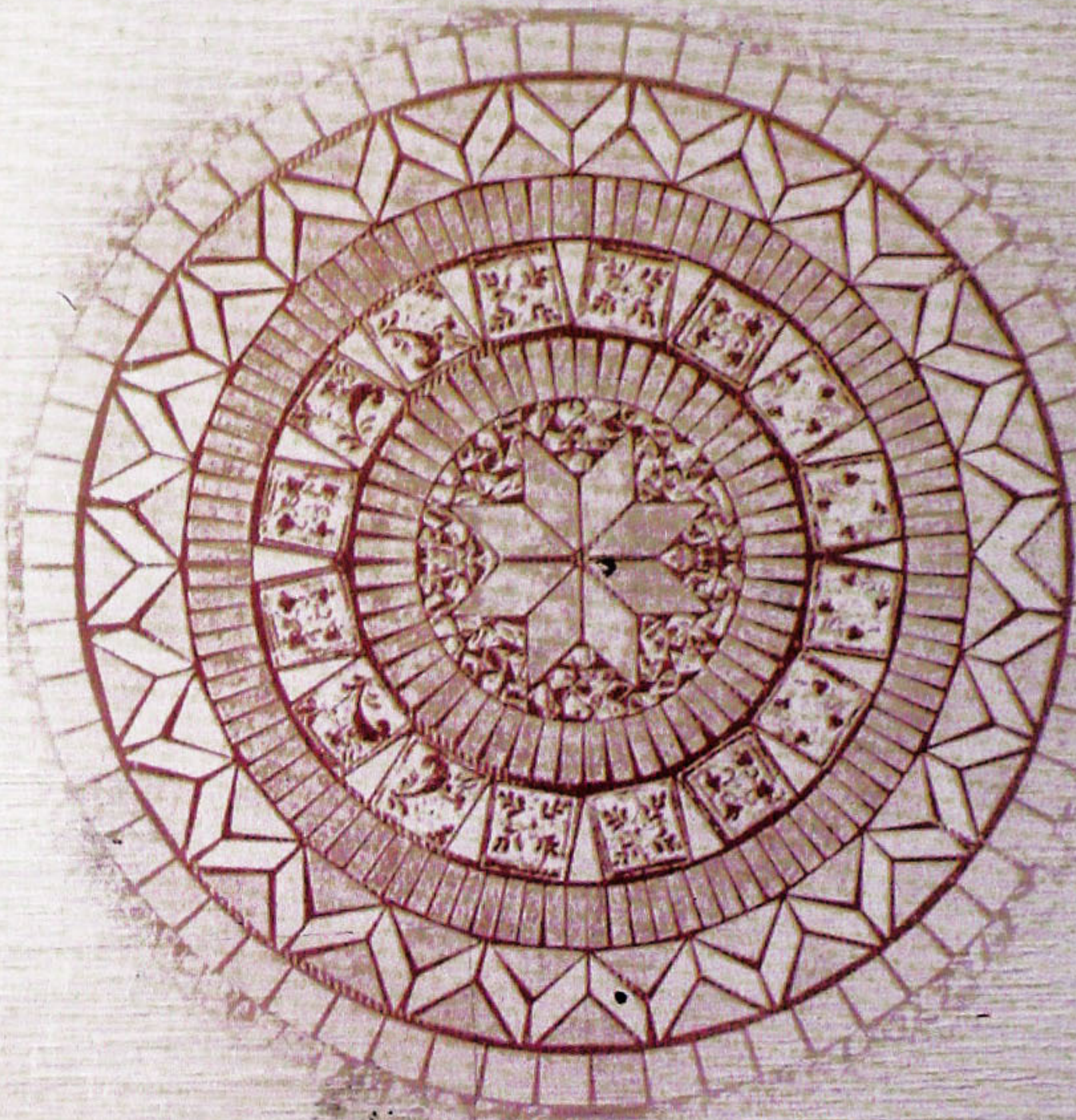


# EARLY URDU HISTORIOGRAPHY

*Dr. Javed Ali Khan*



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# EARLY URDU HISTORIOGRAPHY

Dr. Javed Ali Khan



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Dedicated  
to  
my parents  
Nisar Ali Khan and Qamrunnesa Begum  
to  
whose benediction  
I owe my education







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## PREFACE

Historiography in India owes much to the Muslims who introduced the rich and developed Arabo-Persian tradition of historical writings in the country during the medieval period. From the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, some thousands of works on history – of varying nature – were written in the subcontinent. This was also the period when Urdu developed as a new language that represented a happy blending of indigenous dialects with the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages brought by the Turkish rulers. By the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Urdu began to replace Persian as the language for academic and literary activities. The transition coincided with the rise of new trends in historical writings in the country.

By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the greater part of northern India had come under British occupation and rule. The new rulers were naturally interested in knowing about the past of the great country that they had come to rule. Their immediate attention was drawn to Persian histories which were translated – either the full text or its extracts – into English. Unfortunately, the selection made in this respect was biased and motivated: the attempt was to show, through



the writings of the Indo-Persian historians themselves, the supposedly 'negative' features of Muslim rule. The well-known series (in 8 volumes) edited by Elliot and Dowson is a major example of this prejudice.

This was also the time when the new methodology and techniques of historiography developed in the West. British historians – most of them from the ranks of civil-servants – equipped with these new ideas and standards began the task of rewriting India's past. Their sources were essentially the Persian histories of the preceding period. However, their bias, unfortunately but largely, dominated their narrative and analysis.

The period between the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> constitutes the most glorious phase in the history of the Urdu language. Though it gradually displaced Persian as the language of the intellectual elite, it could not completely dissociate itself with the literary and academic heritage of the Persian language. At another level, it emerged as the language of the common people. It also explored new avenues of creative writings; historiography being one of them.

It is interesting to note that among the Indian language, Urdu enjoys the distinction of being the first to develop a modern tradition of historiography. It developed on the solid foundations laid by Indo-Persian historiography and was enriched further by the new impulses coming from the West. This opened up a new vista and immense possibilities. The early Urdu writings followed the then established tradition of translating Persian texts: an early example being the Urdu translation by Waris Ali of Shahjahanabad of the important Persian text, *Tarikh-e Firoz Shahi* of Shams-e Siraj Afif. There were also some early translations from English works, such as the *Lubb ut-Tawarikh* (1829-30) which is a translation of Alexander Tytler's *Elements of General History*. But, very soon, the new possibilities came to be explored; the best examples coming from



the Fort William College (Calcutta) followed by Fort St. George (Madras) and later the Delhi historians. Still later, Maulana Shibli Nomani and his worthy disciple Syed Sulaiman Nadvi enriched the tradition further. They also tried to correct the distortions made by some British historians in recording the history of Islam and Muslim rulers, by presenting the information in the Persian texts in proper perspective.

Apart from the works on the history of Islam and Muslim rule in India, there also appeared scores of works on regional history, a genre borrowed once again from Indo-Persian historical writings. Such writings increased in number by the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Other themes also attracted attention. Sir Syed wrote the *Aasar us-Sanadeed* (1847) in 4 volumes. It can easily be described as the first compendium on the archaeological monuments and sites written in any Indian language.

These and other related matters constitute the essence of the present work. This is divided, thematically, into 3 sections: the first looks at the major trends and stages in Urdu historiography; the second offers the profiles of some eminent historians writing in Urdu; and the third offers a critical evaluation of the handling of sources and the element of causation in history in these works. Spread out into 15 chapters of varying lengths – depending on the need of the treatment of themes – the book is not only a pioneering effort to narrate and evaluate the features of Urdu historiography but also an exhaustive documentation of historical writings in Urdu. I am sure it will prove to be a useful reference work for researches working on the subject in the coming days.

Dr. Khan has also brought to light the significant, but little-known, contribution of the Hindu historians writing in the Urdu language during the period under review. Some of them, like Munshi Debi Prasad, were prolific writers covering a wide range of themes in their writings. Some others, like Munshi Binayak Prasad,

made a seminal contribution to the writing of regional history of Bihar. Dr. Khan has – without stating the fact in so many words – very clearly shown that Urdu was not merely the language of the Muslims but that of all the educated and cultured people of Hindustan, during this period.

To be associated with the publication of this book is a matter of particular satisfaction for me. The book is a revised and enlarged version of the doctoral thesis that Dr. Javed Ali Khan wrote under the supervision of my father, the late Professor Qeyamuddin Ahmad of the Department of History, Patna University. He had always advised Dr. Khan to get it published as early as possible. For various reasons, this could not be done during his lifetime. I consider my association in this venture as my humble tribute to his memory.

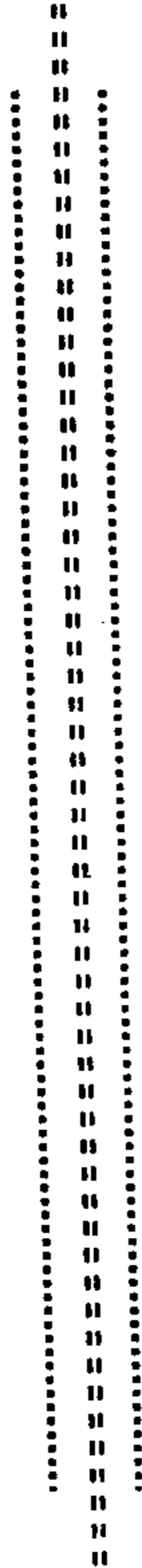
*Imtiaz Ahmad*

*Patna, June 7, 2005*



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# EARLY URDU HISTORIOGRAPHY



Dr. Javed Ali Khan





## Foreword

History, writes Arthur Marwick, is a "major industry" in contemporary society. It is an industry, he goes on to explain, which manufactures the human 'past' or 'memory' and since every society needs a collective memory or self-knowledge to establish its own identity, history, he avers, caters to a fundamental need of the society. But society also needs a man or a group of men to preserve and communicate this knowledge. The historians carry out this task. History is made, it is, therefore, said, only when the historians write it. The historian, however, requires certain tools to reconstruct/manufacture the past. Records or evidences, described by a modern historian as the 'raw material of history', are the primary tools of the historians. The process of converting the raw material into finished product is called the historian's craft or historiography.

The history of historiography in India is almost one thousand years old. Although apart from Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* (1148-49) no major historical work was written in India in the pre-medieval period, the medieval era turned out to be extremely rich in historical writings. Between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries Muslim as well as Hindu historians produced innumerable historical works of divergent hues and shades in India. An objective analysis of medieval Indian and early European historical writings reveals that contrary to the tall claims made by many European scholars of yesteryears, regarding the superiority of European historiography, the mentality, methodology, and the technique of western historians was not substantially different from their Indian counterparts.

Both were dependent on state or elite patronage for writing history and adopted the profession in quest of this patronage. Both gave top priority to the narration of political affairs and sought to use history as an instrument for preserving the memory of noble deeds of the great and the mighty. In the same vein the medieval Indian as well as European historians poorly handled the cause and effect relationship. Rational and reasoned explanation of the past was not their forte. Events were interpreted in terms of the will of God. Scarcity and prosperity, war and peace, tragedy and windfall were seen as signs of divine punishment and pleasure. More often than not the supernatural and moral elements were endowed decisive role in the determination of events. Needless to say that before the arrival of Vico (d. 1744), Voltaire (d. 1778) and Gibbon (d. 1794) on the scene, there is not much to choose between Indian and European historiography. Their drawbacks and assets were just about the same. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, therefore, India was not far behind Europe in historical study.

History writing in India underwent a radical change with the establishment of the British hegemony in India in the nineteenth century. Armed with new methodologies and techniques of historiography, current in the nineteenth century Europe, the British historians set out to 'rediscover' India's past. Though a few civil servant turned historians like Montstuart Elphinstone, Grant Duff, John Briggs, and Alfred Lyall, were broadly sympathetic in their appraisal of the political and cultural attainments of the Indians, most British historians wrote with a definite agenda. Denigrating India's past was their favourite pastime and justifying their colonial rule over India was their primary concern. They assumed the role of, what R.G. Bhandarkar called, prosecuting counsel while writing Indian history and by selective use of evidence that tended to support



their line of thinking, they presented "a peculiarly jaundiced view of India's past." Instead of describing the past as it actually was and ignoring the Rankean dictum that "strict presentation of facts is the supreme law of historical writing", the British historians preferred to pass moral judgement on Indian history. James Stuart Mill, for instance, was vociferous in his denunciation of the ancient Indian civilization and declared that the laws, institutions, arts, and sciences of the Hindus represented "the rudest and weakest states of human mind," Sir H.M. Elliot, J.T. Wheeler and others of their ilk, on the other hand, targeted the medieval period of Indian history. While the former found nothing worthy of commendation in the record of the medieval Muslim monarchs and harped on the theme of the mildness and equity of the British rule again and again, the latter denounced the Mughal Emperors as "the most shameless tyrants that ever disgraced a throne" and held that the Mughal administration was "a monstrous system of oppression and extortion which none but Asiatics could have practised or endured."

The relentless, partisan, and unwarranted criticism of India's past unleashed by the British historians stung the national pride of the Indians. Driven by nationalistic and patriotic fervour, the educated among them embarked upon a campaign to write a new history of India. Defence of the Indian heritage against the European onslaught and a pragmatic appraisal of India's past were the main intent of this brand of historical writings. Before long this campaign blossomed into a full-fledged trend of historical writings: the nationalist historiography. In their enthusiasm to set the record of the Indian civilization straight many a nationalist historian went to other extreme of the spectrum and claimed that what Europe accomplished in the nineteenth century, even in the sphere of science and technology, India had already achieved in the age of the epics. Needless to

say, the nationalist approach to the study of Indian history came to be plagued by practically the same defects and was weighed down with the same lack of objectivity that had characterized the colonial historiography on India. A positive fallout of the nationalist historiography, however, was that it stimulated history writing in the indigenous languages. It inspired, for instance, a number of Muslim scholars to review their past and encouraged them to question the European disparagement of Islam and Muslim civilization both in and outside India. Many of these scholars used Urdu as the medium of expression of their ideas and in the process gave birth to Urdu historiography.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (d. 1898) was perhaps the first protagonist of Urdu historiography. He started his career as a historian with the publication of *Asar al-Sanadid* (1847). During the next two decades he went on to edit three major Persian historical works of medieval India and also wrote passionately but with a rare objectivity on the Revolt of 1857. Sir Syed's historical writings were, therefore, concerned primarily with the past of the Indian Muslims as well as their contemporary problems. It was not that Sir Syed was not concerned with the plight of Muslims in other parts of the world. He was aware of the decline of Muslim political power outside India and longed for the revival of the past glory of Islam. He was hurt by the negative portrayal of Islam in European writings and endeavoured hard to show that Islam was not incompatible with progress, reason and science. He desired to make the critics of Islam aware of the glorious achievements of his co-religionists in the past. At the same time he wished to awaken his fellow Muslims from their slumber and make them conscious of their present predicaments. Precisely for this reason he requested his friend and later biographer Altaf Husain Hali (d. 1914) to compose his famous poem *Musaddas*. Written in 1879 and



consisting of 294 stanzas of six lines each, the *Musaddas* presents a nostalgic narrative of the rise of Islam as a world power followed by a poignant account of its nineteenth century decline. Hali explained the decline of Islam in terms of the moral degeneration of Muslims. The Muslims, Hali lamented, have forsaken the commands of God and the teachings of the Prophet. Their fall from the grace of God and the consequent breakdown of their political power, suggests the poet, was, therefore, inevitable. The *Musaddas* touched the heart of every Indian Muslim, educated and uneducated alike, and became an instant hit. It was not only read and sung in every nook and corner of India but set the tone of the subsequent Urdu historiography as well. Its echo can also be found in the equally celebrated poems *Shikwa* (1911) and *Jawab-i-Shikwa* (1913) penned by the greatest Urdu poet of modern times, Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938).

