'colonial situation'¹⁴, the postcolonial governments showed no lesser concern with urban waste images. Although, not taken to the fore, the waste remains there, embedded in all postcolonial 'relations

11 Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Collapse of Liberalism," *Socialist Register* 28, no. 28 (1992): 96-110.

12 Grosfoguel Ramón, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality," *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1, no. 1 (2011).
<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/21k6t3fq> (Accessed on August 15, 2016).

13 Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 169-256.

14 Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy."

of power', haunting as a source of legitimization and justification of power.

Theoretical Framework

Defining a concept or idea is not a simple task, partially due to the changing moralities of the fields, myriad connotations of the terms and the diverse ways people feel about them.¹⁵ However, colonialism has been understood as a totalizing project, a civilizing mission, accumulation through dispossession, a value laden concept, with all its texts and practices showing great concern with city and body images of its subjects.¹⁶

The western philosophy being the grounding principle of colonialism is structured in terms of binary oppositions. These binaries are not just hierarchical and oppositional but are also violent and reifying (perpetuating the dominance of west over its binary 'Other'). Colonialists used these binaries of Occident/orient, clean/unclean, us/them, European/non-European, civilized/barbarian, centre/periphery, self/other etc. to define its own dominating, rational self and authority as well as to construct European knowledge of the non Europeans. Post colonialism reveals the injustices in the dominant western structures of knowledge and power; all defined in normative terms. These structures are constructed for the sake of production and reproduction of identities, as the 'self' is always dependent on or is constitutive of its 'other'. The colonized locked in its colonial imaginations, remains at the bottom of hierarchy to serve as an object for colonial subjectivities.

One of the main themes in post colonial literature is the colonial concerns with the images and appearance of the colonized as barbarian, dirty and uncivilized to define western 'self' as against its colonized 'Other'. Images,

15 Ronald J. Horvath. "A Definition of Colonialism," *Current Anthropology*, 13, (February, 1972): 45-57.

16 Martin Griffiths, ed. *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 111-22.

labeling and branding as signs are performative and have central role in identity construction; and discourses are informed with these signs. The colonial images of the colonized till date are the metaphors to define norms, self, identity, development and civilization.¹⁷ These constructed images of dirty native and wasteland became the discursive tools in the hands of colonial power to exercise a moral and technological crusade in an attempt to produce docile subjects/objects for power.

The images play central role in identity construction through differentiation. The fixity of colonial discourse in constructing otherness produces stereotypes for power relations. Post colonialist writers reveal as to how the identity (of self and the 'other') is constructed in the discourses of difference and inequality, and are neither real nor natural: 'not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man'.¹⁸ Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* exposes the racism in which western cultural superiority is fixed. Edward Said has exaggeratedly stressed that the West created the Oriental.¹⁹ Post colonial writers' concern with representational fixities in colonial discursive practices and relations of power is an inspiration from Foucault. Drawing on Foucault's analysis of discourse and power and his work on the 'epistemic violence' in redefining sanity and sanitation at the end of eighteenth century Europe²⁰, Said elucidates the construction, cultural representation and maintenance of colonized/colonial relation.

Waste, dirt and disease form core of the images used by colonizers to establish their justifications for controlling the bodies and lands of the colonized. Dirt, as an image, has

17 Richard Philcox, trans., *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2004).

18 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, trans Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1986), 110.

19 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

20 Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 131-73.

long served, and it still continues to, as a mode of differentiation and representation between the self and the 'other' through repetition and iteration. In war imaginaries, the enemy is frequently represented in caricatured, distorted and ugly images. The use of word 'cockroaches' for Tutsi people in Rwandan genocide and tagging of Jews as 'vermin' by the Nazis all suggest the potency of images to mark identities and launch an exterminating mission on the other. The images are repetitively used to produce fixities and are value laden. Repetition works along the axis of metonymy and produces knowledge to be used for all, about the dominant and the dominated.²¹ For Said, the repetition in a dominant discourse of such labeling and terms of comparison produces essence and fixation, a metonym standing and taking over as a whole.²²

From perspective of post colonial thought, the colonial representation of the colonized and the colonial experience had a constitutive psychological impact on lives, cultures, politics and economy of the colonized, construed as Subaltern.²³ The colonized subject is denied 'all attributes of humanity' by producing the 'constellation of delirium'²⁴ 'Dirt sticks' as permanent identity and returns haunting the very existence of the condemned. Franz Fanon argued in *The Fact of Blackness* that how blackness comes through the other and the Negro is locked in his body.²⁵ It is unimaginable how much adverse impact these dirty images

21 Stephanie Newell, "Dirty Familiars: Colonial Encounters in African Cities," in *Global Garbage: Urban Imaginaries of Waste, Excess, and Abandonment* ed. Christoph Lindner and Miriam Meissner (New York: Routledge, 2016), 35-51.

22 Said, *Orientalism*.

23 Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak", in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 24-28.

24 Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, vii-xvi.

25 Frantz Fanon, "The Fact of Blackness," in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 324-26.

had on the total lives of the post colonial people. The colonized try but the dirt sticks to their bodies and souls. Even if they use western perfumery, they can never resemble white men, as the 'other' scent was very strong.²⁶ The body becomes the prison; the stereotype identities assigned through colonial subjectivities are sticky and keep informing the knowledge about the other. There is no simple way to disentangle from colonialism and its memory. It is with the colonized in myriad forms of coloniality, demarcated borders, state bureaucracy, language, political system and particularly colonial ideals of development.

The impact is so great that for many post colonial writers, it is impossible for the decolonized to return back to the pre-colonial origins. Said argues that the prejudices marking the Orient through the brand of western civilization are never lost.²⁷ Fanon has argued that it is impossible to regain what is lost and warns against this nostalgia about origins. The only way out he proposes, is violent resistance to colonial subjugation, to achieve catharsis. For others, the new colonized identity is completely constituted by the colonial experience and instead they claim that postcolonial identity is a mixed or hybrid identity. For Bhabha, hybridity could be the central mode of resistance.

Taking up the stance of the later group in postcolonial thought, Bhabha extends the notion of hybrid identity of the colonized. Bhabha's concepts of mimicry and hybridity, explaining postcolonial identities, are used to explain the imitational role of post colonial leadership in this paper. According to Webster's New World College Dictionary, mimicry is close resemblance in color, form or behavior of one organism to another or to some objects in its environment. By this definition mimicry is closer to and has an effect of camouflage. "It is not a question of harmonizing

26 Newell, "Dirty Familiars," 35-51.

27 Bibhash Choudhury, *Reading Postcolonial Theory: Key Texts in Context* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 83-84.

with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled; exactly like the technique of camouflage practiced in human warfare”.²⁸

Dismantling the binary structures which are fixating and stable, and produce monologic identities, Bhabha argues that ethnicities, nationalities and identities are complex, dialogic and hybrid. It is the imitation of the colonizer by the colonized and represents the desire of the colonizer, and an attempt on part of the colonized to achieve an appearance of authentic, less dangerous and acceptable other. It produces mixed and hybrid identities ‘almost the same but not quite’. Bhabha writes that such an image can neither be original, by virtue of the act of repetition that constructs it, nor identical by virtue of difference that defines it.²⁹ Mimicry occurs as a ‘partial presence’ of the colonizer. The Orient to Said is a theatrical space, not beyond the ‘familiar Europe’ but affixed to Europe, a stage where the role of the Orient is ‘to represent the larger whole’ from which it has emanated.³⁰

Hybridity is a mixed identity, culture of multivalence of post colonial subject having elements from the colonial culture and local traditions. The colonized, now with a mixed identity has a partial representation in the earlier fixed structures of representation, disrupting and destabilizing the identity of the colonizer, which constructed the deficient image of the colonized to define its unity. This hybridity signifies the agency of the colonized, a strategy and an ability of the colonized to resist domination. It makes the mastery, which may be constant, incomplete and slippery.³¹ The mimicry by the postcolonial is motivated by a mixture of fear and desire, a concept inspired by Freud and his psychoanalysis of

28 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 121.

29 Homi K. Bhabha, “Signs Taken for Wonders” in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 32.

30 Choudhury, *Reading Postcolonial Theory*, 83.

31 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.

Oedipal Complex which has greatly influenced Bhabha's work. In this paper, it is established that the post colonial identities and policies of the leadership reflect this mixture of desire, through imitating their masters in power politics and a fear of losing the right to authority, governance and sovereignty, failing to follow the normalizations depicted through the images of development mediated through waste.

Locke's Theory of Waste/worth and the Urban Developmental Project of Modernity

Locke's text is the founding, grounding and supporting text for the project of modernity and for colonialism to expand its tentacles. Locke in his *The Second Treatise on Government* provides an understanding of how the concept of wasteland constructed the binary of worth/value on one side of the spectrum and waste/worthlessness on the other. Locke proposes that in the state of nature, all men were equal and the benefits of nature belonged to all in common. The right to property over the land is a phenomenon of shift from state of nature into a civil contract. The labor or work on the land became the basis for appropriation of land or dispossessing the owner of its land if the land remains wasted/ unutilized.³² Establishing the law of property and its accumulation in England, Locke argues that if there is no more wasteland in England left, there are places outside for appropriation.

The modern structural text produces subjectivities and normalizations; it divides for the sake of reifying structures of power. Locke's text on property and wasteland is an exclusionary and segregating modern structural text, defining the boundaries, the exclusions and inclusions of social body and civilization in political struggles to define the European self and identity in binary relations with the 'other'. The image, discourse and narrative about wasteland and its indolent inhabitants became 'the matters of fact' and guiding force to capture (waste) lands. Locke's theory on wasteland

32 John Locke, and Peter Laslett, *Locke: Two Treatises of Government Student Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

not only constructed the value of landscape but also different subjectivities inhabiting different landscapes. The argument of wasteland was used by British for colonizing India, Africa America, and New Zealand.³³ In colonialism, these value subjectivities as Fanon has argued in *Wretched of the Earth* cut people into two. Aime Cesiare captured this colonial mood by expressing the division of people in compartments "...inhabited by different species".³⁴ The colonized were different from the colonizers and had differences in their 'in-group' too.

The whole project of modernity and colonialism thrives on binary clichéd structures and produces reinforcing landscapes, in the political act of status quo maintenance. It shows grave concern with images, particularly urban and body images constituting urban normative.³⁵ The literary archetype of this violent act of creating new ordered, sublime landscape is Goethe's Faust who goes to the extent of killing an innocent old couple for no other reason than their unfitness in his master plan for the new brave world.³⁶ For Faustian dream, urban imaginaries serve as the discursive practices in producing wastelands and wasted lives. Exposing this epistemic violence in discourses of modernity and development, Foucault's work gives an insight into how in the exercise of ordering, the condemned, insane, dirty and diseased were isolated and quarantined as they were

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- 33 Vinay Gidwani and Rajyashree N. Reddy, "The Afterlives of "Waste": Notes from India for a Minor History of Capitalist Surplus," *Antipode* 43, no. 5 (2011): 1625-58. See also Judy Whitehead, "John Locke and the Governance of India's Landscape: The Category of Wasteland in Colonial Revenue and Forest Legislation," *Economic and Political Weekly* (2010): 83-93.
 - 34 Aime Cesaire, "Discourse on Colonialism," in *The Discourse on Colonialism*, trans. John Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 29-78.
 - 35 Richard H. Schein, "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 4 (1997): 660-80.
 - 36 David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Conditions of Cultural Change* (UK: Blackwell, 1990), 16.

rendered unfit in the capitalist production and profit. His work on spaces and power reveals that how wasted lives, lacking soul (worth) in cemeteries were placed in the outskirts of cities previously placed at the centre along with the religious infrastructure.³⁷ These new geographies of soul-less/wasted lives are very much in line with modern conception of cities where work or productivity is the soul of society.

Colonial Waste Imaginations and Urban Development in India

Judy Whitehead established the link between Lockean theory and the British settlements in India despite all the temporal gaps between the two.³⁸ Lockean theory became the principle discourse and guiding force to the British in their colonial engagement with India. India with its vastness was constructed as an object and as a wasteland in the imagination of British in an attempt to reify the cultural, economic and political dominance of Europeans over the native. The narrative of British officers and civil servants about India served as a linked chain of discourses serving British colonial power. Gidwani referred to the Lord Cornwallis reporting around one third of the land in Bengal as wasteland.³⁹ The impact of Lockean theory on British imaginaries of Indian wasteland and the use of the same for appropriation is evident in Mills' account of the inhabitants of the Subcontinent. "The love of repose reigns in India with more powerful sway, than in any other region probably of the globe. It is happier to be seated than to walk; it is happier to sleep than to awake; but the happiest of all is death."⁴⁰

The modern structuralist text is segregating, categorizing and reifying the subjectivities of value. The uncultivated wastelands in India and elsewhere stood metonymically for

37 Michel Foucault, and Jay Miskowiec. "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22-27.

38 Whitehead, "John Locke and the Governance of India's Landscape," 83-93.

39 Gidwani and Reddy, "The Afterlives of "Waste"," 1625-58.

40 Gidwani and Reddy, "The Afterlives of "Waste"," 1625-58.

qualifying the people as unproductive and hence capable of being dispossessed, producing subjectivities of value. Both the zamindari system in the Punjab and ryotwari system of land settlement in Bengal depicted the grave concern of the British with wasteland and production of differentiated identities. In Bengal, the ryots belonging to the castes of direct cultivators were given privileged rights of possession over the non-cultivating scheduled castes.⁴¹ Gidwani quoted James Grants to reflect the racism and 'othering' inherent in the colonial discourses:

Taking all the ground in tillage [in Bengal] in the course of the year, to be 35 million of the small ryotty begas [bighas: a unit of land], of which perhaps, from the constitutional indolence of the inhabitants, only one-third is in actual cultivation during each of the three seasons... The gross product of the land, with the labour performed in different degrees by such a body of people... cannot reasonably be estimated... at a greater rate than 6 rupees per bega, amounting in all to 21 krore of rupees.⁴²

This colonial concern for waste as a rule for property and a categorizing force, pulling and pushing into realms of savagery and civilization remained in the post colonial memories. The media propaganda, land reforms of 1950s and urban industrial developments are evidence of obsession with waste. Nehru's remarkable speech in 1953 is a continuation of such colonial imaginations of wasteland and wasted lives.

We have to utilize the experience we have gained, pool our resources and prevent wastage. We cannot allow the nation's resources to be wasted... We cannot afford waste, because the basic thing is that we should go ahead... To hell with the man who cannot walk fast. It serves him right if he gets out of the ranks and falls out. We want no sluggards... I want work and work and work. I want

41 Whitehead, "John Locke and the Governance of India's Landscape," 83-93.

42 Gidwani and Reddy, "The Afterlives of "Waste"," 1625-58.

achievement. I want men who work as crusaders (Afterlives).⁴³

Indian leadership has plans to raise the status of Dehli as a global city. The urban infrastructure, high-end residential complexes and shopping malls are all the means to achieve the end. The Commonwealth Games of 2011 were used by the government as a catalyst for urban change⁴⁴ and to fulfill its dream to become a major political and economic player as well as to get a permanent seat at United Nations Security Council. The desire for 2021 Olympic Games bid and the Master Plan 2021 for the city required a massive face lift in form of great changes in urban images following international modern standards. Colonial Dehli was planned for the automobile owning class and the post-independence Dehli continued the trend.⁴⁵ The bypasses, flyovers, metro rails and high capacity busses have changed the speed of the city minimizing the time to meet international standards of modernization.⁴⁶

In India, the 'parasitic urbanization' process is transforming the unutilized land into commercial zones; the wastelands in Bangalore are being annexed for the IT based 'Knowledge Economy'. For Bangalore's IT companies to set up businesses, state provided the major aide in overcoming the scarcity of land through dispossessions in the peripheries and enactment of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Act of 2005. But the human toll for this urban development is massive. Many have been labeled as nuisance and urban hazard for the image of global city.⁴⁷ Cities are cleared of slums, occupying public spaces, a contradiction to the

43 Gidwani and Reddy, "The Afterlives of "Waste", 1625-58.

44 V.D. Dupont, "The Dream of Delhi as a Global City," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 3, (2011): 533-54.

45 Norma Evenson, *The Indian Metropolis: A View Toward the West* (New Haven Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989), 188.

46 David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Conditions of Cultural Change* (UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1990): 201-326.

47 Gidwani and Reddy, "The Afterlives of "Waste", 1625-58.

private ownership rule, in the targeted operations, through displacement, resettlements, further pushed towards the peripheries, away from centers like the soul-less bodies.⁴⁸ They have been pushed to the peripheries in modernity's concern with waste as a matter disturbing the hierarchies and something which must be placed out of sight.⁴⁹ *Specter of Waste in Pakistan: Colonial Memory, Mimicry, and Hybrid Identity*

Given the colonial obsession with waste in pre-partitioned Subcontinent and using it for accumulating lands through dispossessions, the reiteration and mimicry of politically charged colonial discourses which are prejudiced, exclusionary and discriminating, may not be a surprise in Pakistan. Discourses travel and it did in the form of development and metropolitan ideals.⁵⁰

The discourses on development and underdevelopment are colonial constructs about social, political and economic reality. Such development discourses legitimize colonial interventions for the sake of attaining order, defined in terms of western norms of progress and growth. Colonial imagination of waste is relived in the fear of disability to rule by the colonized. Development becomes a form of power through its interventions which attempts to categorize and incorporate the underdeveloped and un-developed in statistics, graphs, and models.⁵¹ Rendering the land and people as waste through development schemes (project of real estate developments, urban infrastructure, cleansing campaigns against garbage and epidemics), represents the entrapment in colonial memory.

48 Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22-27.

49 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

50 Gidwani and Reddy, "The Afterlives of "Waste"," 1625-58.

51 Martin Griffiths, ed. *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 116.

Development bears signs. Symbols and signs are very crucial in identity formation of a group as mode of representation. The colonial experience had such a great impact on the memories of colonized that the leadership in Pakistan chose the same badges and signs as mode of representation as were used for them by colonizers. Even the very name 'Pakistan' means land of purity. Therefore, the name of the new land suggested its identity defined in the terms of pure, clean, and sacred as opposites of filth, dirt, impurity. This oppositional discourse became embedded in colonial communal political struggles before partition so much that 'drinking water' was also divided into Muslim and Hindu *pani* (water)

Pakistan's post independence leadership remained overwhelmed with colonial imaginations of waste and worthlessness of the colonized. Quaid's famous address to the youth, like the speech by Nehru, reveals how strongly the British imaginations had an impact on postcolonial leadership. The new post independence identity got shaped and constructed through using the same colonial images. Addressing the All India Muslim Student Conference at Jalandhur on November 15, 1942 Jinnah said: "I insist you to strive; work, work and only work for satisfaction with patience, humbleness and serve the nation."

Reiteration of the notion of 'work' reminds the colonial binary structures embedded in the Lockean notions of worth /worthlessness, right to possession/dispossession, ability /disability to rule/ and the colonial imperial lust to capture the lands devoid of such worth and work. Lockean colonial imagination of work, worth, productivity, efficiency, value is opposites of waste as worthlessness, un-productivity, and inefficiency. Early leadership of India and Pakistan connects and continues colonial imagination with the post colonial world. Second decade of the creation of Pakistan experienced development crusade as legitimization of autocratic rule, with massive interventions in society and economy, represented through land reforms, housing

schemes, agricultural and industrial reforms, etc. to reduce unproductively and waste.

Waste imagination appears overwhelmingly in colonial and post-colonial literary texts. Both colonial and post colonial text reveal the fixative relation and naturalization of differences between the colonial and its other mediated through waste images and bodies (land and lives). Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, E.M. Foster's, *A Passage to India*, George Lamming's *In The Castle of My Skin*, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, *Breast-Giver*, by Mahasweta Devi and Nipaul's *The Mimic Men*, to name a few, reveal the construction and continuation of colonial imagination of waste in post colonial period. In Pakistan, post colonial literary texts reveal waste as spaces of struggle for development, modernization and urbanization, (to mention only a few of such texts): *Mootri* (Manto) exposes waste as site of social political struggles, *Rakh* (Tarar) as metaphor of waste being outcome of political struggle spread over post-colonial history of Pakistan, and *Raja Gidh* (Bano Qudsia) as explanation of wasted lives in terms of *halal/haram* (pure/impure) binaries. Waste imaginaries represented in colonial and post colonial texts, exposing social and political struggle, offer fertile area for research.

In 70 years of independence, Pakistan has been suffering from representational dilemma like most of other decolonized states. The identity representation of Pakistan mediated through the imaginaries of waste is discussed in the next sections dealing with the struggle of epidermal identity, Karachi garbage politics and a terror-crime cleansing mission in the form of operation Zarb-e-Azab, all revealing power of waste images in colonial and post colonial discourses and practices.

Karachi 'Kachra' Politics

Like other mega cities of South Asia including Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Dacca, government of Sindh always aspired to make the city one of the modern cities in the

world. Obstacles in fulfilling this dream are Karachi's urban imaginaries: the great socio-spatial divide among population, shortage of key infrastructure, routine crime scene and environmental degradation. Recently, the Economist Intelligence Unit reported Karachi to be amongst the nine worst cities to live in.⁵² The survey based its findings on factors like literacy, threat of terrorism, health and infrastructure. Karachi presents an image of a garbage heap with its population around twenty-four million. With garbage and crime issues, media images portray Karachi as a dangerous place to be at.

As long and persistent mode of representation for Karachi's identity, in the recent past, waste has more powerfully proved its political potential in the city's politics. Political parties are using waste metaphorically and literally for possession and dispossession of political control and legitimate right to govern the city. Recent campaign against city's garbage was started by MQM in early 2016, to get rid of garbage and 'other dirt or nonsense' in the city. The rhetoric of waste and cleanliness was used very emphatically to launch a purgation campaign and the political party demanded an iron grip on the urban political landscape which is the home for stock exchange and national exchequer. MQM used waste metaphorically to 'clear Karachi off the dirty minds' in 'Clean Karachi' Campaign as stated by Farooq Sattar.⁵³

These 'dirty minds' are the 'political Other' of MQM; both the newly launched Pak Sar Zameen Party by Mustafa Kamal as well as the PPP, ruling party in the provincial government of Sindh. Through political campaign against urban domestic garbage or waste, they demanded more control and authority in the Karachi city. The majority government in Sindh has a political base in rural areas of the province while

52 "Karachi Ranked Among Worst Cities to Live in," *The Express Tribune*, August 19, 2016.

53 "MQM All Set to Clean Karachi Streets and Clear Misconception," *Dawn*, March 8, 2016.

lacking a majority representation in Karachi. MQM on the other hand cannot control the city without a highly decentralized and devolved local government system. On the garbage issue, the local government claims that devolution of power is disputed and throws the burden on provincial government as the real authority in city's administrative matters. MQM says that provincial government did not provide sufficient finances and effective participatory powers to the local government to deal with municipal issues, turning garbage into a site of resistance and public space for the struggles of legitimacy and power, challenging PPP's right to rule the city.

Although, the main challenge to the authorities comes from the political circles, yet Karachi waste has also become a weapon in the hands of opposition and civil society to challenge the provincial government. The civil society's reaction to negligence on part of authorities was inspired by a similar campaign in Russia where broken roads made the people protest against the authorities.⁵⁴ Before MQM waste campaign, a self-proclaimed activist and founder of 'Fix-It' campaign launched in recent past, an authority-challenging protest in the form of covering the open manholes revealing the absence of government in presence of garbage in the city. The caricature of CM in place of manhole covers stood as a demand from the presence of the provincial government to attend and address the *kachra* crisis. The absence of manhole covers metaphorically represented the absence of governmental authority, legitimacy and structure, and the caricature of CM demanded the political presence of government attending to the order and image of society.

Attention of the civil society to the unattended garbage heaps confirmed the debilitated provincial government and raised question of legitimacy, challenging its PPP's right and ability to rule. The PPP, main stakeholder in Sindh

54 "Power of an Image: CM's Face Fills the Gap Where Govt is Missing," *The Express Tribune*, January 4, 2016.

government at a meeting in Dubai, in July 2016 changed its office holders in Sindh government in response to pressure, particularly built around the waste of Karachi. These measures are unlikely to bear fruits because both the major stakeholders are unwilling to clear the garbage. With their colonial memories, mindset and resultant post colonial hybrid identity, they are aware that urban chaos, unrest, dirty city images — may all be instrumental as cards in the dirty game of political score making.

'*Kachra*' (garbage) stands in metonymical relation with the population determining value subjectivities. The stakeholders define their 'Self' through presenting their political 'Other' in the (post)-colonial imaginaries of waste: waste being other of value, order, productivity, development, and instead standing for chaos, disorder, hazard and danger to the power structures. With these waste imaginaries, the Karachi purgation campaigns have another turn: in the form of the Rangers' operation to eliminate from Karachi the 'dangerous lives' as elimination/extermination of waste calls for complete control and legitimacy.

Simultaneously, there is a demand to extend the operation to entire Sindh (and even the Punjab). The slogan for the Rangers' operation is about 'saving Karachi and Karachiites', through creating ordered and safe Karachi, free of chaos, crime and mess of mis-governance. In Punjab, the PML (N) is resisting operation, while MQM resists the same in Karachi. In rest of the Sind, extension of the Rangers' operation is being resisted by PPP, fearing the potential of exterminating campaigns to extend order against mis-governance. There is greater likelihood that waste politics will also get an extended life in Sindh politics. The imaginaries of chaos, disorder and underdevelopment in the province can provide for declaring it a wasteland, calling for greater control and order. The potential in waste, for ordering the lives and lands and to redefine the margins and borders, of society is feared by the political leadership.

Geographic images of Karachi extend with the waste imaginations of Karachi by political parties, military and media (both in the domains of physical waste as well as wasted lives). These waste imaginations in form of wasteland versus developed society are signs used by the real estate developers to justify their developmental claims (and profits). Recent television advertisement by Pakistan's real estate tycoon with the brand name of Bahria Town, declared Karachi city as a 'barren, infertile, unprotected and unpopulated land'. The advertisement puts forward the claim of developing Karachi which is inhabitable, safe, protected, guarded, aesthetically ordered and beautiful, the geographic other of existing Karachi. The advertisement reveals the exclusion of the other, the danger, the hazard, through provision and promise of gated and guarded community, spatially and aesthetically ordered estate development. It hides the geographic and discursive violence by creating existing Karachi as dangerous, disordered, and hazardous 'Other'. The narrative of the real estate developer is equally violent as most of these popular and in-fashion gated housing societies were once the habitat of rural, poor and marginalized. Development demands the pushing of slum dwellers to a place out of sight. By exclusion of its 'other', 'Bahria Town' makes its presence and inclusion in the mental, geographic and demographic landscape of Karachi as the legitimate developing authority, a legitimate heir in the genealogical line of coloniality.

Here it must also be noted as to how thematically as well as temporally and spatially, three independent struggles of urban waste politics, real estate development and Karachi operation are integrally related. All three major political struggles reveal colonial imaginations of waste: as imagination of wasted lives (Ranger's operation), of urban image and identity (real estate development) and of urban waste disposal (opposition and civil society struggles around city's *kachra*). Waste imaginations and imaginaries continue to be instruments, sites and sources of dialectical politics of exclusion/inclusion, absence/presence, gitimacy/illegitimacy,

disorder/order, danger and hazard/safe and protected, indolent and lazy/productive and efficient. The metaphoric relation between Karachi politics, waste and hazard is quite obvious. This concern with danger attached to anything wasted got revealed even in the identification and extermination of a litter of 800 stray dogs poisoned in Karachi during a single night. As the exterminated have been labelled 'stray' as opposite of enclosed, docile, productive bodies, so they were to be dealt with only through elimination.⁵⁵ The matter is just not of the stray dogs: things or lives deemed unfit for the city image are to be labelled and brought into the violent political act of othering/ordering. Though Karachi is following the developmental route like other developing cities and trying to claim its right through norms of capitalism and modernity, yet the path followed is not original; it has roots in the colonial memory.

Operation Zarb-e-Azab: Dangerous and Wasted Lives

Zarb-e-Azab, a military operation against the danger of extremists and terrorists, is being conducted in a geography which is formed of rough, rugged and dangerous terrain, and is also semi-autonomous. It is a regular route of smuggling from Afghanistan and is rampant with smuggled goods. It is a habitat and hideout for the terrorists and extremist elements (previously for the Afghan Mujahedeen fighting in Afghanistan) due to its inaccessible terrain. Due to absence of developed, ordered and modern urban images, this region constitutes in political and legal imaginaries a wasteland, dangerous and unguarded, lacking order, governance, legitimate political control, and therefore modern rationality of worth, productivity and efficiency.

In past, different military operations have been conducted to free this zone from terrorist elements but the desirable results were considered not to have been achieved. After the Peshawar APS attack, which proved to be the 9/11 of

55 "800 Stray Dogs Poisoned to Death in Karachi," *The Express Tribune*, August 7, 2106.

Pakistan,⁵⁶ the government of Pakistan insisting on undertaking effective negotiations with Taliban, had to agree with military's initiative to launch a massive cleansing attack against Taliban, the greatest danger to the national and international security. Extermination of terror and extremism was the declared objective.

Exclusion of danger of terrorism from this zone and rest of the country, including peripheral fringes of the land, society and system of Pakistan represents absence/presence and exclusion/inclusion of colonial waste imagination. In their own narratives, terrorists present themselves as the 'Other' of modern, secular, constitutional, rational order, which to them was imposed on the imaginary and discursive medieval Muslim society fancied in religious imagination. The terrorists in the West's ontological determinations are the political 'Other' of modernity, capitalism and order. They are on the other side of modern power structures, and an enemy to be dealt through extermination or some visible control.

The areas of terrorists' hideouts are with lesser state control; their peripheral positions in state cartographic imaginations and abundance of nature as opposed to urban characteristics are wasteland in Lock's sense of the term. With difficult terrain, particularly for non-natives, the areas present the image of lands inhabited by the barbarians, uncivilized, orthodox, and dangerous people. Not only the FATA region, but also '*kacchas*' in the Punjab and peripheries of the federal capital are also declared danger zones inhabiting terrorists. The slums in the Capital have been searched and cleared off, suggesting a strong relation between marginalized geographies, waste and 'Othering'.

Terrorism in Pakistan, as elsewhere, has strong, telling images, suggesting chaos, destruction, wastefulness of resources and wasted lives through killings, un-productivity and underdevelopment. All these imaginaries have the

56 Umbreen Javaid, "Operation Zarb-e-Azab: A Successful Initiative to Curtail Terrorism," *South Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (2015): 43-58.

political potential to disrupt the image of Pakistan as independent and sovereign state having capacity and legitimacy to rule. Internationally these images of terrorists' onslaught in Pakistan represent absence of state writ. USA, the neocolonial power, challenged Pakistan's sovereignty on this account reminding colonial allegations that such postcolonial states are unfit to rule independently being unruly, disordered, dangerous and hazardous places, and therefore raising more demands to 'do more'. These cleansing operations against terrorism are part of state's struggle for image building. In order to give a message that the state is pushing harder to rationalize, modernize and cleanse wastelands and wasted lives, it mimics to meet the stringent standards of normalcy imposed by the postcolonial world system. It struggles to dust off the dirt of disorder in order to attain the sustained image of democratic and stable state and to pacify the global judges before passing the ruling of 'failed state'.

Epidermal Identity in Pakistan

Epidermal identity defines self and other on the basis of disease and health of societies, groups and regions. Spread of disease, in the form of epidemics, determines the borders and boundaries of self and other; *us* and *them*. Miasma and germ theories have contributed a lot in constructing knowledge and resultant compartmentalization and quarantine for the diseased lives. The danger is associated with disease to define the terms of contact and creation of distance. The bodies of the diseased are categorized and quarantined for the purpose of isolation and subjectivity. Modern, rational and developed self and society is healthy in the discursive material practices of the world system against the binary of pre-modern, irrational, rural and underdeveloped lives and society being diseased; disease being central to the power narratives of wastelands and wasted lives. This epidermal identity of the colonized continued to produce stereotypes informing relation between the two till date. The epidermal fetish or racial fetish, Bhabha argues, provides support and facilitation for the colonial

relations by providing the differential knowledge constructed along binaries. Such differential knowledge becomes the basis for the colonialism's 'visual regime'.

Like the outbreak of Ebola, Congo and Zika viruses in Africa, Pakistan faced an epidermal identity dilemma with an outbreak of diseases like dengue and polio. Dengue, a mosquito borne disease resulting from negligence in matters of urban cleanliness, lack of awareness towards sanitation and clean living, hit this part of the continent in 1996. The viral reached its epidemic proportions in 2011. The Punjab and Sindh were major affected areas. With all other political crises; ranging from floods and famines to terrorism and extremism, the policymaking was initiated only when the issue got escalated too much.⁵⁷ Article 144 was imposed, portraying seriousness of the situation as an emergency, and armed forces were called to action. One of the factors leading to the outbreak may be the delay in awareness and prevention campaign, the PML (N) government in the Punjab, apprehending political potential in the issue to question the provincial government's efficiency, capacity and legitimacy to rule, decided to deal with it on 'war footing basis' imposing surveillance of the vector and the carrier.⁵⁸

The diseased lives are premised by the colonial as well as the modern urban project as their opposite, in an attempt to define their self and to assert control as normal and legitimate. The diseased and dirty image of the colonized established the right of the colonial to launch a civilizing mission through control over the native's body. These powerful imaginations of dirty, reflected in the door to door inspections, isolation wards and exclusionary urban cleanliness campaigns revealed the mimicking of colonial memories in dealing with the diseased bodies. This door to

57 "Dengue Disaster," *The News*, September 14, 2011.

58 Government of Punjab, Department of Health, Standard Operation Procedures (SoPs) for Prevention and Control of Dengue, 2014. <http://health.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/SoPs%20for%20Prevention%20and%209> (Accessed: August 30, 2106).

door record keeping became the reminiscent of eighteenth century Europe's concern with lepers, insane and mendicants.⁵⁹ The diseased are isolated and categorized for the purpose of quarantine and locating the waste matter in its proper place.

Another viral disease confirming epidermal identity of Pakistan is polio. Pakistan is one of the three remaining countries in the world harboring the endemic cases of polio.⁶⁰ For decades polio has prevailed in densely populated areas of Karachi, Peshawar and the remote areas along Afghan Border, an alleged abode for terrorists and smugglers (and also a hideout for Taliban and al-Qaeda). Polio brought Pakistan into global political radar for reasons other than security, terrorism and political instability. The global narrative on disease points out that if a single case of polio exists, it is considered a threat to the whole world.⁶¹ Travelers not immunized against polio were barred from Pakistan by Saudi Arabia and India. There is a perception that the terrorists travel across Balochistan to enter Iran and from there to Iraq, Syria and Egypt.⁶² The increasing cases of polio in Syria in 2012 and Israel and Egypt are said to have spread through militant, immigrants and travelers from Pakistan.

The epidermal image of Pakistan produced differentiated subjectivities, geographies and knowledge. Polio became a political issue due to its epidermal nature and its potential to disrupt the power politics and political interests. Medical

59 Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 123-40.

60 Adbul Momin Kazi, M. Khalid, and A. N. Kazi, "Failure of Polio Eradication from Pakistan: Threat to World Health," *J. Pioneer Med Sci* 4, no. 1 (2014): 8-9.

61 Sania Nishtar, "Pakistan: Politics and Polio," *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 88, no. 2 (2010): 159-60.

62 Tim Mc Girk, "How the Bin Laden Raid Put Vaccinators under the Gun in Pakistan," for *National Geographic*, February 25, 2105. <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/02/150225-polio-pakistan-vaccination-virus-health/> (Accessed: September 15, 2016).

science has played its role in power production through the miasma and germ theories. The political discourses having foundations in such medical texts find grounds for absolute control through the waste imaginaries and the 'othering' debate; attached with it. The virus is concentrated in densely populated slum areas with poor health and urban administration. It became an identity signifier, suggesting the image of Pakistan as a 'dirty, dangerous wasteland, and confirmed its status as a no-go area. In terms of governance and development, it challenges the legitimacy and efficiency of government due to poor deliverance and governance. In the domestic politics, the virus produced differentiation of safe/unsafe areas as the virus is said to be concentrated in slums and militants' controlled regions. Government frequently uses the narrative to suggest absence of its writ in these areas and demands tighter control.

The anti-polio campaign by government faced a serious setback due to mistrust of anti-west elements on such campaigns. Their mistrust is due to several reasons. Many religious seminaries in the region spread rumors that pig fats, a taboo for Muslims, have been used in the vaccines. Another reason for mistrust is the history of epidemics for population screening. There is a belief that the virus and its vaccination are being used by the West for the sake of surveillance, and then categorizing and targeting its 'Other'. After the capture of Osama bin Laden, the polio workers are more frequently targeted in the FATA and KP. These are the forms of resistance against excessive control over bodies as there had been in the days of the Mutiny of 1857, when the soldiers revolted against using fat lubricated pig and cow fats cartridges.

The metaphoric and concrete relation between waste, disease and 'othering' find its expression in Osama Bin Laden's hunt by CIA. The US was reportedly informed by a Pakistani officer regarding Osama Bin Laden's whereabouts. To get more authenticated information, the anti-HEP-B campaign was launched. In the campaign, a Pakistani doctor Shakeel Afridi was employed for screening the residents of

the Osama Bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad for his DNA sample. Dr. Afridi was given the task to collect used syringes for the DNA sample. The used syringes, as wasted matters, helped the US getting information confirmed about its enemy.

Disease is the 'other' of safe, clean, healthy; and the 'other' is unclean, unsafe, and something to be eliminated for the self's safety. The metaphoric use of fake anti-Hepatitis campaign for Osama Bin Laden hunt suggests presence of the dangerous other in Pakistan. There is potential in disease to segregate and conduct surveillance and screening of the danger for the purpose of quarantine and extermination, as Bauman suggests. Therefore the refugees fleeing after military operation against terrorism in North Waziristan and Shawal valley were vaccinated while enclosed and quarantined in the flying coaches before they return back homes.⁶³ A recent proposal for legislation on pre-marital screening of couples for STDs conforms to the colonial strategy to categorize and quarantine the dangerous, using waste as a medium.⁶⁴

Political struggle on waste is also revealed in the advertisement of *Commander Safeguard* (soap by P&G, a multinational company). Incidentally, this animated tele-commercial film is with apparent targeted audience of youth in Pakistan. It relates waste, dirt and disease with the political 'other' of current political regime. *Dirtoo* (the king of ugliness, disease and dirt) and his band (in both senses of music band as well as band of armed men) are presented as uncivilized, devoid of all aesthetics of hygiene and cleanliness, dirty in appearance and aim to create disorder, chaos, disease in society as their political mission. They have stark resemblance with a political party campaigning against the current political regime for its mis-governance

63 "Polio Vaccine for Returning IDPs Sent to Transit Points," *Dawn*, March 15, 2015.

64 "PML (N) to Table Premarital Blood Screening Bill," *The Express Tribune*, July 14, 2106.

and corruption.⁶⁵ The multinational company represented through the 'commander' emerges as saviour with characteristics as modern, techie, advanced, developed, smart, healthy as opposite of two groups. First group is to be eliminated and exterminated by the saviour while he protects later group, the youth (the victims of the *dirtoo* and its band). The condition of the first group cannot be improved whose mere existence as waste, dirt and disease is persistent threat, danger and hazard to the youth. The advertisement reveals political potential of waste and its presence in all discursive practices and relations of power.

Fancy and fascination attached with the commander reveals many aspects relevant to the above discussion of power, modernity, technology, urbanity, western white manliness, and above all of moral superiority, lying at the core of legitimacy and capacity to rule. Though, current political regime apparently stands behind the shadow of this saviour, however the later actually represents and is identified with the capitalist world system masked by MNCs. This fact cannot be overemphasized that the multinationals have very effectively used this narrative of dirty African ('dirty indolent native') for selling their products of detergents, toiletries, cosmetics and costumes since colonial times which has continued more intensely and vigorously after decolonization of Asia, Africa and South America. The use of dirt and germs in the advertisement and its resemblance with the political opponents explains how the narrative of waste or dirt constitutes political subjects. Images are important in identity construction. Constructed in the colonial waste imaginations, capitalist world system reinforces and reifies epidermal identities of the natives in the post colonial world, implicating and informing current political system and struggle.

Conclusion

Waste in its very nature is problematic to be used as a medium through which normalizations, fixities and standards must be set

65 Dawn, September 21, 2015.

and met. Assigning the status of waste to lives and matter is a social and cultural construct. Waste is temporal and spatial, material and human, concrete and symbolic. It is the political other of value and work. However, waste is not just lacking worth, value and power needed to be at the top of binary hierarchies. It is resistant and disruptive, and challenges the structures. It holds agency which is expressed in the idea of specter of waste which returns and haunts the very subjectivities, colonial as well as post-colonial.

Western thought is structured along binaries, as worth and waste. Waste as discourse and sign has been seen as defining self and other of the colonizers and the colonized. Post colonialism is understood broadly as a critique of colonialism, and locked in it with the relation of continuity and discontinuity, simultaneously. Postcolonial imagination is extension, mimicry, fear and memory of the colonial waste images. The decolonized still remain in a colonial situation. Changes in border could not change the identity tags. As a colonial heritage and mindful of the 'permanent gaze' and their 'colonial situation' the postcolonial governments showed no lesser concern with urban waste images. Although not taken to the fore, the waste remains there, embedded in all postcolonial 'relations of power', haunting as a justification of power. Resistance to this colonial condition comes in myriad ways, from violent resistance to mimicry and hybridity. This strategic identity is like camouflage in warfare. It helps produce less dangerous acceptable other which has appearance of authentic identity with the colonizers. It requires mimicry which confuses and challenges the origins.

Concern with colonial waste imaginaries and memories amongst the Pakistani leadership has been evident in dealing with urban waste in material and human forms.

Finally, this paper brings to light the impact of colonial imagination and memory in post colonial discourses and practices, mediated through the power matrix of waste as a problematic. Future research can take on the leads offered in the study for more enlightening focus on the modes of representation and resistance in the discourse and practices of waste in post colonial societies and states.

An Analysis of Kashmir Ecology: Geo-Historic Perspectives

Mumtaz Ahmad Numani*

ABSTRACT

It has been argued that the destinies of states are as much determined by their physical environment by their history. The questions, therefore, may arise: has Kashmir's natural beauty the creation of its physical geography? Did it play a vital role in determining the course of its history? Or, in Persian, it has only been eulogized over the centuries that, 'Gar Firdaus Bar Roo-e Zameen Ast, Hameen Ast-o Hameen Ast-o, Hameen Ast', which means, if there is paradise on the face of the earth, it is here, it is here and here! Or it is neither of these? On the basis of sources, the main argument of this paper will revolve around: what do the chroniclers say about Kashmir landscape ecology? And how far there is continuity and change in that?