Urdu historiography reached the take off stage with Shibli Nomani (d. 1914). Shibli was aware of European principles of historiography and his mastery over the Persian and Arabic sources of medieval Indian history was well known. But Indian history was not his first love. He was more interested in 'defending and displaying the glories of Islamic civilization' outside India. His ground-breaking biographies of the Prophet Muhammad (1914), Caliph Umar Faruq (1899), and the 'Abbasid Caliph Mamoon Rashid' (1889) highlighted the success story of early Islam and helped establish a trend which encouraged Indian Muslims to look towards Middle Eastern Islam for moral and emotional succour. He did not pay much attention to Indian Islam but whatever little he wrote on Indian history, he wrote in defence of medieval Muslim rulers and used all his skill as a historian in refuting the charges levelled by his contemporary historians against them. Shibli's later writings were dominated by contemporary political concerns. The rapid progress of the

national movement and the emergence of Hindu revivalism had a deep impact on Shibli's mind. He urged the Muslims to support the Programme of the Indian National Congress and focused on the need for Hindu-Muslim unity in the struggle for the freedom of their country. Shibli's worthy successor Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (d. 1953) and the scholars associated with the Shibli Academy at Azamgarh continued the good work started by Shibli and made seminal contribution to the development of Urdu historiography. Even today the Academy's monthly Urdu journal *Ma'arif* is keeping the standard of Urdu historiography high and lofty.

Urdu historiography has not received the attention of scholars it deserves. Barring a short monograph in Urdu on Shibli's historical writing and a few articles, in Urdu and English, on sundry Urdu historians and history writings in Urdu, the contribution of Urdu historians to the enrichment of Indian historiography has remained largely neglected. In view of the step-motherly treatment meted out to historical writing in Urdu by the modern scholars, Dr. Javed Ali Khan's pioneering study of Urdu historiography assumes greater significance. It may not be out of place to mention here that Dr. Khan is a professional historian and is currently Reader in History at the Shibli National Post Graduate College, Azamgarh. That the first detailed study of Urdu historiography is undertaken by none other than a scholar who teaches history at the college established in honour of Maulana Shibli is indeed a fitting tribute to the memory of Shibli and his associates.

In fifteen chapters consisting of more than 500 pages, Dr. Khan has presented an extremely readable and cogent narrative of the emergence of Urdu historiography at the close of the eighteenth century and its subsequent flowering in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He has laboured hard to bring to our notice historians and historical works in Urdu about which

modern scholars had no inkling at all. It is gratifying to note that of the twenty-six Urdu historians selected by Dr. Khan for special study in his book, no less than twelve are Hindu. The book brings to light works of two European scholars as well. This goes to prove that Urdu belongs to no particular community. It is a shining symbol of India's composite culture, belying the claims of the detractors of Urdu that it is the language of Muslims alone. Dr. Khan deserves the gratitude of all lovers of Urdu for highlighting the contribution of Muslim as well as non-Muslim historians to the development of Urdu historiography.

Dr. Khan's book fills an important gap in the literature available on Indian historiography. I am confident that this epoch-making study of Urdu historiography will be welcomed by all scholars and students of Indian history.

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## Introduction

The study of historiography is a comparatively recent trend, more so Indian historiography. Indo-Muslim historiography began with the coming of Arabs, but became important with the arrival of the Turks. Since Delhi Sultanate derived much of its inspiration and sustenance from the 10th century Persian renaissance, characteristics of Persian historiography are discernible in the historical writings of the period. The essential features continued during the Mughal period, although some new developments also took place. They were, however, not strong enough to bring about any basic change in Indo-Muslim historiography.

The close of the eighteenth century and the dawn of the nineteenth century brought in its wake Urdu as a new literary medium of expression in India. The new language gradually replaced Persian as a vehicle of historical writing. The development is significant, for Urdu arose out of the debris of political decay and developed from what was hitherto considered to be uncouth.

In India, Urdu historiography began almost simultaneously with the introduction of English historiography. It grew up during the period of declining Indo-Persian historiography, and emerging Western historiography. The present work is an attempt to examine the beginning and growth of historical writings in Urdu prose and review the various politico-religious movements and conflicting tendencies that influenced it. It takes note of the impact of Aligarh movement and other institutions, and the facet of Western historiographical methodology that it incorporated.

A.B.M. Habibullah was perhaps the first to initiate the study

of this topic by his seminal article entitled *Historical Writings in Urdu: A Survey of Tendencies in Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, edited by C.H. Philips. London, 1961. Subsequently, Z.H. Faruqi highlighted the characteristics of the historical writings of "Sir Sayyid and Maulana Shibli" in *Historians of Medieval India* (ed. Mohibbul Hasan, Meenakshi Prakashan. Meerut, 1968). Another work, devoted exclusively to Shibli Nomani in Urdu is *Shibli Ba Haysiyat Muarrikh* (1979) of Akhtar Waqar Azim. Also, a brilliant article of similar title by K.A. Nizami was published in *Ma'arif*, March, 1986. These are some of the pioneer writings on Urdu historians and historiography. Evidently, there is much scope for further work in this area. When I joined the History Department of Shibli National Post-graduate College, Azamgarh, I saw a rich collection of old historical works in Urdu in the nearby Shibli Academy. Accordingly I decided to take up the study of Urdu historiography for my doctoral dissertation. The present work is a revised version of my dissertation submitted to Patna University and for which I was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1993.

The book begins with an initial survey of the origin and growth of Urdu, followed by a brief study of historiography in general, and thereafter of Indo-Persian historiography and Indo-British historiography. Next, the political, social, educational and various other developments have been briefly traced in a separate chapter as a back-drop of Urdu historical writings. I have examined the works in terms of Schools of Writers, namely those of Fort William College, Calcutta; Fort St. George College, Madras; and Dehli College, Delhi. This is followed by an examination of independent historical writings outside these institutions, with special emphasis on the pioneering role of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Other important writers have also received attention. Two of the most notable historians, Muhammad Zaka-



Allah Khan and Shibli Nomani have been comprehensively studied so that their contributions to the growth of Urdu historiography can be properly appreciated. The question of handling of sources and historical causation in the works of different historians have also been examined. In examining the individual works, the pattern followed by Harbans Mukhia in his work entitled *Historians and Historiography During the Reign of Akbar*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, has been followed, and these have been examined under certain heads such as: Basic Form, Methodology, Contents, Attitude Towards the Sources of Information, and Style. The order has, however, not been followed at times owing to the nature and requirements of the work. This treatment could not be applied to translated works.

A few history text-books as well as a couple of non-serious works of history have also been included in the study in order to trace the attempts to poison the minds of the Indians and create dissension among the Hindus and Muslims.

I have made all possible efforts to collect the historical works of the period so as to demonstrate the voluminous information contained in Urdu sources which appear to have been deliberately ignored and neglected by writers of today. The neglect has resulted in the suppression of many historical facts, and ignorance to a number of personalities and developments in society.

In respect to the bibliography it may be pointed out that it was not considered necessary to record the names of general works of historiography which do not have a bearing on the historical works examined here. However, some works with specific bearing on works of Indo-Persian historiography and some early British historians, have been included. The Indian names with their Urdu works have been arranged in the usual and traditional form - Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Muhammad Shibli

Nomani - but the European names and Indian writers who wrote in English have been arranged according to surnames.

I express my gratitude to all those who helped me in some way or the other in the preparation of this work. I must first of all thank my supervisor and revered teacher Late Professor Qeyamuddin Ahmad, who, most generously and lovingly, helped me ever since my college days. I must also thank my esteemed teacher Professor Surendra Gopal who has most graciously guided me ever since I stepped into the History Department, Patna College. The gratitude that I owe to them can not be expressed in words. I shall ever remain grateful to them.

I must remember with profound respect the Late Professor Syed Hasan Askari who suggested to me to go through certain Urdu newspapers and journals of the early twentieth century. With equal reverence, I must also remember Late Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman who would frequently enquire from me about the progress of my work and was ever willing to help me.

I deem it necessary to thank my well wisher Dr. Shanti Swarup who is a source of inspiration to me at Azamgarh. I also express thanks to my senior colleagues Dr. Ehsanullah and Dr. Shah Nawaz Usmani for their kind words of encouragement. Thanks are also due to Dr. Mushfiquddin Khan, Dr. Baber Ashfaque Khan, and to Dr. Imtiaz Ahmad, Director, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna.

I am grateful to the members of the Manuscript section, especially to Dr. Rahmat Ali Khan, of Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. Thanks are also due to Meer Karamat Ali Khan, Research Officer (Urdu Section), Andhra Pradesh Government Oriental Manuscript Library and Research Institute, Hyderabad. I also thank Muhammad Abdus Samad Khan, Hyderabad, who

allowed me to use his personal library. Unfortunately his Library has recently been badly damaged because of the flood. I am also deeply obliged to the staff members of Delhi University Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library, Delhi, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, Hardayal Public Library, Delhi, Raza Library, Rampur, Saulat Library, Rampur, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, National Library, Kolkata, and Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, and to my College Librarian, Mr. Ayaz Ahmad. In fact, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library has a special place in my academic career. It served as a source of inspiration. I would see here some of the great historians working. The staff members of this library were ever so kind and helpful. I owe a great sense of gratitude to Dr. Salimuddin Ahmad (Assistant Director of the Library and also my college friend), Abid Imam Zaidi, Dr. Muhammad Atiqur-Rahman, Abu Muzaffar Alam (my college friend) and Sayyid Anzarul Haque.

I must express special sense of gratitude to Maulana Ziauddin Islahi (Director, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh), to Janab Umairus Siddique (senior scholar, Shibli Academy) and to Dr. Ansar Zahid Khan, General Secretary & Director of Pakistan Historical Society and also the editor of the quarterly journal issued by the society, for extending utmost cooperation during all these long drawn years. With profound respect I also thank Late Maulana Abu'l Hasan Ali Nadvi (Rector, Daru'l Ulum Nadwat'al 'Ulama') for showing hospitality during my stay at his institute. I am also extremely thankful to Professor N.R. Faruqi of Allahabad University for writing the foreword and to Dr. Zafrul Islam of Aligarh Muslim University for going through the typed-script and suggesting improvement. Last but not least, I earnestly thank my senior College colleague and well-wisher, Dr. Salman Sultan, for painstakingly preparing the typed-script.

The work in a shorter form would have, perhaps, seen the



light of the day much earlier. but for Professor (Late) K.A. Nizami's suggestion that I must cover a period of at least one hundred years so that the developing trends in Urdu historiography can be properly charted. This valuable suggestion demanded a re-visit to different libraries and fresh search for books. Despite best efforts to include maximum number of books written during the period undertaken. I am sure that a large number of books lying in the libraries of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Hazarduwari, Sita Mau, and elsewhere, which to my mind may be valuable, have remained unexamined. I hope to undertake the study of these books in future.

I must admit that this topic absorbed far more of my time and energy than I had ever thought of. This was largely because of the limited study materials available at Azamgarh and also because of my frequent other academic digressions. Over these long drawn years my wife (Naushabah Khanam) most patiently helped me to devote attention to the writing of this book. My children (Ma'arfi, Muqarrab and Ahmad Faraz), who have grown up over the years, I remember, would come around and insist upon having the typewriter during my working hours. These were, however, pleasant interruptions and I profoundly cherish the memory. I must also remember my elder sister, Nuzhat Khanam, who gave me a loving care.

In the end I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Indian Council of Historical Research for providing me Study-cum-travel grant when I had taken this study at the doctoral level.

Finally, I am beholden to Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library for publishing my work.

**Javed Ali Khan**

## Origins And Growth Of Urdu

A controversy rages among scholars about the origin and growth of Urdu language. Some scholars trace its origin to the second half of the eleventh century and after, when, with the coming of Turks and other foreign races, a new cultural milieu was in the process of evolution in India. Amidst the cultural synthesis, Urdu, known by different names, speedily developed into a fairly matured literary expression. By the second half of the eighteenth century Urdu was poised for a new beginning. The replacement of Persian by English in 1829 afforded Urdu to strengthen itself and blossom as a very fashionable language.

The name Urdu, which crystallized in the eighteenth century is derived from the old Turkish *Ordu*, either directly from Chaghtai Turkish or through its Mongol derivative *Orda*, and is cognate with the modern English horde<sup>1</sup>. Amir Khusrau called pre-Urdu *Hindawi* or *Hindi*, and Abu'l Fazl (Abu -al-Fazl) called it *Dehlawi*. In the Deccan it was known as *Dakkani*, *Hindi* or *Boli- Gujrati*, *Gurjarvi* or *Gujari*<sup>2</sup>. From the reign of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan onwards, a new epithet, *mu'alla* (exalted) came to be associated with Urdu.

There are other aspects as well. In northern India, both *Rekhtah* and *Hindi* were popular names for the same language. However, scholars opine that spoken language was generally referred to as *Hindi*, whereas poetry written in Urdu was described as *Rekhtah*. Be that as it may, *Hindi* used to mean Urdu was popular as late as early twentieth century, whereas *Hindawi* also denoting Urdu was commonly in use until about the end of eighteenth century. Distinction was also made between *Rekhtah*

and 'Ghazal'. The former was used to denote a poem which was a mixture of Persian and Urdu. The term came to be used for plain *Hindi/Hindavi* language also. But the term 'Ghazal' was reserved for the Persian Ghazal alone. However, it is to be seen that by the close of the eighteenth century *Hindi/Hindavi* Ghazals were written and poets such as Qa'im Chandpuri(1722/25-95) and Mushafi(1750-1824) claimed the excellence of these *Ghazals*.

Urdu as a name for the language seems to have been used in around the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Hitherto, it began its origin as *zuban-i-Urdu-i-mu'alla-i-Shahjahanbad* (the language of the exalted city/court of Shahjahanbad, that is Delhi). With the passage of time the prefix and suffix epithets were dropped, leaving the term 'Urdu'. Shamsur Rahman Faruqi believes that it originally signified Persian and not Urdu, and till the mid-eighteenth century this term at least among the elite did not mean Urdu as of today<sup>3</sup>.

The term Urdu was generally associated with 'royal city', and the practice of describing the imperial city-camp as Urdu continued when Mughal Emperor Shahjahan built the city of Delhi. Faruqi draws attention to Emperor Shah 'Alam II (1759-1806) who not only spoke in Hindi occasionally but also had the ability to write. Accordingly he names the language of his tale 'Aja'ib-al-qisas as Hindi. His patronage and love for Hindi enhanced its respectability. Faruqi infers that the name *Zuban-i-Urdu-i-mu'alla* was taken to mean Hindi around 1790-95.

The English merchants and sailors had their own set of names for the Indian language. Edward Terry, a companion to Thomas Roe at Emperor Jahangir's court, described the language in his *A voyage to East India* (London, 1655) as 'Indostan'<sup>4</sup>. Some other names used by the Europeans were 'Moors', 'Hindostanic', 'Hindustanee', and 'Indostans'. However, except 'Hindustani', no other names became popular among the Indian natives. In the



late-eighteenth century, the name that the British most favoured for Hindi/Hindavi was 'Hindustani'<sup>5</sup>. It is quite logical that the language of 'Hindustan' be called 'Hindustani'<sup>6</sup>. This name was not entirely unknown. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi cites occurrences of it in some of the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- century Persian texts<sup>7</sup>. Yet, it never became popular as 'Hindi' or '*Rekhtah*'. The Oxford English Dictionary cites occurrences of 'Hindustani' as a language-name from 1616 to 1878. The last edition records that 'Hindustani' or Urdu is not a territorial dialect, but a 'lingua-franca'.