Introduction

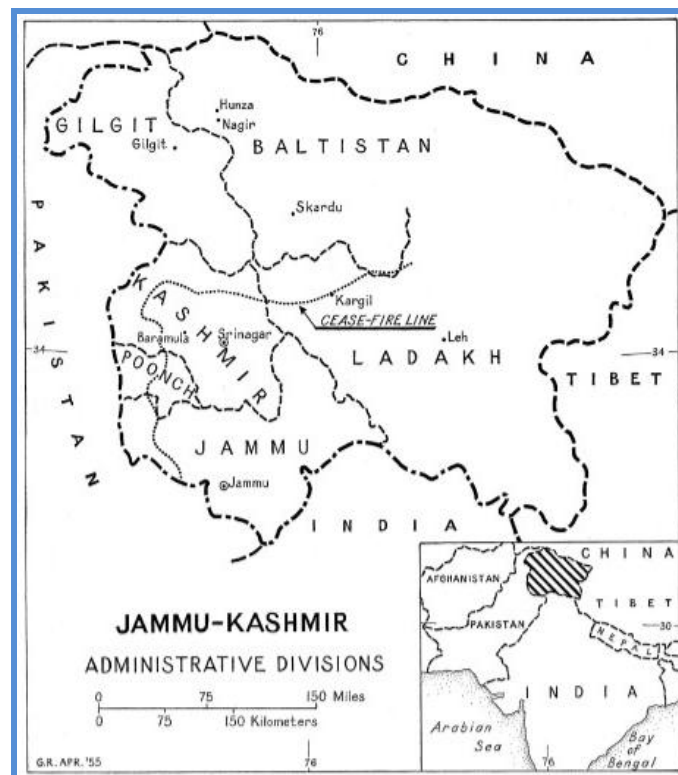
The Valley of Kashmir Division¹ (See Fig. 1, 2), owes its political and linguistic unity to its isolation, due to its peculiar

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1 Here it bears to mention that, during the British rule in India, the present state of Jammu & Kashmir has been divided into three principal divisions i.e., Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. The major focus of this paper will revolve around one of the divisions i.e. the landscape ecology of Kashmir.

geographical position; a fertile plain surrounded by a chain of very high mountains dominated by Mount Mahadev(s) and large enough to support a kingdom and nourish an advanced civilization.² With an approximately oval shape, the Vale of Kashmir is about one hundred seventy kilometres long and sixty kilometres wide, including the surrounding mountains. It has always corresponded to the basin of the river Vitasta, today the Jhelum.³

Figure 1: Administrative Divisions of Jammu & Kashmir

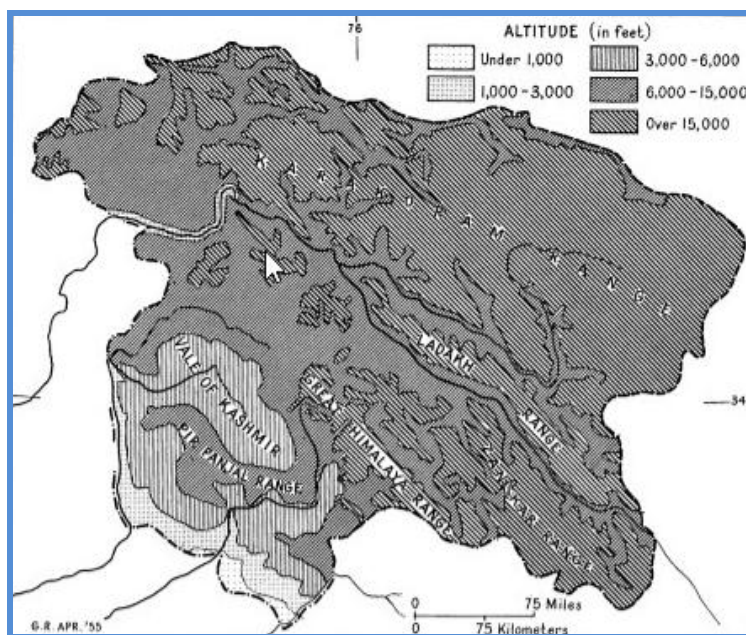


SOURCE: Adopted from Robert C. Mayfield, *A Geographic Study of the Kashmir Issue*: *Geographical Review*, 45, no. 2 (April, 1955).

- 2 See, Attilio Petruccioli, "Nature in Islamic Urbanism: The Garden in Practice and in Metaphor", in *Islam and Ecology*, eds. Richard C. Foltz, *et. all.* (Harvard University Press, 2003), 504.
- 3 Petruccioli, "Nature in Islamic Urbanism" 503.

Srinagar, the capital city of Kashmir (See Fig. 3), occupies heart of the Valley in a magnificent position along the course of the River Jhelum. It is a lively centre for trading of wares transported by boat, possessing a broad fertile hinterland in the lakes Dal and Anchar.⁴ Since the seventh century this valley of upper Jhelum River has been subjected to alien rule that varied little as the rulers changed. The imprints made by successive waves of Buddhist, Hindu, Afghan, Mughal, and Sikh conquerors have left the Kashmiris surprisingly homogeneous in race, language, and arts. Thus, the cultural uniformity reflects to a marked degree the geographic distinctiveness of this isolated valley.⁵

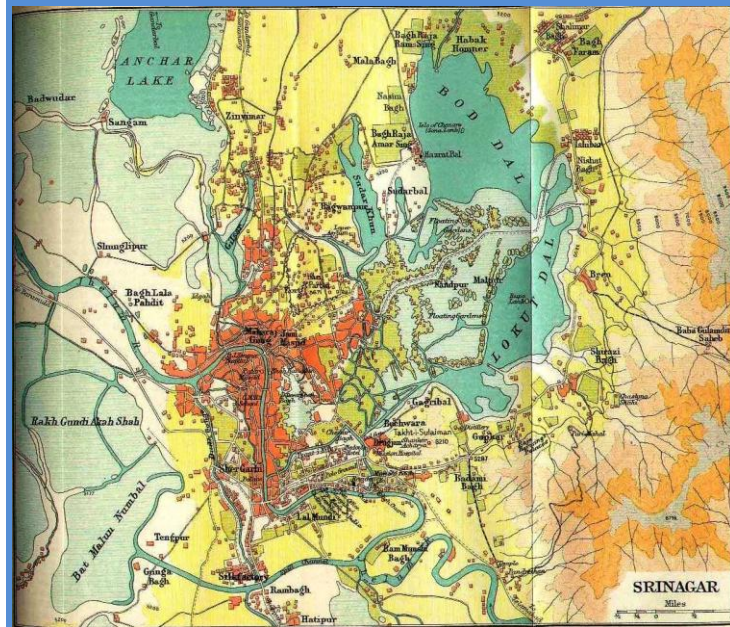
Figure 2: Indicates Relief Features of Kashmir Valley



SOURCE: Adopted from Robert C. Mayfield, *A Geographic Study of the Kashmir Issue*: *Geographical Review*, 45, no. 2 (April, 1955).

4 Petruccioli, "Nature in Islamic Urbanism" 504.

5 See Robert C. Mayfield, "A Geographic Study of the Kashmir Issue," in *Geographical Review* 45, no. 2 (April, 1955): 181.

Figure 3: Srinagar the Summer Capital City of the State in 1924

SOURCE: Department of Ecology, Environment and Remote Sensing, Bemina Srinagar-10

Linguistic and Historical Significance of Kashmir:

The name 'Kashmir', says M. A. Stein, has practically remained unchanged through the course of many centuries.⁶ Since linguistic science can furnish no clue to the origin of the name Kas'mira, nor even analyse its formation.⁷ Yet, according to Babar, the name 'Kashmir' may be is derived from the hill-tribe, 'Kas' living in the neighbourhood of Kasmir. Thus, if we easily can recognize here the reference to the Khasas of the lower hills, but, their name, however, in its true form has, of course, no connection with Kashmir, opines Stein.⁸ Another etymology, traceable in the Haider Malik's Chronicle and hence reproduced by other

6 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, (or), *Chronicle of the Kings of Kas'mir*, Vol. II, tran. Stein M. Aurel, (Reprint: Delhi, 1979), 387.

7 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, vol. II, 386.

8 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, vol. II, 386.

Muhammadan writers' writes Stein, derives the first part of the name from 'Kashap', i.e., Kasyapa, and the second either from Kas. Mar, i.e., Sanskrit 'Matha', (habitation) or a word Mir, supposed to mean 'mountain'.⁹ Stein argues that, it was, perhaps, a belief that this whimsical etymology represented some local tradition, which induced Burnouf to risk the conjectural explanation of 'Kashmira' as Kasyapamira, i.e., 'the sea of Kasyapa'.¹⁰ But this 'conjecture' too has to move without any reliable evidence, Stein adds. Interestingly, amongst the Muslim chroniclers, Abu'l-Fazl, when writing about *Rajatarangini* is the first to mention this legend by saying that: "in this work [*Rajatarangini*], it is stated that the whole of this mountainous region was submerged under water and called Sati Sar. Sati is the name of the wife of Mahadeva, and Sar signifies a lake."¹¹

Maqbul Ahmad and Raja Bano, are of the opinion that, only few regions of the world have their geological and geographical history so closely inter-woven with the mythology and religious beliefs of its inhabitants as the valley of Kashmir.¹² They also view that, this is evident from the ancient worship of the Nagas who were believed to have had their abodes in the innumerable springs, the deification of the Vitasta (Jhelum) and of other geographical features.¹³ The very concept, and now a geological fact, that in pre-historic times, the valley was a lake called 'Satisar' whose waters later drained out from the Baramullah gorge, is expressed in the mythological stories often recorded in the sacred texts, such as the *Nilamat Purana* and the *Mahatmayas*.¹⁴ Perhaps, there is no general consensus

9 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, vol. II, 387.

10 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, vol. II, 387.

11 Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, tran. Jarrett, (Reprint: Delhi, 2006), 376.

12 S. Maqbul Ahmad and Raja Bano, *Historical Geography of Kashmir* (Delhi, 1984), 33.

13 Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 33.

14 Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 33.

among the historians except they believe the mythological traditions supported fully by the research of geologists who confirm that the valley originally was a huge lake called “Satisar”. Say for instance, Bernier [a European traveller], who in 1663 personally had been to Kashmir also put his opinion in a letter to Monsieur de Merveilles which reads as:

I am certainly not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water; the same thing is reported of Thessaly and of other countries; but I cannot easily persuade myself that the opening in question was the work of man, for the mountain is very extensive and very lofty. I rather imagine that the mountain sank into some subterraneous cavern which was disclosed by a violent earthquake, not uncommon in these countries.¹⁵

However, Bernier’s observations were scientifically further explained by Major Rennell and Frederick Drew; both have been reputed geologists and geographers. For example, Drew’s view point (also quoted in Stein) is:

the traditions of the natives — traditions that can be historically traced as having existed for ages — tend to the same direction — that the Vale was in late geological times completely occupied by a lake — and these have usually been considered to corroborate the conclusions drawn from the observed phenomena. Agreeing, as I do, with the conclusion, I cannot count the traditions as perceptibly strengthening it; I have little doubt that they themselves originated in the same physical evidence that later travellers have examined.¹⁶

Drew further adds that, they [natives] do not afford independent support to the theory, but are valuable rather as showing in how early times some races of mankind learnt to

15 Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, trans. A. Constable, (Revised by V. A. Smith), (Reprint: Delhi, 1983), 394-95.

16 Frederic Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories: A Geographical Account* (1875), (Reprint: Delhi, 1997), 207. See also, Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, vol. II, 389.

interpret aright the geographical records of the history of their dwelling-place.¹⁷

Geographical Position(s) and Boundaries of the Valley

What were the geographical position(s) and boundaries of the valley in view of the medieval chroniclers? The medieval period Muslim geographers and astronomers, write Maqbul and Bano, usually followed Marinus of Tyre (C.A.D. 70-130) and Claudius Ptolemy (C.A.D. 90-168) in dividing the inhabited northern quarter of the earth (al-rub ul-maskun) or the okumine as the Greeks called it, into seven divisions running parallel to the equator, each of which was called a clime (Iqlim). Kashmir by these writers' was placed in the fourth clime.¹⁸ Maqbul and Bano are of the opinion that, the longitudes and latitudes of Kashmir given by these writers are approximately the same, except that given by Al-Biruni and Suhrah.¹⁹ The descriptions of the boundaries and area of Kashmir as given by the Arabic and Persian writers, according to them, are generally vague in nature. Because when the Persian and Arabic writers speak of Kashmir, they include the valley as well as the regions around it.²⁰

Mirza Haider Dughlat²¹ places Kashmir (See Fig. 4) to the west of Tibet.²² According to Dughlat, the plain of Kashmir, extends from the Bakani quater, which means 'between the south and the east', towards the Rikan Bain (or north-west); it is a level expanse about a hundred Kuroh²³ i.e., equivalent

17 Frederic Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, 207. See also, G. T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the Countries Adjoining the Mountain-Course of the Indus, and the Himalaya, North of the Panjab* vol. I (London: Henry Colburn Publoishers, 1844), 275.

18 Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 36.

19 Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 36.

20 Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 37.

21 Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat (1499-1551) was a Chagatai Turko-Mogol military general, ruler of Kashmir, and a historical writer.

22 Mirza Haider Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, trans. E. Denison Ross (Reprint: Delhi, 1986), 417.

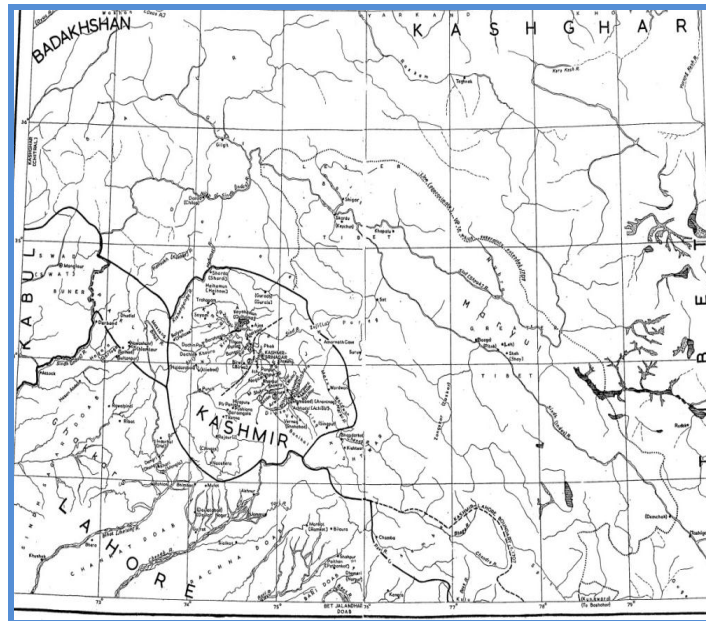
23 1 Kuroh = 200 Jaribs., 1 Jarib = 25 Zira., 1 Zira = 40 fingers.

to thirty farsakhs in length. Its width at some parts is about twenty Kuroh, and in a few places ten Kuroh.²⁴ Whereas, Abu'l-Fazl, the chronicler of Akbar concludes that:

On the East are Pakistan and the river Chenab: on the South-east are Banihal and the Jammu mountains: on the North-east is Great Tibet: on the West are Pakli and the Kishen Ganga River: on the South-west is the Gakkhar country, and on the North-west is Little Tibet. It is encompassed on all sides by Himalayan ranges.²⁵

He further adds that, the Sarkar of Kashmir lies in the third and fourth climates. Its length from Qambar Ver to Kishan Ganga is 120 Kos, and its breadth from Qamber Ver to Kishen Ganga is 10 to 25 Kos.²⁶

Figure 4: Province of Kashmir during the Mughal Period

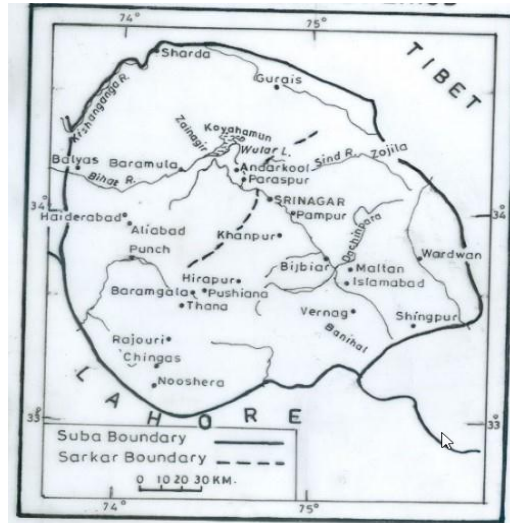


SOURCE: Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press).

24 Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 424.

25 Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, 351.

26 Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, 351.

Figure 5: Boundaries of Kashmir Suba during the Mughal Period

SOURCE: Faiz Habib.²⁷

In *Tuzuk-i- Jahangiri*, Jahangir writes that he personally ordered to clarify the correct measurement of the boundaries and geographical position of the valley in order to put the record(s) straight. Therefore, he writes:

Kashmir is in the fourth clime. Its latitude from the equator is thirty-five degree. The Kashmir valley extends lengthwise from the Bhuliyas pass to Qambar Ver (See Fig. 5), a distance of fifty-six Jahangiri Kos. In width, it is not more than twenty-seven Kos or less than ten. In the *Akbarnama*, Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl has written that the length of the valley of Kashmir, from the Kishen Ganga River to Qambar Ver, is approximately 120 Kos, and that the width is not less than ten Kos or more than twenty-five. As a precautionary measure, and in order to be precise, I ordered a group of more reliable experts to measure the length and breadth by ropes so that the actual measurements could be recorded. What Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl wrote as 120 Kos actually came out as sixty-seven. It is a rule that every land extends as far as the people speak the

²⁷ Faiz Habib is working as Cartographer at Centre of Advanced Study in History, A M U, Aligarh. I am highly grateful to Sameer Ahmad Sofi whose effort in getting this map also worked for me.

language of that country. On this basis, the border of Kashmir lies at Bhuliyas, which is located eleven Kos this side of the Kishen Ganga, and the length is therefore fifty-six Kos. In width a difference of not more than two Kos was found.²⁸

For strengthening the information, Jahangir goes further to inform that, the Kos that was in use during the reign of this supplicant corresponds to the standard set by his Majesty Arsh-Ashyani [Akbar], i.e., every Kos is five thousand cubits, and a cubit and a quarter is equivalent to two Shar'i (legal) cubits, each of which is twenty-four fingers. Everywhere, 'Kos' and 'ell' are mentioned.²⁹

Muhammad Saleh Kamboh,³⁰ say Maqbool and Bano, places the valley in South-North direction, from the Qasbah of Vernag up to Darwaza Kutal. And, Inayat Khan, the chronicler of Shahjahan records:

The Vale of Kashmir, which is encircled by mountains, is nearly 100 common Kos long from Vernag, situated at the southern extremity, to locality Dawazda Ganjal, belonging to Pargana Wajhan Kadura, situated at the northern. Its breadth from the town of Kaknakar on the east to Firozpur in Pargana Bangal on the west is 30 common Kos.³¹

Interestingly, Qazwini and Inayat Khan, writes about the strategic importance of the routes (See Fig. 6) from Lahore to Kashmir and vice versa as:

28 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (1624), ed. Syed Ahmad Khan (Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863—64, Sir Syed Academy, 2007), 297-98; *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans., ed. and annotated by W. M. Thackston (New York: 1999), 331.

29 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 298; *The Jahangirnama*, 331.

30 Muhammad Saleh Kamboh Lahori was a noted calligraphist and official biographer of Emperor Shahjahan, and the teacher of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb.

31 Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama* eds. W. E. Begley and S Z. A. Desai (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 124-25. See also, Muhammad Amin bin Abul Qasim Qazwini, *Shahjahanama*, (available in the seminar library of CAS, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, Part 3), 599.

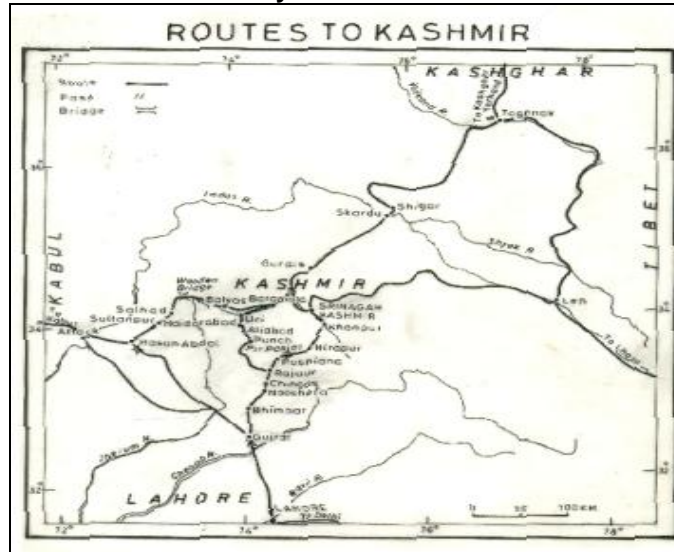
First, there is Pakhli which is 35 stages journey and 150 imperial Kos long; each Kos measuring 200 chains, the chain 25 cubits, and the cubit 40 finger-breadths. Although this is the longest, and is full of twists and turns and ascents and declivities, yet the climate along this road is warm, and one can reach Kashmir by it in the very earliest part of spring. The second route is through Chaumukh, which consists of 29 stages and is 102 Kos long. In this route also, there is little snow, but it lays in one or two places and on melting makes the ground so unusually wet and slippery that it is difficult to travel around it. One can reach Kashmir around the middle of spring. The third route is that of punch, consisting of 23 marches and 99 imperial Kos in length. This route has about as much snow on it as the preceding one, and following it one may arrive in Kashmir at the close of spring. The fourth route is around the Pir Panjal, which is 80 imperial Kos long by the following calculation. From Lahore to Bhimbar the distance is 8 marches or 33 Kos; and from there to Kashmir, which is entirely through a mountainous country, the distance is 12 marches or 47 Kos.³²

They further inform that, the Pir Panjal route is better and shorter than the other three; yet along this road, it is not possible to enjoy the sight of the Lala Chughasu flower in full blossom because till the close of the month of Urdibihist (May), which is the termination of spring, the snow keeps the hills covered.³³

It bears to mention that, though different writers following their own methods of study provided different measurements of the Valley, but their measurements do not seem far-different from each other's view.

32 Qazwini, *Shahjahanama*, 591-92; Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, 123. Whereas, Qazwani further records that, since the route from Bhimbar to Kashmir is mountainous, during the reign of Emperor Jahangir, it was decided that out of the 12 marches, at 11 rest-houses (Sarais) would be built of. The local Kashmiris called them Ladhies. The 11 marches referred by Qazwini are as follows: Jogimati, Naushera, Changezhati, Rajwar, Thana, Beramgala, Poshana, Ladhi Muhammad Qali, Hirpur, Shahjamarg and Khanpur. Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, 123.

33 Qazwini, *Shahjahanama*, 592; Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, 123.

Figure 6: Routes to the Valley of Kashmir

SOURCE: Faiz Habib.

Landscape of the Valley

During the medieval period, one of the earliest accounts of the geography of Kashmir based on personal observation is '*Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*' of Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat (d. A.D. 1550). Indeed, his account surpasses all the previous Persian accounts of Kashmir in detail claiming:

Kashmir is among the most famous countries of the world, and is celebrated both for its attractions and its wonders. In spite of its renown, no one knows anything about its present state, nor can any of its features or its history be learned from the books of the former writers. At this present date of Muharram 950, (1543-44) now that I have subdued this beautiful country and seen that all is notable in it, whatever I shall write will be what I have witnessed.³⁴

It was in the reign of Akbar that Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal rule in 1586 A.D. In Kashmir, the Mughals remained in power from 1586 to 1752. Akbar himself visited Kashmir

34 Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 424.

three times (in 1589,³⁵ 1592³⁶ and 1597³⁷), whereas, Jahangir and Shahjahan kept up the tradition of regular visits intact. Of Kashmir, with the exception of few Persian writers, Muqbal and Bano opine that, everyone down to the nineteenth century seemed to have copied general accounts from one another regarding the natural beauty of Kashmir; its soil and climate, the variety of flowers, springs and the flowing waters, the exuberant greenery and the beauty of the buildings and the residential houses.³⁸ No wonder, exceptionally, in accordance with reality, it is Mirza Haider Dughlat who gives first hand impressions of the buildings of the valley. He says:

In the town there are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut Pine. Most of these are at least five stories high and each story contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration. But the interiors are not equal to the exteriors.³⁹

After Dughlat, it is Abu'l-Fazl, whose recorded narratives discuss in detail about the landscape geography of Kashmir. Thus in one of his narratives he writes:

The country is enchanting, and might be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies, and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the world-ling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls' music to the ear, and its climate is invigorating.⁴⁰

While describing the flora and fauna of Kashmir, again he remarks that:

35 Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, vol. III, trans. H. Beveridge (Reprint: Delhi: 1977), 817.

36 Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, vol. III, 956.

37 Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, vol. III, 1084.

38 Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 22.

39 Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 425.

40 Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, 352.

To enumerate its flora would be impossible. Its springs and autumn are extremely beautiful. The houses are all of wood and are of four stories and some of more, but it is not the custom to enclose them. Tulips are grown on the roofs [of the houses] which present a lovely sight in the spring time.⁴¹

He further goes on to record that: “due to the abundance of wood and constant earthquakes that the houses of stone and brick are not built, but the ancient temples inspire astonishment.”⁴²

Of Kashmir, however, the widely known narrative of its landscape is recorded in *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*. In praise of Kashmir, the author (Jahangir) admits that, if he had to describe Kashmir, the description would fill up the volumes. He observes:

Kashmir is a perennial garden and an ironclad bastion. For monarchs it is a garden that delights the eye, and for poor people it is an enjoyable place of retreat. Its lovely meadows and beautiful waterfalls are beyond description. Its flowing waters and springs are beyond number. As far as, the eye can see there is greenery and running water. Red roses, violets, and narcissi grow wild; there are fields after fields of all kinds of flowers; and the variety of herbs are too many to count. During the enchanting spring, mountain and plain are filled with all sorts of blossoms; gateways, walls, courtyards, and roofs of houses come ablaze with tulips. What can be said of the plateaus covered with refreshing clover? ⁴³

The coquettes of the garden displayed themselves, cheeks adorned, each like a lamp. Buds give off the fragrance of musk from beneath their skin, like musky amulets on the arm of the beloved. The melody of the dawn rising nightingale sharpens the desire of wine-drinkers. At every spring a duck puts its beak to drink — like golden scissors cutting silk. A

41 Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, 352.

42 Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, 352.

43 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 299; *The Jahangirnama*, 332.

carpet of flowers and greenery laid-out in a garden: the lamp of the rose lit by the breeze. The violet has twisted the ends of her locks, tying a tight knot in the heart of the rosebud.⁴⁴

While highlighting the buildings of Kashmir, Jahangir continues to say that:

The buildings of Kashmir are all of wood. They build houses of two, three, and four stories and cover the roofs with mud in which they plant black tulip bulbs that bloom year after year in the spring. It really looks beautiful. This custom is peculiar to the people of Kashmir.⁴⁵

Another description is inked in *Shah-jahan-nama*. Both Qazwini and Inayat Khan write:

without any doubt this is one of the most favoured spots in the world; or rather it is a combination of the best of all of them, on account of the fresh and bracing salubrious of the climate, the luxuriance of the vegetation and foliage, the abundance of delicious fruits, and the constant succession of lovely gardens and pleasant islands — as well as springs, lakes, cascades, and parterres. No other kingdom on the face of the globe has yet been discovered by the most experienced traveller that possesses such peculiarly charming features.⁴⁶

They further continue that:

In the city, along both banks of stream, handsome houses and agreeable gardens have been constructed. All the dwellings and buildings of this enchanting valley, with the exception of those belonging to the Emperor, the illustrious princes and nobles, and also some of the opulent inhabitants of the country, are formed entirely of timber and

43 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 299; *The Jahangirnama*, 332. The analysis of classic writings including the paeon of Emperor Jahangir, these would, directly or indirectly, completely or partially, fail to meet the paradisiacal beauty of present day Kashmir ecology. However, the questions arise: does the first-hand impression of the writers are unable to provide true impression of Kashmir landscape ecology, or those impressions are wilfully manipulated?

45 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 299; *The Jahangirnama*, 332.

46 Qazwini, *Shahjahanama*, 599; Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, 125.

planks. They construct their houses three and four stories high, one above the other, and surmount them with trussed roofs covered with wooden shingles; and over this they spread grass and then lay a coating of earth over all. In this they plant the bulbs of the 'lala chughasu', one of the finest species of tulip, which thrives abundantly in Kashmir and bears a gorgeous flower. In spring therefore, all the roofs look green and flourishing; and as all the tulips are then in blossom, the view as you pass along the streets is exquisitely picturesque, and no other country can boast of such a singular spectacle.⁴⁷

While describing the scenic beauty of Dal Lake, again they add that:

the crystal brilliance of the water in these channels, the vegetation that is clearly visible below, and the flowers which blossom on both sides are enough to bewilder the gaze. Of the flowers blooming on the broad expanse of the Lake, the most beautiful is the scarlet lotus [Roue-Dal], which the natives of Hindustan call Kanwal. Springing out of the water along the edge of the lake, there are double rows of willows which mutually droop their branches over one another so as to afford an agreeable shade.⁴⁸

Moreover, one more reliable account of Kashmir is from Francois Bernier. Bernier visited Kashmir in the reign of Aurangzeb. He reports:

It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be, as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority, extending its dominion over all the circumvent mountains, even as far as *Tartary* and over the whole of *Hindoustan*, to the Island of *Ceylon*. It is not indeed without reason that the Mogols (Mughals) call Kashmir the terrestrial paradise of the *Indies*, or that Akbar was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hand of its native Princes. His son Jehan-Guyre (Jahangir) became so enamoured of this little Kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often

47 Qazwini, *Shahjahanama*, 600; Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, 125.

48 Qazwini, *Shahjahanama*, 601; Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, 126.

declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty Empire than to lose Kashmir.⁴⁹

Climate of the Valley

Through chronicles, it has been reported that, the climate of Kashmir has always been amusing and pleasing. One was to enjoy all the four seasons of the year at the fullest of joy. Spring season is the first season of the year, which in Kashmiri language is called *Soo'nth* and it falls in the months of Chhatar, Besakh and Jaith. Summer is the second season of the year, which in Kashmiri language is called *Wah'rath* and it falls in the months of Hardh, Sawan and Badoon. Autumn is the third season which in Kashmiri language is called *Haru'dh* and it falls in the months of Asuj, Katak and Maghar. Winter is the fourth season of the year, which in Kashmiri language is called *Wan'dh* and it goes in the months of Poh, Magh and Phagun.⁵⁰

Dughlat, talking about the four seasons of Kashmir, records: "the heat in summer is so agreeable that there is at no time any need of a fan. A soft and refreshing breeze is constantly blowing."⁵¹ Whereas: "the climate in winter is also very temperate, notwithstanding the heavy snowfalls, so that no fur cloak [Pustin] is necessary."⁵² Dughlat further adds that, in fact, its coldness only serves to render the heat yet more agreeable. When the sun does not shine, the warmth of a fire is far from unpleasant.⁵³ In short, Dughlat, passes his final comment concluding that, "I have neither seen nor

50 *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 400-401.

50 Pir Ghulam Hussan Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, ed. Sahibzada Hasaan Shah (Srinagar, 1954), Urdu trans. Shams-uddin, *Shams-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. I (Srinagar, 2003), 88-90. It is important to note that, the name of the twelve months of a year in Kashmiri language exactly correspond to the Persian name of the months of a year.

51 Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 425.

52 Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 425.

53 Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 425.

heard of any country equal to Kashmir, for charm of climate during all the four seasons".⁵⁴

The first fact mentioned by the chroniclers about each of the Mughal province was its 'climate'. Therefore, the climate of Kashmir is invigorating, says Abu'l-Fazl.⁵⁵ The rain and snowfall are similar to that of Turkistan and Persia, and its periodical rains, adds Abu'l-Fazl, occur at the same season as in Hindustan.⁵⁶ Like Dughlat, chronicler Khwaja A'zam⁵⁷, too, speaks high about the 'climate' of Kashmir. For example, he says: "the summer of Kashmir is extremely mild and fans here are not needed most of the time, because a cool breeze blows constantly".⁵⁸ A'zam further informs that, during the spring and autumn seasons, the leaves of the trees fall, and in winter, the climate is extremely moderate and harmless. In spite of the heavy snowfall, there is no need to wear Pustin (fur cloak), because the cold brings out the internal warmth of the body, but since the sun does not shine, people use Kangri.⁵⁹

Significance of Mountains, Hillocks and Caves

The Mountains [Pahar'd]⁶⁰, Hillocks/Karewahs [Wu'dar]⁶¹ and Caves [Gofh]⁶² are special features of the Kashmir Valley. None of the natural features have exerted a more

54 Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 425.

55 Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, 352.

56 Abu'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. II, 352.

57 Khwaja Muhammad Azam Didamiri was a Sufi Kashmiri writer in the Persian language. His history entitled *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* [The Story of Kashmir], also known after the writer's name as *Tarikh-i-Azami* [History by Azam], was published in Persian in 1747, has also been translated into Urdu language, which is now in use as a reliable source for the medieval period of Kashmir.

58 Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 44.

59 Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 44. Kangri is a small pot filled with lighted charcoal, used to transport fire or (in Kashmir) carried close to the body as a means of keeping warm.

60 Pahar' is the vernacular name of Mountains in Kashmir Valley.

61 Wu'dar is the vernacular name of Hillocks in Kashmir Valley.

62 Gofh is the vernacular name of Caves in Kashmir Valley.

direct influence on the history of the Valley than the great mountain ramparts.⁶³ It is to these mountains that the Valley owes its rivers and its streams, its rains and the fertility of its soil, and even its floods and famines. It is, also a historical existence of marked individuality.⁶⁴

The geomorphological nature of Kashmir Mountains is also viewed by Geronymo Xavier, a European traveller, who in 1597 wrote a letter about the journey he made to the kingdom of Kashmir. He says:

We were at Lahore, the court of king (Akbar), always enjoying good health. When spring came, the king came to the kingdom of Kashmir which he took ten years ago (...). On the way we were in good health. How much trouble we had in getting through those mountains, which are much bigger than those of our Pyrenees! And, when we had passed one, there was another still worse. For eight or ten days we went from mountain to mountain, from snow to snow, and under great cold, though it was the end of May.⁶⁵

Division, Quality and Nature of the Soil

So far as the cultivation of the land of the Valley is concerned, according to Dughlat, the land in this region was divided into four kinds.⁶⁶ However, Hasan Khuihami divides the land of the Valley into three broad categories. First, there is the flat and level land; second, around the mountain passes; and third, between the foothills of the mountains and the hillocks. To the first category, writes Khuihami, the land of Kashmir is plain, long, flat; free of sand, stones, bushes

63 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, vol. II, 390. See also, Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, 93-100; Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans* (reprint: Delhi, 2005), 19.

64 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini or Chronicle of the Kings of Kas'mir*, vol. I, trans. M. A. Stein (Reprint: Delhi, 1979), 30. See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, 19.

65 Geronymo Xavier, *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 23 (Calcutta, 1927), 115-16.

66 Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 425.

and thorns. Its length from Achhabal Spring up to the end of Pargana Zainagir is about 50 Krohs, and its breadth is about eight Krohs approximately. Its soil is brownish, which is full of strength; cultivable, watery and dry. Its production is rich, fully grown and two or three times more than those of the high lands. It is covered with small and large lakes like; Wular, Dal, Ancharsar, Mansar, Pamasar, Hakusar, Khushalsar and etc. Srinagar, the famous city is situated in the middle (See Fig. 3), whereas, the Bahat (Jhelum) flows through continuously. In some of the years, this river got flooded and thus submerged the plain. The village population, buildings and cultivation got destroyed due to the flood on the lowland side of the city.⁶⁷ To the second category, around the mountains of Kashmir Valley are running plots of lands; flat and in some cases plain surfaced, where many villages are also established in between. Its crops are average in strength, growth and abundance.⁶⁸ The third category belongs to the foothills of the mountains and hillocks, which in flat surface are 100 to 200 (ft.) high from the first category. Despite being mostly cultivable, the production of third category of land is third-rate in strength, growth and abundance when compared to the other two categories.⁶⁹

Conclusion

Indeed in no region of India has geography so amply influenced its history as is in the case of Kashmir, the largest and one of the loveliest valley.

The narratives of chroniclers though tell us a lot about the pleasant topo-geography of Kashmir which resembles too much with that of Central Asia. Presently, while analysing

67 Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, 111-12; Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 48-49.

68 Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, 111-12; Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 48-49.

69 Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, vol. I, 111-12; Ahmad, *Historical Geography of Kashmir*, 48-49.

the landscape ecology of Kashmir, by taking into account all the previous geo-historical narratives, the change that has been occurring in the ecology of Kashmir can be noticed. The change in the weather and climate of the valley is a case in point. Similarly changes in the forest ecology and water ecology are cases in point. The size and density of forests has been diminishing. The size and volume of water bodies has been shrinking. To illustrate and elaborate all of this at length in statistical module needs a separate full-fledged research.

Signs Taken for Wonders: A Sociology of Knowledge Production in South Asia

Nadeem Omar Tarar*

ABSTRACT

The title of the paper is borrowed from an article in Critical Inquiry in 1985 by Homi Bhabha's "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817" which has become a locus classicus for postcolonial studies. For Bhabha, the printed 'English book' became an Indians emblem for colonial rule, and a 'sign taken for wonders' that glorifies the epistemological centrality and permanence of European dominance. However, English colonialist fetishised — the Indian book, part of Sanskrit, Arabic and Indo-Persian manuscript culture, as the wondrous signs of the luxuriance of the Indian kings. This stands in complete contrast to the statement, by Sheldon Pollock, a leading medieval historian that "South Asia can lay claim to a literary record far denser, in terms of sheer number of texts and centuries of unbroken multi-lingual literacy, than all of the Greek, Latin and medieval European culture combined."¹ The recognition of pre-colonial scientific, literary or intellectual culture developed over thousands of years in the fields of

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1 Sheldon Pollock

philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, logic, epistemology, hermeneutics, poetics, moral political thought, life sciences, among others is resolutely absent even from sympathetic accounts of South Asian history, thanks to the gatekeepers of the Western epistemic Kingdom. If the western art history highlighted the role of European manuscripts in the context of book publishing, literacy and advancement of intellectual traditions, the history of manuscripts in medieval South Asia was largely fetishised as part of Indian oral and decorative traditions, patronised by courts and feudal as a symbol of their luxuriance and prosperity. This theme is discussed in the end of the present paper, where a highly acclaimed Sultanate period illustrated manuscript; Nimatnamah will be discussed to calibrate the mental colonization of the western and South Asian intellectual world.

Introduction

In the contemporary curatorial practices, museum representations and art historical discourses, illustrated Islamicate books in medieval India have largely been described in terms of their illustrations. These illustrations are routinely ascribed to influences originating from Persian Miniature, Safavid Painting, Mughal Painting, Indo-Persian Painting, and Rajput Painting, pointing to their courtly origin as well as a specific form, motifs, concepts and techniques. In the course of study of illustrated Islamicate books in medieval India, therefore, the scholarly attention came to be focused on the formal and iconographic analyses of manuscripts to a point that illustrations, calligraphy and illumination began to be understood merely as 'decorative' devices which have no intrinsic relationship with the communicative function of the book. Their appreciation in terms of decorative objects, severed the genealogical links of illustrated manuscripts in India with the production and circulation of Islamicate books — expressed in such activities, as workshop production, library keeping, the calligraphic arts, book binding and selling, paper production and trade — of which it was an appendage, proliferating in

the Islamic world since the thirteenth century, with intermediary presence in South Asia.

The study of manuscript illustrations with scant attention to the accompanying calligraphy and arabesque, as independent painting, has also been favoured by historical vagaries of culture, climate and the colonial loot. The illustrated manuscripts arrived in Indian and Western museums and galleries through a series of disjunctive historical events and processes, which have constructed them as object of imperial glory. Owing to contemporary curatorial functions and market forces, the illustrated books were dispersed and survived largely, with few exceptions as individual or isolated pieces or re-grouped in picture-albums. Divorced from the context of their production, their dissemination and appreciation in the Indian and western art world in the nineteenth and twentieth century turned them into the very embodiments of European fantasies of the sensuous Orient.

The surviving manuscripts were exhibited and published by the leading metropolitan museum curators, connoisseurs and Indian art historians as visual references to the evolutionary history of 'traditional' schools of illumination and mythological paintings in the Indo-Islamic world. Their seamless enshrinement, as catalogued miniatures in illuminated manuscripts in private collections, museums and libraries, endowed them with a distance. While signifying the '*Domains of Wonder*', and representing the objects of 'Power and Desire', the contemporary collections of Indian miniatures emerged as the 'authentic' sources for scholarly interpretations of regional styles and influences as well as artistic inspirations, which however, remained oblivious to the broader history of the book in India.

Due to abundant supply of paper, richly embellished manuscripts, interlaced with floral and vegetable motifs signifying the divine ideals, were the medium for the transmission and circulation of entirety of Holy Quran and Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH). The political and

administrative expansion of Islamic empires in Persia and India gave the book production an impetus and diversity. During its career as an imperial art form in Mughal libraries, committed to large scale manuscript publishing, miniature painting grew out of a fusion of highly diverse sources, emerging from the first Mongol domination over Persia, and Timurids and Safavids influences, developing with the traditions current at the Mughal courts of fifteenth century.

The illustrated books also formed the mainstay for the transmission of knowledge of political and natural history, literature, law, philosophy, science, medicine, astronomy and alchemy by organizing a vast array of disciplines into logical and accessible formats. It is important to stress the point that extensive literature, on various subjects, was not 'specialised' in the contemporary western sense, but was integrated with learning in other fields of knowledge. If the field of illuminated manuscripts publishing was vast, the number of books produced increased immensely from the ninth century to the eighteenth century. According to one estimate, 600,000 Arabic manuscripts survived from the period before printing press was introduced, representing a minute fraction of what was originally produced. Until the spread of lithography and printing presses in the nineteenth century India, millions of books were prepared not only in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, but also in Kashmiri, Hindi and Greek filling huge libraries (*Kutub Khanas*) held not only by kings and nobles, but also by a literate reading public.

Book Reading in Manuscript Culture

Western narratives turn the world history of production, transmission and reception of written knowledge into a unilinear history of the book. Contrary to the dominant European model of phonetic based alphabet literacy, Arab civilization, following the advent of Islam in the sixth century evolved a different interface of orality with writing. Even in India, a large variety of oral techniques — mnemonics, notations, and other meta-linguistic props — have been evolving to preserve the authenticity of the scriptural texts in

a letter-perfect form, making a claim only to rival with the Islamic methods of extending religious knowledge. Despite undervaluing writing as a technology, R. Narasimhan argued that articulations usually unavailable to oral societies were made accessible to Indian traditions, which allow 'individuals, who are part of an essentially oral milieu to engage in complex literate performances'. The adherence to what has been fetishised as 'oral tradition' was not a sign of cultural ignorance to the potential of writing (and printing), but was an indication of cultural practices 'which underpins pervasively orality with literacy'. A unique form of South Asian 'tacit literacy', involving an entire mnemotechnics for the learning and transmission of complex literate skills was in place before the advent of British colonial system of literacy.

The tacit literacy strengthened a literate culture in India, in which the participation in the knowledge economy was not restricted to those who could read and write, but also open to those who could speak eloquently and hear diligently. The books were not only read to Emperor Akbar, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, three centuries apart but also to a large number of highly literate individuals in India. Extending the folds of literacy to those, essentially in an oral milieu, it also enabled dialectic of production and transmission of text based knowledge, both visual and written, to take place through oral-aural means. The use of didactic poetry to teach complex literate subjects such as medicine was an immensely popular method of instruction in medieval India and the Islamicate world. Most well known Arabic didactic medical poem was written by Ibn Sina (Avicenna), the illustrious medieval Muslim scientist, which continued to inspire written commentaries in verse, including one by the Spanish physician, Ibn Rushd (Averroes). The illuminated and illustrated manuscripts, which, for centuries, sustained the arts of figural painting, embellishment with abstract designs, calligraphy and book binding had a role to play in the production and circulation of knowledge, which stood at

the interface of orality and writing in diverse regions across the Islamic world.

A Semiotic Approach to Illustrated Manuscripts

Drawing on semiotic approaches to Indian painting, art historian, Debra Diamond elucidated the conventional motifs in Rajput court paintings from Rajasthan as culturally shared codes from which meaning is produced. Diamond argues that a portrait of a king derives its semantic authority not only through awareness of king's power in the world or through an active appreciation of the painting's formal qualities but through indexical and iconic referencing to other paintings. Rather than considering workshop practice of copying as mindless device responsible for perpetuation of old tradition, she reads copying as a process of citation and active interpretation and artists as an active interpreter of the image source. This is achieved by closely analyzing the process of copying, which obliges an artist to act on the image source. By first selecting it from the pool of signs, and then by tracing it wholly or partially onto a new sheet of paper, the artist re-uses the sign as a commentary on the source of previous meaning. In this account of Rajasthani court painting, the historical viewer is a literate courtier, who interprets the motifs as signs in reference to their visual source as well as to the context in which they appear. The method becomes significant in the context of literate viewing public which could read the painting like a book by drawing on conventional motifs in manuscript paintings as culturally shared codes from where meaning is produced. Courtier or historical viewer may have understood cited motifs and almost identical paintings as semantically textured rather than tediously repetitive. By offering a pleasure similar to the pleasure of tracing a poetic metaphor, through its appearances in various texts, the citation and recontextualisation of a canonical image in a painting would have motivated literate viewers to follow a chain of associations.

Rather than tracing the antecedents of an individual miniature painting as an autonomous object, the figural painting, calligraphy and arabesque should be interpreted, as signs placed within a large structural unit, the book.² What is required is a textual analysis of the illustrated manuscript as an integrated unit in a system of relations between the texts and images, which have functioned together to make the communicative act possible.³ A semiotic analysis of writing, images and patterns as signs in the oeuvre of a book, lends itself to multiple readings of the illustrated books, in terms of their genre, inter-textuality and narrative structures thereby contributing to the burgeoning scholarship on the history and sociology of production, transmission and reception of illustrated books in the west as well as in the Islamic world. In the last part of this paper, the theme of mental colonization is discussed in detail.

A Case Study of *Nimatnamah*

Nimatnama, an illustrated book attributed to the court of Malwa in 1500, was 'discovered' by Robert Skepton working in Indian Office Section of British Library in 1959. Since then, *Nimatnama* has been appreciated as a landmark in the history of Indo-Persian painting given the fact that it is one of the earliest illustrated manuscripts to include Urdu, a mix of intercultural artistic influences of Persian miniatures and Indian paintings and to quote "the renowned eccentricity of Giyathi Shahi...add up to a fascinating work". Its fame led to its eventual translation and publication by British Museum in 2005 as a 'unique and tantalizing account of rarefied courtly life', with fifty miniatures partly illustrating specific subjects

2 Meyer Shapiro, *Words and Pictures: One the Literal and Symbolic in the Illustration of Text* (London: 1973) and Jonathan Culler, *The Pursuit of Sign* (London: 1981).

3 Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (London: 1967); Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: 1987) and Michael Caesar, *Umberto Eco: Philosophy, Semiotics and the Work of Fiction* (Cambridge: 1999).

mentioned in the text, and partly portraying general scenes of 'supervising the cooks'.

Despite being cited in every single survey text of Sultanate paintings, *Nimatnamah as a Book of Delight*⁴ has never been studied as a 'Book of Knowledge'. It could not attract the attention of scholars apart from offering a source for stylistic analyses. For western art historians and museum curators, such as Norah Titley and Robert Skelton, the researcher, and translators of the *Nimatnama*, it signifies the domains of wonder and profane pleasures of the royal household of Ghiyath al-Din. An eccentric and a bon viveur, his method of enjoying the pleasures of life is amply demonstrated by the contents and illustrations of the *Nimatnama*, or *Book of Delights*.

Food represents more than an art or pleasure in the Muslim societies and *Nimatnama* as a book on dietetics written in Persian (and Urdu) and illustrated in Persian styles also reflects many other aspects of Persian culture, including food. *Nimatnamah* offers illuminating solutions to ailments that are product of mismatch of food elements as well as unbalanced lifestyle and codifies a folk science of dietetics, which had been largely oral and performative. Greek manuscripts on medicine which were translated into Arabic under Abbassids in the eighth and ninth centuries arrived in India two centuries later in Persian translation, along with scholars and doctors who were fleeing Mongol attacks in Central Asia. This provides the historical context to understand the discourse on food by *Nimatnamah*.

In the court of Malwa, the quality of food is defined through a number of hedonist parameters, such as smell, look, taste, satisfaction gained, as well as medical factors. In this medical tradition, to be a hakim, one must be a perfect cook, to know ingredients and master the stage of cooking. The careers of hakims and cooks overlapped and the former

4 Norah M. Titley: *The Ni'matnama Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu: The Sultan's Book of Delights* (Routledge, 2004).

came to be designated as food consultants. Many elements of Ayydic and Greek medicinal theories on the balance of edible elements underlie the recipes in the *Nimatnamah*.

The role of culinary arts have strong bearing on the development of Ayurvedic and Greek medicine in India and medical treatise from both traditions offered their own set of recipes. There is a long tradition of preparing medicated food in Greek medicine as the nature of these remedies is said to be such that they suit a healthy as well as sick body as part of Cookery of wellbeing. Ayurvedic cures offer drinks, diets and drugs in order of preference, where as Yunani medicine offers more precise links between food and remedy.

From the courts of Sultans of Delhi, the scholarship on Greek medicine began to circulate in the Northern India as a number of Greek hospitals and research centers were established between fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. The courts of Hyderabad were known to patronise Greek medicine and hakims, and encouraged them to write books on the subject. Muhammad Quli (1580-1612) established a health house 'Darul Shifa' in Hyderabad, which led to the development of Indo-Persian medical tradition in India.

Understanding Pakhtun Conversion to Islam: A Theoretical Analysis

Dr. Himayatullah Yaqubi*

ABSTRACT

One of the most popular theories about the origin of the Pakhtuns is the Bani Israelite theory. According to the theory Pakhtuns belong to those Jewish tribes who were banished by Nebuchadnezzar (Bakhtnasr) in 586 BCE from Palestine. Afterwards, they migrated towards Afghanistan and accepted Islam en masse when Prophet Muhammad emerged in Arabia. However, the proponents of the theory failed to produce concrete evidence regarding the assertion that Pakhtun accepted Islam collectively as the theory suggests. The present article details the history of the advent of Islam into the Pakhtun region and look into the developments with analytical and historical understanding. It aims at providing a detailed account of the way Islam penetrated into the areas inhabited by the Pakhtun tribes. What was the response of the local population and which factors played key role in the spread of Islam among the Pakhtuns. Moreover, it would explore that either the acceptance of Islam was their own choice or they were forced to do so. The article would seek to determine whether they accepted Islam collectively as claimed by the

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proponents of the Bani Israelite theory or the transformation took place due to other reasons.

Introduction

The arrival of Islam into the mainland of Pakistan has been discussed in detail by the scholars and historians. Majority of historians are generally agreed that in the initial phase, it was under Muhammad bin Qasim that Islam found a fertile ground in the South Asian region. In fact, it was much earlier that Arab traders and sailors discovered the land. Even before the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the 600s, Arab traders were in contact with India. Merchants would regularly sail to the west coast of South Asia to trade goods such as spices, gold, and African goods. Naturally, when the Arabs began to convert to Islam, they carried their new religion to the shores of South Asia. A local story mentioned about the conversion of a South Indian ruler Raja Bhoja of Ujjain at the time when the miracle of the split of the moon occurred. In fact, a number of Muslim settlers in the north and southern parts of India even preceded the invading imperial armies..¹ The first known mosque of India, the Cheraman Juma Masjid, was built in 629 (during the life of Prophet Muhammad) in Kerala, by the a Muslim of India, Cheraman Perumal Bhaskara Ravi Varma. Through continued trade between Arab Muslims and Indians, Islam continued to spread in coastal Indian cities and towns, both through immigration and conversion. Some writers mentioned that the mosque was built by Malak Ibn Dinar.²

With the commencement of the eight century CE, the Muslim armies penetrated as far as the western confines of South Asia and reduced Makran (Balochistan) and the surrounding areas. Of this expedition, reaction of the Muslim Caliph and Muslim soldiers was narrated by Baladhuri. Muslim armies gave too much significance to venture into the South Asian

1 Hugh Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live in* (Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2007), 23.

2 Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests*, 23.

region and the areas surrounding the Indian Subcontinent. A tradition of the Prophet goes like this: “God saved two groups of people of my companions from hellfire: a group which will attack India, and a group which will be (at the end of time) with ‘Isa ibn Maryam’.”³

In the light of this tradition Muslim armies had given utmost importance to venture in to the Indian mainland. The attack of Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 CE is regarded as a watershed which shifted the existing social, political and cultural paradigms of the region. Muhammad bin Qasim besieged the town of Debul (Karachi) which lasted for about three days. He retained 4000 Arab soldiers in a newly built colony reserved only for Muslims. After the occupation of Sindh by the Muslim armies, governors were regularly appointed first by the Umayyads⁴ and then by their successors the Abbasids until Basher son of Dawud rebelled against al-Mamun (813-33 CE).⁵ After that the hold of the Muslim Caliphs on Sindh was relaxed. The authority of the Caliphs virtually waned in 871, when two Arab chiefs established independent principalities at Multan and Sindh.

As far as the penetration of Islam among the Pakhtuns was concerned, the popular perception debating in village *hujras* still rely on the notion that Pakhtuns were Jews who

3 Sunan Nesai, IV. 43. Quoted in Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Subcontinent* (Lieden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 3.

4 The Umayyad Caliphate was the second of the four major Arab caliphates established after the death of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH). This caliphate was centered on the Umayyad dynasty, hailing from Mecca. The Umayyads continued the Muslim conquests, incorporating the Caucasus, Transoxiana, Sindh, the Maghreb and the Iberian Peninsula (Al-Andalusia) into the Muslim world. The rivalries between the Arab tribes and the civil wars caused unrest in the provinces outside Syria. The Umayyads, weakened by the Third Muslim Civil War of 744–747, were finally toppled by the Abbasid Revolution in 750/132 AH. A branch of the family fled across North Africa to Al-Andalusia, where they established the Caliphate of Córdoba.

5 Abu Jafar Abdullah al-Mamun ibn Harun al Rashid was the seventh Abbasside caliph, who reigned from 813 until his death in 833. He succeeded his brother al-Amin after a civil war. He is known for his role in the Mutazilla controversy, and the resumption of large-scale warfare with the Byzantine Empire.

collectively converted to Islam when Qais visited Hejaz to meet Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) along with seventy other malaks. Qais and the accompanied Malaks then fought many wars against the infidels. Olaf Caroe has mentioned that:

The Prophet lavished all sorts of blessings upon them; and having ascertained the name of each individual, and remark that Qais was a Hebrew name, whereas they themselves were Arabs, he gave Qais the name of Abdurrashid...and the Prophet predicted that God would make the issue of Qais so numerous...that their attachment to the Faith would in strength be like the wood upon which they lay the kneel when constructing a ship which seamen call Pahtan; on this account he conferred upon Abdurrashid the title of Pathan also.⁶

To some writers this is pure fun and the mythical character on the face of reliable sources. This whole story needs fresh analysis on the basis of varied landscapes of literature including Muslim sources, accounts of Arab and Chinese travelers and archeological remains. Without much confusion, these accounts suggest that, even, four centuries later than the time of Qais the city of Kabul remained a great seat of Hindu Shahi kingdom.⁷ On the basis of these historical assertions, it is much significant to establish that under what circumstances Pakhtuns accepted Islam.

Arabs never carried the standard of Islam beyond the Indus. The attack of Muhammad bin Qasim had just introduced Islam to the population in Sindh with least impact on other ethnic groups of the region. In fact, Muslim armies, traders and Sufi saints who captured the greater part of modern Pakistan entered not through Sindh but through the north-western frontier, the heartland of the Pakhtuns. It is important to discuss it in historical context to better understand the commencement of Islam to the Pakhtuns'

6 Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans: 550 B.C—A.D. 1957* (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd, 1958), 8.

7 Caroe, *The Pathans*, 9.

heartland through Central Asian routes. In this regard evidences suggest that Islam entered into the Pakhtun borderland areas in multiple phases of conquest and subjugation. It contradicts the traditional claims of those historians who affirm that Pakhtuns accepted Islam collectively during the lifetime of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Despite these divergent views regarding the origin of Islam among the Pakhtuns, there is very little work done by the historians about their religious transformation. Although the Bani Israelite theory is very much clear in this regard by mentioning that Pakhtuns were Jews who afterwards accepted Islam collectively. Although the argument is quite weak as neither sound historical facts are available nor evidence support this claim, however, the proponents of the other theories failed to bring about a comprehensive enquiry about religious history and transformation of the Pakhtuns.

Bani Israelite Theory and Pakhtun Religious Discourse

With regard to their religious transformation quite significant is the history of the origin of Pakhtuns. There are various theories propounded by scholars regarding the origin of the Pakhtuns. In this regard Khwaja Niamatullah Harvi in his book *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodhi wa Makhzan-i-Afghani* propounded a theory about the origin of the Pakhtuns. The book was written during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605-1627) and was completed between the years 1609-1612. The compilation of *Makhzan-i-Afghani* was the oldest available source which denotes them of Bani-Israelite's stock. According to this theory the Pakhtuns were Jews and they accepted Islam *en mass* after the emergence of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in Makkah.⁸ Among the proponents of this theory H. W. Bellow provides comparatively better details with regards to the Pakhtuns

8 For a detailed account of this theory see Khwajah Niamatullah Harvi, *History of the Afghans*, trans. Bernhard Dorn from the Persian of Neamet Ullah, 3rd edn. (Karachi: Indus Publications, 2001).

conversion to Islam. His assertions however, need critical analysis. It is pertinent to produce a brief account to fully grasp the whole edifice of his claim.

Bellew is of the view that Pakhtuns were residing at Ghor (Afghanistan) when Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) announced his mission in 622 CE. On the invitation of Khalid bin Walid some six or seven Pakhtun chiefs under Qais visited Hijaz, accepted Islam and fought many battles along side the Prophet. All of them were given the titles of Malaks. As a mark of special favour, Qais was given the name of Abd-ur-Rashid and conferred on him the title of Pathan for the whole Pakhtun nation. Along with the Pakhtuns, the area of modern Afghanistan at that time was occupied by a variety of races and people including Persians and Scythics. Arab military expeditions in the beginning of the tenth century resulted in the intermingling of the Muslim Pakhtuns with the general population. In the course of time, they identified themselves with the conquered people however retained their national title..⁹ It seems that a group of people called Gandarii migrated Helmand owing to the frequent Scythic attacks on Gandhara. They settled there and given new name of Gandhar or Kandhar to their new settlement. They were Buddhist by faith but accepted Islam after the Arab invasions. In fact, they ignored their religion and disregarded almost everything associated with it.¹⁰ In all probabilities, they were the ancestors of the Yusufzais who in the fifteenth century migrated to their native land owing to the massacre of Mirza Ulagh Beg.¹¹

It can be deduced from the above statement of Bellew that before the arrival of Islam Jews in the Ghor were marginalized community with least social or political

9 H. W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan* (Lahore: Sh. Mubarak Ali and Sons, n.d), 16.

10 Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, 23.

11 For details see Himayatullah Yaqubi, *Mughal-Afghan Relations in South Asia: History and Development* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2015).

influence. No one took stock of their conversion to the new faith. It was in the tenth century that continuous forays of the Arabs started in the north-west frontier region of India. They joined hands with their brother-in-faith and got rapid successes and got upper hand, prestige and propagated Islam among the vanquished people. In recording the annals of their past, they identified all the tribes and ethnic groups with the particular name of Pakhtun or Afghan.

As mentioned above the religious dynamic of the Bani-Israelite theory is clear that before adopting Islam they professed Judaism. This theory can be termed as the most popular one but its authenticity was challenged by a number of scholars on various grounds.¹² There are many loopholes and historical gapes; the discussion of which is beyond the scope of the present article. A minute tip of similarity could be found in the assertion mentioned by Bellew that the Jewish tribe settled in Ghor accepted Islam *en mass* and then accompanied the Arab soldiers to carry away the standard of Islam in to the South Asian region. They overpowered the native people and during the course of time the forceful message of Islam erased the slightest racial and national distinctions among different tribes and ethnic groups. To further authenticate his claim Bellew compares the names of Pakhtuns' ancestors appearing in the genealogical tables for instance Saraban, Khrishyun and Sheorani. He identifies these names with Suryaban (the royal or solar race of Rajputs in India) Krishan, Surjan and Shivaram respectively. Table 1 best illustrate this comparison of various terms:

12 For a detailed study see Bahadur Shah Zafar Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tariikh pa Ranra Key* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1999) and Sultan-i-Rome, *The North-West Frontier (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Essays on History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Table 1: COMPARISON OF VARIOUS PAKHTUN AND BRAHMAN TERMS

Pakhtun Names	Brahman Names
Saraban	Suryaban
Khrishyun	Krishna
Sheorani	Surjan \ Shivaram

It indicates strong link between Brahmanism and the Pakhtuns' ancestors. They were influenced by the ideas and traditions of each other. In fact, Bellew asserts, that the Jews of Bani Israel was a tiny group of people living in the Ghor alongside many other powerful tribes and ethnic groups. They retained their national characteristics and ethnic identity and applied it on the entire population around them.¹³ In a nutshell, various tribes and ethnic groups residing with them in the area were designated under one ethnic characteristic in the Pakhtun historiography written by proponents of the theory as members of larger Pakhtun group. However, the claim needs further investigation and thorough research to explore concrete evidences to authenticate its different dynamics.

Critics of the Bani Israelite theory and its religious discourse argue that Islam penetrated into the Pakhtuns' land in the eleventh century under Ghaznawides and Ghorides. Olaf Caroe claims that even four centuries later than the time of Qais' conversion, the province of Kabul was not Islamized. The process began with the arrival of Muslim army under Mahmud of Ghazna; who fought incessant wars against the Hindu Shahiya kingdom of Jaipal. There are comparatively authentic indications hinting that all the Pakhtuns were not converted to Islam even during the reign of Muhammad Gori. His rival, Prithvi Raj had collected a brigade of the heathen Pakhtuns against the Muslim army.¹⁴

¹³ Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, 21.

¹⁴ Caroe, *The Pathans*, 9.

Questions strike one's mind that if Pakhtuns had accepted Islam in the days of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the Bani Israelite theory goes, then there should be archaeological remains and historical evidences to authenticate the presence of Islam in the area. However, no such clue is referred by any author so far. The gape of about four centuries, from the announcement of prophet-hood in the seventh century to eleventh century when most of the inhabitants of the area accepted Islam, shows no signs of the presence of Islam in any of the Pakhtun tribes. Contrary to this claim, it is an established fact that in the eleventh century the area inhabited by the Pakhtuns was under the Hindu Shahiya kingdom of Kabul. Most of them were either Buddhist or Brahmans which was a cult on the rise. Even in the accounts of Chinese pilgrims no signs could be found of the existence of the new faith among the dwellers. Hiuen-Tsang has mentioned that Buddhism was on the wane and Brahmanism on the rise during that time period.

Another group of historians argued that the region of the north-western India was not only a natural frontier but also civilizational periphery. In fact, it was an ancient zone of incessant battlefields between the warring tribes and the foreign invaders. Throughout history the area was invaded by the powerful commanders and conquerors.¹⁵ It is further argued that after the flourishing of the Aryan civilization, the area was affected by the rise and falls of the Indus Valley Civilization and witnessed the Achaemenians migration (550-331 BCE).¹⁶ With the fall of Achaemenian Empire

15 Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah Kakakel, Fazal Rahim Marwat, *Afghanistan and the Frontier* (Peshawar: Emjay Books International, 1993); Bahadur Shah Zafar Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1999), Himayatullah Yaqubi, Religious "Transformation and Development among the Pakhtuns: A Historical and Analytical Study" *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* 28, no. 2 (July-December 2007).

16 Achaemenians belonged to those Bactrian Aryans who went to Persia from Bakhtar in their onward migration. They were called "Parswa". On the authority of Herodotus, Zafar Kakakhel has mentioned that originally they were ten tribes and Achaemenian was a tribal leader among them. The tribe of Achaemenian was made popular after his name. It produced great

Alexander the Great, occupied Afghanistan and made headway to the north-western parts of India in about 327 BCE. A large number of Greeks settled in the region during that period. The Mauryans occupation (322-185 BCE) followed the Greco-Bactrian phase. The greatest ruler of this dynasty was Ashoka who captured Afghanistan, Kashmir, the Swat valley with tribal territory, Balochistan, Makran, Sindh, Nepal and the whole of India and Chinese Turkestan. The area witnessed the flourishing of Buddhism which has been widely accepted by the Pakhtuns.

Dominant Religious Cults before Islam

In the second century BCE the end of the Mauryan rule in Gandhara was precipitated by the Greek invasion. They were called the Bactrian Greeks. They ruled over the territories of Gandhara, central and southern Afghanistan and north-western India. One of its rulers Menander also converted to Buddhism. The dominions of Menander appear to have comprised the central parts of Afghanistan, modern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana, Kathiawar and Western Uttar Pradesh. After the end of the Mauryan rule, official patronage of Buddhism decreased under the Greco-Bactrian rule and the old religion of Hinduism re-emerged among the Pakhtuns. During this period, they started worshiping a number of Hindu deities.

The worship of Shiva spread to Afghanistan and touched the bank of Amu River (Oxus). In Sozma Kala, near Balkh, a stone slab was discovered bearing the name of three-headed standing Shiva with a trident and other attributers. Many works of Shivite and Hindu art dating back to fifth and eighth century has been discovered in Afghanistan.¹⁷ On the basis of these evidences, one may say that Brahmanism as

leaders and rulers who then conquered great chunk of land for the Persians. Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh Pa Ranra Kay*, 127.

17 B. A. Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-Da and R. Shabani Samghabadi, *History of Civilization of Central Asia*, vol. III (Delhi: Motilal Banarasisdass Publishers, 1999), 427.

a religion prevailed among the people of South Asia including modern Afghanistan in early medieval times. Individual Brahmanic images even penetrated into Buddhist circles and can be found in Buddhist sties. During that period possibly some Pakhtun tribes adopted Hinduism as a religion and later developments proved it beyond doubts.

The signs of the fire-worshippers have also been found among the inhabitants of the area. Sources relating to the Arab conquests mention fire-temples and idol temples. They were richly decorated and contained many precious objects. Firdusi's *Shahnama* also mentions fire-temples in Bukhara and Paikent.¹⁸ The existence of the fire-temples in the area inhabited by the Pakhtuns also indicates presence of fire-worshippers. In fact, Zoroastrian religion came to the Pakhtuns' heartland from Persia. Since the area remained an outpost of Achaemenian kings who professed and propagated this cult.

The coins of Greek period speak of the beautiful portraits of kings, which depicts not only western gods and goddesses but also city goddesses of Pushkalavati (Charsadda), Peshawar, Kapisa and a few other local deities. In the first century BCE Greek rule was swept away in the new wave of invasions by the Scythians and the Parthians. During this time, multiple local deities appeared on the coins. Besides, large number of inscriptions speaks of the erection of Buddhist monasteries in Gandhara and thus attested to the popularization of the faith again among the masses. It has been stated that Kujul Kadphises, a Kushan conqueror, laid the foundation of a monastery and stupa at Peshawar. It was regarded another golden age of Buddhist culture in the region after the Mauryans.¹⁹

18 Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-Da and Samghabadi, *History of Civilization of Central Asia*, 427.

19 Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Peshawar: A Historic City of the Frontier* (Peshawar: Khyber Mail Press, 1969), 44.

This period may be called an era of religious competition. In Bactria, Sassanian Zoroastrianism had to compete with Buddhism. In Gandhara Hinduism and the worshippers of Shiva emerged to replace declining Buddhism. However, Buddhism remained successful in attracting the ruling elites and common masses of the region. The period of the Kushans began with its new capital Purushapura i.e. Peshawar where Buddhist stupas and monasteries were erected. It emerged as the winter capital of Kanishka and a great centre of Buddhism. The world's largest Buddha monastery was situated in the vicinity of Peshawar. The presence of this huge monastery was also attested by a Chinese pilgrim Sun Yanshi (520 CE). It was one of the finest and magnificent buildings in India during the Kushan era. A large number of Buddhist monasteries, inscriptions and coins have been excavated from different parts of Afghanistan and various areas of present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. A number of Buddhist scholars and teachers also hailed from these areas. Some famous Buddhist who flourished in the Pakhtuns' area were Matanga, Gobharana, Sang Heuci and Dharma Kala. This area also played an important role in the propagation of this great religion. It was regarded main route to China, Turkistan, Mongolia, Ceylon and South-East Asia.²⁰

Accounts of the Chinese Travelers

With regard to the religious undercurrents among the Pakhtuns' ancestors of South Asia, the accounts of the Chinese travellers are much important to consult. One may find an important phase of the pre-Islamic religious transformation of the area from these accounts.

Fa-Hien (Faxian)

Fa-Hien was one of the oldest Chinese monks who visited Gandhara between 399 and 414 CE. He came to Bakhtar and Kabul through Gobi Desert. Earlier, he stayed in Kabul

20 Kakakhel, *Da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 205.

and then resumed his journey towards Peshawar and Charsadda (Pushkalavati) via Kurram and Bannu. Peshawar and Swat were great seats and sacred cities of Buddhism at that time. Buddhism was the most dominant religion of the people of above mentioned regions. Peshawar, he wrote, was one of the most developed cities of Gandhara. He called it 'Garden of India' due to its fertile land and enormous greenery. Folinsha (Peshawar) and Sohoto (Swat) are mentioned in his account as the two sacred places of Buddhism.²¹ At Peshawar, he witnessed the rituals associated with the worship of Buddha's alms-bowl. At Taxila, he went around the place where Buddha offered himself to a starving tigress.²² In 414 CE, he returned China after a stay of six years in India.²³ All these versions best illustrate the presence of Buddhism among the tribes of Gandhara, modern day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan. The inferences hint that a large portion of population was the ancestors of various Pakhtun tribes.

Song Yun

Song Yun was another Chinese pilgrim sent by a Chinese Buddhist empress belonged to Wei dynasty. It was a period when the Huns ruled over northern India at about 520 CE. There was political chaos in most parts of India due to internal strife and external aggression. However, Buddhism was on the verge of decline and Hinduism reasserted itself. He stated about the religious freedom of the people. He observed tolerance and respect for every religion among the people of Gandhara. He mentioned about the landmark stupa built by Kanishka in the city of Peshawar.²⁴ At present the remains of this celebrated stupa can be found in the

21 Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Suba Sarhad*, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1986), 200.

22 Tansen Sen, "The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims Faxian, Xuanzang, and Yijing: Sources for Cross-Cultural Encounters between Ancient China and Ancient India," *Education about Asia* 11, no. 3 (Winter, 2006), 26.

23 Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Suba Sarhad*, 200.

24 Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Suba Sarhad*, 201.

locality of Shahji ki Dhery, a suburb area of the old city. It can be termed as the eighth wonder of the world because of its grandeur and attraction.

Hiuen Tsang

Another Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang (Xuanzang) visited Gandhara in 640 CE. He started traveling from China in about 629 CE. It was a period when Islam appeared in *Hejaz* (modern Saudi Arabia) and made rapid headway among the population. One of the purposes of his visit was to see the sacred Buddhist places in Gandhara. He spent nineteen years in traveling through Central Asia, Gandhara and various parts of South Asia. He thoroughly studied local history, religious relics and compiled many manuscripts about Buddhism. He observed the highest Buddha statue in Bamyan near Kabul. In 630 CE, he reached Peshawar and visited the famous stupa. It was regarded as one of the sacred places of Buddhism in the region. Height of the stupa was five hundred and fifty feet which was a landmark building and a milestone in the history of Buddhism in the area.²⁵ Ahmad Hasan Dani mentioned on the authority of Hiuen Tsang about the people of Gandhara in the following words:

Gandhara in that their disposition is timid and soft, they love literature, most of them belonged to heretical schools and a few believe in the true law. From old time till now this borderland of India has produced many authors of Sastras i.e. Narayanadeva, Asanga Bodhisattva, Vasubandhu, Dharmatrata, Manorhita, Parsva, the noble and so an. There are about 1000 sangharamas (monasteries) which

25 Dr. Spooner initiated excavation of the site in 1909. He explored different dimensions of the Stupa and the surrounding obsolete buildings. He located the exact pillars of this tall building and discovered a valuable tiny box made of steel with a statue of Buddha inside. It is regarded a great discovery as far as Buddhism and its history is concerned. Currently, the box is available in the Peshawar Museum. See Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Suba Sarhad*, 202. Dr. Syed Amjad Hussain, A US based Pakistani medical doctor is working on the stupa of Kanishka. He started a campaign to rebuild it on its original site and get it declared by the UNESCO as the Eighth wonder of the world.

are deserted and in ruins. The stupas are mostly decayed. The heretical temples, to the number of about 100, are occupied pell-mell by heretics. Hiuen Tsang found Buddhism in vain and Brahmanism in the ascendant. He stated this after two years of the decisive victory, which the Muslim army won over the Sassanian ruler of Persia at Nihavand. From his writing one cannot find any sign of the presence of Islam among the Pakhtuns.²⁶

Hiuen Tsang further stated about the *pepal* trees in the city. At present a market by the name of *Pepal Mandi* (Pepal Market) is situated in the middle of the city. Usually the four past Buddhas used to sit beneath this tree. Often Buddhist communities used to sit beneath the tree for religious ceremonies. Owing to the increased number of the devotees, the first Yue-Chi conqueror, probably Kujul Kadphises built another stupa and monastery for greater accommodation. This is how Peshawar got importance for Buddhist religious communities.²⁷ He reached Pushkalavati (Charsadda) and saw a huge statue close to the main entrance. There was a big monastery built by Ashoka in the eastern part of the city. Thousands of Buddhist monks used to get religious education in this monastery. He visited Hund, Hasanabdal, Taxila, Hazara and Kashmir and proceeded to Kanauj, the capital of Raja Harasha. He mentioned about Nalanda University and the presence of Jainism in the area.²⁸ There was not any reference of the new faith i.e. Islam in the accounts of all these Chinese pilgrims.

This is clear from the historical and archaeological sites and other available evidences that the dominant religion of the people of the area was Buddhism. However, Hinduism was emerging as a prevailing religion at the time of penetration of Muslim armies in to the Pakhtuns' land. The spread and propagation of Buddhism in the Pakhtun's territory covers a lengthy time span, from the Kushan period to the Muslim

26 Dani, *A Historic City of the Frontier*, 205. See also Caroe, *The Pathans*, 94.

27 Dani, *A Historic City of the Frontier*, 94.

28 Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Suba Sarhad*, 203.

conquest. In fact, these developments in the sphere of religion can be authenticated by the presence of many undeniable signs. Buddhist pilgrims, Chinese travellers, and inscriptions from Bajaur, Tirah, Swat, Gilgit, Hunza, Mardan and Swabi written in Kharosthi and Brahmi scripts denote of the Buddhist ascendancy among Pakhtuns. Numerous findings of Buddhist relics have been also found in Wardak, Bagram and Gul Dara (all near Kabul) and Tor Dheri (Balochistan). Manuscripts in Brahmi and Kharosthi character have also been found in Bamiyan, Bimaran, Hadda, Jalalabad and Basawal.²⁹

The relations between these religious castes were cordial however; there exist tribal and ethnic prejudices. They had great respect for the Law of Buddha. Probably it was due to the tolerant attitude of the people that they reside with peace and respected each-others. Al-Beruni recorded that in the mountains, which form the frontier of India towards the west, there were tribes of the Hindus, or of people like them. They were rebellious and savage, which extended as far as the further-most frontiers of the Hindu race.³⁰ It can be argued that the birth place of Buddhism is the land of the Pakhtuns which was called in the ancient time as Gandhara. It found a fertile ground among the local population. It flourished here and spread towards west and south-east towards China, Ceylon and Burma through the famous Silk Route.

In the light of the foregoing, it is easy to argue that at the time of the arrival of Islam to the north-western periphery of South Asia, majority of the Pakhtuns were Buddhist however there were some of the tribes who had also adopted their old religion i.e. Hinduism. It is attested by the writings of Hiuen Tsang and Arab historians. In this regard Olaf Caroe is of the view that: "The earliest authentic visitor to Gandhara of whom we have record after the beginning of Islamic era is the

29 Samghabadi, *Civilization of Central Asia*, 438.

30 Al-Beruni, *Kitab-al-Hind*, trans. Edward C. Sachu (Lahore: Ferozsons Limited, 1966), 266.

Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang who toured Peshawar and Swat in 644, and found Buddhism on the wane and Brahminism in the ascendant.”³¹

It clearly contradicts the Bani Israelite religious discourse. The conversion of Qais and his companions can be analyzed afresh on the face authentic historical tradition. It was in the twelfth century under Ghaznawides that Islam spread in the area. The Hindu Shahi kingdom of Jaipala extended up-to Kabul where most of its subjects were infidels; either Hindus or Buddhists. The evidences of non-Muslim Pakhtuns in the Sulaiman Mountains during the time of Mahmud of Ghazna proved it further that many of them had not been converted at that time. Even in 1192 Muhammad Ghor and Prithvi Raj fought a great battle in which Pakhtuns fought on both the sides. There is thus an indication that even in the twelfth century all the Pakhtuns had not converted to Islam.³² The tradition that Pakhtuns rushed into the fold of Islam at the invitation of Khalid bin Walid is not tenable.

The Arrival of Islam

Traditionally, Pakhtuns are hesitant to embrace the idea that their forefathers worshiped many gods and goddesses. Their general acceptance and insistence for the Bani Israelite theory stemmed from the assumption that the progenitors were surely been monotheists. Olaf Caroe argued that these assertions have largely been due to the presence of considerable number of Syeds, who claimed direct descents of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Most probably they settled among the Pakhtuns as preachers and missionaries while accompanying the Muslim armies. The process of proselytizing the area intensified when Arab army annihilated the Sassanian dynasty of Persia in 642 at Nihawand. Then Qutaiba took up the cause of Islamic expansion in Transoxiana by the end of seventh century. At that time the

31 Caroe, *The Pathans*, 94.

32 Caroe, *The Pathans*, 9.

Pakhtun's territory remained largely unconverted but still one can safely assume that missionaries penetrated the area earlier than the Muslim military conquests.³³

In September 636 CE, a decisive battle was fought between the Sassanians and Muslims armies at Qadsiyah. The Sassanian King Yazidgard fled toward Nehavand where the same fate awaited him at the hands of the Muslim army in 642 CE. After the battle at Qadsiyah, the whole of Persia came under the Muslim rule. The influence of Islam increased gradually in Persia and the surrounding regions of Central Asia, modern Afghanistan and India. According to Gopal Das in 31 A.H. (650-51 CE) Abdullah bin Amir was appointed governor of Khurasan by the Caliph, Hazrat Uthman. He made Nishapur the base of his military expeditions that were sent towards Herat, Merv, Balkh, Ghazni, Ghor, and Helmand.³⁴ It provided a gateway to the invading Muslim forces and for the time being Buddhist chiefs were defeated. However, permanent subjugation of these areas remained an unfulfilled task. Islam touched the western parts of Afghanistan but in the areas across the Hindu Kush i.e. Kabul and the suburbs no visible political or religious change took place.

Olaf Caroe argues that Arab armies ventured into the region using two geographical directions. The first route was through Nishapur to Herat, Merv and Balkh and the second passage was from Sistan to Helmand and Bust. Expeditions sent en route to Balkh never reached Kabul and the surrounding areas. It is wrongly assumed that Islam reached through this passage into the South Asian region.³⁵

Under Ameer Muawya, (r. 661-680) Abd al-Rahman Ibn Samura consolidated his rule in Zabul and reached Kabul. In 652, he waged war against the people of Kabul and the surrounding areas. During these expeditions, he also

33 Caroe, *The Pathans*, 10.

34 Das, *Tarikh-i-Peshawar*, 84.

35 Caroe, *The Pathan*, 95.

reached Bannu and Lahor in 664.³⁶ The ruler of Kabul was obliged to pay tribute to the Arabs. It was the time when a number of Muslim colonies were erected and some Arab settlers and traders permanently settled in these colonies.³⁷ Another expedition, under Muhallab Ibn Abi Safra entered Kabul and Zabul via Marv. The non-Muslim population was reduced and 10 to 12 thousand were made slaves and concubines. Wolsey Haig mentions that they were forced to embrace Islam.³⁸ This state of affairs did not remain for long because the ruler of Kabul soon drove the Arabs from his land. Another Arab expedition against Kabul was repulsed in 697-98 CE.³⁹

The Arabs succeeded in gaining a firm hold of the region only in 870 when the founder of the Saffarid dynasty of Sistan invaded Kabul through Balkh and Bamyan. Initially, the Arab conquests brought some social and political changes, yet in the far-flung areas of the Sassanian Empire the pre-Islamic civilization was preserved. It underwent no radical change until several decades later with the process of Islamization and the emergence of new social and economic conditions. Around that time in Central Afghanistan and in the areas north of the Hindu Kush, ancient Kushan culture continued and the premier religion was Buddhism. In Bamyan, in the seventh century, there were more than ten Buddhist monasteries and over one thousand monks. Kabul and its surrounding area also had many buildings devoted to Buddhist and Hindu cults. Evidences of the strength of pre-Islamic civilizations in this area in the seventh and eighth centuries are attested by

36 Dr Hamid-ud-Din, *Tarikh-i-Islam* [Urdu] (Lahore: Ferozsons, N.D), 152. Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 239. Also see Mazhar-ul-Haq, *A Short History of Islam* (Lahore: Bookland, 1999), 302.

37 Wolsey Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (New Delhi: S. Chand & Co, 1965), 3.

38 Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III 9.

39 Muhammad Kasim Farishta, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, trans. Abdul Hai Khwaja (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali and Sons Pub, 1974), 80.

different coins with legends in Pahlavi, Kufic and Bactrian script.⁴⁰

Some Arab historians mentioned that the Arabs entered India from two sides. A Muslim contingent under the command of Muhallab subdued Kabul and then entered India through Khyber Pass from its north-western side. Another contingent under Manzar raided Makran and Sindh. It has also been stated that al-Qandahar was captured during these campaigns in 676 CE.⁴¹ The al-Qandahar of the Arabs should not be confused with the present day Qandahar. The city of Qandahar was not founded at that time. Here al-Qandahar means Gandhara with Hund as its capital. All these Arab incursions proved abortive but it did introduce Islam in Gandhara. Earlier in the year 44 A.H. (664 CE) Al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra raided as far as Bannu and al-Ahwar town (Lahor in the Swabi district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) between Al-Multan and Kabul. In 53 A.H. (672 CE) Abbas Ibn Ziad raided the frontier of Al-Hind and crossed the desert of al-Qandahar. At that time, the Pakhtun area was under the Kashattriya ruler of Kapisa i.e. Ratbil, the Kabul Shah of Arab chronicles.⁴² Quoting Tabari and Al-Baladhuri, Ahmad Hasan Dani states that the action of Muhallab bin Abi Sufra was a planned and determined military campaign against the Kabul Shah.⁴³

The above statement about the settling of Khalid bin Abdullah among the Pakhtuns seems reliable. Khalid bin Abdullah was an immigrant settler and this case authenticates the Pakhtuns' local tradition according to

40 Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 243-44.

41 Farishta, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, 80; Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 245.

42 In the historical studies, the Hindu Shahi dynasty appears under many names i.e. Kabul Shahs, Hindu Shahis of Waihind and Ratbil Shahs. Al-Beruni even called them Tibetans. It was the last non-Muslim dynasty, which ruled over Gandhara and Peshawar Valley. They were strong and maintained great splendor and dignity until the arrival of Islam. Caroe, *The Pathans*, 108.

43 Dani, *A Historic City of the Frontier*, 64.

which Khalid bin Walid impressed upon the Jewish ancestors of Pakhtuns to embrace Islam.⁴⁴ Dani's statement that the Pakhtuns were Buddhist and converted to Islam as a result of the Arab activities in Sistan, Zabul and the north-west frontier may not be accepted as the whole truth. They were the subject of the Hindu Shahi rulers, who ruled them for long time first from Kabul then from Hund. All the Pakhtun tribes are not supposed to be the followers of Buddhism. There must have been Hindu tribes among them who provided support to their Hindu rulers. The presence of the Hindu tribes is evident from the signs of a temple found at Logar, which was built by the Hindu Shahis. It was regarded a great Hindu temple in Northern India. Al-Beruni recorded some of the tribes scattered from river Kabul up to Kabul were the followers of Hinduism.⁴⁵ Significant presence of fire-temples also attests Zoroastrian dwellers among the subjects. Certainly, the conversion did not occur *en mass*. Islam was some time propagated through the Arab missionaries, sometime by force and some time by their free will. In this transformation tribal pattern of the inhabitants should not be overlooked by the scholars. In this case, it is possible that some time tribal chief decided to enter into the emerging faith of Islam. In North Waziristan the presence of the *Dargah* (shrine) of Malak Azdar is a strong argument of the activities of the Arab missionaries among the Pakhtuns.⁴⁶

Advance of the Muslim forces under the Samanids in the ninth century CE into Transoxiana, Persia and the present day Afghanistan alarmed the rulers of Kabul. Due to these developments in the neighborhood they shifted capital from Kabul to Hund.⁴⁷ The shift probably took place because of

44 Dani, *A Historic City of the Frontier*, 64.

45 Al-Beruni, *Kitab-al-Hind*, 265.

46 Hamid-ud-Din, *Tarikh-i-Islam*, 202. See also Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 245. Dani, *A Historic City of the Frontier*, 64.

47 This place has been discussed by different scholars due to its strategic importance. At present the place is called Hund. It is situated on the right bank of the river Indus in Swabi district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is about seventeen miles away from district Attock. For more detail see Minhaj-al-

the swift successes of Muslim forces and rapid transformation of the people. Owing to the weak position of the ruler of Kabul, Yaqub-al-Lais Safar, a strong ruler of the Safarid dynasty, raided Kabul and occupied it in 870. He founded the city of Ghazni and destroyed a number of idols and a huge statute of a deity was sent to the Abbasid ruler. Yaqub took interest in the propagation of Islam among the heathens and pagans of Afghanistan. During his reign, Islam spread in the areas around Ghazni and Kabul. The spread of Islam was one of the major causes of the downfall of the Hindu Shahi dynasty. Hindu Shahi dynasty ruled over Kabul and the areas south of the Hindu Kush from sixth to eleventh century. During the Samanid dynasty a large number of followers of Hinduism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism etc converted to Islam. It was the last Hindu dynasty ruled over eastern Afghanistan and Gandhara. The emergence of the Pakhtuns had also been started around this time. They were recruited by the Samanid and the successor dynasties in their armies.

In 960 Alaptgin ousted Abu Bakr Lawaik, the ruler of Zabul and Kabul on behalf of the Samanid, from Ghazni. Alaptgin was an able Samanid commander. The change of power in Ghazni forced Kabul Shah to shift his capital once again from Hund to Bathinada, present day in the Indian Punjab. It was a fort on the bank of the river Sutlej. Jaipala, a Hindu Shahi ruler, established friendly relations with Shaikh Hamid Lodi. He was given the authority over a large track of land stretching from Multan to Lamghan.⁴⁸ It is stated that a number of Pakhtun tribes also made alliance with Jaipala against the Muslim armies. It was somehow difficult for Alaptgin to defeat them.⁴⁹

Siraj, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, Urdu trans. Ghulam Rasul Mehar (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 2004), 415.

48 Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 277.

49 Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 277.

According to *Tarikh-i-Farishta* Subaktagin ascended the throne of Ghazni in 977. He started Indian conquests in the year 367 A.H (986-87 CE). He acted like a champion of the faith whose chief occupation was the propagation of Islam among the Hindus. At that time, whole Pakhtun area was under Jaipala.⁵⁰ Subaktagin won the support of the Pakhtuns against his Hindu rivals by delivering emotional speeches and promises of war booty for them. It is noteworthy that a large number Muslim Pakhtuns stood behind him. He also apprised them of the benefits of *jihad* in the life hereafter. For the first time Peshawar, Lamghan and the territory up to River Kabul came under Muslim rule. Subaktagin made arrangements for the consolidation of the area. Two points are important in this context. First is the large-scale transformation of the people to Islam took place and second is the propagation of *jihad* for the first time in the area. Subaktagin aroused sentiments of the new converts against the non-Muslim rulers. However, a number of Pakhtun tribes did not choose to embrace Islam. In *Tarikh-al-Hind*, al-Beruni recorded that in the mountains to the west of India; there lived various Hindu tribes, which extended up to the valley of Sindh.⁵¹ Therefore, it is clear that in 1000 CE, some Pakhtun tribes had not yet converted to Islam.

Subaktagin was an able statesman who treated the Pakhtun tribes with respect. His objective was to exploit their support in uprooting the Hindu Shahi dynasty. Thousands of Pakhtun tribesmen joined him against his rivals. Shaikh Hamid Lodhi also supported him and submitted to his authority.⁵² He was succeeded by Mahmood, the then Governor of Khurasan.