The British administrators had their own political and cultural perception of Indian Society and Culture and wanted to refashion it in accordance with their ulterior motives. Hobson-Jobson and the Oxford English Dictionary stated that there were two languages: Hindustani for the Muslims, and Hindi for the Hindus. 'Hindustani' was identified largely as a Muslim language, although it was conceded that it was spoken, or at least understood, all over India. John T Platts in his *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English* (1884) gave the definition of Urdu as: army; camp; market of a camp; the *Hindustani* language as spoken by the Muhammadans of India, and by Hindus who have intercourse with them or who hold appointments in the government courts - Urdu-i-mu'alla. The royal camp or army (generally means the city of Dehli or Shahjahanbad; the court language (=Urdu-i-mu'alla ki zuban); the Hindustani language as spoken in Delhi<sup>8</sup>. But the name 'Hindustani' never picked up. Dr. John Gilchrist, the prime mover of the activities at Fort William College, identified *Hindavi* as the exclusive property of the Hindus alone, although he recognized *Hindavi* as the basis or ground-work of the *Hindustani*. Faruqi emphasizes that Gilchrist failed to observe that *Hindavi* was not a separate language, but was merely an early name for the same language

which he was describing as 'Hindoostanee'.

Sayyid 'Abd-Allah has referred to a work by Khan-i-Arzu called *Dad-i-Sukhan* in which Khan-i-Arzu has defined poetry in '*Rekhtah*' or poetry 'in the Hindi language of the people of the *Urdu* of India, and written 'most commonly in the style of Persian'. This means obviously that Khan-i-Arzu was not familiar with the term 'Urdu' as a name for the language that is known as 'Urdu' today<sup>10</sup>. He uses the expression *zuban-i Hindi-i Ahl-i Urdu-i Hind*(the Hindi language of the people of the Urdu of India)<sup>11</sup>. It thus appears that during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, *Hindi* rather than Persian began to be called 'the language of the *Urdu-i-mu'alla*'<sup>12</sup>. Also, a belief grew that the language of the Urdu, Hindi, had been generated by Muslim invaders starting in the fourteenth century<sup>13</sup>.

It took a long time for Hindi and Urdu to take root as names of two different languages. Ahmad 'Ali Khan Yakta who wrote a tract on Urdu syntax *Dastur-al-Fasahat* in Lucknow in about 1798 uses 'Hindi' and 'Urdu' to indicate the name of the language in which he wrote. Mirza Ghalib(1796-1869) and Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938), the two famous Urdu poets felt uncomfortable in using the term Urdu<sup>14</sup>. As it has already been said that Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi as late as 1937 had suggested the use of the term Hindustani. The antipathy to the use of the term Urdu was perhaps because it gave some sort of false images about the origin and the nature of the language<sup>15</sup>.

The linguistic tradition of Khari Boli based upon *nagari* script having the name Hindi as a standardized literary dialect different from Urdu was almost unknown till 1840's-50's to the general people and even to Hindus educated in rich Sanskrit tradition. But the British showed keenness in propping and promoting Hindi in *nagari* script obviously in order to generate language identity among the Hindus. Their political objectives

were clear. Lallu ji Lal, a *munshi* of Fort William College, was patronized by John Gilchrist to rewrite *Prem Sagar* by replacing Urdu words with Indo-Aryan words<sup>16</sup>. In the years to follow 'Hindi' was gradually groomed so that it might serve as the lingua-franca of the Hindus, at least, of the large portion of Northern India. The developments were to lay the seeds of the future Hindi-Urdu crisis. Writers such as Munshi Shiva Prashad (1823-1895) or Raja Shiva Prashad (*Sitara-i-Hind*) and Bhartendu Harish Chandra(1850-1885), who were hitherto admirers of Urdu, switched over from Urdu to Hindi and also led the anti-Urdu campaign. As it is to be seen 'Hindi' began to be used less and less for Urdu after 1880's. The term 'Hindi' having been lost to the Hindus, the Muslims were left with the options of two names: *Hindustani* and *Urdu*. The former failed to acquire universal acceptability for reasons not yet fully established, and the latter was popularized more by the British for political reasons. Urdu which until recent times had served as the *lingua-franca* of the Indians and had stood as the embodiment of India's composite culture, was denigrated as merely the language of the Muslims. The flair of Urdu, however, continued to attract Hindu writers.

There are various theories about the growth of Urdu. T. Grahme Bailey and Mahmud Shirani are of the view that its early development took place in Punjab following the Ghaznavid conquest of Punjab whence Punjabi language came to be influenced by Turko-Persian language. Thereafter, following the establishment of Delhi Sultanate the new form of expression, still quite fluid and in a process of germination, marched on towards Delhi where it got nurtured by local indigenous dialects. Later, the Turkish armies carried it to South India during the reign of Sultan Ala-al-Din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The sack of Delhi by Amir Timur in 1398 led to large scale migration of



the populace towards Gujarat from Northern India. The migrated people must have called their language *Hindi/Hindavi/Dehlavi*, or *Gujri*, depending on where they came from. In the Deccan this crude Urdu developed into one of the first literary dialects.

It is quite possible that the literary language of the Deccan underwent a change due to the influence of the literary developments in Gujarat, and the people who wrote in that changed language described their language *Gujri*<sup>17</sup>. According to Satish C. Mishra, *Gujri*, as an oral language, pre-existed the arrival of the Northern Sufis in Gujarat. He says, 'the language which came to be called Urdu in the later Mughal age, appears to have evolved in Gujarat in a spoken form, as a result of the influx of immigrants, largely from the Punjab, Sindh, and the Gangetic regions. In its earlier form, it was termed as *Gujri* and contained words from half-a-dozen language ....'<sup>18</sup>. Baha-al-Din Bajan(1388-1506), a Sufi, who was born in Ahmedabad (Gujarat) called his language, on different occasions, 'Hindi', 'Dehlavi', and 'Hindavi'<sup>19</sup>. Notably, he named his anthology *Khaza'in-i Rahmatullah* as *jikri* (after the Arabic *zikr*), 'remembering' in the Hindavi tongue. By the early fifteenth century Hindi had become very popular in Gujarat. However, by the mid-sixteenth century the use of the names Hindavi/Dehlavi was associated with *Gujri*<sup>20</sup>. But '*Gujri*' as a language name also fell into disuse by about 1760's<sup>21</sup>. Persons such as Burhan-al-Din Janam(d.1582?), Shaikh Khub Muhammad Chisti(1539-1614), Shaikh Ahmad Gujrati(b. circa 1539) and Wajhi(d. circa 1660) contributed immensely to make *Gujri/Hindavi/Dakkani* a full-fledged language. It is thus to be seen that while the Sufis of Delhi were still using Persian for their literary and religious discourse, the Sufis of Gujarat caused *Gujri* to become a literary language in its own right by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It is generally believed that Urdu is an offshoot of Persian

language. Such a view is rejected by Ram Babu Saxena. This conception has arisen because Urdu closely followed Persian rules and readily borrowed its orthography. But it is to be seen that it, at the same time, made fresh etymological additions according to indigenous needs in its philological development<sup>22</sup>. Saxena also does not agree with the view of Muhammad Husain Azad that Urdu is a derivative of *Braj Bhasha*. Nor does he find acceptable the view that proto-Urdu was a language of different dialects spoken in the markets of Delhi and its suburbs. He argues that Urdu is an offshoot of that Western Hindi which was being spoken for centuries in and around the Delhi-Meerut region and which was associated with 'Saur-Senic Prakrit'<sup>23</sup>. Dr. Masood Hasan and Dr. Syed Aijaz Husain are of the view that Urdu after having borrowed from several sources, such as *Punjabi*, *Rajasthani*, *Braj Bhasha* and *Khari Boli*, finally rooted itself on *Khari Boli*<sup>24</sup>. This theory lends credence, for the dialect called *Khari Boli* had existed prior to the advent of the Muslims; the role of the Muslims was that they provided it with a script, and refashioned and developed it into a full-fledged popularly acceptable language.

Shamsur Rahman Faruqi considers the beginning of Urdu literature with the writing of Mas'ud Sa'd Salman Lahori (1046-1121). His 'Hindi' *divan* is not extant but has been quoted by a later writer Muhammad Afi. However, it remains to be resolved in which Indian language/dialect did Salman Lahori write for the term 'Hindi'/'Hindavi' was often used to denote any Indian language during Medieval times. The evolution of Urdu prose as an indigenous literary medium was a long process. Amir Khusrau's (1253-1325) *Khaliq Bari* and *Tuti Namah* are considered to have been instrumental in laying the foundation of Urdu prose writing. The treatise of Sayyid Ashraf Simnani (d. 1405) *Akhlaq-wa-Tasawwuf* is considered to be the first work in

Urdu prose. Subsequent literary productions that have survived are of Shaikh Baha-al-Din Bajan. Wali's preface to his *divan*(1758-59) is considered to be the first of its kind. *Karbal katha*, *Nau-tarz-i-murassa* and *Qissa-i mihr-afroz-o- dilbar* are other examples of prose writing.

In general, Urdu prose developed in greater earnest first in South India and came to be known as *Dakkani*. It produced a number of works of various nature in poetry as well as in prose. These early specimens of Urdu prose are maxims and sayings of *Sufis*. They also serve as examples of bi-lingualism and multi-lingualism- a process which continued down to the eighteenth century. However, it must be emphasized that it is only for name's sake that such works can be called prose. The writings strongly remained attached to verse and it took several decades for prose to detach itself from verse and identify itself as an accomplished form of Urdu literature.

In Northern India it was from the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar onwards that Urdu no longer remained merely a spoken language. The use of Urdu words by Aurangzeb in his letters is indicative of the popular use of this language. Mussavi Khan Fitrat, Mirza 'Abd-al-Qadir Bedil, Mirza 'Abd-al Ghani and many other accomplished Persian poets often composed Urdu verse. Siraj-al-Din Khan Arzu(1689-1756) and Muhammad Rafi 'Sauda(1706?-1781) emphasized the use of Urdu.

New political developments also indirectly helped the growth of Urdu. The decline and disintegration of the Mughal Empire was accompanied by the decline of Persianized Indian culture. Delhi court having reached a moribund state, new politico-cultural centres emerged in places like Lucknow, Hyderabad, Calcutta(Kol-Kata), Madras(Chennai), Tonk, etc., which were destined to play a new cultural role in the history of Urdu. Newer prose writing involved writing of martyrlogical

pieces or narration, commentary on the Holy Qur'an, translation of the Holy Qur'an, writing of prefaces, biographies and collection of popular sayings and proverbs. A number of poets and writers who flourished in subsequent times endeavoured to free Urdu from unnecessary Persian influence, emphasizing on simplicity and clarity of expression. The name of Fazl 'Ali Fazli, Mulla' Husain, 'Abd-al Wahhab and Shah 'Abd-al-Qadir are notable.

The coming of the Europeans and the British exercised a profound influence on the growth and progress of Urdu. The foreigners had quite early realized the importance of Urdu during their commercial activities, and sought to learn it. The foundation of Calcutta Madrasa in 1780, followed by the establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, contributed substantially in preserving the oriental works and encouraging fresh works. The appointment of Lord Wellesley as the Governor-General marked another milestone in the growth of Urdu. It was because of his patronage that Dr. John Gilchrist established an Oriental Seminary in January 1799 which presaged the foundation of Fort William College.

The real motive of Fort William College was not the development of any literature, but to train and acquaint the British with the different languages prevalent in India so that they could perform ably the task of administration and consolidation of the British empire and also support Christian missionary activities. The writers at Fort William College, referred to as *munshis*, were instructed to write in commonly spoken language.

The Christian missionaries, in order to propagate their faith, wrote many religious tracts and books in Urdu. Consequently, this period witnessed intense religious debates and activities among the Muslims, Christians and Hindus. They all tried to reach down to the masses in an effort to win converts.



This necessitated organization of religious debates, writings of religious tracts, treatises and brochure wherein every care was taken to render it in simple, direct and vigorous prose so that it could be easily intelligible to the common man. All this acted as a strong undercurrent to the use and spread of Urdu. During this period the Wahhabi Movement also played a notable role in the growth of Urdu prose writing<sup>25</sup>. Publication of Urdu newspaper and magazines too played an important role in the development of Urdu.

In 1832 the British government declared the learning of Urdu essential for the British administrators. To meet the requirement many law-books were written in Urdu and British officials would often take pride in making speeches in Urdu at important state ceremonies. Urdu was once again poised for a new beginning. Many English works, coupled with many English idioms and phrases were absorbed into Urdu. A few English signs and notations were also borrowed, but in an inverse manner. Writings of all kinds: literary, historical, scientific, theocratic, doctrinal, short-stories, novel, drama, travelogues, criticism, biography, etc., were undertaken in Urdu. Most of these were influenced by English themes and pattern. The remarkable feature was the exposition of genuine tender feelings, of beauty, of nature, of manners and obedience, of love and deception, and of political themes. Writing as late in the 1850's Shiva Prashad/Sheo Prasad (*Sitara-i-Hind*), the writer and historian remarked that "Urdu is now becoming our mother tongue and is spoken more or less, and well or badly, by all in the North Western Provinces"<sup>26</sup>.

## End Notes

1. Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam*, Edinburgh University Press, 1969, p.91
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
3. Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, *Early Urdu Literary Culture and History*, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 27.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 22
5. *Ibid.*, p. 30
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34
9. *Ibid.*, p. 33
10. *Ibid.*, p. 36
11. *Ibid.*, p. 36
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 28.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 38
16. *Ibid.*, p. 45
17. *Ibid.*, p. 96
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 76
21. *Ibid.*, p. 110

22. For details see Maulavi Abul Quddus Hashmi, *Hamara Rasm-ul-khat*.
23. Ram Babu Saxena, *Tarikh-i-Adab-i-Urdu*, p. 24
24. Syed Aijaz Husain, *Tarikh-i-Adab-i-Urdu*, Idarah Farogh Urdu, Lucknow, 1965, pp. 25-26.
25. See K.A. Faruqi, *Urdu Men Wahhabi Adab*; Kalimuddin Ahmad, *Apni Talash Men*; and, Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *The Wahhabi Movement in India*, 1994.
26. Ram Chander Tiwari, *Hindi Ka Gadh Sahitya*, Vishwidyalay Prakashan, Varanasi, 1968, p. 29. Information has also been taken from Sheo Prashad's *Itihas Timirnashak* (Part I).

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## Trends in Historiography

Historiography is the science which deals with the study of the evolution of history and the dimensions it has acquired with the passage of time. It also entails the study of the use of various source materials for a proper construction and reconstruction of history. In the process it has opened the gate of new knowledge and fresh problems - making history more attractive and meaningful and better equipped to meet human problems.

Medieval world had its own characteristics of historical writings. Just like the Romans who believed that only their history was worth narrating and treated their account as the history of the world, some of the early Muslim historians also generally confined their narration to the Islamic world and its people. There were, however, few exceptions such as Abu Raihan al-Biruni who tried to study non-Muslim culture and thought independently.

Starting from *sirat* (biography of Prophet Muhammad (PBH)) and *maghazi* (narration of Prophet's wars) to *hadis* (sayings of the Prophet), monographs, Arabic philology and still further to Al-Balazuri's consolidated account of Muslim conquests, Islamic historiography gradually stretched itself to encompass new parameters.

One of the most significant development was the writing of universal Islamic history. Within this universal frame-work Al-Tabari(1434-1517 A.D) applied annalistic method of the study of history. Contrary to it Ali bin Al-Husain or Al-Masudi(b. 956H/1549 A.D), an encyclopædist(in so far as his effort for



providing extensive information is concerned), arranged the historical material according to kings, dynasties and topics. He was perhaps the first Muslim historian to pay attention to social and cultural life of the people along with their political affairs, although not as comprehensive as of modern times.