In the year 392 A.H. (1001 CE), a battle was fought between Mahmood of Ghazna and Raja Jaipal. Mahmood of Ghazna defeated Raja Jaipal with his strong force. In this battle Mahmood also took up arms against the non-Muslim

50 Farishta, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, 104.

51 Al-Beruni, *Kitab-al-Hind*, 265.

52 Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 279.

population of the area. He subdued rebellious and recalcitrant Pakhtuns, took some of them to Ghazni and retained them as slaves.⁵³ Islam spread among the Pakhtuns rapidly during the reign of Subaktagin and Mahmood. Considerable number of the Pakhtuns also accepted Islam during the period of Safaride dynasty but during Mahmood's time the remaining tribes entered into the fold of Islam. They also got access to the upper echelon of the state affairs. In fact, a Pakhtun dominated Ghazni was the capital of Mahmood so it would have been comparatively much easier for them to get close to the state affairs and influence policy matters. Pakhtuns got employment and lands.⁵⁴

Mahmood fought the next battle against Anandpal somewhere near Peshawar or between Hund and Peshawar or in the town of Jalbai Jalsai near Lahor town. A large number of non-Muslim dwellers were perished and arrested. They were then converted to Islam. Bahadar Shah believed that they were the non-Muslim Pakhtun of the districts Swabi, Mardan and the surroundings.⁵⁵ Olaf Caroe also supports this view that the vanquished were the dwellers of the Peshawar Valley and they were the non-Muslim Pakhtuns who sided with the Hindu Shahi.⁵⁶ Probably, those Pakhtun tribes left Kabul with the Hindu Shahis and settled with them in Hund. They supported them against the Muslims and rendered services to their old Hindu masters.

The process of conversion of the Pakhtuns to Islam continued during Mahmood's time. Many Pakhtun tribes recognized him as their national leader. His army comprised a huge contingent of the Pakhtuns of various tribes. He infused the concept of Jihad into their hearts. Some of the Pakhtun commanders who fought from his side were Malak

53 Farishta, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, 110.

54 Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 283.

55 Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 284.

56 Caroe, *The Pathans*, 121.

Arif, Malak Daud, Malak Mahmud, Malak Yahiya, Malak Ghazi, Malak Shahu, Malak Khano and Malak Ahmad. His troops fought with the valor.⁵⁷ The Hindu Shahi, kings of Kabul and Gandhara, lost their dominance over the area completely at the time of Mahmood. Buddhist, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism perished through the forceful message of Islam. Various artifacts and coins of their time have been found displaying their multicultural and religious domains.

To escape the caste system, people of the Subcontinent converted to Buddhism. After the emergence of Islam, however, people began to convert to Islam, while still living-in and practicing the tribal system.

Conclusion

Religious transformation, revival and development were common phenomena of the Pakhtun society prior to their conversion to Islam. Their predecessors witnessed the zenith of great religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and the spread of Islam. One of the important aspects in this context is the spread and progress of a particular religion among the Pakhtuns depended on, among other factors, the official patronage from a strong dynasty. Therefore, one finds the progress and development of Zoroastrianism under the Achaemenians and Sassanians and Buddhism under the Mauryans and Kushans. For a brief period, there also emerged the concept of Greek religion among the Pakhtuns under the Greeco-Bactrians.

Pre-Islamic South Asia was entirely based on a caste system in which society was broken into separate parts, conversion to Islam happened in a step-by-step process. The equality Islam provided was more attractive than the caste system's organized racism. By converting to Islam, people had the opportunity to move up in society, and no longer were subservient to the Brahman caste.

57 Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pa Ranra Key*, 282.

About Islam it is very clear that it spread among the Pakhtuns as a result of the Arab activities in Central Asia and the surrounding areas. The zeal and vigour of the new converts provided a boost to this great religion. Another important point is the tribal nature of the Pakhtun society, which is very much like early Arab tribal settlement. Culturally both the societies resembled each other. Therefore, Islam found a fertile ground in this part of frontier areas. Pakhtuns fought battles against the non-Muslim rulers of different principalities and reduced them to submission. Other factors through which the Pakhtuns saw their destiny in accepting Islam were its concept of equality, rule of law, unity and the economic opportunities it provided to the new converts. Another important point to be mentioned here is that the Pakhtuns' conversion to Islam took place in the tribal pattern. It would have been possible that a tribal chief decided about the conversion of a whole tribe. But there is no evidence to suggest that all the tribes collectively converted to Islam. Some of them changed faith much early and joined Muslim armies.

Transgressing Gendered Boundaries: Case Studies of the Quilt, Slipperiness and Third Gender

Abdul Rehman*

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the representation of sexuality beyond the heteronormative constructions in Urdu short stories. The key argument here is that there was a visible homoerotic desire within male and female (sexual) relations, which was obscured and criminalized by colonial interventions, because the imposed Victorian morality determined heteronormativity as the sexual normal, subsequently marginalizing a number of individuals due to their sexual behaviours. The subject of inquiry is to investigate that how literary accounts in the genre of short story (i) represent transgressing desires beyond the frame of heteronormative disciplined bodies as well as how (ii) this queer representation destabilizes the hegemonic, fixed constructions of gender in society and offers sites to resistance. In the present study three short stories are chosen - Ismat Chughtai's Quilt (1941), Mohammad Hasan Askari's Slipperiness (1941) and Mohammad Ali Rodouli's Third Gender (1944). Quilt is a representative work of female same-sex desire and Slipperiness deals with male

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homoerotic desire. Third Gender provides a slight reference to transgender but emphasizes more on destabilizing the fixed, binary categories of gender with particular understanding of that time. The representation of such relationships in short stories is neither a celebration of feminist thought nor a glorification of queer relationships, I would argue, but rather that such relationships existed and were reproduced through discursive practices.

Introduction

Sexuality is constructed through two themes: *performance* and *homoerotic desire*. Judith Butler argues that “gender as performance is constructed through repetitive, ritualised and stylised gestures.”¹ Before Butler, Simon de Beauvoir explained, “one was not born but became a woman”. Thus, in both formulations it can be identified the claim that gender is socially constructed, i.e. subject to socialisation and interaction processes and not determined by one’s biological sex, with the same being valid for gender roles prescriptions and norms regulating gendered behaviour in all walks and spheres of life, including perceptions of deviance and transgression.

If gender is a performative move, can this notion be extended to sexuality? Can it be asserted that sexuality, or particularly *heterosexuality* is also a *performance*? The performance aspect applies to both men and women, although imbalanced (androcentrically entered/gendered) power relations remain explicit in terms of interaction with state and society (family). Although these performances were controlled during the colonial period in India, a new regulatory system was introduced through legal and discursive practices, i.e. the Sodomy Law of 1860.²

1 S. Salih, *Judith Butler*. New York: Routledge, (2002), p. 11.

2 S. Kugle, “Sultan Mahmud’s Makeover: Colonial Homophobia and the Persian-Urdu Literary Tradition,” in *Queering India: Same Sex Love and Eroticism in Indian Culture and Society*, ed. R. Vanita, (London: Routledge, 2001), 35.

In the present paper the main argument is that (gender) performance is based on repetitive, ritualised and stylised practices performed in society, which is fabricated and regulated through knowledge-power relations.³ Since the formation of modern patriarchal states-cum-societies in the eighteenth century, there are certain expectations that a biological male child must grow and should become a *man*, following certain lines of gender roles prescriptions which might differ in-between states, societies as well as communities thereof. The meanings of becoming a man are commonly embedded in heroic values of strength and courage within a patriarchal morality. Conversely, a girl is expected to remain chaste and virgin for her male partner as well as to perform within distinct gender roles prescriptions as defined by the dominant gender regime. Sexuality is hence a social construct which is governed by discursive formulations and material practices from state of being to becoming. In modern societies, following Foucauldian thinking previously outlined, individuals internalise the constructed roles as facts and engage in self-disciplining accordingly, for instance, to self-identify as a heterosexual man *vis-à-vis* obligations to exercise normative sexual orientations within a dominant heteronormative gender and morality regime.⁴ Having said that, homosexuality is not a monolithic notion. There are multiple same sex-identities. Even before the use of the word homosexual, there was homosexuality. Foucault traces the genealogy of this practice and uses the word *sodomite* to discuss homosexuals of the period of Ancient Greece. He argues that to be a homosexual was not a problem in Ancient Greece, however, the act of penetration was termed as a patriarchal privilege to free men only: "It was immoral for a

3 T. Jaeel, "Governmentality," *Social Text* 27, no. 3 (2009), 37.

4 R. Vanita, "Married among their Companions: Female Homoerotic Relations in Nineteenth-Century Urdu Rekhta Poetry in India," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 22.

free man to be fucked".⁵ Those who were the object of penetration were not free men.

During the colonial transition, homoerotic desire among men existed, but within the dominant gender and morality regime, most did not want to be referred to as homosexual or gay. While corresponding to colonial civilising technologies, which defined heteronormativity as sexual normal, those men rationalised to end up with 'double lives'. As the agents of the civilising mission, they remained in the mainstream, hiding their (sexual) identities from wives and families. While the confines of marriage existed, this did not mean, however, a stop to homosexual activities entirely.⁶

Colonial Incursion

The establishment of the British Empire in India rationalised on a previously mentioned Victorian civilising agenda to 'purify' the empire, which included policies of sexual regulation through legal enactments such as the Sodomy Law of 1860, stipulating:

Whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal shall be punished with imprisonment for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term, which may extend to ten years, and shall be liable to fine. (...) Penetration is sufficient to constitute the carnal intercourse necessary to the offence described in this section.⁷

Ruth Vanita and Saleem Kidwai opine that before the enactment of this law, homosexuality was accommodated, if not permitted. They also argue that there are evidences of love between men and love between women in different

5 R. R. Rao, & D. Sarma, eds. *Whistling in the Dark: Twenty-One Queer Interviews* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2009), 2.

6 R. Vanita, & S. Kidwai, *Same-Sex Love in India: Readings from Literature and History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 21.

7 R. K. Dasgupta, "Queer Sexualit: A Cultural Narrative of India's Historical Archive," *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, (2011): 652.

traditions ranging from Vedic to Bakhti and Arab-Persian cultures of the subcontinent.⁸ While this practice of same-sex love was disapproved, however, nobody was actively prosecuted because of that. After passing the above mentioned 1860 law, the colonial authorities not only condemned this practice at the state level but also criminalised this activity. This intervention determined heteronormativity as sexual normal and obscured queer identities in the public. British colonial authorities considered queer sexuality as a 'special oriental vice'⁹ and showed contempt to sexual freedom and homosexuality in India. Dasgupta provides two examples in that regard, firstly, Lord Curzon on queer sexuality: "I attribute it largely to early marriage. A boy gets tired of his wife or of women at an early age and wants the stimulus of some more novel or exciting sensation".¹⁰ Quoting another incident of *unnatural* and *immoral habit* of school going children in Bengal (1893), Dasgupta mentions that they were advised to visit prostitutes as a treatment.¹¹

There were double standards in colonial puritanical campaigns. For instance, there was a discussion on the regulation of sexuality in the British Parliament with reference to British colonies, in which there was a tilt in favour of prostitution in the cantonment, but against homosexuality.¹² In the colonial discourse, the notion of homosexuality was considered as being contradictory to dominant, naturalised gender ascriptions of masculinity.¹³

8 Vanita, & Kidwai, *Same-Sex Love in India*, 42-55.

9 K. Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex, and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 87.

10 Dasgupta, "Queer Sexualit," 660.

11 R.K. Dasgupta, (2011), p. 660.

12 R. K. Dasgupta & K. M. Gokulsing, "Introduction: Perception of Masculinity and Challenges to Indian Male," in *Masculinity and Its Challenges in India: Essays on Changing Perceptions*, eds. R. K. Dasgupta & K. M. Gokulsing (North Carolina: McFairland and Company Inc., 2014), 10.

13 Dasgupta, "Queer Sexualit," 661.

Colonial authorities even scrutinised literary texts and categorised homoerotic texts as filthy, including Arabian Nights and other Perso-Arabic texts, as part of their normative drive to define homoerotic love as harmful, unnatural, labelling it as a criminal activity and thus criminal offence. One influential proponent was Lord Macaulay, who designed colonial education policies and taught South Asian Civilisation on British Victorian Models.¹⁴

These colonial disciplining initiatives influenced local population, as can be exemplified by the movement for ethical cleansing of Urdu literary texts, launched by Moulana Altaf Hussain Haali and Moulana Mohammad Hussain Azad, i.e. the image of Sultan Mehmood was emptied of homoerotic metaphors.¹⁵ The coopted ruling indigenous male elite appropriated the hegemonic notions of Victorian ethics and consequently internalised this morality. As argued by Gayatri Gopinath, this entrenched colonial code gave rise to homophobic elements, which ultimately became powerful during and after the independence from colonial rule as the anti-colonial struggle was of a patriarchal-nationalist nature, naturalising biological differences and gender roles' ascriptions of Victorian origin, confining women inside the house, and deploying their sexuality for the reproduction of the nation, both ideologically and biologically. Gopinath further outlines that the patriarchal nationalist struggle refused to acknowledge any transgressing move or same-sex desire even when existent, given the essentially heteronormative nature of its underlying nationalism.¹⁶ Within the normative framework of this nationalism, any homoerotic desire among men and women is condemned and considered as a Western curse.¹⁷ The Indian Penal Code was adopted without any significant change in the

14 Kugle, "Sultan Mahmud's Makeover," 37.

15 Kugle, "Sultan Mahmud's Makeover," 41.

16 G. Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures* (London: Duke University Press, 2005), 7.

17 Vanita, & Kidwai, *Same-Sex Love in India*, 197.

newly formed state of Pakistan and without any contestation. This heteronormative notion was reinforced during different periods in time along with subsequent Islamisation attempts.

Quilt by Ismat Chughtai

The Quilt is an important case of a short story on the regulation of female sex-desire. A story of a young girl who observes the lesbian encounter between a *Begum* and the *Begum's* servant *Rabbu*, although the term lesbianism is not directly referred to in the short story.

To give a brief synopsis of the short story at hand: a young girl was given by her mother in the care of Begum Jan, a rich family friend. The narrator's recollections of that childhood flashes to situate her own sexual awakening comes with both fear and fantasy. She recalls witnessing *Begum Jan* as degenerating in the neglect of *Nawab Sahib* [her husband] and then blossoming under the care of her maid *Rabbu*, who massages her daily to her incurable itch. Further, there are memory fissures that remember the movements in Begum's quilt during nights.

Sometime in the night I suddenly woke up, feeling a strange kind of dread. The room was in total darkness, and in the darkness Begum Jan's lihaaf [Quilt] was rocking as though an elephant were caught in it. 'Begum Jan', I called out timidly.

The elephant stopped moving. The lihaaf subsided. (...) When I awoke on the second night (...) I only heard Rabbu's convulsive sobs, then noises like those of a cat licking a plate, lap. I was so frightened that I went back to sleep¹⁸.

Her youthful narration with enthusiastic imaginations tries to reconstruct the scene in the quilt while standing on the threshold of forbidden knowledge, when she exclaims:

18 Ismat Chughtai, *Quilt [Lihaaf]*, 37.

“‘Allah!’ [w]hat I saw when the quilt was lifted, I will never tell anyone, not even if they give me a lakh of rupees.”¹⁹

A careful reading of the short story reveals that it transgresses culturally disciplined gender identities and recognises female same-sex desire. The story starts with the image of Begum as a surrogate mother to discipline the gendered identity of young girl. The domestic space of the house is considered safe and an embodiment of the upper class to cultivate the proper feminine behaviour. However, the story follows a different course and reverses such expectations as Chughtai's *lihaaf* unfolds sexual dual standards enshrined in normative gender constructions. The Nawab Sahib appears as a nexus of intersecting discourse of faith and class. He is depicted as noble and impeccably moral person, who has performed Haj and with no one having seen a dancing girl at his residence. Apart from that, his house is open for youthful students in the name of patronage.

He kept an open house for students — young, fair and slender-waisted boys whose expenses were borne by him (...). Firm calved, supple waisted boys and delicacies begin to come for them from the kitchen! Begum Jaan would have glimpses of them in their perfumed, flimsy shirts and feel as though she was being raked over burning embers!²⁰

These boys were the sole concern of Nawab Sahib instead of his wife. Nawab Sahib's homoerotic desire is relatively visible but wrapped and mobilised through faith and his class status. Contrary to that, a woman's homoerotic desire is concealed from view, but not confined to the *zenana* [inner chamber of women's section in the house] only, but rather under the quilt. Chughtai criticises the institution of marriage with regard to how frustrations within heterosexual relations emerge due to the unfulfilling of gender roles prescriptions

19 Chughtai, Quilt [Lihaaf], 37-38.

20 Chughtai, Quilt [Lihaaf], 38.

and expectations of partners involved. Chughtai writes: “She felt like throwing all her clothes into the oven. One dresses up to impress people. Now, the Nawab didn’t have a moment to spare. He was too busy chasing the gossamer shirts, nor did he allow her to go out”.²¹

Within the given patriarchal setup, Chughtai explores how a woman has limited options to fulfil her desires, because men, who control the discourse about gender, also keep a physical eye on and control bodies and their desires. Along these lines, although the Nawab Sahib is unable to perform marital requirements, he maintains complete control over the body of his wife and does not allow any sort of mobility. However, the *zenana* offers an opportunity where Begum Jan explores her sexuality and exercises her agency.

This narrative of exercising same-sex desire ruptures the fixed notion of heteronormativity, proclaimed and employed by disciplining colonial authorities *vis-à-vis* the native male elite (and where women remain invisible and objectified in the given colonial patriarchal setup). The reproduction of such relations in Urdu short stories could not avoid an imperial gaze and faced charges of obscenity. A court case was registered against Ismat Chughtai, which she won on the basis that there was no direct reference to lesbianism. This dimension is important to highlight as well, because I argue that there was no possibility to access and impact upon the public discourse in literal vocabulary.

Slipperiness by Hassan Mohammad Askari

This important short story centres on the homoerotic introspection of two young boys, providing with an account of gay life and male same-sex desire, which Askari discusses through the narrative of Jamil, who witnessed as a boy his own attraction towards his male friends and then a servant. The protagonist explains homo-social experiences, which end up in a homosexual encounter:

21 Chughtai, *Quilt [Lihaaf]*, 39.

They would hug him tightly, put arms around his waist until his face would turn red and his ribs seemed close to cracking. Someone would make him sit on his lap; others would playfully tug the skin of his chest until it turned red. They would ruffle his hair (...). He would be exhausted after they had gone, his mind a blank, devoid of everything, and he would lie on the bed, depressed. Sometimes he would feel glutinous saliva plastered on his cheeks making his facial skin taut (...).²²

Askari's short story does not revolve around the homoerotic impulse only; rather it is a complete performance in which one teenager reflects his emotions and reactions. Nazru, who is the servant of Jamil and gets attraction of his friends. *Jamil* responds with feelings of jealousy and gloomy over losing the arms of his friends around his waist. His friends get engaged more with Nazru and one day a situation reaches to comparison between both of them, which brings a deep feeling of anger and burning inside Jamil:

From now on Jamil's eyes would search Nazru's face and body with curious suspicion. Mushtaq's declaration had injured his pride. He began avoiding the second group of friends because he was afraid of their unanimous pronouncement. But he had not been able to remove the thought from his mind (...). He would think about Nazru's thick fingers, how uncouth they were; in the same vein he dismissed his ugly feet, hairless legs, shapeless like banana tree trunks, and his slanted tooth, half broken, ears like a knot of ginger, short, thick neck, broad stomach and the dimples on his cheeks like those of promiscuous women (...).²³

This is very bold account in an homophobic environment in which even school boys are sent to prostitutes to 'cure them' from homoerotic desire.²⁴ Askari explores the sexuality of young boys within a homo-social space, where they explore

22 H. M. Askari, "Slipperiness [Phislan]," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 17, no. 2 (2014): 182.

23 Askari, "Slipperiness [Phislan]," 184.

24 Dasgupta, "Queer Sexualit," 660.

their own sexuality through hugging and kissing, even if it appears that they do not know what they are doing, engaging in this passionate physical closeness described.

Nazru raised himself on his elbow and put his hand on the edge of Jameel's bed. He smiled and said, 'Shall I press your legs Jamil miyan?'

'Why? I'm not tired'.

Nazru's hand crept closer to his legs. 'Just like that'. 'Hunh'. Jamil responded, embarrassed. But when Nazru's hand went up his thigh he did not protest, just lay quiet (...). The hand started moving up and down the thigh. Jamil felt tiny ants crawling up his legs; his blood began to flow along with Nazru's fingers (...). A sensation began to grow in Jamil's stomach that spread like lightning through his body. His head became light, a mist spread before his eyes and the columned pillars of the terrace appeared to be swaying. Something stuck in his silent, parched throat and he could utter only two words: 'Abbey, get off!'²⁵

With this short story, Askari attempts to crack the (colonially) disciplined bodies, which are essentialised as heteronormative, providing an account of transgressing bodies in terms of exploring sexuality beyond the parameters of heteronormativity — a youthful account which is not homophobic — but depicting repressive notions under colonial governmentality. Such discursive practices engage with the predominant debate and elucidate the nature of relationships, which existed in society.

Third Gender by Moulvi Ahmed Rodoulvi

This short story moves beyond the previous two (Quilt and Slipperiness) in an attempt to challenge fixed gender constructions with limited exposure and engagement. It is a narration of Tehsildar Sahib who is suspected to be homosexual because of his hidden relationship with his servant Mian Hassan Ali. Tehsildar is ridiculed, discussed in gossips and met by people who wink after looking at him and

²⁵ Askari, "Slipperiness [Phislan]," 186.

his partner. Mian Hassan Ali's pure white skin colour and the irregular beard of Tehsildar are also up for discussion, through which Rodoulvi provides a hint of society's general intersectional stereotypical constructions evolving around sexuality, class, age and skin colour/race: bodies and relationships are sexualised within the nexus of a white-skinned young boy and an old-aged boss whose wife has died. Rodoulvi defines the notions of gender in his short story beyond their hegemonic binary construction and postulation: "God has made two genders, male and female, but the doctors of Europe have invented a third gender after doing research. This gender is inclined towards same-sex and it applies both to male and female (...)"²⁶

There is another character in the story, the daughter of Mian Hassan Ali, named *Madi*, who also has homoerotic desires and lives with her female partner, but in the end surrenders to marriage as an economic option. Madi is an important character, which destabilises the fixed attributes of men and women. Rodoulvi explains: "[y]es, there is one thing which women have common with men. But we, bourgeoisie class, usually associate it with men only; that *Madi* is quite dominant in the women and men of her class. Every person, either a woman or a man, follows to what she says."²⁷

Rodoulvi attempts to destabilise fixed features and performances of gender in his narration of Madi: "When she walks in veil, it seems that a man is walking in disguise. Apart from his stride, there were many other things like men; her breasts were smaller as compared to the size of her hands and feet. Her body stature was not like a woman".²⁸

He mentions that doctors think there are some elements of a woman in a man and vice versa, defined by elements that dominate one's personality, i.e. we have seen men like

26 C.M.A. Rodoulvi, *Teesri Jins* [Third Gender] (Lucknow: Nya Sansaar, 1944), 63.

27 Rodoulvi, *Teesri Jins*, 37.

28 Rodoulvi, *Teesri Jins*, 39.

women and women like men everywhere. According to Rodoulvi it is possible that some of them have 'good relations' with their own sex, which is beyond socially constructed heteronormative standards. In this short story, for example, it is mentioned that Madi was married to a man, but this marriage ended after few days, as her husband was not straight so that she eventually started herself to live with a female friend. In his depictions, Madi does not care about societal pressure, because she believes that if one surrenders to them, those pressures will become more intense and a never ending process. After living in this relationship for many years, she, however, ends up with another marriage out of economic necessity, linking the nexus of women's disadvantaged socioeconomic status, heteronormative marriage and sexuality in a patriarchal society: "What is the worth of woman without a man?", B. Madi spoke up. 'You are absolutely right'".²⁹

This story is an important account not only in the reading of transgressing bodies, but also in how it challenges the binary construction of gender in its narration of a third gender, inclined towards one's own gender, be it among men or women. Their attributes are not fixed and they can resist patriarchal constructions through performativity and use of agency.

Heteronormative Standard and Transgressing Bodies

These three stories, which are taken as representative cases in the tradition of short story writings, exemplify the case of transgressing bodies against the colonial disciplined bodies. There were visible diverse sexual practices, which were subjected to colonial civilising technologies; propagating heteronormativity is the only normal. Based on colonial Victorian morality certain forms of sexualities were obscured, although they remained present. While this had a strong influence within the Urdu literary tradition, which started an ethical purification of literary production, other writings

29 Rodoulvi, *Teesri Jins*, 39.

emerged in the 1940s, which questioned the notions of normal heteronormative sexual practices and raised voices about those at the margins. These writings cracked or ruptured naturalised notions of heteronormativity that were associated with state power and the then indigenous male elite, in charge of policing the institution of family. In contrast, in the postcolonial era, there is complete silence over this issue, now intertwined with religion and its normative prerogatives, although Muslim tradition is full of homoerotic love affairs.³⁰ In Pakistan, the colonial Penal Code was adopted without any modification and vigorously enforced during different times of history. There are some reflections in post-colonial Urdu poetry but the respective post-colonial prose remains particularly silent on this subject and does not give space for multiple, alternative discursive practices.

30 I. Mitra, "There is no Sin in our Love: Homoerotic Desire in the Stories of two Muslim Women Writers," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 29 no. 2 (2010): 312.

Role of Museums in Learning Process: The Indian Perspective

Dr. Nazim Husain Ali Jafri*

ABSTRACT

Museums are traditionally considered as institutions established for collection, conservation and exhibition of natural and cultural artifacts. These are also places of learning with pedagogical programs for school children and adult learners. With global recognition of need to preserve heritage resources in the face of globalization, museums are experiencing noteworthy transformations. Today, education is provided, not only by educational institutions, but also by cultural institutions through informal individual and structured learning activities. Most of the museums have formal services such as gallery talks, lectures, guided tours and publications, providing structured learning opportunities to ensure individual and informal learning. Educational institutions use museums as additional teaching and curriculum resources with exhibits used as teaching aids for illiterate people. Museums may restyle their exhibitions to offer a range of interesting exhibition projects with objects presented in a vivid and tangible way to stimulate the imagination and creativity of viewers. This search for new ideas and concepts in museum-work can help make them more accessible and attractive places allowing them to

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extend their traditional functions and to take on new roles as learning institutions.

While teaching in the classrooms mainly works around 'second hand' sources, in museums the objects of learning can be seen and touched, and thus, encourage critical enquiry and analysis. Informal learning takes place while visitors have the pleasure and amusement of looking at an exhibit. These new experiences in education activities with and by museums demonstrate the unique and invisible contribution that cultural institutions can make.

What is a Museum?

A museum is defined as "a non - profit making permanent institution in the service of the society and its development and is open to the public, which acquires, conserves, communicates and exhibits, researches for the purpose of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of men and his environment." This declaration was made in the 10th General Assembly of the International Council of Museums held in 1974 at Copenhagen, which is fairly comprehensive. American Association of Museums defines a museum as "an organized and permanent, non-profit institution essentially educational or aesthetic in purpose, with professional staff which owns and utilizes tangible objects, earns for them and exhibits them to the public on some regular schedule."¹ It defines a museum as a service provider for the spread of knowledge.

There are many more definitions of a museum that lay most emphasis on their role in education. The educational activities within the museums must be oriented to provide a great variety of methods, through which people can receive insight into and enjoyment of collections. The presence of objects that are beyond the boundaries of language and literacy helps museums to be on an advantageous position, compared to other public service agencies, to serve as

1 P.K. Singh, "Museum and Education," *Orissa Historical Research Journal* XLVII (2004).

socially relevant agency for education and development of the community at large.

Museum as an Educational Agency

Museums are traditionally considered as institutions established for collection, conservation and exhibition of natural and cultural artifacts. But, these are also used as places of learning with pedagogical programs for school children and adult learners. With global recognition of need to preserve heritage and related resources in the face of globalization; museums are experiencing noteworthy transformation. Today, adult education is provided, not only by educational institutions, but also by cultural institutions including museums, through informal, individual and structured learning activities.

Previously, museums were scholarship-oriented, open only to scholars and members of royal houses, with object of curiosity. The common people did not have access to them. The two notable events in world history, viz. the American war of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution's declaration of human and civil rights (1789) proved turning points and opened new vista for the development of education and culture. This new development further intensified the collection of objects of art and culture and a gradual increase in public access to museum collections. Education was recognized as one of the major functions of museums. The National Museums of Science and Art at South Kensington in London was established around the middle of the nineteenth century. It was the first large museum in the world.² It was deliberately founded to exhibit the progress of the scientific discovery and the best of aesthetic designs, for both educational and economic purposes.

2 T. K. Biswas, *Museum and Education* (New Delhi: New Age International (P.) Ltd., 1996).

In the nineteenth century, classrooms or the public libraries were not equipped adequately to provide for the dual role of verbal teaching and means of communication. Therefore, there has been increasing acknowledgement on the importance of educational function of museums since the early years of twentieth century. A serious and systematic thought to the problem on an international level was given in 1951.³ In India, the beginning of harnessing the potential of museums for general education of the masses was started in 1964.⁴

Most museums have formal services such as gallery talks, lectures, guided tours and publications, providing structured learning opportunities to ensure individual and informal learning. Educational institutions use museums as additional teaching and curriculum resources with exhibits used as teaching aids for illiterate people. Museums may restyle their exhibitions to offer a range of interesting exhibition projects with objects presented in a vivid and tangible way to stimulate the imagination and creativity of viewers. This search for new ideas and concepts in museum-work can help make them more accessible and attractive places allowing them to extend their traditional functions and to take on new roles as learning institutions.

Education is the process of facilitating learning, or the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values, beliefs, and habits. Educational methods include storytelling, discussion, teaching, training, and directed research. Education frequently takes place under the guidance of educators, but learners may also educate themselves without formal guidance of instructors. Education can take place both in formal and informal settings, and any experience that has a formative effect on the way one thinks, feels, or acts may be considered educational.

3 M. L. Nigam, "Museum Research and Education in Indian Context," *Journal of Indian Museums*, 38 (New Delhi: 1982): 1-7.

4 G. N. Pant, "Museums and their Educational Potential," *Journal of Indian Museums* 39 (New Delhi: 1983): 5-9.

Education through museums provides a learning situation in which the visitors experience learning. A learning situation is a condition or environment in which all the elements necessary for promoting learning are present. Learning experience is the mental or physical reaction developed through seeing, hearing or doing the things to be learnt through which one gains meanings and understanding of the materials to be learnt. Thus, museum is not an educational institution in the formal sense of the word, but has taken on an educational function, for both adult learners as well as school students.

How Teachers can use Museums

Museums are also the sources of intellectual stimulation and entertainment. Various means, which constituted educational activities in the museums are exhibition halls, properly arranged secondary collections, labels, guided tours, traveling exhibitions, school class visits, loan services to the schools, training courses to the teachers, illustrated lectures, motion pictures, film trips and publications, etc.

Various situations of learning through museum which are quite different from those provided by the formal educational institutions like schools are listed below:

- a. Museum provides free choice learning situations devoid of verbal instructions, assessment and other types of controls that exist in schools.
- b. Learning in museums is a spontaneous process wherein a personal experience is not imposed on the visitor.
- c. Museum provides open communication of ideas, concepts and information involving exploration and discovery, and
- d. Classrooms in schools are homes whereas museums are considered as home.

Museums do not make any specific effort to cater to the needs of a school directly. Teachers and children have to find ways and means of using the resources depending on their relevance to classroom teaching. These include identifying the exhibits relevant to the topic of instruction,

making advance preparations on how to use them with the school children.

The objects in museums are arranged in any number of ways to provide an interpretation, or to invite the interpretations of visitors. Museums also offer other resources for learning in the form of the expertise of curatorial and educational staff and published resources such as labels, displays, guides, catalogues and videos.

Museums and Non-Formal Adult Learning

The terms 'lifelong learning' and 'a learning society' are being used with great frequency in these days. More adults are being engaged in both formal and informal learning for many different reasons.

Now in the present era of globalization of economic activities and of information technology revolution, many adults find themselves, by necessity or choice, having to learn new things: skills, knowledge, processes and attitudes. Some people need further education to keep up with the demands of their changing job roles, or, as manufacturing jobs decline in industrialized economies, in order to gain new employment in the expanding service or information technology industries. A desire for personal, physical and mental development and community participation is another reason for adults involving themselves in learning.

Adults learn best when they are motivated and engaged. Museums can motivate and engage them through their ability to 'communicate through artifacts'. Objects to look at, and sometimes, to touch, smell, hear and use, are the main components of any museum. Though, interpretative exhibitions, talks, courses, film shows, dramatic presentations, field trips, workshops and websites, also provide educational resources and activities to the people of all ages, yet adult educators can also design museum-related projects and activities. Active relationships can be developed with museums, ranging from using objects in a museum as a minor reference or resource, through a full

partnership with museum staff, developing courses around a particular object, gallery or exhibition.

Museums can be used for both individual and group learning, and at many different degrees of formality, from incidental informal learning through browsing, to more formally structured courses. Adult educators could also utilize constructivist approach for developing museum-related learning activities or contributing for making a museum visit a real learning experience.

Educative Role of Museums in India

India has the pride possession of about 165 museums scattered all over the country. Basically, museums are the storehouse of learning.⁵ They offer different types of educational opportunities on variety of areas like Science, Aviation, History, Culture, Arts etc. Many museums provide formal services such as multimedia shows, gallery talks, guided tours, publications etc. All these activities provide structured learning opportunities. Occasional tours may be organized to supplement classroom instructions. At one place, a learner may get live experiences of those facts about which he reads in books. Museums not only provide knowledge but also entrain them. Museums may provide a helping hand in non-formal system of education. Adult education courses may be planned around an exhibition. Since the items in the museums are arranged systemically, they may get an oral overview of History. Such initiatives may take community to the museums and help them to become more responsive citizens.

Although in India, education through Museums is limited in its scope and practice, however, attempts may be made to make them more effective medium of instruction. Even the distant learners who do not have access to museums may get live experiences through multimedia. In this way, if

5 S. L. Khanna, "Use of Museums for Education," *Journal of Indian Museums* 38 (New Delhi: 1982): 40-41.

planned efforts are made, museums may become an effective mode of familiarizing the learners, with vast amount of knowledge in a particular area. Thus, Museums in India, like many countries, are important institutions for lifelong learning. Their audience covers people from community groups, schools and colleges, social clubs, aged care facilities, hospitals and prisons. They provide gallery exhibitions, lectures, film programs, demonstrations, tours, study days, evening classes, projects, workshops, conferences and outreach sessions for those persons who are unable to visit the museum. The Adult education is thus playing a key role in educating people through utilizing the above methods as exhibitions, gallery artifacts etc. in the museums.

Shah Rating: Spiritual and Cultural Heritage

Stanislav Karolov

ABSTRACT

History is an integral part of everyone's life from birth till death, no matter they understand it or not. Everyone is immersed in the process of acquaintance with the history which precedes his birth and in the process of creating, which once will call history.

Without human there would not be any history. Without great humans would not be the Great History. Asia has always been one of the most active epicenters of hysterical processes that have influenced the formation of 'The World'. Trade, war and religious beliefs, have changed the borders and lives of entire peoples. Empire's replaced each other. Someone made history, someone was becoming history. And behind all this stands human, with his insatiable thirst for changing this world. As Francis Bacon said: "History is the activity of people; in it conscious individuals are pursuing their goals."

Introduction

World history of humanity is like a huge river flowing out of the place, which we did not see to the place where we do not know anything. This river is continuous and comprehensive. It combines the epochs, the nations and the peoples.

Unity of the world history is manifested in the fact that the true and the perfect are same for all peoples and at the all

times. The concept of the unity of history and world culture allows us to look at the cultural and spiritual achievements of the past as heritage sites which are equally valuable for different peoples.

Our organization is forming the world ranking in the field of conservation of the objects of the spiritual heritage. World ranking is formed under the auspices of, on the principles and values of the United Nations and UNESCO. The mission of our organization is to create a unified global spiritual heritage area. In the list of world spiritual heritage for the year 2016, included 121 facilitators from 30 countries. The list is updated annually.

The 'Territory of the Spiritual Heritage' is comparatively a new concept. To apply this practically, the wording of the term "spiritual heritage" is expanded. Previously this concept was linked only with intangible and religious sites. That wording no longer meets the challenges of modern historical science.

The word spiritual heritage refers to both tangible and intangible historical objects which greatly influenced the historical processes and form a unique authenticity of the peoples, nations and states. Territory spiritual heritage is a collection of the objects of the spiritual heritage, united by geography and historical features. This expanding of wording of term allowed to a different look at the formation of the historical process and to go beyond the existing boundaries of existing public entities.

Now we are actively working with the parliaments of countries participating in the Confederation of Independent States, which includes countries such as Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and others on the creation of the first Convention on the conservation of cultural and spiritual heritage of the CIS countries. I propose to participants of the conference to take an initiative to create the Convention on the conservation of cultural and spiritual heritage of Asia.

Changing Epochs, Changing Civilizations, Changing Cultures

It is a continuous process of life, measured by a scale beyond the scope of human life. Because, many of the common people are incomprehensible and imperceptible; if you look at the history with the help of at least a millennial scale, everything changes.

Our organization is now actively working on three major projects:

Firstly, creation of a “historical memory Index”, as a tool for measuring the viability of the state;

Secondly, the creation of the first global textbook “World Spiritual Heritage”, the publication is planned for all major languages of the world and is already supported by eleven countries;

Thirdly, formation of the World spiritual heritage interactive map.

For this work we have involved the state in creating a national expert pool of scholars, historians, culture experts, heads of national museums, prominent figures of culture and invite all interested colleagues to join this work.

History is not only a tool of studying the past, it is primarily a tool for building the future. A national idea cannot be formed without a national pride of its history; as a tree cannot exist without roots. And the higher and wider rushes tree, the deeper and broader its roots sprout. Strategists and analysts of large countries are closely watching those states which cease to invest in the conservation of national history and begin to ignore this process. These states are vulnerable, first ideologically, then economically. Such countries would become “sacrificial lambs” on the world geopolitical arena. And we create a very “sensitive devices” for measurements of these processes.

Isaac Newton said: “I have seen more than others, because I was standing on the shoulders of giants.” Will our descendants have one to rely, depends on those who are working on the excavations, in the libraries, in the institutions. Let your work be the basis for future education and union of future generations!

Fatima Begum: A Narrative of Unsung Legend of Pakistan Movement

Dr. Naumana Kiran*

ABSTRACT

Creation of Pakistan has generally been attributed to some prominent political leaders. While building historiography of the great movement; efforts, works and sacrifices of some provincial and local leaders or workers had been neglected or overlooked. Fatima Begum was one of such unsung legends without whose efforts ML could not become strong-rooted organization among women of the Punjab and NWFP. This study reveals that she was central figure to motivate the women of the Punjab and NWFP to be active in politics. Besides, this study proves that she was a great humanitarian who worked a lot to settle victims of Bihar Riots 1946 and of migrant women victims of partition of the Punjab. This paper is produced on the basis of primary and secondary sources including some interviews of the students of Islamia College and of some followers of Fatima Begum. Archives of Pakistan Movement Workers Trust, Quaid-i-Azam Papers, newspapers and books are other important source material.

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Introduction

This paper focuses on the questions; how Fatima Begum created awareness among women of the Punjab on her individual level and through her college; the Jinnah Islamia College (the only Muslim Girls College) in the Punjab? Later, how that college played the same role among womenfolk of the Punjab, which was played by MAO College, Aligarh. Fatima Begum's efforts created activism among women of both the provinces i.e. the Punjab and NWFP and their activism helped the Muslim leadership to work for the creation of Pakistan. She also rendered great services for the Muslim women of NWFP and Bihar. Her services for the rehabilitation of Muslim migrant women were also praiseworthy.

The central theme of the paper is to highlight the role of Fatima Begum in organizing the women of the Punjab and NWFP, her efforts to make the ML successful in 1946 elections in the Punjab and in the Civil Disobedience Movement. She was also in the forefront of the Punjab Provincial Women Muslim League (PPWML) leadership and in the settlement process of the Muslim refugees generally and of Muslim women specifically.

Early Career of Fatima Begum

Fatima Begum (1890-1958) was the daughter of Moulvi Mehboob Alam.¹ She was the first woman from the Punjab who played a pivotal and pioneering role in educating Muslim girls of the province. In 1901, she passed matriculation privately. Before this, she had passed *Munshi Fazil*.² She also served as a teacher in a local school for a few months. She had the honour to be the first female Muslim journalist in India. She was the editor of a fortnightly

1 Muhammad Anwar Ameen, *Hayat-i-Mehboob* (Lahore: Paisa Akhbar Markaz, 2005), 84.

2 Hakim Aftab Ahmed Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq* (Urdu) (Lahore: Idara Tehqiqat-i-Pakistan, 1984), 422.

magazine for women, *Sharif Bibi*.³ Later, she started publishing a weekly magazine *Khatun*.⁴ She served as an inspector or superintendent of Muslim Girls School in Bombay in 1930s. During her stay in Bombay, she remained in constant touch with the Quaid-i-Azam and discussed the problems of the Muslim women of the Punjab specifically and of the other areas generally. She returned back to the Punjab, most probably in 1937 on the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam to serve the Muslim women's cause in the Punjab.⁵ She, very wisely, started her work with the establishment of Jinnah Islamia Girls College at Nawan Kot in 1938 on her personal property to make it a base for propagation of the Muslim League's ideology among Muslim women. The College was inaugurated by Jinnah.⁶ Special arrangements of purda and of religious education were made at her College.⁷ This was a great service to a lot of Muslim girls of middle and other classes who got education and served the cause of Pakistan during later years.⁸

Services of Fatima Begum

This part of the paper deals with the services of Fatima Begum for achieving the target of Qauid-i-Azam. She served not only at the level of Punjab but also on national level. This part of the study also deals with her humanitarian efforts.

3 This first women magazine was started by her father Maulvi Mehboob in 1895. In the beginning, it was a Monthly Magazine, later it began to publish weekly. Unfortunately the exact date of its final issue has not been found by the author, cited in Ameen, *Hayat-i-Mehboob*, 98-100.

4 Sarah Ansari, "Winds of Change: The Role of Women Activists in Lahore Before and After Partition," in *History, Politics and Society: The Punjab*, eds. Massarrat Abid and Qalb-i-Abid (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, 2012), 95.

5 Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 427.

6 Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 183.

7 Ansari. Winds of Change? 95.

8 Ansari. Winds of Change? 226-28.

Fatima Begum at the Punjab Level

Fatima Begum's role was crucial in motivating and organizing the women of the Punjab. She started her efforts from her college. She delivered inspiring and emotional speeches on daily basis in the morning assembly to prepare the girls to perform their national duties since its establishment. Her words had an impact on students and professors. Students and teachers of her college were very active to serve as host of the female guests of the ML to make the 1940 session of the ML successful. PPMWL appointed a subcommittee, Women Reception Committee, in March 1940 at Lahore under the Presidentship of Lady Abdul Qadir. It was her responsibility to organize women volunteers and to cater the needs of the guests properly who came to attend the annual session of the Muslim League at Lahore in March 1940. These women volunteers came from Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore besides women workers of the Muslim League from Lahore and other areas of the Punjab.⁹ Jinnah Islamia College was converted into a guest house for women-guests who came from other cities and provinces. The girl students of the college had been busy throughout the period to provide every possible support to the honourable guests.¹⁰

After passing the Lahore Resolution, a separate session of the Muslim Women League was held at Jinnah Islamia College, Lahore. Many girl students and other distinguished ladies delivered speeches and sang songs which reflected their feelings about Pakistan and their spirit to come in the practical struggle to achieve it. In the end, Quaid-i-Azam delivered a speech and said: "No struggle can ever succeed without women ever participating side by side with men... It is women and women alone who can teach man how and

9 Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1981), 233.

10 GM. 1987, F/1723, PMWT, Lahore.

when to wield the sword or pen when the occasion arises.”¹¹ These words of Quaid-i-Azam injected a great spirit among the females to fight for Pakistan.

Fatima Begum helped Hamid Nizami, the President of Punjab Muslim Students Federation, to establish Women Section of the Federation in February 1941.¹² More than five hundred students of her College were members of the Federation.¹³ Both, she and her college were the backbone of Punjab Muslim Girls Students Federation. She extended hard efforts to politically activate the women of the Punjab for the national cause of the Muslims. In April 1943, Fatima Begum became as member of Women Central Sub-Committee of the Muslim League also.

Pakistan Conferences

Fatima Begum's role was very active in arranging Pakistan conferences. Muslims of the Punjab started their work through propagating the Pakistan ideology from the platform of Pakistan Conferences.¹⁴ Muslim girl students worked for the success of the first Pakistan Conference, held in March 1941 at Lahore. The Organizing Committee of Pakistan Conference went to Jinnah Islamia College for Girls to get support. On behalf of the girls of the College, Fatima Begum,

11 Address of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to the Students of Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, March 25, 1940 cited in Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, vol.III (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996), 1658.

12 Begum Shaista Ikramullah, "Women in Politics," *Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Women, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan* (Karachi: National Foundation, 1976), 40.

13 Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 229.

14 Many Pakistan Conferences were organized by the Punjab Muslims Students Federation from 1941 to 1944 to popularize the idea of Pakistan among masses. First Pakistan Conference was held at Lahore in March 1941, second at Lyallpur in July 1941, third at Multan in March 1942, fourth at Rawalpindi in 1942 and fifth at Jallundhar in November 1942. Students organized four big Pakistan Conferences in the year 1944. The venues of the Conferences were Lahore in March 1944, Sialkot in May, Rawalpindi in June and Amritsar in October 1944. MGSF helped and supported PMSF to make the conferences successful in most of the cases.

the Principal, said, "...we pray for you and assure you that our prayers from heart are with you. Your sisters are with you for the cause of Pakistan without any reward."¹⁵

During the Pakistan Conference, Muslim girl students were supposed to manage the affairs related to female guests. Separate meetings of the women were also arranged by them. After the end of Pakistan Conference, a separate gathering of girl students was held at Islamia College on March 4, 1941. Quaid-i-Azam was invited as the guest of honour in the above mentioned conference. In his address, he told the girls how it was essential to achieve Pakistan.¹⁶

On occasion of second Pakistan Conference in Rawalpindi, Fatima Begum requested Quaid-i-Azam to come to Lahore to inspire the Girl students again:

We have learned it with great pleasure that you are coming to Punjab to preside over the Punjab Muslim Student's Federation Session at Rawalpindi in the first week of March, 1942. We hope you have, by now, received an invitation for the Punjab Muslim Girls Students Federation, urging you to stop at Lahore and inspire the daughters of Islam with a renewed zest to work side by side with their brothers for the achievement of the common goal. We are trying to popularize the Muslim League in the Punjab through our womenfolk.¹⁷

Quaid-i-Azam readily accepted the invitation. While addressing a meeting of the Punjab Girls Students Federation in Jinnah Islamia College, held in 1942, he said: "I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme. If Muslim women support their men, as they did in the day of Prophet of Islam, we should soon realize our goal."¹⁸ Fatima Begum, her college, faculty and students

15 Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 229.

16 *Dawn*, March 5, 1941.

17 S. Q. Hussain Jafri, ed. *Quaid-i-Azam's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders* (Lahore: np, 1977), 400.

18 *Eastern Times*, November 22, 1942.

were once again active to organize March 1944's Pakistan conference.

Elections 1946

Fatima Begum was part and parcel of the Muslim League's election campaign in 1946. She visited many urban and rural areas to convince Muslim women to cast their vote for Pakistan. She made extensive tours of West Punjab specifically.¹⁹ She wrote to Jinnah while reporting about her tours:

During the last week, I visited Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujrat, Wazirabad and Gujranwala and addressed women's meetings at all these places and had the desired effect everywhere. I was also able to enrol about 400 members in the women's section of the League. A lady from Jhelum who was formerly a Congressite has now become a staunch Leaguer.²⁰

Besides working on individual and party level, she provided favourable circumstances to the faculty and students of her college to propagate for the ML. The students of her college including Khalida Rathor and Fahmida Begum went to canvass the Muslim women of Lahore on regular basis with their teachers. Khalida Rathor mentioned that she usually visited Muslim mohalas with her teacher Ms. Siddiqui.²¹ This election campaign had great impact on the Muslim women and large number of common Muslim women got membership of the ML and cast their vote for the ML.

Civil Disobedience Meeting

Fatima Begum was once again in the forefront of the Punjab Muslim League's Direct Action Movement. She made

19 Amarjit Singh, "Foundation of Pakistan: A Study of the Women Leadership of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 45, no. 1 (Jan-June 2008): 7.

20 Singh, "Foundation of Pakistan," 7.

21 Interview with Khalida Munir ud din Chughtai (She was Khalida Rathor before marriage), May 15, 2005, 66-Begum, Street No.2, Cavalry Ground, Lahore.

widespread tours of the province and addressed exclusively Muslim women gatherings at a large number of places. Fatima Begum arranged a big women gathering at Islamia College Lahore where resolution was passed under her presidentship that they would play:

their full part in the coming struggle of the Mussalmans by sacrificing their worldly belongings including their children for the purpose of keeping up the honour and prestige of Islam and also condemned the government and the Congress for conspiring in this land against the just interest of the Muslims. The meeting also expressed complete faith and confidence in the leadership of M. A. Jinnah.²²

She also played important role in the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) of the Punjab Muslim League against coalition government of Khizer Hayat Tiwana. She led some women processions and was also arrested during the movement.²³ She encouraged the students and teachers to campaign for the Muslim League, Pakistan and to be participant in the CDM.²⁴ Khalida Rathor, one of the students of Jinnah Islamia College is one of the participants of the CDM with many other students of her college under supervision of their teachers. The students of Jinnah Islamia College participated in the processions in very organized way on daily basis.²⁵ Khalida told that students and teachers of the College were not afraid of tear gas, lathi charge or even arrests. Some of her friends were arrested for short period. She also remained in lock up for few days. Fatima Begum, being principal of the College was the real spirit and reason behind activities of the students of the college.

22 *The Eastern Times*, September 3, 1946.

23 *The Tribune*, January 26, 1947.

24 Interview with Khalida Muniruddin Chughtai.

25 For more details of the services of Khalida Rathor, please see Naumana Kiran, "Political Awareness among Women in the Punjab: A Study of their Role in the Pakistan Movement," *Pakistan Journal of Women Studies* 20, no. 2 (2013): 51-80.

Role of Fatima Begum in Bihar Riots

Fatima Begum was not only serving the cause of Muslims of the Punjab but she also rendered great services for the Muslims of different parts of the whole of India. She was in the front-line to help the victims of Bihar riots. The riots in Bihar started on October 26, however, no news about the Muslims' suffering leaked out of the province until November 4, 1946. The news of Muslims' suffering shocked the Muslim community of India. Muslim volunteers from all over India, including the Punjab, moved to Bihar to render every possible help to the Bihari Muslims.²⁶ A group of volunteers was led by Fatima Begum from the Punjab to Bihar. This group transported about four hundred people from Bihar to the Punjab and provided them with shelter and food. Fatima Begum constructed a colony for the Bihari Muslims on her personal property.²⁷

Fatima Begum was part of the public meeting of the Muslim women of the Punjab, held in Barkat Ali Mohammad Hall, which demanded the dismissal of Bihar Ministry as it had failed badly to protect the Muslim minority of the province.²⁸ They demanded introduction of Governor's Rule in the province. Fatima Begum addressed the audience and explained the plight and sufferings of Muslim community in Bihar.²⁹

Services of Fatima Begum for the Muslims of NWFP

Fatima Begum played important role to politically organize the women of frontier province. Although Frontier Women Muslim League (FWML) was formed in 1939, it could play a dynamic role in the political activities of the province, because two other political parties; *Khudai Khidmatgar* and Congress had a great influence on the Pashtoon Society.

26 Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 229.

27 Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 433.

28 *The Eastern Times*, November 14, 1946.

29 *The Eastern Times*, November 14, 1946.

The central high command of the Muslim League advised Fatima Begum, founder of Islamia College for Women, Lahore, to reorganize FWML. She, under the advice of Quaid-i-Azam, visited NWFP in 1945 to work upon the project of reorganization of Frontier's women. Some girls of prominent Pathan families were graduates of Islamia College, Lahore. These educated women helped Fatima Begum to reestablish FWML. Among them Nazir Niaz was working as a teacher in government school at Peshawar. Fatima Begum stayed at her home.

Nazir Niaz arranged for a female gathering at Islamia Club Building. She invited her Muslim students including Mumtaz Jamal, Razia Butt, Fahmida Sharif Hussain and some others. She also invited two daughters of Justice Mohammad Shafi i.e. Munawar Shafi and Balqis Shafi. Besides these girls some prominent women of the city, too, were invited. Fatima Begum explained clearly about the importance of the establishment of Pakistan. She injected such a high spirit among the women that willingly joined the struggle of Muslim League for the creation of Pakistan.³⁰ FWML was reorganized in that very session. Begum Qazi Mir Ahmed was appointed as president, Zari Sarfraz, vice-president, Begum Shireen Wahab as general secretary and Begum Sardar Haider Jaffer as propaganda secretary.³¹ One resolution to popularize Urdu was passed in the meeting and also stressed the need to open Degree College for girls in the Frontier. Another resolution expressed full confidence in Quaid-i-Azam's leadership. Later, a sub-committee of twelve women was formed for publicity of the forthcoming League session.³²

30 Syed Salahuddin Aslam in interview with Professor Sardar Haider Jafar in Syed Salahuddin Aslam, *Bunn ka Raha Pakistan* (Islamabad: Gul Publishers, 1993), 306 and Dr. Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2000), 231.

31 *Mashriq*, December 3, 1997 and Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 231.

32 *Dawn*, June 12, 1945.

Fatima Begum stayed in NWFP for fortnight in the month of April 1947 and addressed many gatherings. She also addressed the students of Islamia College, Peshawar. She exhorted them to actively join the struggle for Pakistan by touring the countryside and educating the Muslim masses on the contemporary crucial issues.³³ She also led a deputation of Frontier Women to the Frontier Governor and the Premier, Dr. Khan Sahib. She brought to their notice the vulnerable conditions of the Frontier jails where ML workers were maltreated. In a press statement she mentioned that the governor gave a sympathetic hearing but the premier refused to deal with matter, saying that the jail was the choice of ML volunteers. "Let them have a little taste of it."³⁴

Fatima Begum once again stood beside the women of NWFP during the CDM. She with Ms. Nasira Siddique, Mrs. Ahmed Hassan, Mrs. Abdul Hameed, Mrs. Tassaduq Hussain and others visited NWFP in June 1947. They toured the whole province in groups. They addressed a lot of women gatherings in Mardan, Kohat, Hazara district and Peshawar etc.³⁵ Fatima Begum remarked:

The Muslim women of the Frontier are made awake and have become fully politically conscious. They are aware of their duties and conscious of their privileges... the arrest of thousands of their menfolk has given a rude shock to them. They began to question for themselves why all these processions, public meetings, picketing of Muslims are going on. When true reasons of these happenings were going before them they too, like their menfolk, offered themselves in thousands to participate in the movement. With their husbands, brothers, parents and other relatives in jail, they are not in a mood to wait or be indifferent. They are boiling with new life and are not prepared to lag behind and let their menfolk to rot in the jails, but are determined

33 *Pakistan Times*, April 15, 1947.

34 *Pakistan Times*, April 15, 1947.

35 *Dawn*, June 29, 1947.

to play a decisive role to carry the movement to a successful end.³⁶

Fatima Begum's continuous involvement and guidance to the less experienced women of NWFP brought success for the women of NWFP. Her efforts had been recognized by the women of the NWFP on many occasions.³⁷

Refugee Crisis and Recovery of the Abducted Women

The leaders and workers of the Muslim League worked hard to help the refugees on individual as well as collective basis. Fatima Begum, the principal of Islamia College for girls, appointed Muslim League women workers as nurses in the refugee camps. They not only looked after the sick and wounded refugees but also regulated the work of providing eatables and clothes to them.³⁸

Recovery of abducted women was such a tragedy which had no answer.³⁹ Governments of India and Pakistan signed an Inter-dominion Agreement to recover abducted women and children from both sides of the border.⁴⁰ The task of the recovery of women was done in three stages. The immediate recoveries had been done from September 1947 to December 1947. Second and third stages were from December 1947 to July 1948 and from August 1948 to December 1948 respectively.⁴¹ Fatima Begum with the help of some ML leaders and workers served to find out the abducted women. She visited Indian Punjab on many occasions to find out the Muslim women from there. Taj

36 *The Eastern Times*, May 3, 1947.

37 Sardar Haider Jaffer, *Mujahidat-i-Subah Serhad: Tehrik-i-Pakistan ki Numaiyan Khawateen* [Female Freedom Fighters of Pakistan Movement] (Peshawar: A. R. Printers, nd), 39.

38 Qurhsi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 434.

39 *Dawn*, October 25, 1947.

40 Kamran Asdar Ali, *Surkh Salam: Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan, 1947-1972* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 12.

41 Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab, 1947 Press, Public and Other Opinions* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2006), 434.

Sultana, another unsung legend of Pakistan Movement stated while sharing her memories about Fatima Begum that “We (Taj Sultana, Salma Tassaduq Hussain, Saeeda Waheed & others) used to wear a uniform ‘overall’ given by Beghum Fatima to identify as workers of All India Muslim League,”⁴² while visiting Indian areas to perform their duty.

The recovered women were brought in the office and were provided with the places to live on temporary basis and then they tried to find their relatives even utilizing media; Radio and newspapers. The condition of such women who were repeatedly raped or had been brought back after a long period of abduction was the worst.⁴³ Finally, most of them were handed over to their families, who contacted the office. She provided refuge to some lonely women whose families could not be found or who were mentally and physically highly disturbed due to their experiences. She herself soothed the miserable women. She dined with them, listened to them, cried with them and gave them financial support.⁴⁴ She also managed livelihood for them. It is worth mentioning that there were many abducted Muslim women who were not ready to come back to join their families in Pakistan due to shame. Some of them had children and did not want to leave them.⁴⁵ The efforts of West Pakistani women and West Punjab’s government to take more initiatives to settle the abducted women were appreciated by different quarters.⁴⁶

Fatima Begum continued her service to the nation after independence. With the help of Taj Sultana, she established Fatima Girls High School at Justice Jameel Hussain Road,

42 Taj Sultana to his Brother, posted on January 19, 2013 by Azfar Abbas, azfar5.wordpress.com/2013/01/19/unknown-heroes-taj-sultana

43 Mehar Nigar Masroor, *Ra’ana Liaquat Ali Khan: A Biography* (Karachi: All Pakistan Women Association, nd), 41.

44 Qurehsi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 434.

45 Fazila Yacoobali Zimindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia, Refugees, Boundaries, Histories* (Karachi: OUP, 2008), 7.

46 *Civil and Military Gazette*, October 10, 1947 and October 15, 1947.

adjacent to Lahore High Court in 1953.⁴⁷ Taj Sultana was appointed as its first principal. Begum Fatima and Taj Sultana used to move house to house to persuade parents to send their daughters to the school.

Conclusion

It can be concluded safely that if less known but faithful and selfless workers like Fatima Begum were not available to the Muslim League and the Quaid-i-Azam, creation of Pakistan was a distant task. She was at the top of the list of unsung legends of the Pakistan Movement who not only extended great efforts to create awareness among women of the Punjab and NWFP through her educational institution but also through her own activism and continuous participation in the public debate and political movements. Besides her political services, her humanitarianism is also praiseworthy. She rendered great services to the victims of Bihar riots and for the Muslim women victims of partition of the Punjab who had been brutally treated by Hindus and Sikhs. There is great need to work and to bring to light the services of unsung legends of the great movement of the Muslims of India.



47 Taj Sultana to her Brother, posted on January 19, 2013.

The Paradoxical Evolution of China's Kashmir Policy

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ABSTRACT

China's Kashmir policy inevitably influences its policies towards Pakistan and India. Endorsing anyone's stance would imply support for either of the parties. Thus, instead of supporting one party, it has carefully crafted its Kashmir policy over the years and pursued two parallel policies vis-à-vis the dispute, particularly in the post-Mao Tse-Tung era. The (officially) declared Kashmir policy is congruent to Beijing's traditional foreign policy of non-intervention in internal affairs and conflict resolution through bilateral negotiations. Paradoxically, it has established strategic partnership with Pakistan, supported its military modernization, and invested in multi-billion dollar projects in Pakistan Administrated Kashmir (also referred as AJK), which suggests that it intends to stay in the region in the years to come. This inconsistent evolution of the policy implies that China is likely to support the status quo in the

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region while continuing the pursuit of its two-pronged Kashmir policy.

Introduction

Three decades of economic modernization helped China expand its sphere of influence in South Asia. China is now an important actor in the South Asian politics, where India and Pakistan balance each other's influence. However, it has to define its foreign policy priorities towards the regional actors that are locked in a territorial dispute over Kashmir region. Generally, China's policy remains congruent to its broader foreign policy practices and it has adopted a neutral stance in the dispute, though it is a party to this dispute.¹

China's stance on Kashmir was subject to change during 1950s and 1960s. Kashmir was rarely a matter of debate in China's policy during the 1950s. It had warm relations with India, though it avoided openly taking side with India.² However, the Sino-Indian border dispute in 1962 and Pak-China border agreement in 1963 led to a shift in China's Kashmir policy — criticizing Indian position on the dispute and favouring the right to freedom of the people of Kashmir — which remained intact until Deng Xiaoping's declaration of neutrality.

Irrespective of its formally declared position, Beijing remained one of the major supporters of Pakistan, be it strategic, diplomatic or economic. The continuous defence-related Chinese support to Pakistan added to Pakistan's military strength and enabled it to endure as a counterweight to Indian hegemony in the region.³ Beijing's policies towards the dispute — declaring neutrality but supporting Pakistan

1 Fantasy Frontiers, *The Economist*, http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/05/indian_pakistani_and_chinese_border_disputes (Accessed on February 8, 2012).

2 Jabin T. Jacob, China and Kashmir, https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/15471/China_and_Kashmir.pdf?sequence=2

3 John Garver, "China's Kashmir Policies," *India Review* 3, no. 1): 1.

and helping increase its military power — are difficult to be streamlined in a single dimension.

Methodology

This study is part of a research project. Historical design in employed to analyze the evolution of China's Kashmir policy, which is generally considered paradoxical. The purpose of this design is to 'collect, verify, and synthesize' the evidence to refute or defend a hypothesis: 'China has pursued a two-pronged Kashmir policy that serves both moral and political purposes.' Both primary and secondary sources such as; official documents, reports, newspaper editorials, archives, and books were consulted for the present study. This study covers almost six decades, from 1950 to 2013. The trends in China's Kashmir policy with a contextual background have been analyzed that increases understanding of the research problem.

It is argued that China's security cooperation with Pakistan has helped it to increase military capabilities that can be used in conflict with India over Kashmir. Beijing supported Pakistan in its continued confrontation with India, as a diplomatic leverage over New Delhi even if its official position of bilateral negotiations favours India.

China's Position on Kashmir

China's declared position on the Kashmir favours that of Indian point of view and opposes internationalization of the conflict. During the honeymoon period in the Sino-Indian-Soviet relations in 1950s, China and India enjoyed warm relations but China avoided ceding a blank check to India on the question of Kashmir. The differences in their position on Tibet and border demarcation probably prevented the leadership in Beijing from endorsing the Indian position. Similarly, it did not antagonize Pakistan and probably understood its security constraints.

China first redefined its Kashmir policy in 1964 and it endorsed Pakistan's stance⁴ that "the people of Kashmir had right to self-determination, whether to join India or Pakistan, in accordance with the United Nations' resolutions."⁵ New trends in Pak-China relations were probably a more important reason than the Sino-Indian rivalry for change in the Chinese position.⁶ China remained supportive to Pakistan's position on the dispute throughout the 1960s.

During the Indo-Pak war in 1965, an article published in *People's Daily*, a mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), stated, "The Chinese people deeply sympathize with the just struggle of the people of Kashmir for their right to self-determination."⁷ A week later, an editorial in the same newspaper stated that "the Chinese government and people resolutely support the Kashmir people's struggle for national self-determination and the Kashmir people will surely realize their desire for national self-determination."⁸ Although China did not endorse the Kashmiris' struggle as a war of liberation, it seconded Pakistan's position that entitled them to join either of India and Pakistan, Peter Van Ness argues.⁹

Chinese position on the dispute remained consistent until Deng's rise to power in 1978. Deng, contrary to his

4 After a limited conflict between India and China and a border agreement between China and Pakistan; China and Pakistan faced problems from a common enemy. Both states cooperated with each other in almost all dimensions of bilateral relations. In addition, Pakistan and China supported each other in their conflicts against India.

5 Garver, "China's Kashmir Policies," 3.

6 China did not change its stance even when the Sino-Indian relations started deteriorating over the question of Tibet in 1959 and avoided changing its stance during the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962.

7 Renmin Ribao, in *Survey of China Mainland Press*: September 5, 1965 (Hong Kong: US Consulate, 3535.33-34).

8 Indian Reactionaries are Plain Aggressors: September 11,) *Renmin Ribao*, in *Survey of China Mainland Press*, 3538.31-34.

9 Peter Van Ness, *Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy: Peking's Support for War of National Liberation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

predecessor Mao Tse-Tung, focused on the economic opening of his country. He focused on reducing tensions with India for the success of his economic policy. In this regard, the then Indian Foreign Minister, Atal Beharee Vajpayee visited China and met Deng. Vajpayee told Deng that China's position on Kashmir was an unnecessary irritant in the bilateral relationship, so Deng declared in 1980 that the Kashmir dispute was a bilateral issue left over from history between India and Pakistan and should be resolved peacefully.¹⁰

Labeling the dispute as a sin by the colonial power suggested that Deng denied the Indian aggression as the sole cause of the Kashmir dispute. In fact, his position favoured that of India.¹¹ China's proposed solution that called on for bilateral negotiations weakened Pakistan's position that favored international involvement, especially the UN. In this context, Chinese and Indian position were more or less same on the dispute resolution method, because India had long opined that the issue must be resolved through bilateral negotiations. However, the Chinese authorities frequently revised their previously declared position on the dispute. For instance, Premier Li Peng, during his visit to Islamabad, stated that "India and Pakistan should resolve their dispute on the basis of five principles of coexistence."¹² In 2001, Premier Zhu Rongji repeated the words of his successor. His position remained same even after the US invaded Afghanistan in 2001.¹³ However, during the India-Pakistan confrontation in 2001-2002, a spokesman

10 John W. Garver, *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

11 Tilt means supporting the position of any party. As far as the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan is concerned, Chinese leadership supported the Indian position pertaining to method of conflict resolution. Both India and China agreed on a point that the issue should be resolved through bilateral negotiations.

12 *Beijing Domestic Online Radio* (November 16, 1989).

13 "Yet another Proof of Enormity and Depth of Eternal Sino-Pak Friendship," *Jang*, May 12, 2001.

for China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) repeated China's position on Kashmir:

China's position on the issue of Kashmir has been clear cut. We have always maintained that the Kashmir issue is one between India and Pakistan left over by history. China hopes that the two sides should seek new ways to appropriately solve the problem through peaceful exchanges and negotiations and refrain from military conflicts.¹⁴

During President Pervez Musharraf's visit to China in 2002, his Chinese counterpart expressed his support for bilateral negotiations-led resolution of the dispute. Jiang Zemin's views were expressed by the spokesman of the MFA:

As a friendly neighbor to both Pakistan and India, China sincerely hopes that both sides will bear overall peace and stability in South Asia in mind, show maximum constraint, and peacefully resolve the dispute through negotiations and dialogues. The Chinese side has made positive efforts through both bilateral and multilateral channels to urge for peace.¹⁵

As recent as 2013, an MFA spokesman stated that "China hopes India and Pakistan will hold talks regarding the recent violence in Kashmir and solve their differences in a calm and proper manner."¹⁶

Pakistan-China Entente

The history of Pak-China cooperation stretches back to the late 1950s. It was the time when Kashmir dispute was probably the most pivotal matter for Pakistan. As early as

14 "Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Press Conference," (Accessed on May 30, 2002) www.fmprc.gov (Accessed on May 30, 2002).

15 "PRC President Jiang Zemin Hopes for Peaceful Settlement of India-Pakistan Dispute," *Xinhua*.
<http://www.china.org.cn/english/international/38566.htm> (Accessed on August 2, 2002).

16 "China Urges Dialogue after India-Pakistan Kashmir Violence," *Xinhua*.
http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-01/07/c_132086333.htm (Accessed on January 7, 2013).

1956, China's ambassador to Pakistan Geng Biao carried out an in-depth study of the dispute and briefed Chou Enlai. Geng suggested Chou to take a neutral stance on the issue to maintain good relations with both; India and Pakistan. Chou, therefore, maintained a neutral position during a visit of his Pakistani counterpart and, later on, he declined to visit the Indian Administrated Kashmir (IAK) notwithstanding Premier Nehru's arrangement for his visit to the area.¹⁷

China's cooperation with Pakistan waxed after the Sino-Indian border conflict and the Pak-China boundary agreement. And the Pak-China cooperation did not diminish even in times of Pakistan's confrontation with India on the question of Kashmir. In effect, Pakistan was probably the only country in the region that did not face criticism from the Chinese revolutionaries despite its alliance with the US. Chinese revolutionaries, in spite of Pakistan's pro-west international position, consistently called it 'a friend'.

China supported Pakistan (politically) in its conflict with India in 1965. Beijing assured Islamabad of its territorial integrity amid its war with India.¹⁸ In addition to political support, Pakistan was probably an exceptional case with respect to China's nuclear cooperation with a non-Communist country. China reportedly transferred missile technology to Pakistan in the late 1980s.¹⁹ It did not sanction Pakistan during the 1990s when the latter supported armed insurrection in the IAK. Throughout 1990s, involving three events of confrontation between India and Pakistan, China continued its strategic cooperation with Pakistan.

China's cooperation with Pakistan continued after the Kargil war in 1999. General Pervez Musharraf visited China in 1999 and met with the Chief of General Staff of the People's

17 Prashant Kumar Singh, "Revisiting China's Kashmir Policy," *Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses*, November 1, 2010.

18 Garver, *Protracted Contest*, 189.

19 Ka. Zeng, *Trade Threats, Bargaining, Retaliation, and American Coercive Diplomacy* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 73-75.

Liberation Army, General Fu Quanyou. In his statement, General Fu stated, “the military ties between China and Pakistan are a vital part of the bilateral relations between the two countries and an important part of the Sino-Pakistan comprehensive cooperative partnership.”²⁰ The US invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistan’s subsequent participation in the war did not affect the alliance and both China and Pakistan entered into the new phase of technological cooperation.

Pak-China Strategic Partnership after 9/11

China’s alliance with Pakistan strengthened with the passage of time. Despite having known Pakistan’s intention to use the Chinese weaponry against India and claiming neutrality in the dispute between India and Pakistan, China helped Pakistan to enhance its military capabilities. In addition, China provided it production license of its military technology.²¹ The unimpeded Chinese defense equipment export to Pakistan, after 1999 and 2002, was meant to address Pakistan’s vulnerabilities vis-à-vis the Indian defense posture. It helped Pakistan build a new port in Gwadar that would increase Pakistan’s options in case of possible naval blockade of Karachi.²²

In 2001, Pakistan operationalised a Pak-China joint venture, Al-Khalid tank.²³ Both states also worked on the production of another joint venture, JF-17 Thunder, which was inducted

20 “Fu Quanyou Holds Talk with Pakistani Military Officer,” *Xinhua*, (May 15, 1999).

21 AL Khalid tank and JF-17 are joint ventures of Pakistan. Pakistan can produce these tanks and fighter jets under licence of joint production.

22 “Gwader, Pakistan– the Most Important City You’ve ever Heard of,” *New York Post*, <http://nypost.com/2010/10/17/gwadar-pakistan-the-most-important-city-youve-never-heard-of/> (Accessed on October 17, 2010).

23 Al Khalid MBT-2000/Type 2000 Main Battle Tank, (n.d.). GlobalSecurity.Org. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/mbt-2000.htm>

in Pakistan's air fleet in 2007.²⁴ In addition to support for the army and air force, China exported Pakistan F-22P frigates which became operational in 2008.²⁵ The Chinese and the Pakistani armed forces worked together in almost all fields including intelligence sharing. The government of Pakistan, in order to increase strategic cooperation with China, handed over management of the Gwadar port to a state-run Chinese company (2013) after taking it back from Singapore's PSA International.²⁶

Sino-Indian Geopolitical Competition and Kashmir

China-India relations have rarely been exemplary notwithstanding Premier Nehru's reluctance to initiate a conflict in response to China's forceful annexation of Tibet in 1950.²⁷ Contrary to Nehru's empathy, China aligned itself with Pakistan. Six and a half decades long relationship is full of border disputes and minor skirmishes. As a result, the long-standing effort on the part of India to neutralize China, particularly in the context of Pak-China security cooperation, is unlikely to produce favourable results in Indian context in years to come.

Simialry, China and India do not share a long history of peaceful relations. After the Sino-Indian border war in 1962, Chola incident in 1967 and border skirmishes in 1987, the leadership of both countries tried to improve relations through emphasizing trade and the importance of peaceful

24 "Pakistan & China's JF-17 Fighter Program," *Defense Industry Daily*. <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/stuck-in-sichuan-pakistani-jf17-program-grounded-02984/> (January 26, 2014).

25 "China Delivers Warship to Pakistan Navy," *Defence Talk* <http://www.defencetalk.com/china-delivers-warship-to-pakistan-navy-20796/> (Accessed on July 31, 2009).

26 "Decision to hand over Gwadar Port to China Worries India," *Dawn*, February 7, 2013).

27 BM. Jain, "India China Relations: Issues and Emerging Trends," *The Round Table* (93.274), (2004) 254.

course of the relationship.²⁸ However, China expressed its resentment in 1998 when the Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes termed China as India's number one threat.²⁹ Not only China opposed the Indian overt nuclearization, but probably also realized that George was right at that time. A decade after Fernandes's statement, India not only became a strategic partner of U.S., but it has also emerged as a party in the South China Sea conflict (SCS) in favour of the US rebalancing in the Asia-Pacific region.

Beijing's growing involvement in AJK worries the decision makers in New Delhi.³⁰ China has consistently maintained its role in AJK since the ratification of the Trans-Karakoram Tract. Its major economic activity in the region, since 1963, is Karakoram Highway that provides a link between both countries.³¹ Later, in the 2000s, China also agreed to finance three major hydropower projects in the AJK: Kohala Power Project (KHP), Neelum Jhelum Hydropower Project (NJHP)³² and Diamer Bhasha Dam.³³ In addition, the Chinese leadership also showed interest in developing a railway link between both the countries through the AJK.³⁴

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- 28 Sheikh Muhammad Arif, "A History of Sino-Indian Relations: From Conflict to Cooperation," *International Journal of Political Science and Development* 1 no. 4: 132.
 - 29 RW. Hu, "India's Nuclear Bomb and Future of Sino-Indian Relation," *East Asia* (Spring 1999): 40.
 - 30 Priyanka Singh, "China and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) in 2012: A Review," in *China Year Book 2012* (Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses), 112.
 - 31 Singh, "China and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) in 2012," 111.
 - 32 Zafar Bhutta, "Neelum Jhelum Project: Pakistan Looks to New Chinese Leadership for Funds," *The Express Tribune*, (November 17, 2012).
 - 33 Khaleeq Kiani, "China Group Interested in AJK Power Projects," *Dawn*, (May 7, 2012).
 - 34 Jermy Page, "Pakistan Looks to China for Big Energy and Infrastructure Projects: Islamabad Expected to Sign \$20 Billion of Projects With Chinese During Presidential Visit," *The Wall Street Journal*. <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702304675504579390700188948402> (Accessed on February 18, 2014).

India raised objections on these developments in the AJK. In 2012, Indian Defence Minister A. K. Antony stated in Lok Sabha that "the government is aware of the infrastructure development of China at the border and their (Chinese) undertaking infrastructure projects in the AJK. The government has conveyed its concerns to China about its activities in the AJK and asked them to cease such activities."³⁵ In addition to this, former Indian Army Chief General Bikram Singh also hinted about the presence of the Chinese soldiers in the AJK, which China rejected and labeled as groundless.³⁶

Conclusion

Although China officially declared neutrality in the Kashmir dispute, it supported Pakistan in its competition with India. It was clear to the Chinese leadership that Pakistan would use the made in China weapons against India. But China continued pursuing strategic partnership with Pakistan and the regional political dynamics rarely influenced the course of partnership. It, however, pursued a two-pronged policy toward the dispute through which it managed both India and Pakistan.

The pursuit of two-pronged policy toward the dispute has been beneficial over the years. By claiming neutrality, China has been able to manage its diplomatic position in the world and managed to follow its foreign policy tradition of non-intervention and conflict resolution through bilateral means. At the same time, it strengthened Pakistan to balance India within South Asia. China's technological assistance to Pakistan and its investments in trademark projects imply that China intends to stay in the region.

35 Rajat Pandit, "Stop All Ventures in POK: India Tells China," *The Times of India*. http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-09-04/news/33582332_1_actual-control-beijing-islamabad-chinese-defence-minister (Accessed on September 14, 2012).

36 "India Remarks on PLA Troops in PoK Groundless: China," *Rediff News*. <http://www.rediff.com/news/report/india-s-remarks-on-pla-troops-in-pok-groundless-china/20120920.htm> (Accesses on September 20, 2012).

Nonetheless, in response to the Pak-China alliance, India has also started considering its options for strategic partnership with other great powers which also have concerns over growing assertiveness of China in several regional conflicts. On one hand, balancing against China may serve as a cause of understanding between India and its allies. On the other hand, however, these moves are likely to constrain China to focus on South Asia and thus invest more in Pakistan. China's focus on investments in Pakistan is likely to lead toward the continuation of the two-pronged policy in order to maintain the status quo.

Hofstede Cultural Dimensions' Cross National Evaluation: Individual's Cultural Values, Attitudes, and Behavioural Reactions Towards Web-Based Advertising

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Sanan Waheed Khan**

ABSTRACT

The current study is intended to examine the association between the individual's cultural values about web based advertising (IWA) attitudes towards web based advertising (AWA), and individual's behavioural reactions (BR) in dissimilar cultures by considering three nations Pakistan, Malaysia and United States. The study is based on the Hofstede five cultural dimensions to evaluate the understanding of the cultural perception of the web based advertising. The Hofstede cultural dimensions ensure to capture the cultural variability in the phenomena of the web based advertising. Among the major conclusions, altogether five cultural value aspects were empirically important forecasters of attitudes toward web based advertising (AWA). Moreover, it pointedly forecasted web based ad browsing and rate of recurrence of web based spending, and

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individuals' cultural values about web based advertising (IWA), attitudes toward web based advertising (AWA), and individual's behavioral reactions (BR), and associations consequently, it varies across the cultures of the different nations (i.e., the United States., Pakistan, and Malaysia).

Introduction

The web based spending gradually developed as a cohesive instrument for promotion and advertising. The efficacy of web based advertising remains a critical and questionable matter amongst the researchers. A number of recent studies observed the phenomena of the web based advertising and recommended that the individual's attitudes towards the web based advertisements (AWA) consider equally significant measure for the web based advertising efficacy.¹ Previous studies on the web based advertising are evident to explain the diverse factors like culture but remain minimal to explicit its link with different national cultures as it varies. Though, the emphases of utmost research have been on analyzing single nation at once and absence of the cultural context by considering the Hofstede cultural dimensions.² Slight is identified about the web based advertising in the developing countries like Pakistan and emerging economies such as Malaysia.

Nation's culture and the advertising are essentially connected with one another. Cultural impact on individuals' cultural values and attitudes towards advertising has been

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- 1 Avi Goldfarb and Catherine Tucker, "Advertising Bans and the Substitutability of Online and Offline Advertising," *Journal of Marketing Research* 48, no. 2 (2011): 207–27. Louisa Ha and Kim Mccann, "An Integrated Model of Advertising Clutter in Offline and Online Media," *International Journal of Advertising* 27, no. 4 (2008): 569, doi:10.2501/S0265048708080153.
 - 2 Yong Zhang and Betsy D Gelb, "Matching Advertising Appeals to Culture: The Influence of Products' Use Conditions," *Journal of Advertising* 25, no. 3 (1996): 29-46.

well recognized in the body of knowledge³. However, scholars alleged dissimilar or even contradictory views of the web based advertising in the international scope. Internet is, consequently, considered as the global medium and due to this nature of provisions the standardization tactic to intensifying trade or institutions. Besides, it is reasoned that worldwide access does not equivalent worldwide impact in respect to the web based advertising. The cultural dissimilarities are as related to the web based advertising and to conventional advertising.⁴ Therefore, it is crucial to study: Individual's cultural values about web based advertising (IWA), and attitudes toward web based advertising (AWA) and their web based behavioural reactions (BR) in a cross-cultural background.

The current investigation suggests a design of the web based advertising based on conventional advertising theoretical model. Nevertheless, because of the exclusive attributions of the internet, individuals may establish the viewpoints based on their cultural values and attitudes toward web based advertising (AWA) dissimilar to those established in conventional media backgrounds. For instance, many scholars are of the view that the new media, based on the internet brings contests to the conventional patterns of the media outlets, and indeed even supersede them.⁵ Consequently, innovative cultural value issues are recognized and further advance the model. Additionally, individuals' behavioural reactions integrated to the web based advertising backgrounds are involved in the offered model as well. The three selected nations in the current research signify dissimilar cultural alignments. The United

3 Lefa Teng *et al.*, "Effects of Culturally Verbal and Visual Congruency/incongruency across Cultures in a Competitive Advertising Context," *Journal of Business Research* 67, no. 3 (2014): 288-94.

4 Lianxi Zhou, Patrick Poon, and Haizhong Wang, "Consumers' Reactions to Global versus Local Advertising Appeals: A Test of Culturally Incongruent Images in China," *Journal of Business Research* 68, no. 3 (2015): 561-68.

5 Ojenike Bolatito, "Linkage between Persuasion Principles and Advertising," *New Media and Mass Communication* 8 (2012): 7-12.

States is an extremely advanced nation and a distinctive western nation that underlines individuality, masculinity, and a straight communication style. Whereas, Malaysia, signifies emerging nation that have been experiencing the commercial and socio-cultural transitions. Besides, Pakistan is a developing nation, however, both Pakistan and Malaysia are considered as the collectivistic cultures but differ on many dimensions of the culture.⁶

These assumed dissimilarities in key cultural orientations permit a contrast of the web based advertising amongst the three nations. In contrast with the slightly established web based business in the western advanced market places like the United States, web based advertising in Pakistan and Malaysia is still in its early stage.⁷ Therefore, outcomes from the present study can offer a novel approach on the developing nature of the web based advertising. Practically, only narrow information has been accessible for advertisers to advance advertising tactic in the evolving and developing markets, especially in the Asian countries such as Pakistan.⁸ Moreover, it offers the culture experts to compare the behavioural and cultural values' patterns of the different nations. This research offers valued visions into individuals' observations and the attitudes toward web based advertising (AWA) in the presented nations. It may improve advertising experts' information of the web based advertising viewers, and therefore benefit businesses and institutions implement the web based advertising more efficiently and at the same time it allows the cultural information about the different

6 Marieke de Mooij and Geert Hofstede, "The Hofstede Model: Applications to Global Branding and Advertising Strategy and Research," *International Journal of Advertising* 29, no. 1 (2010): 85–110; Paul Brewer and Sunil Venaik, "Individualism–Collectivism in Hofstede and GLOBE," *Journal of International Business Studies* 42, no. 3 (2011): 436–45.

7 M. Minkov and G. Hofstede, "Is National Culture a Meaningful Concept?: Cultural Values Delineate Homogeneous National Clusters of in-Country Regions," *Cross-Cultural Research* (2012): 133–59.

8 Paul Brewer and Sunil Venaik, "The Ecological Fallacy in National Culture Research," *Organization Studies* 35 (2014): 1–24.

nations' patterns of the behaviour in a practical form that they may analyze the impact of the culture in an apprehend manner.

Cultural Values and Attitudes toward Web Based Advertising

Individuals' cultural values and attitudes toward web based advertising are significant signs of advertising efficiency.⁹ Currently, there exist two distinctive interpretations about the association between Individual's cultural values about web based advertising (IWA), attitudes toward web based advertising (AWA). According to one approach, the two concepts are similar and identical, both theoretically and operationally¹⁰, while the other assumes that there are central differences between (IWA) and (AWA).¹¹ Particularly, cultural values are definite declarations explaining the characteristics or outcomes of the things; Whereas, attitudes are cumulative assessments of the things. Originating from cultural values, attitudes function at diverse stages of rational construct. Likewise, one's cultural values about web based advertising are predictors of the (AWA).¹² In the present study, the second viewpoint is considered to build model and direction of the research. Cultural values about web based advertising are expressive proclamations about

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- 9 David S. Evans, "The Online Advertising Industry: Economics, Evolution, and Privacy," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 23, no. 3 (2009): 37-60.
 - 10 Yann Truong, Rod McColl, and Irena Descubes, "Testing UNITED STATES: Advertising Belief and Attitude Measures in France," *Journal of Euromarketing* 18, no. 1 (2009): 35-46.
 - 11 Icek Ajzen and Martin Fishbein, "Questions Raised by a Reasoned Action Approach: Comment on Ogden (2003)," *Health Psychology: Official Journal of the Division of Health Psychology, American Psychological Association* 23, no. 4 (2004): 431-34; Icek Ajzen et al., "Knowledge and the Prediction of Behavior: The Role of Information Accuracy in the Theory of Planned Behavior," *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 33, no. 2 (2011): 101-17.
 - 12 Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen, "Theory-Based Behavior Change Interventions: Comments on Hobbis and Sutton," *Journal of Health Psychology* 10, no. 1 (2005): 27-43.

the characteristics of web based advertising.¹³ Attitudes toward web based advertising are definite as the combination of assessments of supposed characteristics and benefits of the web based advertising.¹⁴

Frequently, investigators have debated that AWA have both perceptive and emotional predictors. Cultural value about advertising, as a consequence of the advantage that individuals originate from advertising, principally assists as a rational forecaster of attitude. Furthermore, person's cultural value shows an additional significant part in making attitude. Previous scholarships have confirmed that person's cultural value about the advertising construct is a diverse and having many dimensions. For example, researchers recognized two dimensions' with reference to the individuals' cultural values; economic and societal.¹⁵ Afterwards, Pollay and Mittal elaborated seven dimensions underlying the individuals' cultural values and categorized those dimensions into the two major clusters. The first cluster, categorized as an individual use, covers of aspects comprising trademark info, societal role and appearance, and hedonic/desire. The second cluster, categorized as societal influence, includes value corruption, falseness/no intellect, noble for the economy, and materialism.¹⁶ Among these features, information about the product defines advertising's part as a significant information source. Societal role and appearance refers to the cultural value that advertising impacts public's life and creation of societal position and image.

13 Ying Wang and Shaojing Sun, "Assessing Beliefs, Attitudes, and Behavioral Responses toward Online Advertising in Three Countries," *International Business Review* 19, no. 4 (2010): 333-44.

14 Shintaro Okazaki, Barbara Mueller, and Charles R. Taylor, "Global Consumer Culture Positioning: Testing Perceptions of Soft-Sell and Hard-Sell Advertising Appeals Between UNITED STATES and Japanese Consumers," *Journal of International Marketing* 18, no. 2 (2010): 20-34.

15 J. Craig Andrews, "The Dimensionality of Beliefs toward Advertising in General," *Journal of Advertising* 18, no. 1 (1989): 26-35.

16 Richard W. Polly and Banwari Mittal, "Here's the Beef: Factors, Determinants, and Segments in Consumer Criticism of Advertising," *Journal of Marketing* 57, no. July (1993): 99-114.

Hedonic/pleasure mentions to the interpretation. Decent for the economy refers the viewpoint that advertising improves the individuals' adoptability of the new things and technologies, nurturing full engagement, endorses vigorous struggle between manufacturers. Advertising is frequently complained for endorsing materialism, mortifying cultural values, and deceiving viewers.¹⁷ Mainly, advertising is considered one of the reasons of disseminating infinite products with sometime deceptive information and disturbing individuals with lucrative apprehensions at the cost of collective, political, logical, and national consciences. As a carter of national and cultural values, advertising can dispute or even compromise the standards and values of the culture.