Other forms of history were also written such as genealogical history, history of places and cities, regional history, dynastic histories, biographies, etc. Within this framework a variety of information - social, economic, topographical, etc., were given.

Ibn-al Asir or Izz-al-Din Abu'l Hasan Ali(1160-1234 A.D) and Ibn Miskawaih(b. 1030 A.D) gave a new dimension to historical writings in so far as they called for the study of historical developments in terms of cause and effect<sup>1</sup>. Ibn Miskawaih in particular earnestly endeavoured to be an honest narrator without any partisanship. As D.S. Margoliouth notes that though at times Arabic historians are influenced by religious and patriotic zeal, their general impartiality is striking<sup>2</sup>. It may be further noted that most of these men were not court chroniclers and their effort was basically a private enterprise.

Mere narration of events, court-life, or topography did not satisfy many. More creative thinking led to the enunciation of philosophy of history by 'Abd-al-Rahman or Ibn Khaldun(1332-1406 A.D). He is regarded as the first historian who attempted to treat history as a science and to conceive the idea that history should embrace in itself the whole range of social phenomenon. For him history was not simply a record book but a study of social relationship. This gave a new dimension to history writing.

In short early Arabic or Islamic historiography covered a wide field, and still more significantly, its origin had secular overtones with painstaking efforts for the depiction of

information with meticulous accuracy and reference to sources, weeding out fabricated and inaccurate facts. The principles of *asma-al-Rijal* and *usul-i asnad*<sup>3</sup>, the like of which is not to be seen earlier or later and upon which some of the writings (specially *hadis* wherein the system still survives) were based, placed the Arabs in an advantageous position in religious scriptural controversies over their rivals- the Jews and Christians<sup>4</sup>. There is evidence that the practice of narrating events with the year, month and days of happening is not to be seen in European writings before the beginning of the seventeenth century<sup>5</sup>.

The decline of the Muslim political power was gradually replaced by the rise of the Christian power in Europe and elsewhere. The beginning of European renaissance, followed by some remarkable breakthrough in science and technology, placed the Europeans in a superior position over other races of the world. It was also about this time that newer literary and institutional developments started taking place. Under the influence of emerging thought and ideas historical writings also underwent significant change, which were borrowed and inculcated by people of other places.

Early modern historical writings (before the 18th century) in Europe covered a very limited area and chiefly paid attention to the study of Christian church. Little or no effort was made to separate the myths and legends from historical facts. Humanist historians, who could not divorce their theological and religious outlook, nevertheless, devoted themselves to the study of history and brought to light a large number of manuscripts. Ostensibly, the examination of these sources gave rise to the scientific practice of editing and criticism, a practice which the Arabs had already worked out in their writings of *ahadis* and *sirat*. By and large, with respect to matter, content and scientific approach

English medieval chronicles cannot be placed anywhere near the Arabic or Persian chronicles of the period.

The Counter-Reformation era produced voluminous works of ecclesiastical nature. The causes of historical events were interpreted in the light of the religious belief and moral principles of the time. There existed the belief of God's intervention in human affairs which led to the Christian belief in teleology. The Muslims would describe such a phenomenon as the will of God. Notwithstanding, at the same time, some historians initiated a trend towards secular approach, but they confined themselves to mere political account.

The growing rationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to the abandonment of the supernatural and divine inspiration as a causal explanation of human action, and greater emphasis was laid on the role of individual. This immensely enriched biographical writings. The role of individual genius as a creative force in history was strongly asserted, so much so that Thomas Carlyle proclaimed "history is the biography of great men".

With Rousseau the rationalist school underwent transformation from rationalism to romanticism. The coming of the French revolution further strengthened the dictates of romanticism. The chief feature of romanticism was the strong belief in the cultural evolution of a nation. This implied analysis of national institutions, laws, literature, art, government, etc. The industrial revolution, followed by the growth of imperialism and colonialism, brought about changes in human values and thought. Monarchy and feudalism gave way to new class structure in which the bourgeoisie and working class held sway. Under the existing change the attention of the historians shifted to newer institutions, social groups, and other social forces that were emerging. The conspectus of history widened further and

encompassed newer areas.

Niebhur, a leading figure in the field of modern historiography, raised further the status of history. He emphasized the study of institutions and customs. Advertently the study of political events and individuals was relegated to a secondary position.

The Pluralistic school of thought rejected the notion that history was merely a chronicle of important events and deeds of the prominent men. It insisted that history must deal with social, cultural, political and economic changes and developments. In other words it envisaged that there were many probable causes for a development in history rather than a single cause.

Still other historians such as Malthus and his supporters tried to offer a materialistic theory and emphasized the struggle for survival in the economic sphere. This theory was subsequently elaborated by Karl Marx, who offered a materialistic interpretation of history. Marx emphasized that the class which controlled the means of production was dominant in society. This led to the growth of the study of economic life and institutions of the people.

The nineteenth century also witnessed the growth of a school of thought headed by Leopold Von Ranke, the German historian, who believed that history could be told without the philosophy of causation. It was projected that the best philosophy of history is not an all-embracing theory of causality but a concentration of antecedents and consequents.

Towards the last decade of the 19th Century the primacy of facts of history was challenged by some historians who laid emphasis on the philosophy of history. The German historians Wilhelm Dilthey and Hegel, claimed that universal history was a continuous process and the empirical historical enquiries could



help trace and elucidate the progress. They also emphasized that history should be a quest for values. Like some of the early medieval Arab historians they were keen to understand the personality of the writer as well as the source of information - thus the science of evidence acquired newer importance. Equally significant is that at this stage Ranke tried to give an objective account of the past and to him "the strict presentation of facts is the supreme law of historical writings".

Thus, historians such as Ranke, Carr and Gradgrid laid emphasis on writing of facts and only facts. To advocate such a concept is not that easy as it appears to be. A historian always remains tempted to choose the fact according to his requirements. This again depends upon the vision of the historian as well as the perspective in which he places the selected facts.

A subsequent development by the turn of the nineteenth century was to judge the past in the light of its problems and the task of the historian is not simply to record but to evaluate as well. It came to be argued that for a historian it is necessary to have an imaginative understanding of the past and the spirit of the bygone age.

While all these thought<sup>2</sup>developments were taking place one after the other, A.J. Toynbee disapproved the study of nation or country and forwarded the concept of the study of human civilization. He held the view that the growth and decline of a civilization can be understood in terms of twin principles of challenge and response. Significantly, he assigns some sort of divine will in the shaping of history, which has been subject to questioning in the past.

Not satisfied with all this, P. Geyl argued that history is full of complexities, and the historical phenomenon keeps on changing so often that it becomes difficult to deduce definite

inter-relationship between social forces.

It thus appears that the globe of historiography remained the same during all these long drawn centuries, although many new surface appeared. With the changing times and emergence of new socio-economic forces some of these received new treatment and greater attention which had hitherto remained unattended for obvious reasons.

It must also be borne in mind that modern European scholars writing on historiography have largely paid attention to the writings in European languages and in the European context. They have almost totally ignored the historical writings in Arabic and Persian and have not taken pains to evaluate or appreciate the intrinsic value in them. Be that as it may the tradition of continuity and change in European historiography also found an echo in India and this was to influence the pattern of historical writings.

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## End Notes

1. *Maqalat-i-Shibli* (Vol.IV), "Tajarib-al-Umam-Ibn Miskawaih", Ma'arif Press, 1956, pp.22-24.
2. D.S. Margoliouth, *Arabic Historians*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Dehli, 1977, p.14
3. This implied figuring out all the persons involved in transmitting the tradition of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the study of their character in a rational manner. *Asma-al-Rijal* implied checking veracity of narrators.
4. D.S. Margoliouth, *op.cit.*, p.58
5. *Ibid.*, p.17

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## Chapter Three

## Indo-Persian Historiography

Western scholars are generally of the opinion that ancient Indians had no sense of history. They argue that except for Kalhana's *Rajtarangini*, written around the mid-twelfth century, there is absolute dearth of historical writings in ancient India. Even the writing of *Rajtarangini*, as A.L. Basham believes, was the result of Kashmir's distinct geographical position as well as its geo-cultural proximity with Islamic lands. An added factor is attributed to the persistence of Buddhism in this region which had a strong sense of history as compared to the *Brahmanical* thought<sup>1</sup> prevailing in the greater part of India. R.C. Majumdar while admitting Basham's view suggests that no theory can convincingly explain the lack of historical sense among the ancient Indians. He further argues that ideas of history and historical literature were not altogether absent in ancient India.

It is suggested that around the first millennium A.D. the Brahmans composed a class of literature known as *Puranas*, based on collections of much earlier material. They were diverse in form and in the section called *Itihasa* (meaning history) it included many dynastic lists and references to traditions and institutions<sup>2</sup>. *Itihasa* was also known by other names such as *Purana*, *Itivrtta*, *Dharmashastra* and *Arthashastra*. In course of time they developed into independent subjects of study. Later the *Puranas* came to be regarded as sacred books of hoary antiquity to which addition of anything else would erode its sacred character.

Of these it appears that *Itihasa* was given a very high rank in the realm of knowledge. R.C. Majumdar opines that *Itihasa*



embraced the study of not only historical persons and events, but also of traditions concerning them, the political, social, moral and economic theories and their practical applications, legal usages and institutions, etc. The great epic *Mahabharata*, in its extant form, closely corresponds to this type of *Itihasa*<sup>3</sup>.

Another class of writing available are the biographies. The most famous of them being *Harsa-Carita* in prose, and *Gauda-Vaho*, *Kumarapala-Carita*, *Prithvi-raja-Vijaya*, and many others in verse. They contain valuable material for history, but are panegyric in nature and cannot be considered as serious historical works. Still another piece of work making a near approach to history are the *Prabandhas* or collection of historical narratives, mostly used by the Jains.

About the 14th century there also emerged the institution of family-bards, although it is quite possible that it might have taken roots earlier. Hereditary bards and genealogists were known as *Bhattas*. In later times the *Charans* and other poets of lower caste-status took up this work. These men composed panegyrics in honour of their patrons. It was initially composed in Sanskrit but with the growth of vernacular literature they were composed in local vernacular and consequently bardic literature became extremely popular. Towards the nineteenth century even some of the Muslim princes appointed state bards<sup>4</sup>. What then follows is that the institution of *Bhatt* thus provided a popular method for the carriage of oral traditions, records and genealogies from generation to generation.

Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* is definitely a unique example in the sense that it displays certain features of true concept of history as well as efforts towards correct method of writing it. For example Kalhana held the view that the first requisite of a historian is to keep an impartial mind, free from pre-conceived notions and prejudices and the mission of a historian is to present

a vivid description of the bygone days.

Notably Kalhana based his work on previous writings on Kashmir. He also tried to study and incorporate the evidence of inscriptions, coins, deeds and old monuments. More significantly, he tried to remove the errors committed by earlier historians of Kashmir.

Nonetheless, like most historians, Kalhana wrote with a purpose — the chief purpose being to provide healthy lesson to future kings. Above all to the Kashmiris at large he tried to preach that benevolent despotism is necessary to check and suppress unruly members and bureaucrats.

There are other aspects of his work. Kalhana has made serious effort to exhibit his poetic talent in order to make the book attractive and a unique work of art. Naturally for literary effect, the delineation of facts was ignored. Political failures have been ascribed to the wrath of God or fate, and no attempt has been made to determine the rational cause behind it. Myths and legends have been freely inter-woven with historical facts.

Evidently ancient India had plenty of source material for writing history, and the method of weaving it into chronicle suited to the political and cultural ethos was fairly developed. But the striking aspect is that despite strong tendencies there is almost complete absence of finished products of history, save *Rajtarangini*.

The birth of Islam gave a new impetus to historical writings and infused a spirit of historical awareness among the Muslims. The main subject of early historical writings in Arabic were the life and activities of Prophet Muhammad(PBUH). The Holy Qur'an also frequently teaches the lessons of history by giving numerous warnings. To a classical Arabic historiographer, "history is knowledge pertaining to a country, customs and

manners of a people, remains of the people of yore, as well as an account of the actions of those alive"<sup>5</sup>. With the spread of Islam in the eastern region, historical works began to be written in Persian, too. In fact, Persian became the principal literary medium in Persia, Turkey, Central Asia and India. Consequently, during medieval times, there emerged two distinct traditions of Muslim historiography, Arabic and Persian. By the tenth century the Turks emerged to replace the Arabs as the new dominant race in the Islamic domain. These Turks were, however, greatly Persianized in their thought and behaviour long before their march to India. Thus, when the Muslims came to India they brought with them the Perso-Turkish tradition of history.

The Arab historians' historical conspectus was very wide, covering the entire range of society, politics, war and conquests, biographies, genealogies and culture<sup>6</sup>. In other words, the Arab historians attempted to write the history of the age. Some of them exclusively deal with a province or a city or a particular tribe. This led to the growth of regional and local history.

A significant aspect of the Arab historians, as mentioned in Chapter One, is that they were the first to introduce the practice of date-mark and chronology in their historiography and laid great emphasis on it<sup>7</sup>. Another significant development was that they propounded two principles for determining the authenticity and reliability of a *hadis*. The two principles were *asma-al-rija* and *usul-i-asnad*. This implied figuring out all the persons involved in transmitting a tradition of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the study of their character in a rational manner. The motive of such a scrutiny was to assess the veracity of the statement, and Ibn Khaldun(1332-1406) formulated laws of ratiocination. This remained the basis of Arab historiography for about four centuries. "The method was no doubt scientific and based on a desire to investigate the truth but it was hardly

possible to apply it in such meticulous detail to all historical works as it had been applied to *Hadis* literature"<sup>8</sup>. However, it can be said that the principle certainly had important bearing on general approach of Arab writing of history. Further, in case of any doubt the Arab historians would end the account with the remark: "Truth is known to God alone"<sup>9</sup>. Equally significant was the Arab concept of *darayat* which called upon the reader to accept the narration after verifying the rationality of the narration, keeping in view the spirit of the age, the purpose of narration, and the context in which it had been written, else it was liable to be rejected<sup>10</sup>. All this corresponds in a great measure to E.H. Carr's dictum; before you study the history study the historian; before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment"<sup>10A</sup>.

The outlook of the Persian historians was generally narrower. It was confined to the event at hand and it aimed at writing the history of the rulers. The success and failure of the ruler was equated with the history of the age. Also, the Persian historian was very often a courtly flatterer of his patron though glimpses of other facets of life were not completely absent in their books. The result of such an attitude was that the historian was inclined to lay emphasis on the subtleties of language and very often took delight in exaggerating the facts. For historians of early Turkish period, history was a vehicle of didacticism<sup>11</sup>. Pre-Mughal historians such as Hasan Nizami, Amir Khusrau and Isami all show inclination to subordinate history to art and treat the past as raw material for the poetic imagination, showing great disinclination of facts<sup>12</sup>.

During the medieval times there grew up several kinds of historical writings: Universal history, Regional and Local history, Biographical works, Autobiographies, Monographs, and administrative Manuals. There was also the growth of



biographies (*tazkiras*) of saints, poets and other similar personalities. The records of saint's conversations and activities were preserved in the *Malfuzat*, as also their correspondences in *Maktubat*. These sources throw valuable light on the socio-religious life of the times.