Individual Behavioural Reactions

Previous studies maintained that attitude of the individuals toward advertising affects individuals' behavioural reactions (BR) and eventually their buying conduct.¹⁸ Mehta, for instance, established that persons with an extra promising attitude towards promotion were expected to remember the product and be convinced by the advertising.¹⁹ Some studies also revealed that attitudes toward advertising can have impact on the individuals by motivating them for getting more information, and these sort of affect is mostly noticeable in the web based advertising backgrounds. Furthermore, investigators established that perception and assessment of the individuals get affects from the advertising. Specifically, a

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- 17 R. W. Pollay, "Measuring the Cultural Values Manifest in Advertising," *Current Issues and Research in Advertising* 6, no. 1 (1983): 71-92; Valarie a. Zeithaml, Leonard L. Berry, and A. Parasuraman, "The Behavioural Consequences of Service Quality," *Journal of Marketing* 60, no. 4 (1996): 31-46.
 - 18 Lj Shrum and Min Liu, "Persuasion in the Marketplace: How Theories of Persuasion Apply to Marketing and Advertising," *The Persuasion* 9, no. 210 (2012): 1-36.
 - 19 Abhilasha Mehta, "Advertising Attitudes and Advertising Effectiveness," *Journal of Advertising Research* 40, no. 3 (2000): 67-72 ; Mark D. Alicke, Frank M. Loschiavo, and Justin T. Buckingham, "Attitude Transference," *Social Cognition* 18, no. 1 (2000): 1-34.

positive and promising attitude is linked to further optimistic advertising assessments like being educational, amusing, and suitable increases purchasing attention.

In the current research, two consequences were measured, ad browsing and stated web based spending rate of recurrence. These variables have been extensively applied in the studies of the advertising as an instrument to gauge the advertising efficacy.²⁰ For instance, many previous studies revealed that a negative AWA was connected with feeble behavioural outcomes such as buying. It is also found that an optimistic AWA is expected to be added which may result in more frequent web based buying and spending. Advertising browsing is behavioural and viewed to be more relevant and performance-based. The proportion of number of the time period that an advert is browsed is often used as a mass media rates metric for web based advertising. Advertisement browsing has been trusted as an essential signal of individuals' behavioural replies toward web based advertising.²¹ In a research, advertising browsing was a substantial predictor to promote recall among internet surfers.²² Additionally, it is included advertising browsing as the key of the web based advertising manners. In a report, it is discovered a significantly positive engagement between overall frame of mind towards web advertising and the browsing of the advertising. Therefore, in this scholarly study, advertisement browsing is used among the behavioural benefits of web based advertising. Above, the records from the literature recommend that values about web based advertising have the impact on individuals' AWA, which affects individuals' behavioural replies to web based

20 M. Imran, "Effects of Beliefs and Concerns on User Attitudes toward Online Social Network Advertising and Their Ad Clicking Behavior," *Journal of Internet Banking and Commerce* 20, no. 2 (2015), 42-70.

21 Yet-mee Lim, Ching-Seng Yap, and Teck-chai Lau, "The Effectiveness of Online Advertising in Purchase Decision: Liking, Recall and Click," *Australian Journal of Basic and Applied Sciences* 5, no. 9 (2011): 1517-24.

22 L. Sweeney, "Discrimination in Online Ad Delivery," *Communications of the ACM* 56, no. 5 (2013): 44-54.

advertising. This debate resonances theoretical model, representing that one's opinion is a precursor of frame of mind, which by default can be an antecedent of habit.

Hofstede Cultural Dimensions, Cultural Values and Attitudes toward Web Based Advertising

Advertising naturally is a sociocultural sensation. Individuals' values and behaviour toward web based advertising are undoubtedly affected by their national predispositions.²³ Therefore, it is significant to explore the problem in a cross-national framework to broaden our point of view upon this new form of advertising. Conceptually, one's frame of mind, action and life structure tie up in to the five social measurements.

Hofstede's dimensions of power distance measurement categorize the amount of hierarchical power sharing in a society. Uncertainty avoidance clarifies the amount to which people are tolerant of uncertainties. The masculinity/femininity measurements recognize the gender meanings in a nation. Long-term against short-term alignment reports the dissimilarities in cultural values and features. Ideals connected with long-term alignment are determination and thrift; values associated with short-term orientation are admiration for custom, rewarding social responsibilities, and shielding individual's face.²⁴ Set together; Pakistan and Malaysia are lesser in individualism, higher on power distance, and lesser in masculinity. Instead of the Pakistan's culture, the United States and Malaysian nations are little on long-term orientation. The three nations are dissimilar in circumstances of doubt prevention. The dissimilarities in these societal measurements may impact on IWA and BR. For instance, greater power distance might propose that

23 Shintaro Okazaki and Barbara Mueller, "Cross-Cultural Advertising Research: Where We Have Been and Where We Need to Go," *International Marketing Review* 24, no. 5 (2007): 499-518.

24 Rachel F. Baskerville, "Hofstede Never Studied Culture," *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 2003; M.L. Jones, "Hofstede - Culturally Questionable?," in *Business*, 2007, 24-26.

folks are better to encourage in the advertising communication strategies. Uncertainty avoidance can be related to individual's cautiousness about acquisitions. The long-term/short-term orientation affects individual's frame of mind towards intake or the spending. Rationally, public in United States may develop additional behaviour inclined towards the innovative and novel things in their lifestyles than the Pakistanis do. Furthermore, Pakistani individuals might develop additional thrifty and careful behaviour towards web based buying than Individuals in the United States.

Hofstede dimensions based on the contrast of the cultural values held by several nations enable to reflect their divergence with one another. For instance, having collective attributes in the society, individuals are much committed to each other, with strong family connections. Reasonably, this attribute makes the uncertainty avoidance feature more privileged in the country such as Pakistan. On the other hand, Malaysians as a prospective nation grasped the attributes of moderate cluster in comparison with Pakistan. Furthermore, they have some matching cultural and traditional ties with Pakistan as the component of the same Asian cluster. It is interesting relationship to bring together in the current work on one side diversity and adopting latest trends as the feature of United States individuals, on other hand, in Pakistani society where individuals believes on the prior concepts. Finally, with the Malaysian cluster where development changed the mindsets of individuals in terms of adoptability.

Behaviour and values toward advertising have been reviewed in the international adjustments. For instance, thoroughly compared individuals' (AWA) in five nations located on four different continents and deduced that IWA vary transversely culture generally. In a recently review, it is revealed that Pakistani individuals exhibited more beneficial behaviour toward advertising than do United States' individuals. Some studies revealed that Malaysian individuals hold very favourable opinions about web based

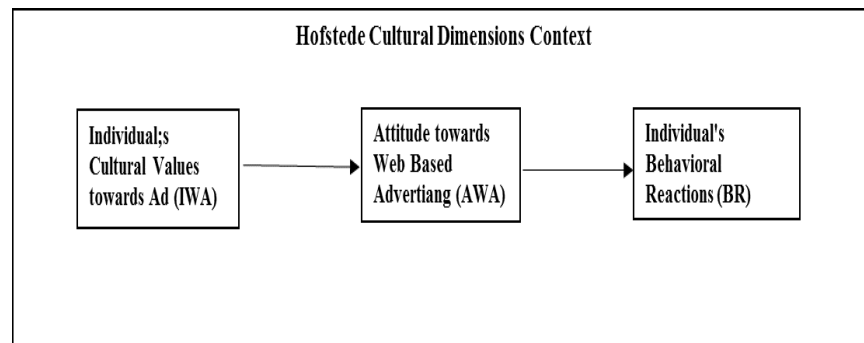
advertising and seem to realize the role of advertising in a free of charge market economy. Malaysian individuals tended to see advertising as interesting, gratifying and compelling interactive part. Extending this type of research in to the area of the web based situation, today's study investigates how individuals' AWA vary across three different cultures of the nations.

Table 1: A COMPARISON OF THE UNITED STATES, PAKISTAN AND MALAYSIA

Country	Individualism	Power Distance	Masculinity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Long-term orientation
United States	91	40	62	46	29
Pakistan	14	55	50	70	50
Malaysia	26	100	50	36	41

A Theoretical Model, Hypotheses and Research Question

This scholarly research suggested diverse style of AWA in a multicultural background. The following figure reveals theoretical research design. The recommended model theorizes that cultural value features about individual's perception with reference to the web based advertising attribute information, entertaining effect *on* AWA. Culture applies an extensive and profound effect on the individual's values, behavioural outcomes and AWA. Cultural background is linked with the theoretical model. The Hofstede cultural dimensions ensure to capture cultural variability in the phenomena of the web based advertising.



As deliberated above, earlier research implies individuals' values about web based advertising are constructively related with the (AWA). An optimistic (AWA) has an upright impact on behavioural reactions (*BR*).

Previous studies²⁵ suggest that cultural dissimilarities held in individuals' cultural values, attitudes and behaviors. Though, because of the inadequate investigation on comparing web based advertising amongst the United States. The study design enables to understand that the phenomena of the cultural values IWA and AWA and individual's reactions (*BR*) diverge transversely amongst the United States, Malaysia and Pakistan.

Method and participants

A survey of the 330 students 110 from each country was conducted to evaluate the influence of the individual's cultural values on the AWA and the web based BR. The selection of the sample is derived from the university student population from the three countries by using the purposive sampling as the previous studies on the cross national sphere used the same population.²⁶ The rationality to consider the student sample is requirement of the current study to consider the homogeneous nature of the sample which can be derived from the student's sample as suggested in the literature. The sample size is measured by

25 Rosemary Polegato and Rune Bjerke, "Cross-Cultural Differences in Ad Likeability and Ad Element Likeability: The Case of Benetton," *Journal of Promotion Management* 15, no. 3 (2009): 382-99; Young Sook Moon and Kara Chan, "Advertising Appeals and Cultural Values in Television commercials: A Comparison of Hong Kong and Korea," *International Marketing Review* 22, no. 1 (2005): 48-66.

26 Ralf Terlutter, Sandra Diehl, and Barbara Mueller, "The Cultural Dimension of Assertiveness in Cross-Cultural Advertising: The Perception and Evaluation of Assertive Advertising Appeals," *International Journal of Advertising* 29 (2010): 67-83.

using the Morgan table²⁷ which suggested that 330 sample size is appropriate for the said population.²⁸

Individual's Cultural Values about web based Advertising (IWA)

To account the individual's cultural values (IWA), a 33-item measure was taken from the earlier work of the Pollay & Mittal, the instrument is widely used in the advertising related studies and contained of items drawn from diverse extents of IWA such as information, materialistic, annoying, decent hedonic entertaining, credibility, persuasive, and misrepresent value and were based on a 7-point Likert scale stretching from 1 'strongly disagree' to 7 'strongly agree'. Principal component factor analysis with oblique rotation was performed to analyze the causal pattern of selected 33 items gauging IWA. The guidelines of a leasteigen value of 1.0 and at least 2 loading (60/40 loadings) per aspect were contextualized for the component factors. The reserved 5 factor clarified almost 62.6 percent, 53.5 percent, and 57.1 percent of the total adjustment for the United States, Pakistanis and Malaysian samples separately. All the reserved items from all three samples were utilized for further confirmatory factor analysis.

Attitudes Toward web Based Advertising (AWA)

To amount the AWA 5 items were used on a 7-point Likert scale. One item was deleted to increase the value of the Cronbach's a (from .72 to .79 for the Pakistan is participant's response, from .75 to .88 for the United States participant's response, and from .69 to .89 for the Malaysian participant's

27 John Figueras, "Morgan Revisited," *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* 33, no. 5 (1993): 717-18.

28 Kyongseok Kim et al., "Trends in Advertising Research: A Longitudinal Analysis of Leading Advertising, Marketing, and Communication Journals, 1980 to 2010," *Journal of Advertising* 43, no. 3 (2014): 296-316; James E. Bartlett, Joe W Kotrlik Joe W Kotrlik, and Cchcc Higgins, "Organizational Research: Determining Appropriate Sample Size in Survey Research Appropriate Sample Size in Survey Research," *Information Technology, Learning, and Performance Journal* 19, no. 1 (2001): 43-61.

response). The enduring 4 items assisted as the key to amount the (AWA). The higher the index score, the more positive attitude one holds toward web based advertising.

Consumer Behavioural Reactions (BR)

Behavioral reactions toward web based advertising (BR) were operationalized as the assortment of ad browsing and spending behaviour. Ad browsing was measured by the rate of recurrence of the individual's browsing on the web based advertising. Whereas, the web based spending practice was gauged in terms of the rate of recurrence of the web based buying. Participant's response was based on a 7-point Likert scale. Therefore, the BR was measured by 2 assorted concepts in the study.

Conclusion

The recent study contributes in the literature by recognizing the five most shared IWA features transversely the United States, Pakistanis and Malaysian participants. The conclusion of the analysis suggested that all aspects were noteworthy forecasters of the AWA, like other research done in the past. Amongst these factors, the IWA related to the thinking of the individual's in the economic context can be considered as the key feature forecasting the AWA. Individuals who have sense of trust that the web based advertising has an optimistic viewpoint about it and incline to have a positive AWA. The other attributes such as the credibility is the next important forecaster for AWA, precisely, when individuals consider web based advertising is reliable and truthful, they incline to have a more constructive AWA. Info is considered to be a shared cultural value about the advertising recognized by earlier studies. It is reasonably comprehensive that individuals who observe web based advertising to be instructive are more inclined towards it in all three nations under this study.

Entertaining is additional factor persuading the efficiency of the advertising by creating an emotive connection among individuals and communication as the results of this study

are evident. It also found that participants across the three countries (e.g. United States, Pakistan and Malaysia) found inclined towards it. Regarding cultural value deceptions, individuals are negatively inclined towards those web based advertising which depict the cultural values in a negative way or in a position to be seen as opposite to the values of the individuals. Therefore, if individual feels that the web based advertising demoralizes their societal value system; they tend to have negative behavioural reactions in response. In summary, the overhead argument proposes that all five cultural value influences produce important parts in forecasting individuals' AWA. Results also recommended that AWA, certainly and meaningfully forecasted the ad browsing and web based spending if the advertising relates to the individual's cultural values and its understanding. Therefore, the results of the study are constant with the attitude/behaviour connection revealed in the accessible literature.

Mediatization Compromising Democracy: A Case of Leading Pakistani Magazines

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Shafqat Munir**

ABSTRACT

The present study explores the direction and the space that monthly Herald, weeklies Friday Times and The News (Sunday) give in their editorials to democracy. An attempt was made to explain if these magazines facilitate parliamentarians to follow political logic that requires them to do legislation in the interest of democracy or influence them to follow media logic that pushes them towards pursuing populism and go for generalization/simplification of issues, a phased process which has been defined as mediatization of politics. Theories of mediatization, media's social responsibility and framing were applied to reach a conclusion. During the study period starting from 2007 to 2010, monthly Herald produced 36 issues, weeklies Friday Times and The News on Sunday 144 issues each. Content of all editions of the selected magazines was distributed among three following categories: democracy in general, parliament and political parties. It was hypothesized that the

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selected magazines rely on generalization/simplification of the issues related to democracy. Mean and standard deviation of the aforementioned categories of editorial content of the selected magazines proved the hypothesis. However, when t-test was applied to draw comparison, the result showed that Herald treated the matter more responsibly than The News on Sunday and Friday Times.

Introduction

Definitions of democracy abound but this inquiry only touched upon its institutions and the role of leading Pakistani magazines.

According to Jaffrelot

Since achieving its independence in 1947, Pakistan has had three constitutions and experienced four military coups. This alternation of civil and military regimes, which have succeeded each other at intervals of about ten years, is a striking contrast to the stability of the institutions of Indian neighbour, which has experienced only one non-democratic interval of eighteen months' duration in 1975-77. How can two states born of the same proto-parliamentary British regime have diverged so much?¹

The country alternated between dictatorships to controlled democracy, which led to separation of East Pakistan.² If one sees Zulfikar Ali Bhutto era, with the benefit of hindsight, one would have to agree that it was a 'false dawn of democracy' that gave birth to the worst of extremism – Zia's Islamisation.³ Zia's era has been notorious for media gags because it was a dictatorship that generally does not give

1 C. Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origins* vol. 1 (Anthem Press, 2000), 61.

2 Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*; C. Lamb, *Waiting for Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991).

3 Lamb, *Waiting for Allah*.

media breathing space.⁴ After Zia, the country could not come out of the vicious cycle of 'diarchy'.⁵

In a bid to make an explanation of the current situation, Lamb mentions:

Jinnah's dream of democratic Pakistan died in 1958 with the first army rule. Whether politician or grinning generals are on top, it is still the same coterie of elite ruling the country with no interest in the masses while the mullahs who have been trounced in Pakistan's three elections continue to exert control.⁶

People even have forgotten their identities and they pursue just one goal: to make both ends meet. It is not but because of a deficit of democracy.⁷ Ultimately, it degenerates into a sense of 'distrust' that breeds extremities of many kinds; the mildest among these is an urge for 'direct democracy', like referendums.⁸ With the passage of time, these extremities get popular.⁹ A state of lawlessness is created unnoticed within states. This happens at times when, theorists believe, 'law does not only exist inside state' but it goes beyond.¹⁰ Its domino effect of democracy deficit goes a long way towards terrorism, even beyond borders as research has proven that 'democracy reduces trans-national terrorism'.¹¹

Pakistan is witnessing the climax of devastation born out of the democratic deficit or more to the point lack of activism of

4 Zameer Niazi, *Press in Chains* (Karachi Press Club, 1986), 5-10.

5 Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*.

6 Lamb, *Waiting for Allah*, 35.

7 J. S. Dryzek, "Deliberative Democracy in Divided Societies: Alternatives to Agonism and Analgesia," *Political Theory* 33 (April 2005): 218-42.

8 S. Bowler, T. Donovan, and J. A. Karp, "Engaged or Enraged? Preferences for Direct Citizen Participation in Affluent Democracies," *Political Research Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2007): 351-62.

9 Bowler, Donovan and Karp, "Engaged or Enraged."

10 N. MacCormick, "Democracy, Subsidiarity, and Citizenship in the European Commonwealth," *Law and Philosophy* 16, no. 4 (1997): 331-56.

11 Q. Li, "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 2 (2005): 278-97.

democratic institutions. One way to plug this gap is to initiate 'programs aiming to strengthen democracy through civic education'. Civic education creates 'media bias' among audience but helps 'conscientious consumers' of media seek information from many media channels.¹² De Beer and Merrill explain that it might not be 'media bias'. International surveys show that residents of Middle Eastern countries, where media is hobbled, express trust in the media while residents of liberal countries like the US and UK where media exercises relatively more freedom take their media with a pinch of salt.¹³

The News reported that Senators were of the opinion that there should be a legislation envisaging the establishment of a high court in the federal capital.¹⁴ Another good move towards legislation was that the Senate unanimously passed the Election Laws Amendment Bill 2009.¹⁵ Barring a few legislative moves, the Upper House remained engaged in controversies and personal agenda.¹⁶ According to *Dawn*, Senators called for a judicial inquiry into the Karachi attack on an Ashura procession and subsequent acts of arson, loot and target killings. They expressed concern over the deteriorating law and order situation in the city.¹⁷

However, the performance of the Senate, in 2009, clearly suggests that it failed to deliver. Instead, a good piece of legislation aimed to protect women and children's rights unanimously passed by the National Assembly lapsed in the Senate since it could not be brought on the agenda of the house within permitted ninety (90) days.¹⁸ Senator Raza

12 Y. Xiang, & M. Sarvary, "News Consumption and Media Bias," *Marketing Science* 26. no.5 (2007), 611-28.

13 A. De Beer, C. J. Merrill, *Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems* (New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Limited, 2011)

14 *The News*, 2009.

15 *The News*, 2009.

16 *The News*, 2009; *The Nation*, 2009; *Dawn*, 2009.

17 *Dawn*, 2010.

18 *Dawn*, 2010.

Rabbani presented the recommendations of Parliament's Committee on National Security in the Senate. The Senate also stood against screening of Pakistanis at the US entry points.¹⁹

If one takes a glance at the working of the National Assembly (NA), the scenario is not much different. Clearly standing up to the parliament, some leading newspapers made headlines as partial as "Army, nation, parliament on one side, Zardari the other" or "will he, or will they?" Examples are rife about such subtle attempts on part of the media to undercut democratic institutions and process. Because of this attitude, when media was criticized, journalists walk out of NA.²⁰ Unsavoury remarks continued to appear in NA proceedings.²¹

A report published by Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) in 2009, says that Members of Provincial Assemblies) MPs were not playing effectively the role of custodians of democracy. In 2009, NA passed 15 bills; Parliament held three joint sessions, passed money bill, Nizam-e-Adl Regulation and approved first military operation in Swat on May 12.²² On April 10, the NA approved the formation of a body to discuss the implementation of the Charter of Democracy. After its unanimous approval by the Upper House, NA Speaker Fehmida Mirza on June 23, 2009, announced a 27-member special parliamentary committee to revisit the 17th Amendment and propose reforms in the constitution. Another Special Parliamentary Committee on National Security also met several times in 2009 to give parliamentary input to the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Defence regarding the security of the country in the context of regional geo-political situation with particular reference to the war on terror. The Senate

19 *The News*, 2010

20 *The News*, 2009.

21 *The News*, 2009.

22 *Daily Times*, 2009.

elections were conducted on March 4, in the four provinces as well as in federal capital in which the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) emerged as majority party in the Upper House. On March 8, PPP-backed Farooq Naik was elected chairman of the Senate. Raza Rabbani, who was expecting the slot, resigned from the positions of the leader of the House in the Senate and federal minister for Inter-Provincial Coordination. In 2009, three joint sessions of parliament were held.

The first joint sitting was held on March 28, which was addressed by President Asif Ali Zardari. He said that he would lift governor's rule in Punjab and the PPP would support the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) candidate for the slot of chief minister but the party would sit on opposition benches in the province. He also asked the PPP government to make arrangements to repeal amendments introduced by dictatorships in the constitution. The second joint session of parliament was held on October 26, which was addressed by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The Aghaze Haqooqe Balochistan [Beginning of the rights of Balochistan] package was presented in the joint session of parliament on November 24. Another important event in the country's parliamentary history took place on April 13 when the NA passed the Nizam-e-Adl Regulation 2009. Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) opposed the regulation and staged a walkout from the assembly. President Zardari signed it after getting approval of the parliament.

As the security situation dominated parliamentary debates in the year 2009, the NA approved first military operation in Swat on May 12. On June 13, State Minister for Finance, Hina Rabbani Khar presented the 2009-2010 Budget, which was unanimously passed on June 20. The government was compelled by the opposition parties to withdraw the carbon tax from the money bill.²³

23 Bukhari, 2010.

Rais asks that why performance of these democratic institutions is below the mark?²⁴ It is generally the feudal political culture which sustained oppression and discrimination against the lower caste. Media certainly has a role to play in this regard. If one looks at media agenda, the most critical issue in Pakistan is neither Kashmir, nor Talibanisation, nor even the people's economic plight, it is the urgency of pushing a 'stubborn person' out of the presidency or repeal of the 17th Amendment).²⁵

Rizvi pointed out that parties like Jama'at-e Islami and Pakistan Tehrik-e Insaf, who boycotted 2008 elections also try to derail democracy.²⁶ Rehman calls it a suicidal mindset that is undermining the democratic institutions. He believes top politicians have resumed their favourite game of mutual annihilation. He concludes that the people have a right to ask why media cannot take up the Nazir Abbasi murder case or Asghar Khan's petition.²⁷ And why should anyone be allergic to digging up old graves? Didn't the chief justice of the country offer the hanging of the dead body of Oliver Cromwell as a precedent worth emulating? Answers of these questions have been explored in the selected Pakistani magazines to assess their role in compromising democracy.

Mediatization of politics

Politicians presume that media has influence not only on the society but also their peers. The presumed media influence directs energies of the politicians towards what can be covered by media even at the cost of what they are meant to do i.e. legislation.²⁸

24 Rais, 2009.

25 Rehman, 2009.

26 Rizvi, 2009.

27 Rehman, 2009.

28 J. Cohen, Y. Tsfati, & T. Sheafer, "The Influence of Presumed Media Influence on Politics: Do Politicians' Perception of Media Power Matter," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72, no 2 (Summer 2008), 331-44.

Lundby identified this process as mediatisation of politics and went on to assert that in the contemporary world, it governs the theories of agenda setting.²⁹ Kriesi et al, mention that mediatisation of politics clouds the concepts of decision making due to populism but they stopped short of offering a theory of mediatisation.³⁰ Strömbäck identifies it as a phased process culminating into gradual adaptation of media logic that calls for controversies and simplification/generalization of issues by politicians. This research is focused on one aspect of this process, which is about how media offers its logic to the politicians and masses alike.³¹

Framing the Concept

Framing theory helps understand as to how some incident is being portrayed in a specific story or in an article. According to F. Gitlin, frames in media are “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organise discourse, whether verbal or visual.” He goes on to dub media ‘mirrors in fun hours.’³²

Entman calls media mobile spotlights, and rejected the concept of media being mirrors of the society. He says media is always selective and every news story has a frame.³³ A story is a choice, a way of seeing an event that also amounts to a way of screening from sight,

He explains the concept of framing which some aspects of a perceived reality are selected and made more salient, in

29 K. Lundby, *Mediatization: Concepts, Challenges, Consequences* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing. Inc., 2007).

30 H. Kriesi et al., *Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century* (Switzerland: NCCR, 2009).

31 Strömbäck, 2008.

32 T. Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1980).

33 R. M. Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58.

such a way that promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation. Media producers select a story and reject others. They then manipulate facts which they call giving an angle/ perspective or theme. This is how framing is done.³⁴

Generally, news frames are made through some metaphors, symbols and visual images and certain words that are pressed upon in editorials. These angles are kept being repeated, reinforced and placed prominently so that they stay alive in memory of the audience for a long time. Extending Gitlin's work on media frames, Hackett says events are presented in accordance with an ideology-driven framework.³⁵

Hypothesis

Editorials of the selected magazines generalize themes of democracy more than treating the issues specific to performance of parliament and political parties.

Methodology

Content analysis as defined by Berelson is a research technique.³⁶ Krippendorff defines it as a research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context.³⁷ Kerlinger's definition is fairly typical: content analysis is a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables.³⁸

Holsti gives five general guidelines:

1. Choose a universe or sample of contents

34 Hughes, 1997.

35 Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching*; Hackett, 1984.

36 B. Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (New York: Free Press, 1952).

37 K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980).

38 F. Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research* e.d II (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973).

2. Establish a category frame of external referents relevant to the purpose of the inquiry
3. Choose a unit of analysis from the content (word, sentences, item, story, picture, sequence, etc.)
4. Match content analysis to category frame by counting the frequency of the references to items in the category frame, per chosen unit of content; and (5) express the result as an overall distribution of the total universe or sample.³⁹

For this purpose, three magazines have been selected: monthly *The Herald*, weekly *Friday Times* and weekly *The News* on Sunday/Encore. Herald associated with Dawn Group of Newspapers, *The News* on Sunday/Encore with Jang Group of Publications and *Friday Times* is published by Jugnu Mohsin and edited by Najam Sethi. All editions of these magazines from January 2008 to December 2010 have been selected for the study totalling 36 months.

Unit of analysis and Sample

Paragraph of editorials of the selected magazines was selected as unit of analysis. Sample of the study is editorials of three magazines: *The Herald*, *Friday Times* and *The News* on Sunday.

Categories of analysis

Content have been put mainly in three categories:

1. Democracy
2. Political Parties
3. Parliament

Direction of the Content

To measure direction of editorials of *The Herald*, *Friday Times*, *The News* on Sunday, the researchers relied on the method that Berelson called 'the total problem' or 'the totality of the impression'. This totality of impression was used to

39 O. R. Holsti, *Content Analysis of the Social Science and Humanities: Reading* (MA: Addison Wesley Company, 1969).

determine the 'direction' or 'orientation' of communication related to framing.⁴⁰ To determine direction of content of editorials, data were ranked on a free point scale.

Discussion and Conclusion

Masses obey laws of the state and in return the state protects their rights and gives them security. Though not the ideal, but better than other systems of governance is democracy.

The study refers that *The Herald*, *Friday Times* and *The News* on Sunday have editorialized the general issues related to democracy. In comparison with *The Herald*, *Friday Times* gave more space to political parties and *The Herald* gave more space to the issues generally related to democracy. Also, in comparison with *The News* on Sunday, *The Herald* gave more space to democracy and *The News* on Sunday editorialized all other categories more than *The Herald*.

The difference between *Friday Times* and *The News* on Sunday is highly significant in treatment of all three categories. *Friday Times* focused only on general form of democracy and political parties while *The News* on Sunday editorialized parliament.

Analyzing the findings, it can be concluded that *The News* on Sunday has heterogeneity in its content while *The Herald* and *Friday Times* are politically driven to a larger extent.

At a time when the modern world is investing huge sums of money in educating people as to how to improve living standards and protect human rights through E-democracy,⁴¹ our magazine editors seem to be haunted by a wild goose

40 B. Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (New York: Free Press, 1952), cited in *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*, 159; R. D. Wimmer, and J. R. Dominick, *Mass Media Research* (California: Wordsworth Publishing Company, 1991), 165.

41 P. Gustafsson, *e-Service Journal* 2, no. 1, Special Issue: e-Democracy in Practice (Fall 2002): 114132.

chase for undemocratic solutions to democratic problems. *Friday Times* and *The News* on Sunday indicated at many times that the parliament lacked a solution to governance problems such as corruption, unemployment, terrorism and law and order. This practice unsayingly goes to embolden undemocratic players.⁴² One reason for more coverage to democracy in general is observed to be association of terrorism and international conflicts, of which Pakistan is a major part, with democracy. Had it not been the case, the quantity of content of editorials on democracy would have been lesser than reported.

42 Easterly, *et al.*, 2006.

گلگت میں مذہب اسماعیلیہ کے ورود کا ایک تحقیقی جائزہ
(A Research on the Entrance of Ismailia in Gilgit)

Dr. Sajjad Ali Raeesi*

ABSTRACT

The small group of Shiits after Hazrat Imam Jaffar Sadiq followed his elder son Hazrat Ismail as their spiritual imam and are known as Ismailia. Moreover, the Ismailis were divided into two sub sects, i.e. Ismaili Mustalia known as Bohri and Ismaili Nazaria known as Agha Khanis. With the passing of time, the center of Nazari Fatimid dynasty shifted from Africa to North of Iran and subsequently the Ismaili preachers entered into subcontinent. Thus the era of Ismaili in Subcontinent begun. Gilgit is located in northern areas of Pakistan with a huge population consisting of followers of Agha Khan. Owing to prejudicial and biased approach towards religion and sectarian intolerance the majority of people have poor understanding and knowledge of other sects. It must be noted that in this region the majority of population belongs to Asna Ashria Shiits, followed by Ahl-e-Sunnat (Deoband) the Agha Khanis are at third number in this row. In such a diverse population, ignorance to each other's sects, faiths and beliefs lead to religious ignorance and ultimately bring chaos, confusion, religious intolerance and sectarian clashes. To avoid such clashes and tension, it

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is necessary to promote true spirit, understanding and message of Islam along with knowledge of each sect. In Gilgit the Shias and Sunnis enjoy, cordial relation with strong social contact. However, people are volatile about Agha Khanis and Ismailis Shiits. This creates misunderstanding among common man against them. Even people avoid social contact with them. This requires proper study and unbiased research regarding their faith. This paper investigates the origin arrival and practices of Ismailis' faith in Gilgit.

Introduction

Gilgit is located in the northern part of Pakistan. People of different creeds are residing in this beautiful region. They include Shia, Sunni and Ismaili. Knowledge about Ismaili beliefs and historical background of their religious concepts has not been conveyed to the people of the world. Hardly any written document is traced which could provide first-hand information about their particular creed that is why this topic is chosen.

Central Theme

A new research has been conducted on Ismaili sect which explores that it reached Gilgit in the Eleventh Century after the advent of Shia and Sunni sects. On the contrary, Hunza Valley, a part of this region had been under the rule of Shia for about two hundred years. In the beginning of the Thirteenth Century Ismaili missionaries projected their creed powerfully and the residents had embraced Ismaili beliefs. Apart from Hunza Valley, Bashmool Yaseen, Gopas, Pinyal this sect has quickly spread to other parts of the globe.

مقدمہ

عالم اسلام میں اہل سنت کے بعد دوسرا بڑا فرقہ اہل تشیع ہے۔ اس فرقہ کے کچھ ذیلی فرقے ہیں جن میں سے ایک مشہور فرقہ اسماعیلیہ ہے اور یہ مزید دو گروہوں میں منقسم ہے۔ ایک اسماعیلیہ مستعالیہ جس کو موجودہ دور میں بوہری جبکہ دوسرا گروہ اسماعیلیہ نزاریہ جس کو موجودہ دور میں آغاخانی کے نام سے پہچانا جاتا ہے۔ مقالہ ہذا میں شیعہ اسماعیلیہ مبارکیہ قاسمیہ (آغاخانیہ) کے لئے صرف اسماعیلیہ اور جبکہ شیعہ اثنا عشریہ کے لئے صرف شیعہ کی اصطلاحات استعمال ہوئی ہیں۔ اس

مذہب کے ماننے والے پاکستان کے دیگر علاقوں کے مقابلے میں گلگت میں زیادہ بستے ہیں۔ گلگت بلتستان وہ خطہ ہے جس کو چند سال قبل تک شمالی علاقہ جات سے پہچانا جاتا تھا۔ گزشتہ حکومت نے اس خطہ کا نام سرکاری سطح پر 'گلگت بلتستان' رکھا۔ چونکہ بلتستان تاریخ میں کبھی بھی مذہب اسماعیلیہ کا مسکن نہیں رہا ہے اس لئے بلتستان کو موضوع کا حصہ نہیں بنایا گیا ہے۔ البتہ گلگت میں اسماعیلیہ مذہب کب اور کیسے پہنچا اسی تناظر میں مقالہ ہذا کو تحریر کیا گیا ہے۔

گلگت بلتستان کی قدیم تاریخ کے بارے میں جو متفرق معلومات مورخین نے فراہم کی ہیں اس کے مطابق اس علاقے میں سب سے قدیم پلولانا می (چائے) ریاست قائم رہی ہے۔

Between 399 and 414, The Chinese Buddhist Pilgrim Faxian visited Gilgit Baltistan while in Sixth Century the King Somana ruled in Palola (greater Gilgit-Chilas). Between 627 and 645: The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang (Hsüan-tsang) travelled through this region. From 644 to 655, 671: Navasurendrādityanandi was King of Palola (Gilgit). In 706-707 Jayamañgalavikramādityanandi became the King of Palola.¹

پلولار ریاست میں باضابطہ کوئی مذہب موجود نہیں تھا بلکہ زیادہ تر ادھام پرستی، سنگ پرستی، بت پرستی، شجر پرستی اور مظاہر قدرت کی پوجا پاٹ جیسے نظریات موجود تھے۔ پلولار حکمرانوں نے 755 عیسوی تک اس ریاست پر حکومت کی پھر تبتی حکمرانوں نے قبضہ کیا اور یوں پلولار کی سینکڑوں سال سے قائم حکومت کا خاتمہ ہو گیا۔

The socio-political conditions that produced Tan Buddhist art discussed here changed by the mid Eighth Century, when China's political might began to disintegrate and its territory Shrank. Defeated by the Arab, at the Talas River in 751, China lost the heart of central Asia to Islam as well as its supremacy over the Silk Road. The Chinese northwest was threatened by Tibetans, who even conquered in 756.²

تبتی حکمران بھی پلولار کی طرح بدھ مذہب کے پیروکار تھے اس لئے اس خطے میں بدھ مذہب عروج پر رہا۔ تبتیوں کے دور میں گلگت میں اسلام کے پہنچنے کا کوئی تحریری مواد موجود نہیں ہے تاہم ایک نقطے کو نظر انداز نہیں کیا جاسکتا ہے۔ ”عباسی

¹ <http://www.ainycooks.com/manthal-buddha-rock-skardu>

² Angela Falco Howard, *Chinese Sculpture (China: Yale University Press, 2006)*. 315.

افواج اور چینی شہنشاہ زوان ڈونگ (Xuandong) کی افواج کے درمیان موجودہ کرغستان کے علاقے میں دریائے طلاس کے قریب 134ھ / 751ء میں ایک جنگ ہوئی جو کہ ”جنگ طلاس“ کہلاتی ہے۔ اس جنگ میں مسلمانوں کو فتح حاصل ہوئی اور اس علاقے پر اہل چین کا اقتدار ہمیشہ کے لیے ختم ہو گیا۔ یہ علاقہ کاغذ اور ریشم کی انڈسٹری کا مرکز تھا“³۔

اس جنگ میں عباسی حکمرانوں نے گلگت کے تبتیوں سے مل کر چینوں کو شکست دی تھی۔ عباسیوں کا جنگ کرنے کا مقصد اسلام کا ابلاغ نہیں تھا بلکہ معاشی مفادات کی خاطر یہ جنگ لڑی تھی تاہم عباسیوں کے مسلمان ہونے کے ناطے یقیناً اسلام کا پیغام پہلے پہل سینٹرل ایشیاء میں پہنچا ہو گا۔ گلگت کے حکمرانوں نے عباسیوں کا ساتھ دیا تو پھر تو یہ بات قرین قیاس ہے کہ اسی دور میں گلگت کے مختلف علاقوں میں بھی مسلمان آئے ہوں گے اور اسلام پہلے پہل اس علاقے میں پہنچا ہو گا۔ اس بات کی تائید اس وجہ سے بھی ہوتی ہے کہ گلگت اور چترال کے بعض علاقوں کے رہن سہن اور کلچر میں سینٹرل ایشیاء سے کافی مماثلت اب بھی پائی جاتی ہے۔ یہاں تک کہ موجودہ مشہور شاہراہ قرقم کو شاہراہ ریشم (Silk Road) بھی کہا جاتا ہے جس کا تاریخی تعلق معرکہ طلاس سے ملتا ہے۔ گلگت کی قدیم تاریخ کے بارے میں مواد موجود نہیں ہے اس لئے اس بات کی تائید میں کوئی تحریری دلیل پیش نہیں کی جاسکتی۔ البتہ اگر اس بات کو تسلیم کیا جائے کہ اس دور میں اسلام کا پیغام اس خطے میں آیا ہے تو وہ اسماعیلیہ مذہب نہیں ہو سکتا ہے کیونکہ عباسی بنیادی طور پر مذہب اسماعیلیہ کے شدید مخالف تھے اس لئے یہ ممکن نہیں ہے کہ مذہب اسماعیلیہ اس دور میں یہاں آیا ہو۔

بعض محققین کی رائے ہے کہ ساتویں صدی عیسوی میں زرتشتیوں نے (قدیم فارس کا مذہب) گلگت کے بعض علاقوں بالخصوص ہنزہ اور نگر میں خود مختار ریاستیں قائم کی۔ ان ریاستوں میں تاراخان راجوں کی حکومت قائم ہوئی۔ ایرانی مبلغین کی وجہ سے تاراخان راجے شیعہ ہوئے تھے اس لئے سینکڑوں سالوں سے اس خطے میں شیعہ راجے حکومت کیا کرتے تھے۔ تاہم ایک اسماعیلی سپہ سالار کے گلگت پر حملہ آور ہونے کے نتیجے میں حکمران راجوں نے وقتی طور پر مذہب اسماعیلیہ کو قبول کیا۔ مشہور مورخ احمد حسن دانی کے مطابق تاراخان راجوں نے 1241-1449ء تک حکومت کی ہے۔ اسی دوران ایک شخص جس کا نام تاج مغل تھا، بدخشاں کی طرف سے چترال اور یاسین کو فتح کرتے ہوئے گلگت پر حملہ آور ہوا اور تاراخان حکمران سے گلگت کا تخت چھین لیا۔ چونکہ یہ اسماعیلی عقیدے کے حامل تھے اسی لئے انہوں نے گلگت میں پہلی مرتبہ اسماعیلیت کو پھیلانے میں بڑا کردار ادا کیا۔ تاراخان راجے نے اپنی حکمت عملی کو بروئے کار لاتے ہوئے فاتح حکمرانوں کا

3۔ محمد مبشر نذیر، امت مسلمہ کی دعوتی، علمی اور تہذیبی تاریخ (علوم اسلامیہ پروگرام- www.islamic

مذہب قبول کیا اور بطور نمائندہ تاج مغل کے تراخان نے اپنی راجگی قائم رکھی⁴۔ یہ بات قرین قیاس ہے کہ تاج مغل کے بعد گلگت بشمول ہنزہ نگر میں اسی دور میں مذہب اسماعیلیہ پہنچا ہو، تاہم کچھ عرصہ بعد تاراخان کے حکمرانوں نے دوبارہ شیعہ اثنا عشریہ مذہب قبول کیا۔ یاد رہے کہ نویں صدی میں یہ خطہ مقامی ریاستوں میں بٹ گیا تھا، جن میں سکرو کے مقبوں اور ہنزہ کے تراکھان خاندان مشہور ہیں۔ اسی زمانے میں گلگت کی سرحد پر ہنزہ اور نگر دو چھوٹی چھوٹی ریاستیں قائم ہوئیں⁵۔ مقبوں شیعہ تھے لہذا بلتستان میں صرف شیعہ مذہب ہی پہنچا جبکہ ریاست نگر کی رعیت بھی شیعہ ہوئی اور آج بھی وادی نگر میں صرف شیعہ بستے ہیں، جبکہ ریاست ہنزہ میں اسماعیلیہ مذہب موجود ہے۔ البتہ جس تاج مغل کا کثرت سے تذکرہ اسماعیلی مورخین کرتے ہیں کہ وہ ایک اسماعیلی عقیدے کا حامل شخص تھا جس نے اسماعیلیت کو پھیلانے کے لئے گلگت پر حملہ کیا تھا اور بعد ازاں انہوں نے ہنزہ اور چترال وغیرہ پر بھی قبضہ کر کے اسماعیلیت کو پھیلانے میں اہم کردار ادا کیا۔ لیکن غیر اسماعیلی مورخین بالخصوص گلگت سے باہر کے محققین اور مورخین کے مآخذ میں اس کا ذکر نہیں ملتا ہے۔ ”شمال کی طرف صرف ایک علاقہ رہ جاتا ہے جہاں سے تاج مغل کا تعلق ممکن ہو سکتا ہے یعنی بدخشان۔ بدخشان میں اسماعیلی آبادی موجود ہے، بلکہ کسی زمانے میں یہاں کے حکمران بھی اسماعیلی مذہب سے تعلق رکھتے تھے۔ بدخشان میں کئی قبائل مغل کہلاتے ہیں، جیسے علی مغل، چچچی مغل، چرغی مغل اور یاک مغل وغیرہ۔ یہ سارے قبائل تاجک نہیں بلکہ ترک ہیں۔ ہو سکتا ہے ان میں سے کوئی قبائلی سردار جس کا نام تاج ہو، لوٹ مار کی غرض چترال کی طرف آیا ہو۔ اور اسکے ذریعے سے اسماعیلی مذہب کا تعارف یہاں ہوا ہو“⁶۔

اسماعیلی مورخین اس بات پر متفق ہیں کہ گلگت میں سب سے پہلے اسماعیلیت کو پہنچانے والے بدخشاں کا یہی سپہ سالار تاج مغل ہے۔ لیکن یہ بات قطعی ہے کہ تاج مغل کا گلگت کے دیگر علاقوں میں اسماعیلیت کے ابلاغ میں کوئی کردار نہیں ہے۔ گلگت کا سب سے اہم تاریخی علاقہ ہنزہ نگر ہے۔ چونکہ اس خطے کے حکمران شیعہ تھے اس لئے اس علاقے کی آبادی کلی طور پر شیعہ تھی۔ مشہور اسماعیلی داعی فدا علی ایثار تحریر کرتے ہیں۔ ”سن 955ھ بمطابق 1548ء کے آس پاس ہنزہ میں اسلام وارد ہوا ہے اور میر عیاشوٹانی سے میر سلیم ثانی تک اہل ہنزہ کا مذہب اثنا عشری رہا ہے جو دو سو نوے سال کی مدت پر محیط ہے“⁷۔

⁴ Ahmad Hassan Dani, *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural research, Islamabad, 1991), 169-72.