The medieval historians held history in high esteem. For Ziya'-al-Din Barani history is not only a science, but the queen of sciences, and a guide to mankind. 'Abd-al-Qadir Badayuni remarks: "The science of history is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning"<sup>13</sup>. Similarly, 'Abd-Allah, the author of *Tarikh-i-Dau'di*, says that history does not simply provides knowledge of the affairs of the past rulers, but it is a science which broadens the intellect and furnishes the wise with examples.

Barani places history after religious sciences. He regards it as one of the auxiliaries to the study of *Hadis*. Although history was deemed in Medieval India, as elsewhere, to be an essential part of polite education for princes, the study of history does not appear to have figured in the curriculum in *madrasas* and colleges. It ranked as a knowledge of *belles lettres*, poetry, and rhetoric as essential to the equipment of the "honn ete homme"<sup>14</sup>.

Barani believed that a historian should devote himself to the writing of truth and eschew hyperbolic verbose language. This, however, could not be followed in practice. Since the historians were generally associated with the court they could not distance themselves from panegyrics. Moreover, as it was believed that State's activities circumscribed to the court and nobles, history reeled round them, and the commoners life and activities and social and economic factors were hardly taken into account. Also, medieval historians with rare exceptions hardly attempted to present the view point of rivals and opponents of the ruling class<sup>15</sup>. Barani believed that history should not be about

the 'bare and lowly', otherwise it would lose its moral effect<sup>16</sup>.

Despite the aforesaid tendencies a remarkable change was brought about by Barani in the Persian tradition of historiography. "He occasionally refers to Sufis, scholars and other celebrities — even dancing girls and cup-bearers find a place in his narrative"<sup>17</sup>. Barani also happens to be the first historian of medieval India to propound clearly and definitely his theory of history and to perscribe the duties of a historian<sup>18</sup>. For example, Barani says that a historian should write facts plainly. However, if that is not possible he should convey truth to the wise and intelligent through suggestions and hints<sup>19</sup>. Mir Khwand speaks in similar terms. According to him the historians should narrate all aspects of every affair. If it is not prudent then he may resort to hints, insinuations and indirect remarks<sup>20</sup>.

The service to the cause of Islam was very often taken as the yard-stick for the greatness of a ruler. "The medieval historians constantly refer to God as the final cause of all happenings... They interpreted history in terms of conventional religio-ethical background"<sup>21</sup>. They also did not attempt to treat history in the framework of cause and effect relationship of any event. "However, this does not mean that material factors were entirely ignored. Many instances can be cited to show that medieval writers do try to explain events in terms of human factors — court intrigues, administrative measures, foreign policies or ambitions of kings and nobles"<sup>22</sup>.

Further, as Mohibbul Hasan points out, that medieval historians were conscious of change and of relationships between ideas, events and institutions of one reign with those of another. The very fact that many of them were not content to write merely the history of a single reign, but wrote accounts of dynasties, shows that they were aware of the social, political and religious developments, and relationships between events<sup>23</sup>. Peter Hardy

rightly suggests that they did make possible the introduction of historiography as a deliberate form of cultural expression with conscious interest in what actually happened in the past; and the purpose, among other things, was to educate the Sultan in his duty<sup>24</sup>.

With coming of Abu'l Fazl a qualitative change was brought in historical writings. He may be regarded as the pioneer of rational and impartial history. "He does not regard history as allied to theological studies, but tries to establish relationship between history and philosophy. To him Indian history is not a record of conflict between Hindus and Muslims, but between the forces of stability and disintegration"<sup>25</sup>. As Nizami points out, by incorporating account of ancient India and Hindu rulers, Abu'l Fazl developed an Indian-ness in the attitude of historians<sup>26</sup>. In some respects he attempted to include the activities of the common man. Nizami observes "that the entry of common man in his narrative is not in his own right, but as a veritable background to the portrait of the Emperor and his activities"<sup>27</sup>. Be that as it may, in this way he advanced the conspectus and perspective of history. All this is taken as Abu'l Fazl's attempt to combine Arab and Persian tradition of historiography. He extended the evidential basis of his works by consulting the archival records and other accounts, whether written or oral. Thus during the Mughal period the humanistic and secular aspects of history tended to be more marked and the divine or supernatural causation less prominent than in the Turko-Afghan period<sup>28</sup>. However, we do not come across any attempt to formulate or expound any particular philosophy of history.

The use of Persian for historical writings continued in the subsequent centuries. Several historians tried to reach the standard and pattern of Abu'l Fazl. However, no appreciable change is discernible in the character of Indo-Persian

historiography.

By the turn of the eighteenth century a splendid work entitled *Tafzihul Ghafilin* (1789) of Mirza Abu Talib Isfahani (1752-1806) appeared like a bedecked jewel in the annals of Indian Persian historiography. It is almost unbelievable that in an age of political decadence and intellectual stillness an Indian could show such remarkable sagacity of historicism.

Born in Lucknow Abu Talib Isfahani spent his childhood days in Murshidabad along with his father. After his father's death he went back to Awadh where he was assigned important administrative function by Nawwab Asaf-al-Daulah. Shortly after he came back to Calcutta where he was held in high esteem by the Europeans. Captain Richardson, a Scottish, with whom Abu Talib had great intimacy, took him to Europe. He spent almost five years in Europe. He was the first Indian, to travel to England by sea. In England he was received most warmly by the royal dignitaries and also by the common people. When he reached France, Napoleon Bonaparte wished to meet him. In Turkey he was the royal guest, and when he arrived in Istambul the English ambassador greeted him with firing of cannons<sup>29</sup>.

Proficient in knowledge of history, medicine, music and other branches of knowledge, he is the author of about a dozen books. Of them, the notable works are *Lab-i-Asir-o-Jami-i-Jahan-Numa*, *Tafzihul-Ghafilin* and *Sair Talbi Fi Balad Afrangi*. In *Tafzihul-Ghafilin* Abu Talib has cast his eyes on a wide perspective of contemporary situation prevailing in Awadh. From the nobility down to the common man, the writer has paid attention to the various aspects of internal court-life and social and cultural activities. This includes not only the activities and deeds of Nawwab Asaf-al-Daulah, of the Rohilla war and its causes, the activities of East India Company, but also about petty things such as bribery and contemporary features of British



culture. He also traces the causes of the weakness of Awadh and even suggests means for reform.

Writing about the significance of *Tafzihul-Ghafilin*, Humayun Kabir, in his foreword to the book, remarked that the value of Mirza Abu Talib's study lies principally in the fact that he is refreshingly free from the obsession with military events, palace intrigues and court politics which was besetting sin of the 18th century Indo-Muslim historiography. Mirza Abu Talib did not minimise the importance of personalities but he recognised that there are deeper economic and political forces which mould both individuals and events. In fact, Mirza Abu Talib's studies in this book lend credence to the claim that he was perhaps the first economic historian of the world and anticipated some of the theories of Karl Marx by almost half a century<sup>30</sup>.

Unfortunately such a trend could not gain strength and filter down among the educated class of Indians to bring about a tilt in the pattern of Indian historiography in the coming decades. But what is noticeable is that by the second half of the 18th century the interest of the writers started shifting to other languages as well — the two major languages being English and Urdu.

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## Early British Historiography in India and The Indian Response

The political domination of Great Britain over India made it necessary for her to know the history as well as the attitude of the Indians, so that a pragmatic policy could be formulated. The British historians took upon themselves the task of teaching the prospective British administrators the historical lessons for the future handling of Indian affairs. Warren Hastings was among the earliest to patronize such efforts.

In Britain about this time three schools of thought dominated British historiography: Enlightenment, Utilitarian and Romantic Schools. The exponents of enlightenment aimed at secularizing human life and thought; the utilitarians attempted to provide scientific bases for bringing about radical social change and gave primacy to the concept of civilization; and, the romantic gave emphasis on nationality<sup>1</sup>. These naturally found expression in the writings of British or Anglo-Indian writers on India.

The early European writers who wrote about India were, however, not professional historians and their writings suffer from many shortcomings. Some of these historians-cum-administrators were merely interested in having knowledge of India's past. Others had definite ulterior motives. For example, the utilitarian historians led by James Mill (1773-1836) proclaimed that the Britishers were fulfilling the historical need of civilising their colonies, India being one of them.

British historians writing about India may be broadly placed in two camps. Some of them tried to discover the past



glory of India, while others adopted a highly anti-Indian stance and projected the past as inglorious and one of misrule. They humourously called the Hindus "at best the work of human folly and at worst the outcome of diabolic inspiration"<sup>2</sup>. Macaulay called the Bengalis as cowards, liars and deceitful. Charles Grant considered the degeneration of the Hindus and all their vices to Hinduism. Satirical comments upon Hindu Gods and Goddesses were made frequently. Missionary historians regarded the history of India as part of some divine plan in which Britain had an important function to fulfill. These group of British historians who believed in the divine mission of British race relegated the objective of history to religious purpose.

Regarding Muslim rule, writers such as James Mill, William Robertson, Thomas Maurice, Charles Grant, H.G. Keene and J.T. Wheeler held a very harsh opinion. They looked upon the Muslims as sanguinary, sensual and bigoted people. They hardly saw anything worth commendable in Muslim rule in India, and projected themselves as deliverers of the Hindus from Muslim tyranny and oppression<sup>3</sup>. Mountstuart Elphinstone in his "*The History of India: the Hindu and Mahomedan Periods*" (1841) made slanderous remarks upon Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and made attempts to belittle the Muslim achievements in art and architecture by saying that they were the result of contact with superior Hindu civilization.

The British conquest of India as well as the suppression of the uprising of 1857 was projected by the British historians as divine providence. This view was strongly subscribed by J.C. Marshman (1794-1877) and Christian Lassen (1800-76). Another historian Charles Grant in his "*Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*" depicted that Indian social life had been absolutely corrupted by false religion and only Westerns learning and religion could lead them

on the right path.

Advertently several European writers and historians tried to propagate the superiority of Christian civilization over other religions and societies. Among the prominent writers who undertook this mission with great zeal were Aloys Sprenger (1813-1893), Sir William Muir (1819-1905) and Sir William Hunter (1840-1900). They used most derogative and slanderous remark on prophet Muhammad(PBUH) and his mission and described Islam as a backward looking force that is hostile to every thing civilised<sup>4</sup>. Hunter had other apprehensions as well. Writing in the 1870's he believed that Muslims were still conspiring to dismantle the British rule. He, however, admitted that all opportunities and avenues that could help the Muslim lead an honourable life had been closed, which certainly bred grievances among the Muslims and it could lead to serious insurrection.

However, by far the most important book that exercised influence on Indian historiography as well as on the British attitude and policy towards India, was "*The History of India as told by its own Historians*" compiled in 8 volumes between 1867 to 1877 by the joint efforts of Sir Henry Elliot (1808-1853) and John Dowson (1820-1881). Elliot declared that Persian chronicles were devoid of social, cultural and institutional description, and, therefore, had no 'intrinsic' value and it will be a misnomer to style them histories<sup>5</sup>. He depicted the Muslim rulers, in general, as sensuous and ease loving people who took delight in loot, plunder and massacre of the non-Muslim subjects. He also criticised the contemporary Hindu historians for praising the Mughal rule. Elliot untiringly wrote to disparage Muslim rule, and projected the British as liberators of the Hindus from Muslim yoke.

British historians made no attempt to correlate the history

of Britain and its contemporary condition with the process of events in India under their domination. Such an attitude was obviously maintained to conceal the consequence of British imperialism that had put India under pitiable condition. British administrators and historians hardly attempted to study the Indian response to their rule. This may explain why Wahhabi and Faraizi movements did not find place in the historical writings of the time. Even advocates of utilitarian school of thought refused to draw out the beneficial aspects of the native institutions which had been working for ages for the welfare of the people and to their educational cause. Instead of suggesting improvement of these institutions they tried to study Indian society in terms of religious attitude and their concept of superiority of western civilization.

There were however certain writings of the Europeans which not only served as a spring of solace to the Muslims but also influenced the course and direction of Muslim historiography to a great extent. These were Edward Gibbon's "*The History of the Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*" (1884), and Thomas Carlyle's "*On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History*". The reason for the popularity of Gibbon and Carlyle among the Muslim historians was their sympathetic description of Prophet Muhammad(PBUH) who was described to have possessed the best qualities of leadership. Gibbon, one of the greatest enlightenment historian, held the view that every age has contributed to the development of human race. All this illuminated vistas of Muslim thinking. It re-enlivened their attention towards understanding of history by the study of the life and activities of great men and strengthened and enriched biographical elements of Urdu historiography.

Contemporary religious strife and attitude of the Muslims found expression in a number of missionary literature and

polemical writings in Urdu. The Wahhabi literature in Urdu prose is of immense importance in this context<sup>6</sup>. It certainly moulded the approach of Urdu historiography.

The Wahhabi and Faraizi movements, coupled with other religious and sectarian strife, contributed in a great measure to a surge for critical study of *Sirat* and *Hadis*. As a result of it historians of the later generation show greater keenness to the examination of sources, investigation, and narration of events.

Around the mid-nineteenth century, at the intellectual plain, there was the revival of old school of Muslim thought which profoundly influenced Muslim historiography in the days to come. Foremost of these was the study of the *Mu'tazillah* or 'Rationalist movement' that flourished during the early days of the 'Abbasids. The *Mu'tazilites* had argued that it was man's action that shaped the historical development, and that one must not trace the causes of historical developments to divine will. As Professor Muhammad Aslam Syed rightly points out that "the *Mu'tazilites* introduced purely intellectual arguments based upon human wisdom and psychology as the sole explanation of the intricacies of knowledge, both divine and wordly"<sup>7</sup>. Much of the development of the Islamic Sciences took place because of the spirit of enquiry and rationalism fostered by the *Mu'tazilites*. This followed that Muslims must not necessarily look only towards the West for inculcating spirit of enquiry and reason. On the contrary, its source could also be traced in the Islamic and Asiatic thought. The revival of *Mu'tazilite* philosophy challenged the blind adherence to many age-long belief and called the people to think with an open mind and integrate Western Sciences in the life vein of Islamic thought, for it can not be treated as alien to the spirit of Islam<sup>8</sup>.

However, there were many traditionalists who believed that the panacea of the ills of the mid-nineteenth century was to



adhere to the strict theological scholasticism of Islam. They endeavoured to establish the predominance of the four Orthodox Schools of Islam. This found expression in the opening of three different centres of Islamic learning. The first of these was Deoband — representing the thoughts of Imam Abu Hanifah; the second was Bhopal — representing the *Zahirist* philosophy which based its thinking upon Imam Ahmad ibn Hambal; and the third was Nadvat-al-'Ulama' at Lucknow which based its argument upon the thinking of Imam Ghazali. This school was led by Shibli Nomani who partially adopted the approach of modernist Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

Thus around the second half of the nineteenth century there erupted again the issues of the early medieval Islamic controversy between the *Mu'tazilites* and the *Ash'arites*. The followers of the *Mu'tazilites* came to believe that British success in India was a reality which had been caused by concrete historical forces and not by an unintelligible accident of fate. As we shall see the new emerging thought had important bearing upon Muslim historiography, the essence of which were broadly speaking two-fold: the first was to restore pride among the Indian Muslims in their Islamic past, and the second was to make the critics of Islam aware of their prejudiced and tendentious opinion against Islam. They asserted that Islam had dispelled ignorance, false belief, bigotry, social evils, and its religious principles and values were superior to other religions and it had played an important role in civilising the nations.

Thus both the Hindus and Muslims were faced by new challenges posed by the western thinkers and writers, to which they responded by reviving their past values and by change of attitude.

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## Intellectual Awakening

India of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was marked by the decline of political power and prestige of the Mughals and the Muslims. On the other hand with the coming of the British a new politico-administrative and economic environment had started taking shape. The emerging situation was unprecedented and it brought the Indians face to face with an unfamiliar political philosophy and life-style of the Europeans. Since the Muslims were the worst affected, the nineteenth century history of India, from the Muslim point of view, is largely the history of the pangs and sorrows of the Muslims, their attitude and response to the British rule, their attempt for rejuvenation and clamour for reforms, and search for separate identity within the frame work of Indo-Islamic world.

The British soon after the initial conquest and consolidation of their power, set themselves to the task of understanding the spirit of the East, without which they felt that their rule in India could not be established on a firm basis. In fact, to understand the oriental spirit, even before the establishment of British sovereignty over Bengal and Madras, the officials of the East India Company had taken measures for the study of Persian by engaging Indian writers and scholars whom they called *munshis*.

About this time amidst political and economic turmoil, decay and destruction, cultural seed sowed in the preceding ages sprouted and blossomed into a new composite Indian culture. The later Mughals might have failed to exercise bond of political unity, but the emergence of Urdu certainly held the cultural unity

of the country. In fact, Urdu arose not merely as a common lingua-franca, but more significantly, it represented the broad elite Indian culture in the nineteenth century.

The understanding of the oriental spirit was continued by officials of Fort St George College (Madras) and Fort William College (Calcutta). Two individuals deserve special attention and praise: Sir William Jones and Dr. John Gilchrist. The latter collected around him Indians of outstanding and rare talent. He inspired prose writing in indigenous language based upon spoken language and colloquial phraseology, and in particular placed Urdu on a firm footing by introducing new teaching materials and encouraging philological, phonological, and scientific studies. The credit of compiling the first Urdu-English dictionary also goes to him<sup>1</sup>. With the gradual passage of time Urdu freed itself from sumptuous formalism and courtly eulogy. The large number of discovery of Oriental materials and publication of Indian and Oriental works helped to understand the Eastern heritage. In a way Fort William College provided a platform for cultural exchange between the Orient and the West.

The immediate response of the Indians especially the Muslims with regard to the British was of mistrust and stiff resistance at all levels. This was natural, for the Muslims were reduced to poverty on account of antagonistic policies of the British.

The gradual erosion of the political power simultaneously 'meant loss of manifold perquisites associated with it'<sup>2</sup>. The Muslims, who had always been a small community, more dependent on state patronage, were the earliest and worst victims of colonial administration. Since the Muslims, in general, were not a trading community, they were, therefore, backward in the field of industry, trade and commerce. On the other hand the non-Muslim communities who had by this time advanced to control



almost seventy five percent of commerce, strengthened further by the rise of new money-lending class of *zamindars* who were pushed forward by the British, brought the Muslims face to face with twin exploiters - the Hindu *zamindars* and the British.

In short, in the nineteenth century, when the Muslims were dislodged from their position in the Indian bureaucracy, they soon found themselves on a quick sand. The Permanent Settlement of 1793 which aimed at creating a class of landlords loyal to the government, obliterated the Muslim landlords as a class in Bengal. This added to the number of Muslim peasantry who were faced with stark poverty. The resultant socio-economic malaise had important bearing upon the future course of developments.

Under the existing circumstances "a feeling gained ground among the Muslims that their political decadence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was mainly due to their deviation from the original doctrines of Islam". There also began the crisis of identity among the Muslims and their concept about the nature of Indian state.

The man who influenced the Muslim thinking and the Islamic religio-intellectual developments not only during his time but also in the coming years, was Shah Wali Allah Dehlavi (1703-1762). He stressed upon the Muslims the need to think in terms of being a part of the larger Islamic world so that their characteristic Islamic identity may not be lost. Explaining the ills of the Muslim community in his *Hujjat-Allah-il-Balighah*, he wrote that the "time has come for the Islamic *Shari'ah* to be re-interpreted rationally"<sup>3</sup>. Also, he was the first to endeavour to bring a balance between the various conflicting sects and groups of Islam. He called upon the Muslims to give up all un-Islamic practices and reel around the pillar of '*ijtihad*'. His son Shah 'Abd-al-Aziz (1750-1824) and grandson Isma'il (1781-1831)

propagated his thought further. All subsequent Muslim reformers such as Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi (1781-1831), Haji Shariat Allah (1781-1840), Mir Nasir 'Ali (1782-1831) better known as Titu Mir or Titu Miyan, Muhammad Mohsin commonly known as Dadu Miyan (1819-1862), and Maulawi Karamat 'Ali (1800-1873) took a cue from Shah Wali Allah and his successors for the rejuvenation and carriage of pristine Islam to the common Muslim.

Shah Wali Allah's thought also influenced the scholastic thinking of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), Muhammad Shibli Nomani (1857-1914) and Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938). His thinking found newer and wider implications during the 1870's, including the growth of Pan-Islamic movement led by Jamal-al-Din Afghani. But the man who put Wali Allah's thought into fiery action was Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi. The movement he started for the rehabilitation of puritanical Islam and extermination of the British from the Indian soil, was metamorphised as 'Wahhabi Movement' by the British. The movement won many adherents and many sacrificed their life and honour for the sake of religion and country. It came to be widely believed that the lagging behind of the Muslims was not because Islam was at fault; rather because the commitment to it was lacking<sup>4</sup>.

Shah Wali Allah's thought percolated in Bengal, a region that has been described as the worst affected area of so-called 'creeping Hinduism'. In this part of the country, owing to British repressive measures and policies, especially because of the 'Permanent Settlement', the Muslims had been reduced to the position of virtual agricultural labourers. Such economic dislocation and poverty prepared the background for militant reform movement in Bengal which closely ran on the lines of the Wahhabi Movement. This movement known as the Faraizi Movement (or duties of Islam) was started by Haji Shari'at Allah

(1780-1839) in 1818. His son, Dadu Miyan, conducted many militant campaigns against the British. He organized the peasant riots in 1838, 1841, 1844 and 1846. They were, however, crushed by the British as well as by a number of Hindu *zamindars*.

Another heroic figure was Tipu Pagla who was epitomised as Louis Blanc of eastern Bengal by Hara Chandra Choudhary. In 1824 the followers of Tipu Pagla rose in rebellion which was suppressed by the government<sup>5</sup>.

The Faraizis have been described as 'Red Republicans' in politics and broke into the houses of Hindu and Muslim landlords with perfect impartiality<sup>6</sup>. Under the leadership of the Faraizis many Muslims boycotted British courts, English schools, and endeavoured to prevent westernization. As is well known some of these measures found more wider application in the twentieth century as a part of non-cooperation against the British. The common thing about all these reformers was that they did not aim to strive to restore Mughal power to its former glory, rather they sought to eradicate the corrupt vices and practices that had seeped into the life of Indian Muslims. They directed their energies in favour of early Islam as it existed in Arabia. "Back to the example of the Prophet", "Back to early *Khalifa*" was the call of the revivalism which occurred among the Muslims<sup>7</sup>. These movements helped to unite at least the Muslims of Northern India in closer ties and prepared the background for the later political movement of the Muslims<sup>8</sup>.

About this time the violent upsurge of 1857 further worsened the Muslim-British relation. For it was widely believed to have been instigated by the Muslims. The press which was largely in the hands of either the Hindus or the British, blamed the Muslims for the outbreak of the mutiny. The topic has received much attention by modern writers and all its aspects and arguments need not be emphasized here.

Ideologically the period saw the beginning of a new kind of extra-territorial loyalty among the Muslims. Perhaps, having drawn a cue from the ideas of Shah Wali Allah, Tipu Sultan (1781-1799) secured for himself letters of investiture from the Ottoman Caliph after such a request was turned down by the Mughal Emperor. The loyalty to the Ottoman Caliph was further supported by the Wahhabis<sup>9</sup>. The Caliphate issue and later the growth of Pan-Islamism created problems for the British. Amidst such raging disputes over the legitimacy of Caliphate which split the intellectual class of the Muslims, there also arose the dispute about the nature of British state in India in the eyes of the Muslims. It came to be widely discussed whether India was *dar-al-harb* (Land of enemy or Land of warfare), *dar-al-aman* (Land of peace), or *dar-al-Islam* (Land of Islam). Scholars like Shah Wali Allah believed India to be *madinat-al-naqisa* (imperfect state)<sup>10</sup>. The Faraizis did not preach *jihad* but held that so long as the British ruled Bengal the congregational prayers on *jum'ah* (Friday) and at *'Id* (festival) should not be performed<sup>11</sup>.

In various parts of the country the Hindus were politically well entrenched. Even in areas where they were in a subordinate position they were treated with respect and honour. Under the Mughals they had occupied key positions in revenue administration, and Hindus and Muslims lived in peace and harmony. India of the eighteenth century and down till 70's - 80's of the nineteenth century displayed unique social peace and harmony. About the Hindus at large the celebrated historian Ishwari Prasad states that there was nothing derogatory to their self-respect if the emperor was a Muslim. They had become reconciled to him, as he had ceased to be a foreigner and had become one of themselves<sup>12</sup>. The Mughal court celebrated major Hindu festivals with as much splendour and gaiety as those of the Muslims. The later Mughal emperors, and many semi-



independent Muslim *nawwabs* and chiefs freely observed Hindu religious practices as a part of court ceremonies<sup>13</sup>.

Hindu and Muslim rulers are known to have made corresponding liberal grants and endowments to the priests and places of worship of the two communities, and there existed many areas of give and take between the two. An English man, Dr. Taylor writes that in the early part of the nineteenth century religious quarrels between Hindus and Muhammadans were of rare occurrence. They lived in perfect peace and concord and a majority of the individuals even smoked from the same *huqqah*<sup>14</sup>. It was this bond of unity and mutual understanding, along with other causes, which inspired both Hindus and Muslims to reaffirm their loyalty to Bahadur Shah, the last nominal Mughal Emperor, resulting ultimately in the catastrophe of the Mutiny of 1857<sup>15</sup>.

However, despite cultural rapprochement and living together for centuries the two communities could not fuse together in the modern sense of nationhood. Beneath the apparent cultural accord, there lay latent divisive forces down to the village level and which proved stronger than the cohesive one and came to the surface when political and material interests of the two communities clashed, especially after the Hindus started receiving preferential treatment at the hands of the British. The writings of the Arya Samajists and Bankim Chandra while it aroused Hindu identity also sowed seeds of communal feeling.

The British policy of 'Divide and Rule' soon tore apart the composite Indian culture and understanding. With the passage of time the preachings of the Arya Samajists, the celebration of Ganpati festivals, the importance attached to the 'Shivaji cult', role of Indian press, tendentious writings, Indological studies, Hindi-Urdu script controversy, *Khilafat* issue, aggressive Hindu chauvinism, the corresponding growth of *anjumans* among the

Muslim to check the Arya Samajists, etc. — all contributed in no small measure to the stiffening of attitude of the two communities.

It has generally been depicted that the Muslims were a backward lot who refused to change with the time and adopt the progressive elements of British rule. Such a generalised statement cannot be accepted. Contrary to it, a closer look at the period will reveal that it were the British who pursued a deliberate and planned policy to keep the Muslims backward. All their administrative and political measures were aimed at marginalising the Muslim community in Indian polity.

Among the Muslims the inadequacy of relevant education had been felt even by Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb. He expressed resentment to his teachers Mulla Muhammad Saleh for not properly informing him about the different communities of the world, about their military strength and technique of war, their sources of income, customs and traditions, religious beliefs, pattern of administration, etc. He especially feels at loss for not having been taught history in a chronological manner, about the foundations of empires, the causes of their rise and fall, and the factors which were responsible for upheavals and revolutions<sup>15A</sup>. In later times Shah 'Abd-al-Aziz (1746-1823) called upon the Muslims to be resilient. A compromising attitude with the British was considered necessary for the survival of the Muslims. Accordingly he permitted the Muslims to study English and seek employment with the East India Company in professions associated with public welfare.

The rulers of Awadh are known to have been patrons of modern science. Asaf-al-Daulah (1778-92) ordered the translation of Newton's *Principia* into Arabic. Sa'adat 'Ali Khan founded an observatory in Lucknow. Ghazi-al-Din Haidar (1814-27) patronized oriental and philological studies. Nawwab Nasir-al-

Din was also a patron of new learning. Under his instructions Hakim Mahdi 'Ali Khan laid the foundations of an English school. It was in this school that Sayyid Kamal-al-Din, the famous historian of Awadh had studied. Among the '*Ulama*', Karamat 'Ali of Jaunpur (1800?-1873), responded favourably to the British educational innovations and emphasized the necessity of learning European languages so that the scientific knowledge of the West could reach the Muslims<sup>16</sup>.

The Muslims began with the reformation of their educational syllabi as is embodied in *Dars-i Nizamiyah*. Later a number of individuals arose who were to influence Muslim thought and education. Mirza Abu Talib Landani (1752-1806), 'Abd-al-Rahim Zahri (1785-1850), As'ad-Allah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869), Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) Nawwab 'Abd-al-Latif Khan Bahadur (1828-1893), and Sayyid Amir 'Ali (1849-1928) are prominent among them.

Mirza Abu Talib Isfahani may be called as the first liberal Muslim who spoke favourably about western culture. A native of Awadh, with strong bureaucratic lineage, his ancestors enjoyed close rapport with the *nawwabs* of Awadh. Abu Talib after wandering at different places finally reached Calcutta where he got access to John Shore, the Governor of Bengal. In Calcutta he developed close acquaintance with Captain Richardson, a Scottish gentleman, well-versed in Urdu and Persian. It was at his instance that he travelled along with him to England and stayed there for few years. He was warmly received by the English dignitaries. It must be remembered that his visit came long before Raja Ram Mohan Roy's travel to England. And, it may be equally well remembered that Raja Ram Mohan Roy died in Bristol, and therefore, could not leave behind his impression about England and Western society. Abu Talib was impressed by the Western culture, of the English Parliament, and the liberal character of the

English constitution. So impressed was Abu Talib that he composed a long poem in Persian, '*An ode to London*' in glorification of certain aspects of London culture. Notwithstanding, he expressed his unhappiness over European orientalist views of India. He was of the opinion that Muslims must embrace those Western values which are healthy and morally sound. He preserved his observations in his travelogue entitled *Masir-i Talibi fi bilad-i Afrangi*<sup>17</sup>.

Another notable person was 'Abd-al-Rahim Zahri. A native of Gorakhpur he was well-versed in Arabic, Persian, Pushtu, Turkish, English and Latin. He emphasized the need for the Muslims to acquire the new learning from the West and learn English. He translated John Marsh Clarke's work *A History of India* into Persian language, and wrote a booklet entitled *Jarr-i Saqail* on the laws and principles of modern mechanics<sup>18</sup>.

Another outstanding teacher and scholar was, Lutf-Allah (1802-1854) who held liberal attitude. He learnt English and is perhaps **the** first Muslim to write his autobiography in English<sup>19</sup>.

Another person who spoke in favour of Western influence was Shams-al-'Umarah (1783-1863). He considered acquisition of Western knowledge as the panacea of Muslim ills and backwardness. He established a translation bureau in Hyderabad in 1834, and also established a printing press. Well-versed in English and French languages, he started a centre of higher learning through the medium of Urdu. The school known as *Madrsa-i Fakhriah* (est. in 1829) paid attention not only to theology but also to natural sciences. He is the translator of *Shams-al-Hindsa*, a book on geometry which was published in 1823. It is a translation of a French work<sup>20</sup>. Even As'ad-Allah Khan Ghalib, the well-known poet condemned old institutions and praised the institutions and material advancement of Western countries.