⁵ چراغ حسن حسرت، کشمیر، (لاہور: قومی کتاب خانہ، 15 جنوری 1948ء) باب اول، ص 06

⁶ <http://maharaka.com/ChitralEarlyHistory.html>

⁷ فدا علی ایثار، شمالی علاقہ جات میں اسماعیلی دعوت (پاکستان: شیعہ اہل اسماعیلی طریقہ ابنزریلیہیں ایجوکیشن بورڈ برائے پاکستان، ڈکڑو ڈکڑاچی، 1996ء) ص 19۔

لہذا ہنزہ میں اسماعیلیت سے قبل شیعیت آئی ہے تاہم شیعہ حکمران میر سلیم خان ثانی نے ایک سید سہراب ولی کی نسل سے ایک داعی سید شاہ اردبیل کے ہاتھوں اسماعیلی دعوت قبول کی۔ میر سلیم خان کی اسماعیلیت کو قبول کرنے کے باوجود ہنزہ میں اسماعیلی مذہب کو کافی عرصہ ترویج نہیں ہونے دیا گیا تاہم کچھ سالوں بعد ایک اور داعی سید یاقوت شاہ کے ہاتھوں اس وقت کے میر آف ہنزہ میر غضنفر علی خان (اول) نے ان کے ہاتھوں پر بیعت کر کے اسماعیلی مذہب قبول کیا۔⁸

البتہ یہ خیال رکھا جائے کہ اس زمانے میں دین میں عمل پیرا ہونے میں شیعہ و اسماعیلیہ میں ظاہری طور پر کوئی خاص فرق نہیں تھا۔ ممکن ہے کہ سادات کی جو قدر و منزلت معاشرے میں پائی جاتی تھی اسی تناظر میں ہنزہ کے راجا نے سید یعقوب شاہ کو اپنا پیشوا تسلیم کیا ہو۔ کیونکہ یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ میروں نے اپنے آبائی مذہب شیعہ اثنا عشریہ کو ترک نہیں کیا تھا۔ یہاں تک آج بھی ہنزہ کے میروں کے بارے میں بعض لوگوں کا یہی خیال ہے کہ ان کا تعلق شیعہ اثنا عشریہ مذہب سے ہے۔ یہی وجہ لگتی ہے کہ آج سے چند سال قبل تک ہنزہ کے لوگ دین کے ظواہر پر عمل پیرا تھے۔ شیعہ مذہب کی طرح عزاداری کیا کرتے تھے۔ اس وقت یہ لوگ اسماعیلیہ کے بجائے شیعہ سے پہچانے جاتے تھے۔ تاہم اسماعیلیوں کے اڑتالیسواں امام حضرت سلطان محمد شاہ کی کاوشوں سے گلگت کے اسماعیلیوں نے اسماعیلیت کی نئی شکل و تعبیر کے مطابق زندگی گزارنا شروع کی۔ موجودہ گلگت بلتستان کے گورنر میر غضنفر علی (دوم) بھی اسی سلسلے سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں۔

عمومی طور پر یہ سمجھا جاتا ہے کہ گلگت میں سب سے پہلے اسماعیلیہ مذہب پہنچا ہے۔ لیکن گلگت کی تاریخ کے بنیادی مواد سے یہ بات ثابت نہیں ہوتی۔ گلگت بلتستان دو بڑے ڈویژنز پر مشتمل ہے۔ بلتستان ڈویژن میں تو مذہب اسماعیلیہ کبھی پہنچا ہی نہیں جبکہ گلگت میں یہ مذہب تراکھان راجگی کے دور میں تاج الدین مغل کے گلگت پر حملہ آور ہونے کے نتیجے میں 1310ء کے بعد پہنچا ہے۔ جبکہ اس کے مقابلے میں شیعہ اثنا عشریہ گلگت میں دو سو سال قبل پہنچا تھا۔ ”یہ امر زیادہ قرین قیاس ہے کہ تاج الدین مغل بدخشاں کے اسماعیلی حکمرانوں کا ایک سپہ سالار تھا جو یہاں پر حملہ آور ہوا۔ البتہ تاج الدین مغل کے حملے سے پہلے گلگت میں اثنا عشری مذہب رائج تھا“۔⁹ دسویں صدی عیسوی میں ایران سے آئے ہوئے مبلغین کے ذریعے سب سے پہلے شیعہ مذہب گلگت بلتستان پہنچا۔ تاہم گلگت کے جنوبی علاقوں چلاس، داریل، تانگیر اور استور وغیرہ میں کشمیر اور کوہستان کی طرف سے سنی مذہب سب سے پہلے پہنچا۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ آج کے دور میں گلگت میں شیعہ کے بعد اہل سنت دوسرا بڑا مسلک ہے۔

8 ایثار، شمالی علاقہ جات میں اسماعیلی دعوت، ص 26۔

9 ایثار، شمالی علاقہ جات میں اسماعیلی دعوت (پاکستان: شیعہ امامی اسماعیلی طریقہ انڈر پلیٹس ایجوکیشن بورڈ برائے پاکستان، ڈکریڈوڈ کراچی، 1996)، ص 15۔

گلگت میں اسماعیلیت پہنچنے کے حوالے سے پیر ناصر خسرو کے کردار کو نظر انداز نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ پیر ناصر خسرو نے اسلام کی تبلیغ کے لئے بدخشاں کے علاقے یمگان کو مرکز بنایا تھا۔ اس دعوتی مرکز کے ایام میں پیر ناصر خسرو نے نہ صرف فارس اور افغانستان کے مختلف علاقوں بلکہ ہندو چین کے شمالی علاقہ جات میں اسماعیلیہ مذہب کو پہنچانے کے لئے مختلف داعیوں کو ان علاقوں میں بھیجا۔ البتہ یہ ثابت کرنا بہت مشکل ہے کہ آپ خود ان علاقوں میں کتنی دفعہ اور کن جگہوں میں تشریف لائے۔ آپ سے منسوب کتاب گوہر راز میں چین، افغانستان، ہندوستان کے علاقوں میں تبلیغ دین کا تذکرہ موجود ہے۔ تاہم اس کتاب سے بھی واضح طور پر یہ ثابت نہیں ہوتا ہے کہ آپ خود ان علاقوں میں بنفس نفیس تشریف لائے تھے لیکن یہ بات یقینی ہے کہ آپ نے اپنے شاگردوں کو اسلام کی تبلیغ کے لئے بدخشاں سے باہر بھیجا۔ پیر ناصر خسرو کے بھیجے ہوئے داعیوں کا چترال میں آنا تو قطعی ہے لیکن گلگت میں ان کی آمد کا کوئی تحریری مواد موجود نہیں ہے۔ یہاں تک دور حاضر کے مذہب اسماعیلیہ کے مشہور مورخ اور داعی فدا علی ایثار لکھتے ہیں۔ ”گلگت میں اسماعیلی دعوت کا آغاز 1310ء کے بعد ہوا جو پیر ناصر خسرو کی تاریخ وفات کے تقریباً دو سو بائیس سال بعد کا زمانہ ہے“¹⁰۔

پیر ناصر خسرو کی طرف سے بھیجے گئے اولین داعیوں میں سب سے بڑا نام سید سہراب ولی کا آتا ہے جنہیں چترال میں اسماعیلیت کا بانی کہا جاسکتا ہے۔ ایک روسی متشرق سید سہراب ولی کے بارے میں لکھتے ہیں۔ ”پیر ناصر خسرو نے ایک نایاب کتاب وجہ الدین خوجہ عمریگی کو دیا۔ دوسری کتابیں سید سہراب ولی کو دی ہیں۔ یہ دو شخصیات دعوت کے حلقے میں پیر ناصر خسرو کے جانشینوں میں سے تھے۔ ان میں اہم شخص سید سہراب ولی بتائے جاتے ہیں جو اس وقت دعوت میں سرگرم داعی تھے۔“¹¹ سید سہراب ولی اور خوجہ عمریگی نے چترال کے بعض علاقوں میں اسماعیلیت کو پہنچانے میں اولین کردار ادا کیا ہوگا لیکن گلگت میں اسماعیلیت کا ان کے دور میں پہنچنے کا کوئی تذکرہ کسی بھی قدیم کتاب میں موجود نہیں ہے۔ البتہ گلگت کے ایک اسماعیلی مورخ نے دعویٰ کیا ہے کہ یاسین (جو موجودہ گلگت کا علاقہ ہے) میں پیر ناصر خسرو نے اسماعیلیت کو پہنچایا تھا۔ ”آپ (پیر ناصر خسرو) نے امام (مستنصر باللہ) کی ہدایت پر یمگان، بلخ، چترال اور یاسین تک اسماعیلی دعوت پھیلائی“¹²۔ وادی یاسین کے علاوہ گلگت کے کسی اور حصے میں پیر ناصر کی حیات میں اسماعیلیت کا پہنچنے کے آثار موجود نہیں ہیں۔ البتہ پیر ناصر خسرو کے دور میں داعیوں کا چترال آمد قطعی ہے اس لئے یہ ممکن ہے کہ گلگت کی ان وادیوں خاص کر موجودہ یاسین کے علاقے میں بھی اسماعیلی داعی آئے ہوں۔ کیونکہ یاسین کا علاقہ گلگت کی بہ نسبت بدخشاں سے زیادہ قریب ہے۔ اگر اس علاقے میں بھی اسماعیلیت پیر ناصر خسرو کے دور میں پہنچی ہے تو گلگت اور ہنزہ میں اس دور میں اسماعیلیت کے پہنچنے کے کوئی

¹⁰ ایثار، شمالی علاقہ جات میں اسماعیلی دعوت، ص 8۔

¹¹ A. E. Berteles, *Lectures Isma'ili of Badaksha* (London: Institute of Ismaili Studies, June 11th to 13th 1984).

¹² محمد جان وادی اشکومن (گلگت: نارتھ نیوز ایجنسی مدینہ سہرا کیٹ، اپریل 2010) ص 21۔

اثر نہیں ملتے ہیں۔ البتہ یہ بات یقینی ہے کہ بدخشاں کے سقوط کے بعد پیر ناصر خسرو کا متعین کردہ داعی خاص سید سہراب ولی کی نسل سادات نے گلگت کے علاقے یاسین، غدر اور پیال میں اسماعیلیت کی ترویج میں اہم کردار ادا کیا ہے۔ بعض اسماعیلی مورخین اس سلسلے میں سید سہراب ولی کی نسل سے ایک اہم شخص سید اکبر شاہ کا نام لیتے ہیں جن کی کوششوں سے اس علاقے میں اسماعیلیت آئی ہے۔ ان ہی کی تبلیغات کی وجہ سے ان علاقوں میں سنی اور شیعہ مسلک کی ایک کثیر تعداد اسماعیلیت میں داخل ہوئی۔ لہذا یہ تاثر تو غلط العام ہے کہ گلگت میں اسماعیلیت پیر ناصر خسرو کے ذریعے سے پہنچی ہے۔ تاہم اس حوالے سے ان کے کردار کو نظر انداز نہیں کر سکتے ہیں۔ انہوں نے فاطمین مصر کی طرز پر ایک نظام دعوت وضع کیا اور مختلف علاقوں میں داعیوں کو بھیجا۔ یوں ان ہی کی کوششوں سے اسماعیلیت بدخشاں سے نکل کر ہند (چترال و گلگت)، چانہ (سکیانگ) اور افغانستان تک پہنچی۔ لہذا آج ان تینوں ممالک میں اسماعیلیت موجود ہے تو اس میں پیر ناصر خسرو کی تعلیمات کا بڑا عمل دخل ہے۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ گلگت بالخصوص گوپش، پوئیاں، یسین، چترال اور ہنزہ میں پیر ناصر خسرو کو بہت زیادہ شہرت حاصل ہے۔ یہاں کے اسماعیلی اس داعی کو دیگر داعیوں کے مقابلے میں زیادہ تقدس اور احترام دیتے ہیں۔ احتراماً نہیں پیر، شاہ، سیدنا، حجت کے القابات سے یاد کرتے ہیں۔

خلاصہ کلام

گلگت بلتستان جو پاکستان کے شمالی علاقہ جات کے نام سے مشہور تھا، گزشتہ حکومت نے اس خطہ کو گلگت بلتستان کا نام دیا۔ یہ خطہ تاریخ میں بلور، بلورستان، دردستان، پلولا اور اب گلگت بلتستان سے جانا جاتا ہے۔ گلگت بلتستان میں سب سے قدیم پلولا نامی ریاست قائم رہی ہے۔ پھر ساتویں صدی میں تبتی حکمرانوں نے اس ریاست کے زیادہ تر حصے کو اپنے قبضے میں لے کر پلولا (چانہ) کی سینکڑوں سالوں سے قائم حکومت کا خاتمہ کیا۔ تبتی حکمران بدھ مذہب کے پیروکار تھے۔ اس لئے ان کے زمانے میں اس علاقے میں بدھ مت عروج کو پہنچا۔ ”معرکہ طلاس“ میں تبتیوں نے عباسی حکمرانوں کا ساتھ دیا اس لئے قوی امکان ہے کہ اسی دور میں گلگت میں اسلام پہنچا ہو۔ بعض مورخین کے مطابق ساتویں صدی ہجری میں ایک اسماعیلی سپہ سالار تاج مغل گلگت پر حملہ آور ہوا۔ اسماعیلیہ عقیدہ رکھنے والے اس سپہ سالار نے گلگت کے بعض علاقوں کو فتح کیا۔ تراکھان راجے نے اپنی حکمت عملی کو بروئے کار لاتے ہوئے فاتح حکمران کا مذہب قبول کیا تاکہ اپنی حکومت کو بچا سکیں۔ یوں پہلی دفعہ اسماعیلیہ مذہب کا ورود گلگت میں ہوا۔ پیر ناصر خسرو کے دور میں گلگت کی ایک وادی یاسین میں اسماعیلیت پہنچی تھی جبکہ گلگت کے کچھ دیگر علاقوں بالخصوص وادی ہنزہ میں اسماعیلیت پیر ناصر خسرو کے دو سو سال بعد اسماعیلی داعیوں (مبلغین) کے ذریعے سے پہنچی ہے۔ گلگت میں سب سے پہلے شیعہ اور پھر سنی مذہب پہنچا ہے پھر مذہب اسماعیلیہ اس علاقے میں وارد ہوا ہے اسی ترتیب کے مطابق دور حاضر میں گلگت میں شیعہ و سنی کے بعد اسماعیلیہ تیسرا بڑا فرقہ ہے۔

قاضی عطاء اللہ خان کی زندانی تاریخی کتاب د پختنو تاریخ (پشتونوں کی تاریخ) کا تحقیقی اور تنقیدی جائزہ

نورالبرامن*

ABSTRACT

Pashto language is about five thousand years old but very less reading and writing has been done in it, due to which the language did not develop with its age. Written scripts and materials have been founded in Pashto language approximately in 139 H. A. The era of Khushal Khan is a revolutionary era for both writing and reading in Pashto language. Khushal Baba wrote on almost every element of Pashto language. His famous book is Dastar Nama which was written in Mughals' prison. After Khushal Khan, in the 20th Century during British era, many Pashtuns were kept behind the bars. Among those Pashtuns, the people who were men of pen wrote books on Pashtun history beside other writings in Pashto language. This research paper will analyze those books of Pashtun history which have been written in prisons.

اسکو پشتونوں کی بد قسمتی کہو یا حالات کی ستم ظریفی کہ ابتداء ہی سے ان میں لکھنے پڑھنے کا شوق اور دستور بہت ہی کم رہا ہے یہی وجہ ہے کہ پشتونوں کی تاریخ سائنس اور ٹیکنالوجی کے اس جدید دور میں بھی قیاسات اور خیالی ماخذوں پر چل رہی ہے۔ اسمیں اگر ایک طرف جغرافیائی عوامل کا عمل دخل رہا ہے تو دوسری طرف ان کی طبعی میلان بھی اس طرف بہت کم رہا۔ پشتون تاریخ المیوں کی وجہ سے اکثر جہالت اور ناخواندگی کے اندھیروں میں رہا ہے یا ان کو رکھا گیا ہے۔ اسی لیے لکھنے پڑھنے اور تعلیم و تعلم کا کام ان میں بہت کم ہوا ہے۔¹

”پشتونوں نے جس ماحول میں زندگی گزاری ہے بے شک اسمیں انہیں اپنی تہذیب و تمدن کو ترقی دینے کے بہت کم مواقع میسر آئے دنیا کی دیگر ترقی یافتہ اقوام چاہے کیسے ہی ترقی یافتہ تہذیب و تمدن کی حامل کیوں نہ ہوں، پشتون ان کی وجہ سے اپنی اصل نسل اور تاریخی مقام کو نہیں کھو سکتا۔ تہذیب و تمدن اور ترقی کے یہ ادوار اسی طرح آتے اور جاتے رہیں گے۔“²

اس طرح کئی دوسری وجوہات کی بنا پر پشتونوں کے تاریخی مسائل نے جنم لیا ہے۔ پشتونوں کے حسب نسب بارے میں محققین مختلف گروہوں میں تقسیم رہے ہیں۔ جسکے نتیجے میں پشتونوں کی اصل نسل کے بارے میں کئی نظریے سامنے آگئے جو کہ ابھی تک زیر بحث ہیں۔ اسکی سب سے بڑی وجہ یہ ہے کہ ابتداء میں پشتونوں کی تاریخ غیر پشتونوں نے لکھی ہے۔ اور انہوں نے یہ سب کچھ قیاسات کی بنیاد پر لکھا ہے۔ اس حوالے سے پروفیسر ڈاکٹر راج ولی شاہ خٹک لکھتے ہیں کہ:

افضل خان خٹک کی تاریخ مرصع اور قاضی عطاء اللہ کی پشتونوں کی تاریخ کے درمیان اور پہلے اور بھی تاریخ کی اہم کتابیں موجود تھیں۔ جس میں تاریخ ابراہیمی، ابراہیم بنی، حنا صلیہ الا انصاف حافظ رحمت خان، عہد بنگلش مفتی ولی اللہ فرخ آبادی، تواریخ خورشید جہان، شیر محمد گنڈاپور، تاریخ سلطانی، سلطان محمد خان بارکزے، حیات افغانی ڈپٹی حیات خان یوسف زئی اور اسی طرح اور بھی لیکن یہ ساری کتابیں پشتو زبان میں نہیں تھیں۔ ایک اور اہم کتاب احمد علی کمران نے افغانستان کی پرانی تاریخ لکھی ہے۔ یہ بھی اصل میں فارسی زبان میں لکھی گئی ہے لیکن اس کا پشتو ترجمہ ہوا ہے۔³

اہل زبان اور اہل وطن نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے ہر ایک مورخ نے اپنی طرف سے جو دل میں آیا وہی لکھا ہے اور آنے والے محققین کے لیے ایک بہت بڑا مسئلہ پیدا کیا ہے۔ اور ابھی تک یہ مسئلہ لایٹل ہے کہ پشتونوں کا اصل منبع کون سا ہے یا کہاں سے ہے۔

پشتون میں سب سے پہلے پشتون مورخ افضل خان خٹک نے تاریخ کی کتاب تاریخ مرصع کے نام سے لکھی ہے۔

¹ ڈاکٹر راج ولی شاہ خٹک، دسسر خبری (ابتدائی باتیں)، دہشتونو تاریخ (پشاور قاضی عطاء اللہ خان کے، یونیورسٹی کالج ایجنسی، اپریل 2012) ص (ج)۔

² مولانا عبد القادر، "مقدمہ" دی پشپان سرائف کسیر، ترجمہ: سید محبوب علی، (پشاور: پشتو آکڈمی، پشاور یونیورسٹی، 2008ء)۔ ص 3۔

³ راج ولی شاہ خٹک، دسسر خبری، ص (ب)۔

تاریخ مرصع جیسا کہ اپنی شہرت کی بدولت نہ صرف پشتون مورخوں اور طالب علموں کو بلکہ عام پڑھنے والوں کو بھی معلوم ہے کہ خوشحال خان خٹک پشتونوں کے بڑے سردار، شاعر، ادیب اور مفکر جو خان علمین مکان کے نام سے بھی یاد کیا جاتا ہے کے بڑے بیٹے اشرف خان ہجری کے بڑے بیٹے افضل خان خٹک کی تالیف ہے اور بہت سے پشتون مورخوں نے حوالے کے طور پر استعمال کیا ہے۔⁴

اس مقالے میں، خصوصی طور پر جدید دور کے نامور مورخ، ماہر تعلیم اور پشتونوں کے قومی رہنما خدائی خد متگار قاضی عطاء اللہ خان کی تاریخی اور زندانی زندگی اور انکی زندانی تاریخی کتب و پختہ تاریخ (پشتونوں کی تاریخ) کا تحقیقی، تنقیدی اور تاریخی جائزہ لیا گیا ہے۔

پشتوادب کی تاریخ میں شعوری طور پر جو زیادہ کام ہوا ہے وہ تو بیسویں صدی کے تیسرے عشرے کے بعد ہوا ہے اور اس دور میں دوسرے ادب کے ساتھ زندانی ادب بھی مقدار اور معیار کے لحاظ سے کافی زیادہ تخلیق ہوا ہے۔ اس دور میں اگر ہم صرف ان کتابوں کو لیں جن میں پشتونوں کی تاریخ کا سرسری ذکر ہوا ہے اور ان کتابوں کا کچھ حصہ یا مکمل جیل میں تخلیق ہوا ہے تو ان میں باچا خان خان عبدالغفار خان کی کتاب زما ژوند او جد و جد (میری زندگی اور جد و جد) خان عبدالولی خان کی رختیار رختیادی (پچ سچ ہے) اور باچا حسان او خدائی خد متگار خان عبدالصمد خان کی ژما ژوند او ژوندون فضل الرحیم ساقی کی دصبر جنگ (صبر کی جنگ) اور خدائی خد متگار تحریک کی مختصر تاریخ شامل ہیں۔ لیکن ان میں سب سے اہم کتاب جو نہ صرف مکمل پشتونوں کی تاریخ پر لکھی گئی بلکہ پوری کتاب جیل کے اندر قید و بند کے دوران میں لکھی گئی وہ قاضی عطاء اللہ خان کی کتاب پشتونوں کی تاریخ ہے۔ اسی دور میں پشتون رہنماؤں کو بہ یک وقت کئی مسائل اور مشکلات کا سامنا تھا۔ ایک طرف تاج برطانیہ سے آزادی کا سوال تھا جس کے مقابلے میں یہ لوگ ہر لحاظ سے کمزور تھے لیکن پھر بھی تاج برطانیہ کے ہر ظلم کے سامنے سیدہ پلائی ہوئی دیوار کی طرح کھڑے تھے۔ اور ان کے قدموں میں زرہ بھر لغزش نہیں آئی اور نہ ان کے حوصلوں اور ارادوں میں دراڑیں پڑی۔ دوسری طرف پشتون معاشرے کو تعلیمی، صنعتی، معاشی اور سیاسی پسماندگی کے خلاف عوام میں شعور اجاگر کرنے کا چیلنج بھی تھا۔ یہ سارے کام بہ یک وقت کرنا اگر ناممکن نہیں تو مشکل ضرور تھا۔ لیکن خدائی خد متگار ایسے باحوصلہ، باکردار، باعزم، بامہذب، باشعور، اور باادب تھے کہ انکی مثال مشکل سے ملتی ہے اسی لئے تو وہ بامراد ہوئے۔

ترجمہ: پشتونوں کے سروں پر پاؤں رکھ کر پشتونخوا میں داخل ہو گئے لیکن پھر بھی ان کو شدید مزاحمت کا سامنا کرنا پڑا۔ اس سرزمین پر ایسا جگہ بہت کم ملے گی جہاں اس وطن کی حفاظت کے لئے خون کی نہریں بہہ گئیں۔ جنگ آزادی کے

4 دوست محمد خان کامل، (مقدمہ نگار ریخ مرصع) (پشاور: یونیورسٹی بک ایجنسی، 2006ء) ص 5۔

مجاہدوں، شہیدوں، مبارزوں اور غازیوں کا ذکر اتنا طویل ہے کہ اس کے لئے کئی دفتر درکار ہیں، اس کی نشانیاں اور گونج ابھی تک پشتونخوا کی وادیوں میں محسوس ہوتی ہے۔⁵

پشتونوں کی سیاسی اور ادبی تحریکوں میں خدائی خدمتگار تحریک کو بہت اہم مقام حاصل ہے کیونکہ اس تحریک نے شعوری اور لاشعوری طور پر پشتوزبان و ادب کے لیے اتنی گراں قدر خدمات ادا کی ہیں کہ اس کے ذکر کے بغیر پشتو ادب کی تاریخ نامکمل ہے۔ اس تحریک نے ایسے شاعر و ادیب، صحافی اور مورخ پیدا کئے ہیں کہ انہوں نے وطن اور زبان کی خدمت اور ترویج و اشاعت کو جزو ایمان سمجھا اور یہی وجہ ہے کہ تاج برطانیہ جیسی عظیم سلطنت کو لاکار اور ان کے سامنے سسیدہ پلائی دیوار کی طرح کھڑے تھے، اس تحریک سے وابستہ لوگوں نے اپنی جان، مال، جائیداد، اولاد اور آرام سب کچھ کی پروا نہ کرتے ہوئے مقابلہ کیا جسکے نتیجے میں دوسرے بے انتہا مظالم کے ساتھ ساتھ قید و بند اور نظر بندی بھی لازم تھی۔ جن خدائی خدمتگاروں نے انگریزوں کی قید میں اپنی زندگی تباہ کی لیکن اسکے بدلے قوم کو سیاسی نفع کے ساتھ ساتھ قلمی منافع بھی فراہم کیا ان میں ایک قاضی عطاء اللہ خان بھی ہیں۔

قاضی عطاء اللہ خان 1896ء کو قاضی نصر اللہ خان کے ہاں پشاور کے ایک گاؤں ارباب لنڈے میں پیدا ہوئے۔⁶ قاضی صاحب نے ابتدائی تعلیم اپنے گاؤں ہی میں حاصل کی چونکہ قاضی صاحب کے والد ایک عالم فاضل آدمی تھے اس لیے انہوں نے قاضی عطاء اللہ کو پشاور کے مشن سکول میں داخل کیا اور اسکے بعد اعلیٰ تعلیم کے لیے علی گڑھ بھیج دیا گیا۔ قاضی عطاء اللہ خان 1918ء میں وکالت کی ڈگری مکمل کرنے کے بعد وطن واپس آگئے۔ 1925ء میں قاضی صاحب کا گھرانہ پشاور سے مردان منتقل ہوا اور وہاں پر مستقل رہائش اختیار کی۔⁷ اگرچہ قاضی صاحب نے مردان میں وکالت کا پیشہ اختیار کیا لیکن ان کا بیدار ضمیر بے چین تھا وہ اپنی قوم کیلئے کچھ کرنے کا ارادہ رکھتے تھے اس لئے وہ وکالت چھوڑ کر خان عبدالغفار خان (باچا خان) کے ساتھ شامل ہو گئے، اور انجمن اصلاح الافغانہ کے نام سے ایک فلاحی تنظیم کی بنیاد رکھ دی، اس تنظیم کا اصل مقصد پشتونوں کی معاشرتی اصلاح اور تعلیم سے آراستہ کرنا تھا۔ اسی ارادے کو عملی جامہ پہنانے کی غرض سے آزاد اسلامیہ مدرسوں کے نام سے تعلیمی جہاد کا سلسلہ شروع کیا۔

اس انجمن کے ممبران میں خان عبدالغفار خان باچا خان، ممتاز زئی، حاجی عبدالغفار خان، ممتاز زئی، خان آباد خان، ممتاز زئی، حاجی شمسوز خان، ممتاز زئی، عبدالاکبر خان، عمر زئی، میاں جعفر شاہ، کاکا خیل، غلام محی الدین خان، تنگی، خادم محمد اکبر چارسدہ، میاں عبداللہ شاہ قاضی خیل، میاں احمد شاہ قاضی خیل، فضل اکرم زری، قاضی عطاء اللہ خان مردان، تاج محمد خان چارسدہ، اور ممتاز زئی میں آزاد

⁵ نور البصر امن، ”پشتونیں زندانی ادب“ پی ایچ ڈی مقالہ، (پشاور: شعبہ پشتو، جامعہ 2013ء)، ص 224۔

⁶ ہمیش خلیل ذقلم خاوندان (پشاور: پشتو اکائیڈمی، پشاور یونیورسٹی، 1999ء)، ص 326۔

⁷ <http://en.wikipedia.org/qaziatattaulahkhan-138-2012>۔

اسلامیہ مدرسہ کے نام سے ایک ادارہ قائم کیا۔ اس مدرسے میں قرآن شریف، احادیث، فقہ اور تاریخ اسلام، عربی، اردو، انگریزی، حساب اور اسکے ساتھ سلائی، کارپنٹر، کمہار اور کھڈی کا کام بھی سکھایا جاتا تھا⁸۔

ایک اندازے کے مطابق ان مدرسوں کی تعداد ایک سو سے زیادہ ہو گئی تھی اور یہ سارے ادارے چندے کے پیسوں پر چلتے تھے۔ قاضی صاحب اس مدرسوں کے چلانے میں بھرپور حصہ لے رہے تھے۔

قاضی عطاء اللہ خان ایک روشن خیال، ایثار پیشہ قومی رہنما اور صاحب طرز پشتواویب تھے 1919ء میں پہلی دفعہ باچا خان (خان عبدالغفار خان) کی قیادت میں رولٹ ایکٹ کی مخالفت کی تحریک میں حصہ لیا، ساری عمر ان کے ساتھ گزاری، انجمن اصلاح افغانہ، خدائی خدمتگار، یوتھ لیگ اور کانگریس میں بھرپور حصہ لیا، قید و بند کی صعوبتیں جھیلیں، وہ باچا خان کے بہترین مشیر اور تحریک کا شہ دماغ تھے۔ باچا خان بھی ان کے قیمتی مشوروں کو بخوبی قبول کرتے تھے۔⁹

قاضی عطاء اللہ خان کی رگوں میں ایک آزاد فطرت پشتون کا خون گردش کر رہا تھا۔ اس لیے وہ باچا خان کے ساتھ وطن کی آزادی کیلئے دن رات جدوجہد میں مصروف رہے۔ اور اس گناہ میں ان کو کئی بار قید و بند میں بھی ڈالا گیا لیکن ان کے مصمم ارادوں میں کوئی بھی لغزش نہ آئی۔ اور وہ آخر وقت تک سامراج کے خلاف سیاسی و قلمی میدان میں برسرِ پیکار رہے۔ باچا خان ان کی گرفتاری اور جیل کے بارے میں اس طرح رقم طراز ہیں:

جب ہم الہ آباد پہنچ گئے تو یہاں یہ ہم سے ڈاکٹر صاحب کو اتارا گیا اور ان کو الہ آباد کی مینی جیل بھجوا گیا۔ پھر سعد اللہ کو اتارا گیا اور اس کو بنارس جیل بھجوا دیا، پھر بہار کا صوبہ شروع ہو گیا اور ادھر قاضی عطاء اللہ خان کو ہم سے اتارا گیا۔ اور ان کو گیا جیل بھجوا دیا۔ وہ بیچارہ اکیلا تھا اور مجھ سے بھی زیادہ اکیلا تھا۔ میں تو کچھ نہ کچھ سوراہا تھا اور ان کو بالکل نیند نہیں آ رہی تھی۔¹⁰

قاضی صاحب ایک حساس انسان تھے، اسی لئے وہ جیل میں ذہنی کوفت، آزمائش اور نفسیاتی کشمکش میں مبتلا تھے۔ جیل کی دنیا اگرچہ ہر ایک انسان کے لئے اذیت ناک ہوتی ہے لیکن ادیبوں اور شاعروں کیلئے یہ چند گنا زیادہ اذیت ناک ثابت ہوتی ہے اس اذیت میں کچھ کام کرنا یا سوچنا کتنا مشکل ہوتا ہے اسکا اندازہ اس شخص کو بخوبی ہو سکتا ہے جو ذاتی طور پر ایسے حالات سے گزرا ہو۔ لیکن اس سے قاضی صاحب کی ذہنی اور اعصابی مضبوطی کا پتہ چلتا ہے کہ ان کا حوصلہ کتنا مضبوط تھا کہ جیل کی اذیت ناک زندگی میں بھی انہوں نے اپنے قلم کو زنگ آلود ہونے سے بچا لیا اور جیل میں زندانی تاریخی پشتونوں کی تاریخ کی شکل میں تحریر کر کے پشتونوں پر ایک بہت بڑا احسان کیا۔

8 احمد کا خاندانی خدمتگار تحریک، جلد اول، (پشاور: یونیورسٹی بک ایجنسی، جنوری 1991ء)، ص 211۔

9 محمد صابر شفیع، شخصیات سرحد، (پشاور: یونیورسٹی بک ایجنسی، س۔ن)، ص 581۔

10 باچا خان، زما ژوند او جدوجہد، (پشاور: دانش خیرندویہ ٹولڈ)، ص 580۔

تاریخ لکھنا ایک بہت ہی مشکل کام ہے اور پشتونوں کی تاریخ تو اور بھی زیادہ مشکل ہے کیونکہ اس میں مواد کی بہت کمی ہے اور تاریخ کیلئے مواد سب سے بنیادی ضرورت ہے۔ لیکن تاریخ لکھنا ایک بہت ہی ضروری اور لازمی کام بھی ہے۔ پشتونوں کی تاریخ چند وجوہات کی بنا پر ابتداء ہی سے نہیں لکھی گئی، اس لئے اس میں ابھی بھی بہت غلطیاں اور ابہام ہیں۔ لیکن قاضی صاحب نے یہ تمام مشکلات بالائے طاق رکھ کر جیل ہی میں پشتونوں کی تاریخ لکھنے کیلئے کمر کس لی۔ ویسے تو انہوں نے بہت پہلے سے یہ ارادہ کر رکھا تھا لیکن سیاسی سرگرمیوں کی وجہ سے وقت ملنا مشکل تھا جیل میں چونکہ وقت کے علاوہ اور کچھ نہیں ہوتا تو قاضی صاحب نے اس وقت کو کام میں لانے کا زین موقع سمجھا اور اس سے موقع سے فائدہ اٹھا کر یہ قیمتی کام کر ڈالا۔ اسی حوالے سے انہوں نے لکھا:

ویسے تو بہت عرصے سے میرا یہ شوق تھا کہ میں اپنی پشتون قوم کے تاریخی حالات اور واقعات کو جمع کروں۔ اور اس کو ایک کتاب کی شکل میں پیش کروں، صوبہ خیبر پختونخوا میں قومی تحریک کے شروع ہونے اور اس میں میری شمولیت نے اس شوق کو اور بھی تیز کر دیا۔ کیونکہ ایک قوم کو ذلت اور تباہی سے بچانے کیلئے اسی قوم کی تاریخ ایک زبردست اسلحہ ہے۔ ایک قوم کو گرے ہوئے حالات سے اٹھانے میں تاریخ کا بڑا عمل دخل ہے۔ دنیا میں ہر ایک قوم اپنے آباء و اجداد کے اچھے کارناموں سے سبق لیتی ہے اور آگے جانے کی تیاری کرتی ہے۔ تاریخ کے مطالعہ سے یہ ثابت ہے کہ دوسری اقوام کی طرح پشتونوں کی تاریخ بھی بہت شاندار ہے۔ خصوصاً قومی آزادی کیلئے پشتونوں نے جتنی قربانیاں دی ہیں۔ غیر ملکی حکومتوں کے خلاف جس طرح پشتون قوم صف آرارہی ہے، دنیا میں اس کی مثال مشکل سے ملتی ہے۔ ایسے میری یہ تمنا ہے کہ اپنے پشتون بھائیوں کو اپنے اسلاف کی تاریخ پیش کروں۔ اور اس صورت میں اپنی قوم کی ایک بڑی خدمت کرنے کی کوشش میں کامیاب ہو جاؤں گا۔ مگر یہ ایک ایسا کام تھا کہ اس کیلئے فرصت درکار تھی اور میں زیادہ مصروفیات کی وجہ سے بہت عرصے تک اس مقصد میں کامیاب نہ ہوا۔¹¹

ارادے جن کے پختہ ہوں اور یقین جن کا خدا پر ہو تو ان کیلئے کوئی بھی کام مشکل نہیں ہے قاضی صاحب چونکہ اپنے ارادے میں نیک اور پر خلوص تھے تو خدا نے ان کو ایسا موقع فراہم کیا کہ اس سے اور اچھا موقع نہیں ہو سکتا تھا۔

خدائی خدمت گار تحریک کی سیاسی اور تعلیمی سرگرمیوں پر حکومت برطانیہ ناراض تھی اور خدائی خدمت گاروں کو دھڑا دھڑا گرفتار کر رہی تھی تو قاضی عطاء اللہ خان بھی ان سیاسی قیدیوں میں شامل تھے۔ اپنی گرفتاری کا قصہ کچھ یوں بیان کرتے ہیں۔

دسمبر 1931ء میں انگریزی حکومت سے جب ہماری سیاسی جدوجہد برداشت نہ ہوئی تو عام خدائی خدمت گار کو صوبے کے مختلف جیلوں میں قید کیا اور ہم چار بندے یعنی فخر افغان خان، عبدالغفار خان، ڈاکٹر خان صاحب، سعد اللہ خان، ڈاکٹر صاحب کا بڑا بیٹا اور مجھ کو اپنے صوبے سے، بہت دور ہندوستان کی الگ الگ جیلوں میں بند کیا۔ چند مہینے تو ہم بالکل الگ تھلک رہتے تھے۔ پھر میں اور سعد اللہ خان سنٹرل جیل بنارس میں اکٹھا ہو گئے۔ اس وقت مجھ کو ایک لمبے عرصہ مل گیا اور میں نے اپنی دیرینہ خواہش کی تکمیل کیلئے بسم اللہ

¹¹ قاضی عطاء اللہ خان ہندوستان کی تاریخ، (پشاور: یونیورسٹی بک ایجنسی، 2012ء)، ص 3۔

پڑھی۔ اور اس کتاب کو لکھنے کی ابتداء کی۔ لیکن یہ ظاہر بات ہے کہ ایک تاریخی کتاب لکھنے کیلئے کتنی کتابوں کا مطالعہ ضروری ہوتا ہے۔ اور ایک قیدی کی حیثیت سے کتابوں کیلئے میں جیلروں کا محتاج تھا۔ میں یہ نہیں کہوں گا کہ جیل کے عملے نے کتابوں کے حصول میں میری مدد نہیں کی مگر ہر ایک کتاب کو حاصل کرنا ان کیلئے بھی آسان نہیں تھا۔ بہر حال جو کتابیں وہ مہیا کر سکتے تھے انہوں نے مجھے پہنچادی اور میں نے اپنا کام شروع کیا۔ اس موقع پر میں اپنے عزیز رفیق سعد اللہ خان کا بہت ممنون و مشکور ہوں کہ انہوں نے ہماری بہت مدد کی۔ بلکہ اکثر مضامین کے لئے میں ان کو کہا کرتا تھا اور وہ لکھتے رہے۔ صرف لکھنا نہیں بلکہ کتابوں کے مطالعے میں بھی میرا ہاتھ بٹایا۔¹²

اس کتاب کی ابتداء بنارس جیل میں 1932ء میں ہوئی اور اس کا مسودہ کب مکمل ہوا اس کا کچھ واضح ثبوت نہیں ہے۔ لیکن اس مسودے کو اس وقت کے مشہور اور واحد اخبار پشتون میں قسط وار چھاپنے کا سلسلہ شروع کیا۔ اور چند مہینوں تک یہ سلسلہ چلتا رہا، لیکن قسط کو موزوں جگہ پر ختم نہ کرنے کی وجہ سے قاضی صاحب اس سلسلے سے مطمئن نہیں تھے اور یہ سلسلہ چند قسطوں کے بعد رک گیا۔ پشتون زبان کے مانے ہوئے قلم کار اور مورخ پشتون کے باقاعدہ قلم کار کی حیثیت سے پشتونوں کی ستھری اور چمکتی تاریخ کو پشتون کے ذریعے قوم کو پیش کر رہا تھا اور اس کے ذریعے محفوظ ہو رہا تھا¹³۔

پشتون میں اس تاریخ کی قسط وار بندش کے بعد عوام نے اسی کی اشاعت کا پُر زور مطالبہ کیا۔ لیکن کتاب چھاپنا بھی ایک بہت مشکل کام ہے۔ اور جب قاضی صاحب اسی کتاب کے چھاپنے کی تیاری کر رہے تھے تو ایک دفعہ پھر قاضی صاحب پابند سلاسل ہوئے۔ 1942ء میں ہم پھر گرفتار ہوئے۔ اور پشاور کے سنٹرل جیل میں بند یوان ہو گئے۔ اسی وقت کو میں نے غنیمت سمجھا اور یہ ارادہ کر لیا کہ پرانے مسودے کو منگوا لوں کیونکہ وہ واضح نہیں تھا اور اس پر نظر ثانی کی بھی ضرورت تھی۔ یہ مسودہ پشتون کے ایڈیٹر کے پاس پڑا تھا ان سے منگوا کر نئے سرے سے اسکی ترتیب شروع کی اس دفعہ ہمارے جیل کے ساتھیوں میں امیر محمد خان، کا مدار خان (مرحوم) صنعت خان وغیرہ شامل تھے۔ ان صاحبوں نے ہمارے ساتھ کافی مدد کی اور میں نے مسودے کو دوبارہ صحیح حالت میں مرتب کیا۔¹⁴

مکمل ہونے کے بعد پھر بھی اس مسودے کو کتابی صورت میں شائع ہونے کی عزت نصیب نہ ہوئی کیونکہ جیل سے رہا ہونے کے بعد قاضی صاحب کو کانگریس کی حکومت میں وزارت تعلیم کا قلمدان سپرد کیا گیا اور ایک دفعہ پھر قاضی صاحب سیاسی سرگرمیوں میں ایسے الجھ گئے کہ مسودے کو دیکھنے کی فرصت ہی نہیں مل رہی تھی۔ یہ مسودہ چار جلدوں پر مشتمل تھا اور اسکی پہلی جلد 1947ء میں عبدالخالق خلیق کی کوششوں سے شائع ہوئی۔ لیکن تمام جلدیں مکمل کتابی صورت میں یونیورسٹی

¹² قاضی عطاء اللہ خان، *دہشتنوی تاریخ*، ص 3۔

¹³ ڈاکٹر اشفاق احمد، *پشتون ادب کی ترقی میں پشتون مجلے کا کردار*، پی ایچ ڈی مقالہ، (پشاور: شعبہ پشتو، جامعہ پشاور، 2014ء)، ص 291۔

¹⁴ عطاء اللہ خان، *قاضی دہشتنوی تاریخ*، ص 4۔

بک ایجنسی پشاور نے تیسری دفعہ اپریل 2013ء میں شائع کیں۔ یہ ضخیم کتاب 1112 صفحات پر مشتمل ہے جو کہ پشتونوں کی تاریخ کا تقریباً تین سو سال کے عرصے کا احاطہ کرتی ہے۔

پشتونوں کی تاریخ بہت طویل ہے۔ میں نے صرف پشتونوں کی تاریخ کا دوسرا دور یعنی سال 1622ء سے 1879ء تک لیا ہے۔ پہلا دور محمود غزنوی سے شروع ہو کر شیر شاہ سوری اور بہلول لودھی تک پہنچا ہے۔ اس کے بعد دوسرا دور شروع ہوتا ہے جسکی تاریخ میں نے لکھی¹⁵۔

ڈاکٹر راج ولی شاہ خٹک اس کی تاریخی اہمیت کے بارے میں لکھتے ہیں:

قاضی عطاء اللہ کی پشتونوں کی تاریخ پٹھانوں کی تاریخ کے متعلق دوسری تاریخی کتاب ہے کہ ایک پشتون نے پشتونان میں لکھی ہے۔¹⁶

اس کتاب کا پہلا حصہ جو کہ 256 صفحات پر مشتمل ہے اسکے عنوانات کی فہرست کچھ اس طرح ہے: دیپاچہ، پشتونوں کی تاریخ، پشتونوں کی اصل نسل اور اسکی وطن مالوف، افغانستان کے فاتح ممالک، پٹھانوں اور ان کے ملک کے حالات 1622ء سے، نادر شاہ درانی حکومت کی ابتداء، عہد تیمور شاہ، زمان شاہ، شاہ محمود، وزیر فتح خان، بارکزوی اقتدار، حبیب اللہ خان، حکومت ایران کا ہرات پر حملہ شامل ہیں۔ دوسرے حصے میں جو کہ 561 صفحات تک ہے۔ افغانستان پر انگریزوں کا پہلا حملہ 1838 سے 1842ء تک کے واقعات پر مشتمل ہے اور یہ حصہ آٹھ مختلف ابواب پر پھیلا ہوا ہے۔ تیسرا حصہ 1813 سے شروع ہوتا ہے اور 1880ء تک کے واقعات پر پھیلا ہوا ہے اور یہ 25 ابواب پر مشتمل ہے۔ آخری حصہ اصل میں امیر عبدالرحمن کی لکھی ہوئی تاریخ ہے جو کہ قاضی عطاء اللہ خان نے ترجمہ کیا ہے حالات اور واقعات کا تسلسل ایک ہی ہے اسی وجہ سے اسی کو بھی اس کتاب میں شامل کیا ہے۔

عبدالخالق خلیق اس حوالے سے کچھ اس طرح لکھتے ہیں:

یہ حصہ (چوتھی جلد) اس سلسلے کی کڑی نہیں ہے بلکہ یہ الگ قسم کی ہے ہم نے چند دن اسی پر لگائے کہ اسکو شائع کروں یا نہ؟ آخر میں علماء دوستوں نے یہ مشورہ دیا کہ یہ الگ نوعیت کی نہیں ہے۔ وہ حصے بھی پشتونوں کی آزادی کی تاریخ ہے اور یہ بھی اسی قسم کا ایک مضمون ہے۔ اس لئے اسکو بھی شامل کرنا چاہیے۔ اور یہ ہے پشتونوں کی تاریخ کی چوتھی جلد جو اس میں شامل ہے۔ تو یہ کتاب شائع

¹⁵ عطاء اللہ خان، قاضی دہشتنؤ تاریخ، ص 5۔

¹⁶ راج ولی شاہ خٹک، دسر خبرے، ص 1۔

ہوئی اور آپ لوگوں کے ہاتھ میں ہے۔ یہ کتاب مرحوم امیر عبدالرحمن خان کے قلم سے لکھی گئی ہے، لیکن افسوس کہ قاضی صاحب کی اصل کتاب نہیں ملی ہے۔¹⁷

اس کی اہمیت کا اندازہ اس سے ہو سکتا ہے کہ افغانستان کے نامور محقق عبدالحی حبیبی نے اسکے بارے میں لکھا ہے کہ۔

قاضی عطاء اللہ خان نے قید و بند کے طویل عرصے میں اپنی بلند ہستی اور علمی لیاقت سے جو اہم کام سرانجام دیا ہے وہ پشتونوں کی تاریخ لکھنا ہے۔ جو چار چلدوں پر مشتمل ہے۔ یہ شاہکار (1500) سے جو احمد شاہ بابا کے عصر سے امیر عبدالرحمن کی بادشاہی تک 130 سال کے واقعات اور حالات پر مشتمل ہیں۔ پشتونوں کی قومی جدوجہد کی ایک مفصل داستان ہے۔ جو کہ مستند انگریزی کتابوں کی قومی جدوجہد کی ایک مفصل داستان ہے۔ جو کہ مستند انگریزی کتابوں اور دوسرے ماخذوں کے حوالے سے بہت اچھے انداز میں لکھی ہوئی ہے۔¹⁸

صدیق اللہ رشتین قاضی عطاء اللہ اور اس کی تاریخ کے بارے میں اپنی رائے کچھ اس طرح بیان کرتے ہیں:

قلم اٹھا کر پشتون قوم کی تاریخ کو لکھنا شروع کیا۔ اور پشتون زبان میں چار جلدوں میں ایک ضخیم تاریخ لکھی۔ اب یہ کتاب ان کی علمی اور ادبی ذہن کی ایک قیمتی میراث کے طور پر پشتون قوم کیلئے ایک یادگار ہے۔ قاضی صاحب انگریزی اردو اور فارسی زبان میں بھی مہارت رکھتے تھے۔ قاضی صاحب ایک مانے ہوئے خطیب بھی تھے۔ انہوں نے اپنی زندگی میں بے شمار جڑگوں اور اجلاسوں میں جو شبلیہ خطبے دیئے اور اپنی قوم کو عزت اور غیرت کی راہ دکھائی۔ اس کے ساتھ ساتھ سیاسی اور اجتماعی واسطے سے بھی علمی اور ادبی خدمات سرانجام دیں۔ اپنی زبان کی ترقی اور پشتونوں کی تاریخ کی عظمت کے شدید آرزو مند تھے۔¹⁹

ڈاکٹر اشفاق احمد اسی کتاب کے بارے میں لکھتے ہیں:

تاریخ کے علاوہ ان کی نثر بھی پشتوادب میں ایک ممتاز مقام رکھتی ہے۔ اور پشتوادب کی وسعت میں کافی ہاتھ رکھتی ہے۔ اگرچہ یہ تاریخ عالمانہ اور محققانہ زبان و اسلوب رکھتی ہے اور اس کا تعلق گہرے مطالعے اور مشاہدے سے ہے، لیکن اس کے باوجود سادہ اور رواں ہے اور ایک عام آدمی بھی اس سے استفادہ کر سکتا ہے۔²⁰

کتاب وہی ہے جس سے کوئی استفادہ کر سکے۔ کوئی اس کا مطالعہ کرے اور اس کے لیے سب سے اہم بات یہ ہے کہ کتاب آسان اور عام فہم ہو تاکہ مطالعے کے دوران پڑھنے والے بوریت محسوس نہ کریں اور تاریخ ایک ایسا موضوع ہے کہ اس میں بہت کم لوگ دل چسپی لیتے ہیں، لیکن قاضی عطاء اللہ خان نے اس خشک اور مشکل موضوع کو بہت ہی آسان اور عام فہم

17 عبدالحق خلیق، ”مقدمہ“ (چوتھا حصہ) پشتونوں کی تاریخ، ص 917۔

18 عبدالحی حبیبی، بحوالہ آریانہ دائرہ المعارف، علوم اکیڈمی کابل افغانستان، جلد 5، ص 1525۔

19 صدیق اللہ رشتین، پشتونو دنگر ہندارہ، (پشاور: یونیورسٹی بک اینجینی) ص 310۔

20 ڈاکٹر اشفاق احمد، پشتون ادب کی ترقی میں پشتون رسالے کا کردار، ص 130۔

بنادیا ہے۔ زبان اتنی عام فہم، آسان اور رواں ہے کہ نہ صرف یہ کہ لغت کی کوئی ضرورت محسوس نہیں ہوتی بلکہ پڑھنے والا پڑھائی میں علم، خوند، مزہ اور اطمینان محسوس کرتا ہے۔

اردو ناول: برطانوی عہد میں برصغیر کی تاریخ و ثقافت کا امین

ڈاکٹر شاہد نواز*

ABSTRACT

Literature is an alternate source of presenting and archiving history and culture all over the world. Undoubtedly, social sciences like Anthropology, Sociology and History have studied and archived the cultures of the world, but literature usually presents and interprets it in 'new creative' ways. This creative angle may be used to understand and analyze the culture and history of any region. — Subcontinent, since ancient times, has had a great cultural history with its vast geography. — The multilayered culture and history of the Subcontinent have been documented in different languages and literatures of it. Urdu, a relatively modern language is an example of such treasure. It has presented and documented the culture in forms of poetry and novel in a mature way. — Many Urdu novelists have presented the culture of undivided Subcontinent in an objective manner. This study will analyze the 'manner' and 'way' the Urdu novel used to present the cultural history of the Subcontinent. This will hopefully help us to shed light on the Subcontinent's collective culture.

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برصغیر پاک و ہند، طویل جغرافیائی خطہ ہونے کے ساتھ ساتھ متنوع ثقافتوں کا امین رہا ہے۔ اس خطے کی تاریخ اور ثقافت کو مورخین اور سماجی ماہرین کے علاوہ یہاں کی زبانوں کے ادب میں بھی محفوظ کیا گیا ہے۔ اردو زبان گزشتہ پانچ سو سالوں سے اس خطے کی نمائندہ زبان رہی ہے۔ اسی بنا پر اردو ادب میں اس خطے کی مشترکہ تاریخ و ثقافت کا گراں قدر سرمایہ بالواسطہ طور پر محفوظ ہے۔

ناول ادب کی ایک ایسی صنف ہے، جو ہمیشہ سے اپنے موضوعات پر خام مواد سماج اور تاریخ سے لیتی رہی ہے۔ اردو ناول میں ہندوستانی مشترکہ تاریخ و ثقافت کا وسیع سرمایہ موجود ہے۔ برصغیر پاک و ہند برطانوی عہد سے پہلے، ایک خاص طرح کے سیاسی و انتظامی نظام کے تحت چل رہا تھا، جس میں ملک کے بادشاہ کی حیثیت مرکزی علامتی سربراہ کی تھی۔ عوام کے ساتھ براہ راست رابطہ اور معاملات کی عملداری ریاستوں اور راجواڑوں کے نوابین کی تھی۔ اس دور میں عوامی سطح پر سماجی اور ثقافتی سرگرمیاں مذہبی بنیادوں کی بجائے انسانی سطح پر منعقد ہو رہی تھیں۔ علاوہ ازیں فرد اور سماج اپنی مخصوص مذہبی عبادات اور معاملات سے ہٹ کر عمومی طور پر گھل مل کر رہتے تھے۔ نوابین اور والیان ریاست بھی انتظامی اور سماجی معاملات کو خالصتاً انسانی بنیادوں پر چلاتے تھے۔ یوں کوئی مخصوص علاقہ، بستی یا سماج یک رنگی کی بجائے، رنگارنگی کا علمبردار تھا۔ یہی رنگارنگی ہندوستان کی ثقافت کی صدیوں سے پہچان تھی۔ اس امر سے انکار نہیں ہے کہ برطانوی عہد سے قبل مقامی طور پر باہمی سماجی اختلافات نہیں تھے۔ اختلافات ہونے کے باوجود مشترکہ تاریخ اور ثقافت کو نہ صرف تسلیم کیا جاتا تھا، بلکہ اُن پر نازاں ہونے کا رویہ بھی موجود تھا۔

برطانوی عہد میں سب سے زیادہ نقصان ہندوستان کے اسی سماجی نظام کو پہنچا یا گیا۔ جس کا حتمی نتیجہ ہندوستان کی تقسیم کی صورت پر منبج ہوا۔ دلچسپ بات یہ ہے کہ جغرافیہ کی تقسیم نے بظاہر مشترکہ ثقافت اور تاریخ کو تقسیم کر دیا۔ یہ سماجی ماہرین کے لیے بہت بڑا چیلنج ہے کہ ماضی کے مشترکہ ورثہ کی تقسیم کے اس عمل کا سائنسی تجزیہ کر کے یہ ثابت کریں کہ ماضی کا مشترکہ سرمایہ کیسے تقسیم ہو سکتا ہے۔ جو کچھ رونما ہو چکا، اُس کی تقسیم میرے خیال میں تو ناممکن ہے۔ یوں گماں ہوتا ہے کہ تقسیم ہندوستان کے بعد شعوری طور پر اپنے اپنے مفادات کے تحت، افراد، اداروں اور حکومتوں نے ایسی تاریخ مرتب کی، جس میں اس مشترکہ ورثے کے بھی حصے بخرے کرنے کی کوشش کی گئی۔ اس میں شک نہیں کہ فوری طور پر یہ کاوش خاصی موثر اور نتیجہ خیز ثابت ہوئی۔ آج اس مشترکہ ورثے کی حقیقت، وراثت اور تقسیم کے عمل کے بارے میں نئے نئے سوالات اٹھ رہے ہیں۔ یہ کانفرنس انہی سوالات ہی کی ایک شکل ہے۔

انسانی تاریخ میں جغرافیوں کی تقسیم اور رد و بدل ہمیشہ سے موجود رہا ہے۔ مگر اس تقسیم اور رد و بدل نے ماضی کو تقسیم کم ہی کیا ہے۔ اس ذیل میں میرے اس مقالے کا مرکزی نقطہ یہی ہے، کہ برطانوی عہد سے قبل اور دوران برطانوی عہد ہندوستان کی مشترکہ ثقافت کو تقسیم نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ میرا یہ مطالعہ اردو ناول کے حوالے سے ہے۔

ادیب معاشرے کا انتہائی باشعور، حساس اور وسیع ذہنیت کا حامل فرد ہوتا ہے۔ ادیب بہت حد تک کسی بھی سماج کا چہرہ تشکیل دینے میں بنیادی کردار ادا کرتا ہے۔ ادب سماجی عمل کی پیداوار ہونے کی بناء پر سماج کی پیش کش میں خارجی حرکات و سکنات کے ساتھ ساتھ داخلی نمود پذیری کو بھی مد نظر رکھتا ہے۔ اردو ناول میں سماج کی اسی طرح کی پیش کش نمایاں ہے۔ اردو ناول کا آغاز انیسویں صدی کی آخری چار دہائیوں سے ہو چکا تھا۔ آغاز (ابن الوقت) سے لے کر موجودہ عہد (خس و خاشاک زمانے) تک بیشتر ناولوں میں برصغیر پاک و ہند کی مشترکہ تاریخ و ثقافت کو متوازی بیانے کی شکل میں محفوظ کیا گیا ہے۔ یہ متوازی بیانیہ انڈیا اور پاکستان میں لکھی جانے والی عمومی تاریخ کی بہت حد تک نفی کرتا نظر آتا ہے۔ عمومی تاریخ جس طرح کے نتائج سامنے لاتی ہے۔ اُن پر یقین کر لیا جائے تو حیرت ہوتی ہے، کہ برصغیر پاک و ہند طویل عرصے تک کیسے پرامن اور خوشحال زندگی بسر کرتا رہا۔ دراصل یہ ہمارے تاریخ دان کا مسئلہ ہے کہ وہ حقائق کو مسح کر کے پیش کرتا ہے، زاہد چودھری اپنی کئی جلدوں پر محیط پاکستان کی سیاسی تاریخ کی جلد اول کے دیباچے میں یہی نقطہ اٹھاتے ہیں۔

مطالعہ تاریخ دراصل ایک سائنس ہے۔ اس میں ذاتی پسند یا ناپسند کا کوئی دخل نہیں ہے۔ تاریخ کوئی عقیدہ نہیں ہے، اس کا مطالعہ عقاید کی بنیاد پر نہیں بلکہ معروضیت کی بنیاد پر ہونا چاہیے۔ عقاید خواہ دائیں بازو کے ہوں یا بائیں بازو کے... عقیدہ پرستی کے شکنجے میں پھنس کر نہ توماضی کی اصل حقیقت سے آگاہی حاصل ہو سکتی ہے، نہ حال کو سمجھا جاسکتا ہے اور نہ مستقبل کے بارے میں کوئی درست پیش گوئی کی جاسکتی ہے۔¹

ثقافت دراصل کسی بھی سماج کا چہرہ ہونے کے ساتھ ساتھ کسی سماج کی حرکیات کا مہذب ترین اور فن کارانہ اظہار ہوتا ہے۔ ہندوستان کی ثقافت ہمیشہ سے بین المذاہب اور بین النسل تنوع کا مرکز رہی ہے۔ مختلف مذاہب کے پیروکاروں نے اپنے اپنے مذاہب سے عمومی طرز زندگی کے عمومی اصولوں کو مقامی جغرافیہ سے اس طرح ملا لیا کہ ثقافت گہری ہونے کے ساتھ ساتھ رنگارنگ ہوتی رہی۔ ہندوستان کی ثقافت کو سب سے بڑا دھچکا برطانوی عہد میں لگا۔ جب مقامی ثقافت کو شعوری طور پر تقسیم کرنے کی سعی کی گئی۔ اس پس منظر میں یہ جاننا بھی ضروری ہے کہ انگریز مقامی ثقافت پر اپنی ثقافت کا رنگ چڑھانا چاہتے تھے۔ جس میں وہ کسی حد تک کامیاب بھی رہے۔ اردو ناول میں اس ثقافت کے اثرات اور رد عمل شروع سے ہی نظر آنا شروع ہو چکے تھے۔ ڈپٹی نذیر احمد کا ناول ابن الوقت اس کی عمدہ ترین مثال ہے۔ ابن الوقت وقتی طور پر انگریزی طرز زندگی سے متاثر ہو کر اُسے اپناتا ہے، مگر حالات کے ہاتھوں مجبور ہو کر اور حجتہ (جو کہ مقامی ثقافت کا علمبرار ہے) کے دلائل سے قائل ہو کر اپنی بقاء واپسی کے سفر میں ہی تلاش کرتا ہے۔ علامتی طور پر یہ پیغام ہندوستان کے عوام کے لیے جنگ آزادی کے فوراً بعد ایک ناول نگار ہی دیتا نظر آتا ہے۔

¹ زاہد چودھری، پاکستان کی سیاسی تاریخ، پاکستان کیسے بننا، (لاہور: ادارہ مطالعہ تاریخ، ۲۰۱۲ء)، ص ۱۳۔

برصغیر پاک و ہند میں انگریزوں کی آمد سے قبل ثقافتی ہم آہنگی کو اردو ناول نگاروں نے کثرت سے موضوع بنایا ہے۔ ثقافتی ہم آہنگی کا عالم یہ ہے کہ بعض اوقات مذہب اور مذہبی عناصر اس ثقافتی ہم آہنگی کے سامنے ہتھیار ڈالتے نظر آتے ہیں۔ اس حوالے سے اردو ناول نگاروں میں سب سے معتبر حوالہ قرۃ العین حیدر کا ہے۔ آگے کا دریا جیسا ناول لکھ کر دراصل انہوں نے ہندوستان کے طویل ماضی کو دریافت نو کے عمل سے گزارا ہے۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ یہ ناول ہزاروں سالوں کے ہندوستان کی ثقافتی تاریخ ہے۔ مغل دور میں، کہ جب مرکزی بادشاہ کے ساتھ مختلف ریاستوں میں نوابین کی عملداری تھی، مذہبی بنیادوں پر اٹھنے والے فتنوں کو ریاستی نوابین اور مرکزی بادشاہ ہمیشہ ناپسندیدگی کی نگاہ سے دیکھتے تھے ایسا ہی ایک حوالہ ملاحظہ ہو:

واجد علی شاہ کے عہد میں ہندوؤں نے پھر اس جگہ پر ٹھاکر دوار بنانے کی کوشش کی۔ بڑا فساد رہا، فوج کشی ہوئی۔ فرنگی محل کے علماء نے جہاد کا فتویٰ دے دیا۔ مجاہدوں کے لشکر پہنچے۔ بڑا خون خرابہ ہوا۔ مولویوں نے لشکر کشی سے پہلے سلطان عالم کو عرضی بھیجی جو نظم کی صورت میں تھی، میں نے وہ نظم نقل کر لی تھی۔ آپ کو سناتی ہوں۔ اس نے بیگ کھول کر ایک کاغذ نکالا اور گھاس پر آلتی پالتی مار کر بیٹھتے ہوئے پروفیسر کو سنا شروع کیا:

مجاہدین کی عرضداشت بادشاہ اودھ کی خدمت میں

قریب دیر مہابیر واجب التعزیر

بنا تھی مسجد اسلام ہم چو بدر منیر

لگے بنانے بڑھا کر یہ کافر مقہور

سواد مسجد اقدس میں خانہ لنگور

امید ہے کہ شہنشاہ، قبلہ عالم

ابوالمظفر و منصور و خسرو اعظم

شہپر رفعت و قدسی صفات، والا جاہ

خدا یا کشور ہندوستان، فلک درگاہ

زباں فیض مبارک سے یوں کریں ارشاد

کہ کافران اودھ پر شتاب ہوئے جہاد

روانہ ہو کے شنبے کو لشکر اسلام

برائے غارت و تاراج شہر کچھن و رام

یہ مذہب کا تعصب ہے اپنی خالص ہیئت میں گو یہ ایک علیحدہ بات ہے کہ سلطان عالم واجد علی شاہ نے بجائے اس کے کہ وہ عرصہ اشت پر کان دھرتے انہوں نے مجاہدین کی سرکوبی کے لیے شاہی فوج فینش آباد بھیجی اور مجاہدین لڑتے ہوئے سرکاری سپاہیوں کے ہاتھوں مارے گئے یا شہید ہوئے اور ایودھیا میں امن قائم ہوا۔²

قرۃ العین حیدر کا خیال ہے کہ انگریزوں کی آمد سے قبل ہندو مسلم فساد خالصتاً مذہبی، بنیادوں پر ہوتے تھے، مگر حکمران اس فساد کو ہوا دینے کی بجائے ہمیشہ اُس کی سرکوبی کرتے تھے۔ مگر انگریزوں کی آمد نے اس فساد کو نہ صرف ہوا دی، بلکہ فساد کے نئے نئے زاویے عطا کیے۔ اسی حوالے سے آگے کا دریا سے ایک اقتباس ملاحظہ ہو:

تم نے کبھی غور کیا۔ پروفیسر اوپر درخت کی شاخ پر بیٹھی ہوئی ایک گوریا کو دیکھتے ہوئے دھیمی آواز میں کہا تم ہسٹری کی طالب علم ہو۔ کہ انگریزوں سے پہلے اس ملک میں ہندو مسلم فساد نہیں ہوتے تھے۔ جنگیں ہوتی تھیں مگر وہ سیاسی تھیں۔ ہندو حکمرانوں کی فوج میں مسلمان جزل اور سپاہی ہوتے تھے۔ مسلمانوں کی طرف سے ہندو لڑتے تھے۔ سیاسی گروہ بندی تھیں، پھر انگریزوں نے دنیا پر یہ نیا نظریہ آشکار کیا کہ اس ملک میں ہزاروں زبانیں بولی جاتی ہیں، ہزاروں قومیں بستی ہیں، ہندو مسلمان ایک دوسرے سے متنفر ہیں، یہ ملک ایک ملک نہیں ہے محض جغرافیہ کی ایک اصطلاح ہے۔ ان کی لکھی ہوئی تاریخ کی کتابوں کے ذریعے نفرت کا بیج بویا گیا۔³

قرۃ العین حیدر اُن ناول نگاروں میں سے ہیں، جو ہندوستان میں صدیوں سے پروان شدہ ثقافتی ہم آہنگی اور سرگرمیوں کو بھرپور رنگ میں اپنے ناولوں میں پیش کرتی ہیں۔ چند مثالیں ملاحظہ ہوں۔ ایک جگہ وہ لکھنؤ کے پس منظر میں مشہور جگہوں اور عمارتوں کا حوالہ دیتے ہوئے لکھتی ہیں:

موتی محل برج سے آگے بڑھ کر میرس کالج تھا اور قیصر باغ کی بارہ دری اور قیصر باغ، اس کے آگے امین آباد پارک تھا اور امیر الدولہ پارک، اور شہر اور جھاڈال کاپل اور پھر سڑکیں نکاس اور چوک کی طرف جاتی تھیں جہاں میڈیکل کالج تھا اور ہسپتال، شاہ مینا کی درگاہ اور امام باڑہ آصف الدولہ، چھی بھون اور امام باڑہ حسین آباد، وہیں اکبری دروازہ تھا اور گول دروازہ۔ یہ سارا علاقہ پرنا لکھنؤ تھا۔⁴

ہندوستان کی تاریخ اور ثقافت مشترکہ طور پر تمام ہندوستانیوں کے لئے باعث فخر تھی۔ یہ فخر نہ تو کسی خاص مذہب کے ماننے والوں کے ساتھ اور نہ ہی کسی خاص جغرافیہ کے ساتھ، یہی وجہ ہے کہ قرۃ العین حیدر کے ناول آگے کا دریا کا مرکزی کردار کمال جب اپنے ماضی کے بارے میں سوچتا ہے، تو کچھ اس طرح کے خیالات کا اظہار کرتا ہے:

² قرۃ العین حیدر، آگ کا دریا، (لاہور: سنگ میل پبلی کیشنز، ۲۰۰۷ء)، ص ۳۰۶۔

³ قرۃ العین حیدر، آگ کا دریا، ص ۳۰۴۔

⁴ قرۃ العین حیدر، آگ کا دریا، ص ۲۰۸۔

یہ ہندوستان کیا تھا، اس کا شعوری طور پر اس نے کبھی تجزیہ نہیں کیا۔ بچپن سے وہ اس ہندوستان کا عادی تھا جہاں وہ پیدا ہوا تھا، جہاں اس کے پرکھ پچھلے سات آٹھ سو سال سے پیدا ہوتے آئے تھے۔ اس ہندوستان میں سرسوں کے کھیت تھے اور ہٹ اور ستیلا دیوی کے مندر ہندوستان بستی ضلع کا وہ ٹھہ تھا جہاں وہ اپنے بابا کے ہمراہ گیا تھا۔ جہاں برآمدے میں تخت پر ایک موٹائی۔ اسے پاس مہنت بیٹھا تھا اور جس کو می نے دس کانٹ چڑھایا تھا اور جس نے آشیر باد دی تھی۔ ہندوستان اناوے کی وہ کائی آلودہ درگاہ تھی جس کی منڈیروں پر بہت سے قلندر اکڑوں بیٹھے رہتے تھے جن میں سے ایک نے کمال کو بٹول کے سنترے کھائے تھے۔ ہندوستان قدیر ڈرائیور کی بوڑھی ماں تھی جو پیلے رنگ کی دھوتی پہنے مرزا پور کے اسٹیشن پر کمال کے لیے مٹی کے کھلونے لے کر آئی تھی۔ ہندوستان سول لائسنز کی وہ سڑکیں تھیں جن پر صاحب لوگوں کے ڈوگ بوائز شام کو کتوں کو ہوا کھانے کے لیے نکلتے تھے۔ ہندوستان بوڑھا حاجی بشارت حسین خان سماں تھا جو، جب کمال کو سیتلا نکلی تھی تو، اپنی دوپٹی لٹائی اور ایک ٹانگ پر ہاتھ جوڑ کر اس کے سامنے کھڑا ہو گیا تھا اور گڑ گڑا کر بولا تھا۔ ”ماتا اب معاف کرو۔ بھیا کو چھوڑ کر چلی جاؤ۔“ ماتا تمہارے آگے ہاتھ جوڑتا ہوں۔“ یہ سیتلا کے سامنے ہاتھ جوڑنے والا مسلمان بوڑھا۔ ہندوستان تھا۔ اس کے علاوہ اس کی اماں اور خالائیں اور گھر کی دوسری پیہیاں بھی ہندوستان تھیں۔ ان کی آپس کی بول چال، محاورے، گیت، رسمیں اور پھر پرانی کہانیاں، جو مغلاں سناتی تھیں: اجداد کے راجہ دستر تھ کی دو پیہیاں تھیں۔ ایک کا نام کیکئی، دوسری کا کوٹلیا۔ ہندو پرانوں اور دیومالا کے قصے، مسلمان اولیا کے قصے، مغل بادشاہوں کے قصے۔ یہ سب کمال کی ذہنی بیک گراؤنڈ تھی۔⁵

کمال کی سی سوچ قرۃ العین حیدر کے ایک اور ناول آخر شب کے ہم سفر کے مرکزی کردار ریحان کی بھی ہے۔ جو کہ ہندوستان کے ایک اور جغرافیہ بنگال کا کردار ہے۔ مگر وہاں بھی مذہبی عناصر کے بجائے ثقافت چھائی ہوئی ہے۔ لوگوں کا میل جول اور سماجی زندگی کا اشتراک قابل غور ہے:

اب سمجھ میں آتا ہے کہ ہمارے سارے باؤ معنی عشق مجازی اور عشق حقیقی اور انسانیت کے عشق کے متعلق کیا گاتے پھرتے تھے؟ شیخ مدن باؤل، شتولن شاہ، حسن رضا، لال شاہ۔ یہ سنگیت کا درویش جن کی شاعری اور موسیقی نے اتنی شدت سے گرد و پوی شاعری اور موسیقی کو متاثر کیا۔ کیا یہ مشترکہ ورثہ نہیں؟ اور دیپالی نے خود اپنے گاؤں مین سنگھ میں دیکھا تھا کہ برہمادیہ فقیر جو مسلمان تھے۔ منتر پڑھ کر اور گھنٹیاں بجا بجا کر مسلمان کسانوں کی مرادیں پوری کرنے کا تپ کرتے تھے اور مسلمان کسانوں کے ہاں شادی کے موقع پر منگل چنڈی و بے کی رسم ادا کی جاتی ہے۔ خود ریحان کا عرف روٹو میاں تھا۔ روٹو ہندوؤں کا نام بھی تھا۔ کیا یہ سب تہذیبی مماثلت یا اتحاد کے بے حد سطحی مظاہر ہیں یا ان کے پیچھے کوئی ایسی گہمیر، تاریخی، نسلی اور نفسیاتی معنویت بھی پنہاں ہے، جو سیاسی تبدیلیوں سے بلند تر اور ماوراء ہے گی؟ دیپالی بہت زیادہ الجھ کر دیر سے مڑی۔⁶

ماضی کے اس سرمائے میں مشترکہ ہیر وز بھی تھے اور ولن بھی۔ ہیر واور ولن کی بنیاد ہندوستان تھا نہ کہ ہندوستان سے وابستہ کوئی خاص مذہب یا جغرافیہ۔ اسی کی ایک مثال ملاحظہ ہو:

5 قرۃ العین حیدر، آگ کا دریا، ص ۲۷۵۔

6 قرۃ العین حیدر، آخر شب کے ہم سفر، (لاہور، سنگ میل پبلی کیشنز، ۲۰۱۲ء)، ص ۱۲۶۔

یہ ”شہابی تخت“ اس زمانے کی یادگار تھا۔ جب نواب نور الزماں مرحوم کے ہاں ارجمند منزل کے باغ میں جاترا والوں کی منڈلیاں آ کر ڈیرے ڈالتی تھیں۔ لوگ نانک کھیلے جاتے تھے۔ بنگالی تھیٹر کمپنیاں تاریخی، سوشل اور سیاسی ڈرامے اسٹیج کرتی تھیں اور شہر کے ہندو اور مسلم امراء جمع ہو کر ”شاہجہان“، ”ٹیپو سلطان“، ”سراج الدولہ“، ”میر قاسم“، ”کرانی جیون“ اور ”خودی رام باسو“ سے لطف اندوز ہوتے تھے۔ (خودی رام باسو، جو ایک دہشت پسند نوجوان تھا اور جسے مظفر پور کے انگریز جج کننگھم فرڈپر قاتلانہ حملہ کرنے کے جرم میں ۱۹۰۸ء میں پھانسی ہوئی تھی۔ ہزاروں ہندو گھرانوں میں اس کی راکھ تبرک کی طرح تقسیم کی گئی اور لوگ اس کے تعویذ بنانا کر پہننے لگے۔ اس کے متعلق مقبول ڈرامہ بھی ارجمند منزل میں کھیلنا چکا تھا) یہاں گریٹس چند اور ٹیکو کا چرچا رہتا تھا اور بنگلہ سنگیت ناکوں کی موسیقی گونجی تھی۔⁷

مستنصر حسین تارڑ اردو کے ان ناول نگاروں میں سے ہیں۔ جنہیں مقامی تاریخ و ثقافت ہمیشہ اپنی طرف کھینچتی ہے۔ بساؤ میں وہ قدیم ہندوستان کے خاص خطے اور ثقافت کو موضوع بناتے ہیں تو راکھ اور خس و خاشاک زمانے میں ہندوستان ماضی قریب کو بیان کرتے ہیں۔ راکھ اور خس و خاشاک زمانے کی خصوصیت یہ ہے کہ اس میں وہ ہندوستان کے وسیع و عریض خطہ پنجاب ثقافت اور سماجی زندگی کو موضوع بناتے ہیں، جو ثقافتی رنگ ڈھنگ قرۃ العین حیدر کے ہاں بنگال کے پس منظر میں تھا وہی رنگ ڈھنگ تارڑ کے ہاں پنجاب کے پس منظر میں ملاحظہ ہو:

پنجاب کے دیگر دیہات کی مانند کوٹ ستارہ کی کچی گلیوں، جوہڑوں اور کھیتوں کے اوپر جو آسمان تھا وہاں تک کوئی ایک پکار نہ جاتی تھی۔ قرآن، گرنیٹھ اور رامائن کے ملے جلے مشترکہ سندیے دیئے جاتے تھے... پران کا آپس میں اس لیے میر نہ تھا کہ ان سندھیوں پر دھیان کم ہی دیا جاتا تھا... معاشرہ مذہبیوں میں نہیں ذات برادری اور چوہدری اور کمیوں میں بنا ہوا تھا... ان کے سامنے مذہب کی حیثیت ثانوی تھی۔⁸

نوآبادیاتی عہد میں جب نئی نئی تعمیرات ہونے لگیں جن کے ظاہری اور مخفی مقاصد الگ الگ تھے، تو ایسی عمارتوں میں سے ایک عمارت لاہور ریلوے سٹیشن کی بھی تھی۔ تارڑ نے ان عمارتوں کے پس منظر میں بھی ہندوستان کی ایک جہتی بھانپ لی ہے۔ اگرچہ یہ ایک جہتی کمزوری پر محمول ہے مگر بہت اہم منظر ہے:

ان جادوئی عمارتوں کے سائے سائے چلتا... فاصلے طے کرتا... ریل گاڑی کی پیٹری کے کنارے کنارے چلتا وہ ایک اور عجوبے کے سامنے تھا اور یہ لاہور کاریلوے سٹیشن تھا۔ سنگاں چٹانوں کا ایک ڈھیر تھا جس میں سے برج اٹھ رہے تھے... فصیلیں ابھر رہی تھیں... ایک حفاظتی قلعہ تھا جس کے برجوں میں سے توپیں بھی داغی جاسکتی تھیں۔ یہ انگریز سرکار کا کمال تھا کہ اُس نے بظاہر ایک

7 قرۃ العین حیدر، آخر شب کے ہم سفر، ص ۱۲۔

8 مستنصر حسین تارڑ، خس و خاشاک زمانے، (لاہور: سنگ میل پبلی کیشنز، ۲۰۱۰ء)، ص ۲۲۲۔

ریلوے سٹیشن تعمیر کیا جو وقت پڑنے پر ایک دفاعی حصار بھی ہو سکتا تھا... ان ناواں اکثر نگ دھڑنگ... دھوٹیوں... شلواریوں اور چُست پاجاموں والے سازشی ہندوستانیوں کا کیا پتہ کہ کب بغاوت پر آمادہ ہو جائیں۔⁹

برطانوی عہد میں جب ہندوستانی سماجی زندگی نے کروٹ لی، تو بہت سی اقدار اور رہن سہن کے طریقے بدلے۔ اس بدلاؤ کو جزوی طور پر قبول کیا گیا۔ مگر کہیں کہیں شدید رد عمل بھی دیکھنے میں آیا۔ مورخ نے عمومی طور پر اقدار کی تبدیلی اور سماجی زندگی کے اس بدلاؤ کو اعداد و شمار کی روشنی میں تو دیکھا مگر جس انداز سے ایک فنکار نے اس بدلاؤ کو دیکھا، وہ مورخ کے ہاں نہ رہی، خُش و خاشاک زمانے میں اسی طرح کی ایک تبدیلی کے خلاف رد عمل ملاحظہ ہو:

اسی نت کلاں کا ایک کم حیثیت سردار کھڑک سنگھ پہلی جنگ عظیم کے دوران فرانس کے محاذ پر نہایت بے جگری سے لڑا... بہادری کا یہ تمنہ و غیرہ بھی وردی پر سجا کر لوٹا اور اُس کے پلے میں رقم بھی بہت تھی... اُس نے گاؤں میں ایک ینگھر تو تعمیر کیا اور اُس کے اندر ایک ٹائلٹ بھی بنوا لیا... گاؤں میں غدر مچ گیا... برادری نے اُس کے گھر کا گھیراؤ کر لیا اور کرپائیں لہرانے لگیں کہ اوئے کھڑک سنگھ گوروں کے ساتھ رہ کر گورا ہو گیا ہے بے غیرتا... کاغذ کے ساتھ پیٹ بھی پونچھتا ہو گا بے مراد!... اب گاؤں کے درمیان میں ایک تڑٹی بنائی ہے گندگی کی، جس میں جا بیٹھتا ہے اور سارے نت کلاں میں بو پھیلاتا ہے... یہاں رہنا ہے تو یہ تڑٹی ڈھا دے ورنہ... کھڑک سنگھ نے ہر اسماں ہو کر وہ ٹائلٹ مسمار کر دیا اور ایک اچھے خالصے کی طرح کھیتوں میں جا کہ بیٹھنے لگا۔¹⁰

ہندوستان میں انگریزوں کی آمد کے بعد جس طرح کی اتھل پتھل ہوئی، وہ بھی اردو ناول نگاروں نے عمدہ طریقے سے بیان کی ہے۔ عبداللہ حسین کا اداس نسلیں دراصل اسی سماجی اتھل پتھل کے بیان سے شروع ہوتا ہے۔ ایک منظر ملاحظہ ہو، جس میں ہندوستان کے تمام قومیتوں کے لوگ موجود ہیں۔ مگر اس موجودگی کا اہم ترین عنصر اُن کی ثقافتی شناخت ہے:

اب ہندوستانی مہمان آرہے تھے۔ وہ مختلف قسم کے لباس میں تھے۔ مسلمان پھندنے والی سرخ ٹوپیوں اور لمبے لمبے چوغوں میں تھے۔ کچھ لوگ شیر وانیوں میں بھی تھے جن سے ان کے قوم و مذہب کا پتہ چلانا دشوار تھا کہ ہندوستان میں اب ہندو مسلم عیسائی سب نے شیر وانیوں پہننی شروع کر دی تھیں۔¹¹

جلیانوالہ باغ کا واقعہ ہوا تو یہ پورے ہندوستان کے لیے المیہ بنا۔ ہندوستان کے طول و عرض میں اس واقعے کے خلاف رد عمل آیا۔ یہ رد عمل اگرچہ زیادہ تر سوگواریت کا پہلو لیے ہوا تھا مگر اس واقعے میں بھی مذہب سے ماوراء ہندوستانیات نشانے پر تھی۔ اسی واقعہ کو عبداللہ حسین نے ایک ناظر کردار کی صورت یوں بیان کیا ہے۔

9 مستنصر حسین تارڑ، خاشاک زمانے، ص ۱۲۶۔

10 مستنصر حسین تارڑ، خاشاک زمانے، ص ۶۶۔

11 عبداللہ حسین، داداس نسلین، (لاہور: سنگ میل پبلی کیشنز، ۲۰۰۱ء)، ص ۱۳۔

یہ سارا قصہ چند لمحے کا ہے۔ چند گز کے فاصلے پر کنواں تھا۔ وہ خشک کنواں تم دیکھ رہے ہو؟ ہاں وہی۔ میرے ساتھ بھاگتے ہوئے زیادہ تر لوگ اس میں جا گرے۔ ان کے اوپر دوسری طرف سے آنے والے گرے۔ اس میں ہر طرف سے آنے والے زندہ اور مردہ لوگ گرنا شروع ہوئے۔ اور انسانوں کی چیخوں نے گولیوں کی آواز کو دبا دیا۔ میرے دیکھتے دیکھتے کنواں مردہ اور نیم مردہ لوگوں سے بھر گیا اور لوگ آسانی کے ساتھ اس پر سے دوڑتے ہوئے گزرنے لگے۔¹²

عجیب المیہ ہے کہ جب تقسیم ہند کی صورت فسادات پھوٹ پڑے تو ان فسادات نے مذہب کی بنیاد پر سب سے پہلے ثقافتی ہم آہنگی پر وار کیا۔ ان فسادات نے مذہبی بنیادوں پر انسانوں کو نشانہ بنایا، جیلہ ہاشمی اسی لیے گولیوں بیان کرتی ہیں: یاد رہے یہاں ثقافت اور انسانیت کی کمزوری کی بنیادی وجہ انگریزوں کی وہ سازشیں تھیں، جس بنا پر مقامی ثقافت اپنا اثر کھو بیٹھی۔

راجندر پر شاد سکینہ تمہارا وہ عزم اور ارادہ کیا ہوا۔ بھائی تم اکیلے تھے نہ، ہندو نہ تھے مسلمان نہ تھے، صرف انسان تھے۔ اور اس جنگ میں تمام انسان پرست جھوٹے ثابت ہو کر پسپا ہو گئے۔ تم کہتے تھے تم پر ماتما کی بنائی ہوئی چیزوں کی حفاظت کرو گے۔ تم بھگوان سے بھی اونچے ہو۔ اور آج تم کہاں ہو۔ سنا ہے تم فسادوں اور انقلاب پرستوں کے ساتھ لڑتے ہوئے مارے گئے۔¹³

بنگال کا قحط ہندوستانی تاریخ کا ایک اور المناک باب ہے۔ اس قحط نے ایک طرف ہندوستان میں معاشی نظام کی قلعی کھولی، دوسری طرف اس لیے کے درپردہ انسانوں کی سفاکی کو بھی ہمارے سامنے لا کھڑا کیا، مورخین نے یقیناً اعداد و شمار کی بنیاد پر اس قحط کا تجزیہ کیا ہے۔ مگر فضل کریم فضلی نے خون جگر ہونے تک میں اس لیے کے سماجی پہلوؤں کو خوب اجاگر کیا ہے۔ ناول نگار نے نہ صرف قحط سے پیدا شدہ صورت حال کو پیش کیا ہے بلکہ خیر و شر کے نمائندہ کرداروں کی صورت انسانی سماج کے اچھے اور برے چہرے کو بھی پیش کیا ہے۔ یاد رہے کہ قحط میں ایک طرف عوام کی بھوک اور موت کو موضوع بنایا گیا ہے تو دوسری طرف جلودھر چڑجی اور مجید صاحب جیسے دو متضاد کرداروں کو بھی عیاں کیا ہے۔

مشترکہ ثقافتی ورثہ کا بیان اردو ناول نگاروں کا پسندیدہ موضوع رہا ہے۔ حیرت انگیز بات اور مورخین کے لیے لمحہ فکریہ ہے کہ جوں جوں تقسیم ہند سے فاصلہ بڑھتا گیا، مورخین اس تقسیم کو منطقی بنانے کے لیے مختلف تاویلیں دینے لگے، اگرچہ بعض مورخین کو استثنا حاصل ہے۔ جبکہ تخلیق کار ماضی کے اس واقعے کو تاریخی شعور کی روشنی میں دیکھنے لگے۔ اردو کے بیشتر ناول نگاروں نے اس تاریخی شعور کے تحت ماضی کے تحت مشترکہ ورثے (جس میں دکھ سکھ سبھی شامل ہے) کو موضوع بنایا ہے۔ ناول نگاروں کی اس طویل فہرست میں چند ایک نام جن میں عبداللہ حسین، شوکت صدیقی، مستنصر حسین تارڑ، انتظار حسین، خدیجہ مستور، فضل کریم فضلی، عزیز احمد، جیلہ ہاشمی، پریم چند، کرشن چندر، نذیر احمد قابل ذکر ہیں۔ ان تمام ناول نگاروں نے اپنے اپنے رنگ ڈھنگ میں ہندوستان کی ثقافت کے ساتھ ساتھ مشترکہ تاریخ اور اہم تاریخی

¹² عبداللہ حسین، *ماداس نسلین*، ص ۲۴۹۔

¹³ جیلہ ہاشمی، *قلاشن بہار اس*، (لاہور: سنگ میل پبلی کیشنز، ۲۰۰۳ء)، ص ۵۳۹۔

واقعات کو موضوع بنایا ہے۔ جنگ آزادی ہو یا پھر سماجی اصلاح پسندی کی تحریک انیسویں صدی کے آغاز میں ہندوستان میں آزادی کی لہر، جلیانوالہ باغ کا واقعہ ہو یا پھر انگریزوں کی جانب سے اپنے وفاداروں کو نوازنے کا سلسلہ۔ انگریزوں کی تجارتی سرگرمیاں ہوں یا مشنری، مقامی سیاسی و سماجی رہنماؤں کے خطبات ہوں یا پھر تقسیم سے قبل کی سیاسی صورتحال، سب کو ناول نگاروں نے اپنا موضوع بنایا ہے، یوں اردو ناول نے تاریخ کے متوازی بیانیہ فراہم کیا ہے۔

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.