But by far the most important person who rendered yeoman's service to the cause of Muslim education and thought, was Nawwab 'Abd-al-Latif Khan Bahadur (1828-1893) who is generally regarded as the father of Muslim modernism in Bengal. 'Abd-al-Latif in his independent capacity anticipated many of the measures which made Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan famous in history as the father of Muslim modernism in India. It was 'Abd-al-Latif who made a strong bid to transform the Anglo-Persian department of the Calcutta Madrasah to the status of a college. Another pioneering work of his was the establishment of Mohammedan Literary Society in April 1863. The society provided much needed impetus to the cause of learning of Western sciences and to the Muslim advancement and progress. 'Abd-al-Latif was ably supported by the enlightened reformer, Karamat 'Ali. A number of his writings were to show that under the inspiration of Qur'anic guidance, the Muslims developed zest for learning, especially Greek sciences which were later picked up by the European researchers and scholars.

About this time Syed Ameer 'Ali, went to the extent of suggesting that the Arabic department of Calcutta Madrasah be broken up and replaced by a system of education essentially modern and European. But 'Abd-al-Latif was against such a scheme. This resulted in Latif-Ali controversy which continued unabated throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century<sup>21</sup>.

By the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century a nucleus of semi-Westernized educational institution emerged and prospered at Delhi. This was the famous Dehli College. Its origin began with the establishment of Ghazi-al-Din Ka Madrasah in 1792 in the tomb complex built by Mir Shahab-al-Din Ghazi-al-Din Khan Firuz Jung and which received financial aid from the *waqf* established by I'timad-al Daulah, the Nawwab of Awadh. It was transformed into a college in 1825 and in 1828 English

education was introduced. The English books taught at the college included Goldsmith's *Traveller and Deserted Village*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Shakespeare's *Plays*, Pope's *Essay on Man*, Richardson's *Selections*, Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, and Burke's *Essays and Speeches*. These works moulded the approach of the students towards literature and criticism, and were mainly responsible for the flowering of the New School<sup>22</sup>. Here, besides Islamic sciences, a number of modern subjects such as algebra, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, history, mechanics, grammar and geography, were taught in Urdu. Thus decades before the foundation of Aligarh College of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the Dehli College pioneered the movement for new knowledge. It produced a number of well-known Muslim scholars and reformers such as Munshi Zaka' Allah (1832-1911), Muhammad Husain Azad (1830-1910), Nazir Ahmad (1831-1912) and others who were to contribute to Muslim awakening.

By the 1870's the Muslims had become quite alive to their educational needs. At this stage the emergence of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his all-round efforts for the uplift of Muslims is well-known and need not be repeated here. But here again the name of Khwaja 'Abd-al-Ghani (C.S.I) must be mentioned, who, along with many Muhammadan gentlemen pleaded in 1871 that a Muhammadan College at Dacca be opened where students might learn English or Arabic. Some assurances were given by the British but the scheme could not materialise. Had it materialized it would have surely given the Bengali Muslims a decisive start over their Aligarh brethren.

Thus what conclusively appears is that among a section of the Muslims there was propensity to adopt, adjust and change according to the needs of the time without letting Western learning adversely effect their belief and faith. More importantly, they tried to smother bitterness and enmity between the British

and the Muslims. opened avenues for exchange of thought at the religious and scientific arena, and endeavoured to promote a more harmonious relation between the two. At the intellectual level the period witnessed the emergence of age-old controversy between the *Mu'tazilites* and the *Ash'arites*. The modernists declared themselves the followers of the *Mu'tazilites*, while the traditionalists stood for the *Ash'arites*. Just as the *Mu'tazilites* had used Greek philosophy in their arguments, the modernists drew upon Western rationalism of the nineteenth century in interpreting the Islamic values.

While all this has been said about Muslim efforts for change and progress, it is necessary to write a few lines about British attitude towards Indian Muslim educational institutions. From available evidences it appears that the British were largely responsible for attempting to keep the Muslims backward. Behind the apparent sympathy and concern for Muslim education, the early British rulers were more keen in strangulating the Muslim educational system. This can be said on the ground that the Calcutta *Madrasah* founded in 1770 by Warren Hastings received no attention<sup>23</sup>. In Bengal large number of *mu'asfi* (tax free grant lands) which supported educational establishments were confiscated by the government<sup>24</sup>. It may be pointed out that the Trusts for educational institutions set up by Muslim rulers and nobles were so extensive that according to Charles Grant, they formed about one-fourth of the whole area of Bengal. To cite one example, Haji Muhammad Mohsin, a millionaire created a Trust out of his vast fortune. In 1817, the British took control of the Trust and maintained the Hoogly College from its income. The Trust was made to pay an annual salary of Rupees 1500, besides lodging, to a British Principal who knew nothing about Persian and Arabic. Out of an income of Rs 5,260 it devoted only Rs 350 for a little school, i.e., for Muhammadan education<sup>25</sup>. Among

other things all this was responsible for the increase of unemployment and the closing of other avenues of livelihood for the Muslims. Later the 'Despatch of 1854' suggested that worthy Muhammadan *Madrasas* be affiliated to the Universities, but the Calcutta *Madrasah* was left out of the Calcutta University. Had the *Madrasah* been affiliated the subsequent history of the education of the Muslims of Bengal might have been different<sup>26</sup>.

Garcin de Tasey, a French scholar, estimated that in 1843 there were 35 Urdu newspapers out of which more than 15 were either owned or edited by the Muslims. In 1858 the number was reduced to 12, and only 1 was owned by a Muslim<sup>27</sup>.

On the other hand, the British were more generous towards the Hindus. The Hindu College which was opened in 1817 received much attention. Moreover, the Hindus by virtue of being better economically placed soon monopolized the education and the running of press. It will not be out of place to mention what Lord Ellenborough said, "I can not close my eyes to the belief that this race (Muslims) is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus"<sup>28</sup>. Notwithstanding all this, it will be wrong to believe that right from the beginning the Hindus responded to the Western education without any resistance and disapproval. An example of it can be seen when Raja Ram Mohan Roy favoured the opening of a school in 1815, the conservative Hindus opposed him. As is well-known his reform movement was split into two factions.

Thus, what is understandable, is that despite being less susceptible to change the Muslims lagged behind not because they shut their eyes for reforms but more because of the antagonistic and discriminative attitude of the British. There was a deliberate and well-conceived policy to keep the Muslims backward.



If the educational policy is closely scrutinised it becomes clear that the British had no clear aims and objectives. In the early stages all the schools opened were supervised by Christian Priests and by 1815 the Missionaries had opened more than hundred schools. In 1813 it was decided to pay attention to the subjects of science, but still the main thrust was towards imparting training to Company's officers or to accelerate the missionary activities. In 1817 Anglo-Indian College was opened for imparting education of Bengali and English as well as Hindustani (Urdu) and Persian by modern ways, but all this was like a drop in the ocean of ignorance and backwardness.

Above all, the British were divided between two schools of thought — the Orientalist and the Anglicists. The Orientalists advocated understanding of Indian civilisation and Oriental studies aimed at educating the Indians in the light of Indian languages and literature. As against this, the Anglicists were against providing educational facilities to the Indians, of Indological studies, or translation of European works in Indian languages. More offensive was the tendency to inject a feeling of inferiority complex at the intellectual plain among the Indians. For example Lord Hastings once observed that the average Bengali was not superior to a monkey or an elephant in intelligence<sup>29</sup>. Even Alexander Duff and Lord Macaulay were not free from such prejudices and considered the Indians as dirt under their feet.

Despite all the backwardness associated with the Muslims, Harrington Thomas writing in 1870's testified that educationally, intellectually and morally Muslims were superior to Hindus and possessed far more ability to manage affairs of the state than anybody else<sup>30</sup>. On the other hand, the Hindus by virtue of their reforms movement and government patronage became more assertive. Hence the British felt that it was necessary to put a

check on them. Thus by the seventies of the nineteenth century the ruthless suppression of the Muslims came to a halt and there came about a change in the anti-Muslim policy of the British government. Among the British circle it came to be admitted that the Muslim insurgency was largely because they had been debarred from government services and were neglected in all possible ways.

It can be said that Muslim liberalism in India dates back to the early nineteenth century. It grew slowly, faced hurdles by the conflicting ideological policies of the British, and gained momentum after the progress of the Aligarh Movement. In the early phase certain individuals including religious leaders, were trying to broaden the outlook of the Muslims and convince them that there was nothing unlawful in English learning. However, the number of enlightened Muslims was so small before 1857 that they could not exert any marked influence upon the mind of the Muslim community. About this time the anti-British attitude of the Muslims as expressed in the Wahhabi and Faraizis movements, stiffened the anti-Muslim attitude of the British. On the other hand the Hindus did not consider it feasible to carry out movements of a similar nature. This leads us to believe that Hindu and Muslim awakening started almost about the same time, but Hindus took bigger strides and by virtue of being a favoured community showed greater enthusiasm.

The British were certainly not sincere in educating the Muslims. The proposed idea of opening a college in Dacca meant future resurgence of Muslims close to Calcutta which the British would never let happen. Again, if the British were really sincere they could have very well rejuvenated the Dehli College. This would mean Muslim renaissance taking place in the moribund capital of the Mughal empire. And hence, a relatively obscure place, Aligarh, was chosen. But Muslim surge for education and

change had already precipitated in the preceding years. From *Tarikh-i-Ujjayniyah* it appears that Bihar had taken the lead in Muslim female education, much before the opening of Anglo-Muhammadan School, Aligarh. Similarly *Tarikh-i-Tirhut* abounds in the reference to Muslim participation in educational and legal profession. It thus appears that the oft repeated Muslim backwardness and conservatism is a myth, but was conveniently forwarded to underscore their poor representation in the polity of the country. Sir Sayyid or no Sir Sayyid, the task which he was destined to perform, was very much in the offing. Had there been no Sir Syed even then the task would have been accomplished by some other enlightened Muslim. This is not to belittle the importance of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan but to point out that the impact of the famous Aligarh Movement was so wide-spread that the study of the attempts of the individuals at regional and sub-regional levels for the modernisation of Muslim education and thought was almost ignored.

The Indians were beset with other problems. The year 1829 saw the replacement of Persian language by English as the administrative language. The former which had been serving as the official language for the past six centuries and had stood as the embodiment of elite Indian culture, was finally abolished in 1837 as the language of the Courts<sup>31</sup>. This decision, coupled with the collapse of Muslim educational system, had the most injurious effect on the employment of Muslims in government services as well as in generating a feeling of cultural loss.

There also emerged the language problem in India. While the Muslim press championed the cause of Urdu, the Hindus started asserting the demand for the use of *Devnagri* script. In 1870 Hindi was adopted as the language of the lower courts, first in Bihar and then in the Central Province<sup>32</sup>. In several parts of the country, regional vernaculars were propped up in order to

displace Urdu. Hindus started arguing that Urdu was a foreign language. In this manner the Urdu-Hindi conflict became a serious factor in the Indian religio-political scene, and stimulated communal rivalry and tension. Such was the change in the attitude that Shiva Prashad, who, until a couple of decades earlier had spoken so eloquently in praise of Urdu, now became a frontline leader of anti-Urdu Movement.

About this time the growth of Pan-Islamism and Hindu chauvinism also contributed to the growth of separate community consciousness and drew the attention of some Hindu and Muslim writers and historians towards their glorious past. It came to be widely believed that the Muslims despite their longstanding in the Indian soil were foreigners at least in the religio-cultural sense<sup>33</sup>. The Hindus developed the view that India is primarily the land of the Hindus, in which the Muslims as also other non-Hindus were outsiders. For example, despite the racial, cultural and linguistic affinities in Bengal, the idea became popular that the Bengali Hindu was Bengali and the Bengali Musalman was simply a Musalman<sup>34</sup>. It may be pointed out that the British were also foreigners with very recent standing and their religious pretensions were clear. But since the British could not be attacked directly, the Muslims were made to serve "as convenient whipping boys". The religious outburst was fully manifested by the Arya Samajists who freely attacked the character of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and that the Qur'an does not merit being considered a revealed book. Movement for the reconversion of Muslims to Hindu and Sikh fold were started which released unrestricted Hindu chauvinism.

In short, since the second half of the eighteenth century India witnessed a period characterised by transition in all walks of life. The various section and classes of people reacted differently from time to time, and it will be incorrect to make any



generalised statement in this regard. Old legacies were slowly but surely giving place to new ones. Growth of new thoughts, old thoughts placed in new perspective, reconciliation with the British in respect to loss of power and prestige, educational urge, from resistance to compromise, from compromise to advocacy of perpetuity of British rule, emerging features of nationalism, political consciousness and community identity, neo-nationalism confounded with Pan-Islamism and Pan-Hinduism, language issue, etc., — all proved to be of mixed fortunes for India. While it drew out the Indians from the meshes of medievalism and obscurantism, it at the same time brought the Indians face to face with new challenges. The transformation saw many old cherished values being sacrificed and straining and tearing of the cordial relations between the Hindus and Muslims. Ameer 'Ali epitomised the situation as "in the rising tide of unregulated nationalism one side was animated with the ambition of dominance and the other was obsessed with the fear of subordination"<sup>35</sup>.

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30. Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Religious Thought of Syed Ahmad Khan*, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1957/1971, p.69
31. Peter Hardy. *op.cit.*, p.36
32. *Ibid.*, p.36
33. S.M. Ikram, *Mauj-i Kausar*, Firoza Printing Works, p.318
34. Pierre Bessaignet (ed), *Social Research in East Pakistan*, Dacca, 1960, p.25
35. Ameer Ali, *Islamic Culture*, 1931, Vol. 5 (October), p.14. as quoted by Jayanti Maitra, *op.cit.*, p.184

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## Beginnings of Historical Writings in Urdu

The early historical works in Urdu may be divided under two heads; historical works produced before the establishment of Fort St. George College, Madras (1717) and Fort William College (1800), Calcutta, and those written after. This may again be sub-divided into works produced within and outside semi-Westernized institutions. This would help us to trace the indigenous propensity for historical writings as well as to locate the impact of the introduction of Western methods of learnings. It is also necessary to point out here that the works produced under the auspices of Fort St George College have been taken up after the works of Fort William College, because although the former was established earlier, the historical works produced therein are of a later period than those of Fort William College.

For the period under study before the establishment of semi-Westernized institutions there are some books, both historical as well as quasi-historical. Of these, one of the earliest historical works in Urdu that remain extant is the *Qissah Wa Ahwal-i Rohillah*<sup>1</sup> of Sayyid Rustam 'Ali Bijnori. It was written in 1188 Hijri/1774-5 at the behest of John Horace Ford. Little is known about the life of Sayyid Rustam 'Ali Bijnori, except that his family belonged to Barah but had later settled down at Bijnor. He was a contemporary of Saqib Siyuharwi and Qaim Chandpuri, two famous Urdu poets of this region. Further, Rustam 'Ali was a skilled calligraphist who used to teach Urdu to John Horace Ford who was commonly known as Spitt Saheb at the English army camp at Daranagar<sup>2</sup>. He had appointed Rustam 'Ali as Urdu *ataliq* (tutor).

## **Contents**

The book begins with a doxology, the traditional Muslim way of starting a work. It is a history in which events from 1730 to the accession of Asif al-Daulah have been mentioned. The account begins with Da'ud Khan who made a punitive attack on village Sangoti and made many persons captives. Among the captives was one handsome Jat boy by the name of Prem Singh Nano. Da'ud Khan was so attracted towards him that he adopted him as his son, converted him to Islam, and named him 'Ali Muhammad Nano. Later, when the boy reached adulthood, Da'ud Khan declared him as his successor. Thus began the pedigree of the Nawwabs of Rampur<sup>3</sup>.

The central figure of the book is 'Ali Muhammad Khan around which is woven the contemporary history in which wars and administrative measures have been described. His political ascendancy made the Mughul emperor, Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) apprehensive and he marched in person to check him. 'Ali Muhammad Khan was forced to cede the district of Karli, and in return obtained the *faujdari* of Sirhind from Muhammad Shah<sup>4</sup>.

Rustam 'Ali discusses the attacks of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the accession of Ahmad Shah (1748-1754), the events after 'Ali Muhammad Khan's death, which includes the victories of (Sa'id Allah Khan) the successor of 'Ali Muhammad Khan, the killing of Qayam Khan Bangash, the death of the Mughul emperor Shah 'Alamgir II (1754- 1759), the defeat of the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1761, the conflict of the Rohillas against the Jats and the Hindu chiefs, the victory of Najib al-Daulah over Surajmal Jat, the coming of Shah 'Alam to Delhi under the protection of the Marathas, stray references of administrative measures, revenue yields, crafty acts and correspondences between the rulers, etc. Generally, dates of

events have been mentioned in *Hijri* era, but *Julus* era (dating from the year of coronation) has also been used.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

The book was written at the request of John Horace Ford who wanted to know in Urdu as to how 'Ali Muhammad Khan, the Rohillah Pathan chief, extended his territories in the country of Katehar (also Rohilkhand, north U.P.) from Shahjahanpur to Hardwar. Secondly, it was written so that the common people might benefit from it, especially those who had no knowledge of Persian<sup>5</sup>.

### ***Attitude towards Sources***

The author does not claim any direct knowledge of the events; he wrote on the basis of the information gathered by him. He does not quote the source and does not attempt to probe the cause and effect of any incident.

### ***Language and Style***

Rustam 'Ali Bijnori calls the language of his book as Hindi-Urdu. The style bends and moulds according to the need of the narration. In it there are description of battle scenes, intrigues and conspiracies, military plans and strategies, use of instruments of war, epistolary correspondence, etc. As in the case of some other literary compositions of the period, Urdu can be seen in a developing phase and its orthography<sup>6</sup> considerably different from that of the present times. Often the writer starts writing in the first person and even quotes Persian verses. At one place he even writes a sentence in Afghani (pushto) language. Significantly, he also uses unbecoming words at times. Prose has been used not for displaying mere elegance but to meet the requirements of historical composition. At a time when there was no historical book in Urdu to serve as an example or model, the

*Qissah Wa Ahwal-i Rohillah* was to initiate trend in historical writings in Urdu<sup>8</sup>. The language used is what was commonly spoken around the Daranagar camp. It is considerably influenced by *Khari Boli* (dialect spoken around Delhi, Ambala) and Rohilkhand dialects and speech. The style, as a whole, is closely akin to the prose style of Baqar Agha's Urdu preface<sup>9</sup>. At the same time the influence of Persian is discernible. Rustam 'Ali also displays feeling of patriotism.

### ***Significance***

The book is not a translation of any prior Persian historical work, but was written in Urdu and based upon the information which Rustam 'Ali could gather. His account does not show any bias or prejudice. Despite a fairly vivid narration the author does not specify what were exactly the contributing factors for the phenomenal rise of the Rohillah Pathans. This can, however, be inferred from the various information made here and there. For example the narration throws considerable light on the Mughul officers posted in the region of Katehar and of their mutual dissension and rivalry, the advantage of which was taken by the Rohillahs. The invasion of Nadir Shah had also left a political vacuum in the region. Rustam 'Ali is quite critical of the slothness of the Mughul troops and of their unfamiliarity with the changing war techniques. Ease and pleasure had made them indolent, inactive and coward. Significantly, unlike the projection of Da'ud Khan as a plunderer in some of the Persian accounts, Rustam 'Ali Bijnori has portrayed him as a person of high ambition with many virtues.

The author has generally shown respect to the different Nawwabs of Oudh (Awadh), except Nawwab Wazir Ghazi al-Din Khan. The book is thus important both from the point of view of historiography as well as Urdu prose writing. The language of the

book displays that Perso-Arabic culture was moribund and effete, and that Urdu was finding out ways to establish itself. Rustam 'Ali Bijnori can be placed among the pioneer writers who used Urdu language for historical writings.

### *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*<sup>10</sup>

This is another rare book of the period. From the language of the book it appears to be a work of north India, compiled towards the close of the eighteenth century (1196 *Hijri*/1781-82)<sup>11</sup>. It is quite probable that it must have been written at somebody's request. Harun Khan Sherwani is of the opinion that the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* is actually based upon a Persian book entitled the *Muhasut Twarikh* of Farzand 'Ali Husaini, who, belonged to Monghyr<sup>12</sup> and wrote in 1153 *Hijri*/ 1740-41. However, the point of importance is that the author has given accounts of events till 1195 *Hijri*/1780-81. It is this supplemented portion<sup>13</sup> that has made the work of considerable importance, calling attention towards the historical approach of the author.

### *Contents*

The *Tarikh-i- Hindustan* begins with the account of the reign of Timur and ends with that of Tipu Sultan's war with the British in 1195 *Hijri*/ 1780-81 (The Second Anglo-Mysore War). After writing about Timur's son and grandsons, it briefly refers to the different Mughul rulers. In between, the account of Sher Shah Suri bears more detail account. This is followed by the description of anarchical conditions of Delhi, the rise of the Marathas, the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. It mentions the activities of Suraj Mal, the account of Nawwab Najaf Khan and his relations with the Sikhs, and the relations of the British with the Khattari race of Deccan.

A brief description of the activities of the important nobles, such as Amir Khan 'Umdat al-Mulk, Qamar al-Din Khan, Asif



Jan. Mir Jamil Fakhr al-Din al-Husayni and others have been given. The account of the wars between Warangal and Mozaffar Jung (for the throne of Hyderabad) has also been discussed. The author has narrated the condition of the virtually independent principality of Berar, British and the Anglo-Mysore relations with special reference to Haider Ali's conflict with the British and his early success against the latter. Subsequently, factors which contributed to the extension of British power in the regions of Berar, Kanna and neighbouring areas have been examined. From the nature of the narrative particularly the way the author has written about the activities of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah, Farrukh Siyar and the activities of the ruler of Berar, and the account of Hazrat Muhammad Amin Khan, it appears that he is a true professed Shia scholar.

Of special importance is the information about Mir Muhammad Husain, a native of Kanna (Kannauj) who came to Kabul and started spreading a new religion by the name of *Iman*. He claimed Divine revelation and established the Muslim observance of fasting and Hajj in different ways. He had many adherents and his movement came to the attention of Farbudan Nur Yamudan, later Mughal emperor Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719) who went to meet him. But soon the new sect was liquidated. The author uses the word *cheater* and *fraud* for Mir Muhammad Husain. Muhammad Zaka Allah in his *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* (Vol. IX, pp 264-5) also seems to refer to this faith. He, however, names Mir Muhammad Husain as only Muhammad Husain. According to Zaka Allah, Muhammad Husain belonged to Mashhad. He first came to Kabul. Here he married a relative of Uludat al-Amir Khan, the subedar of Kanna. Later on he stationed himself in the vicinity of Delhi. He tried to propagate that between Prophethood and *Imamat* (or *Bayan*) and declared himself as a *Bayan*. He also tried to convert many

language by the use of old Persian words, and wrote a book by the title of *Ajurah Muqaddas* which he believed equalled the Qur'an. He gave peculiar name to his disciples. He named himself *Namud Allah* and *Namud*. Likewise, he named one of his disciples as *Farabud*. This faith flourished during the reign of Farrukh Siyar, but soon died out by 1196 Hijri/1782

### **Methodology**

The book begins in the name of God, but has no preface or introduction. The account is a running narration without paragraphs, except at few places. There are sub-headings in red ink. The *tark*<sup>15</sup> system has been used for pagination. The dates have been mentioned generally in *Hijri* era but at some places dates in both Christian as well as in *Hijri* era have been given<sup>16</sup>. It does not contain any concluding note.

### **Style**

The language of the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* is simple and it is written in a straightforward manner. It does not contain any verse. The writer has maintained the flow of language throughout the book. The orthography is different from that of the present days<sup>17</sup>.

### **Assessment**

The *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* presents a simple narrative. It mainly deals with political events and military actions. It does not refer to social, cultural, or economic conditions of the time, or even of any ruler's interest in social and cultural activities. Religious developments also do not find place except the portion about the *Farbud* religion and the narration of the religious beliefs of the Mughul emperor, Bahadur Shah. The writer does not try to trace the cause and effect of an event nor does he give his personal opinion, although he does make a few comments.

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### ***Tarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan*<sup>18</sup>**

It is a work of Mun'im Khan Aurangabadi. The eminent scholar Maulana 'Abd-al Haque is of the view that it was written in 1197 Hijri/ 1782-83<sup>19</sup>. It is a summarised version of the Persian work, the *Tarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan*<sup>20</sup>, by the same writer (i.e. Mun'im Khan). Dr. Zore writes that Mun'im Aurangabadi was a famous historian of the reign of Nizam 'Ali Khan Asaf Jah II. He entered the service of the Nawwab, who bestowed upon him a *mansab* and other state honours. He served at various places in the Deccan which must have certainly given him access to important documents. Later he was transferred to Hyderabad. It was there that he compiled the book. The significant thing about the book is that the author has nowhere mentioned the *Tarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan* to be a summarized version or translation of the Persian work, although he has definitely borrowed from it and it may be regarded as an abridged account of it.

### ***Contents***

The *Tarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan* is a history of the six provinces of the Deccan and the rule of the Asafiyah rulers. The description of each province begins from medieval times. The author is interested in giving topographical accounts, of how different areas were conquered by different Muslim rulers at different times, the different places which served as seats of saints and missionary centres of Islam. More importantly, it gives revenue yields of each *parganah*. The author is very particular in giving revenue yields in rupees and not in the Deccani currency, the *hun*. The author takes keen interest in describing lakes, streams, precious stones, cereals, beasts, cloth, spices, flowers, etc., of different provinces. It also states that historians have truly praised the city of Shahjahanbad (Delhi) for its beauty. But

following the invasion of Nadir Shah the city was ravaged to such an extent that it lost its splendour. Its place was taken by the Deccan and there is no country better than it. The author praises Nawwab Nizam 'Ali Khan for raising the glory of the Asafiyah House and of its administration. Individual personalities, generally relating to noblemen, have not been treated as vividly as that in the Persian histories.

### ***Methodology***

It begins with a doxology. Thereafter, foreword or preface is given in which the author mentions how the book has been planned. The book has no index, no chapters, no headings, or a concluding note. It is a continuous narration. The *tark* system has been used for pagination. Date of events have been rarely mentioned. Also, it does not quote the sources used while narrating the account, except at a place or two.

### ***Purpose and Attitude towards Sources***

The author writes that for a long time he had the desire of writing a book on history of the Deccan. He mentions the following books used by him. These are the *Najhat al-Ums*, *Akbar Nama*, *Haji 'Iqlim* of *Amir Ahmad Razi*, *Tarikh-i Firishtah*, *Mir'at al-'Alam*, *Bayaz-i-Amanat-Khan*, *Ma'asir al-'Umara'*, *Baharistan-i Sukhan*, and *Zakhirat al Qwanin*<sup>22</sup>.

### ***Style***

The language shows the influence of Dakkani Urdu; but nevertheless, it is akin to that of north Indian Urdu, too. The Urdu orthography is different from that of the present day<sup>22</sup>.

### ***Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi***<sup>23</sup>

Another notable work of the period is the abridged Urdu translation of the famous 14th century Persian history, the

*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, written by Shams Siraj 'Afif. This summarised translation into Urdu was undertaken at the request of Sir Henry Captain Louis. The translator is Waris 'Ali bin Shaikh Bahadur of Shajahanabad (Delhi). Dr. Rafia Sultana argues that from the view point of narration as well as orthography it appears to be a work written before the foundation of Fort William College<sup>24</sup>. Another Urdu translation of the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* published recently<sup>25</sup> makes no mention of this earlier translation.

### **Contents**

It presents an account of the reign of Sultan Firuz Tughluq (1351-1388).

### **Methodology**

It begins with a doxology. The preface has been written in Persian. The account is divided into chapters and the *tark* system of pagination has been applied. The translator has utilised the broad margin space to make the page look decorative. The headlines are in red ink. Important words or sentences intended to be highlighted have also been underlined in red ink. It is interpolated with Persian verses and ends with a *ruba'i* (quatrain).

### **Style**

The translation has been made in a simple language, but Persian and Arabic words have been frequently used. At some places two or more words are written without any break. On the whole, the narrative is marked for its flow.

### ***Tarikh-i-Seringapatam***<sup>26</sup>

This is another work of history in *Dakkani* Urdu. It is a translation of a Persian history, the *Tarikh-i-Haidari*. It was translated into Urdu by Munshi Muhammad Qasim at the request



of Colonel Makhi. It further bears information that it was compiled on 10th *Rajab* 1216 *Hijri*/ 1801 by Haidar Agha for his maternal uncle. Haidar Agha was a *na'ik* in the army.

### **Contents**

The *Tarikh-i-Seringapatam* begins with the information that Rajah of Seringapatam was Kishan Raj. He was the master of the country of Mysore whose resources were limited but had to meet the expenses of a large army. The country was also facing the problem of recalcitrant Polygar chiefs, and by other men who refused to pay revenue. It then states how Devraj, the chief of Mysorian army, scored victory over the Polygar chief. Thereafter, it describes how the ancestors of Haidar 'Ali who came from Arabia and settled at Bijapur, where the Sultan of Bijapur awarded Muhammad Fath, the father of Haidar 'Ali, with a *mansab*. The author, however, does not name the Sultan of Bijapur or the year in which he gave the *mansab* to Muhammad Fath. It mentions about Haidar 'Ali's entrance into the service of Gopal Raj, his success over the Polygar chief, Narayan Gaur, his marriage, his various military achievements against the Marathas and Polygars as well as over the other chiefs and *nawwabs*. It also writes about the activities of Chanda Sahib and Muhammad 'Ali. Chanda Sahib in alliance with the French wanted to capture the fort of Trichonopoly and after which he intended to turn his attention towards the fort of Seringapatam. It describes the clash of Haidar 'Ali with British, but does not trace the cause of it. Administrative matters and Haidar 'Ali's concern for his subjects are frequently mentioned.

Subsequently, the accession of Tipu Sultan and the beginning of conflict with the British and other political-cum-military activities have been narrated. It mentions the development of the alliance between Tipu Sultan and the French

general, de Lally, in detail. It also records that Tipu Sultan after suppressing the chief of Coorg, converted many Christians to Muslim faith and appointed '*Ulama*' so that the neo-Muslims may lead the correct Islamic life<sup>27</sup>. Thereafter, it describes the seige of Seringapatam by the British, death of Tipu's wife, the reverses that Tipu suffered, his frantic efforts to save Seringapatam, his acceptance of peace on British terms, resumption of conflict, his martyrdom, and his burial at Lalbagh.

The author uses harsh words for the opponents of Tipu Sultan. He calls Haidar 'Ali as Nawwab Haidar 'Ali Khan, and Tipu as Hazrat Sultan Sharif.

### ***Methodology***

This work begins with a doxology but is without a preface. The *tark* system has been used for pagination. The author, has nowhere mentioned the date of events. He, has, however, tried to maintain the narration in a chronological order. The change over to another event or subject has been indicated by a big dash. He does not mention the source of information, nor does he makes use of footnotes. The writer often repeats his statements.

### ***Style***

The language of the *Tarikh-i-Seringapatam* is *Dakkani* Urdu containing *Kannari* words. As such, the language sounds very unfamiliar. Perhaps the author was a native of Mysore. The orthography is also different<sup>28</sup>.

### ***Kaifiyyat-i-Ism ha-i-Rajgan Wa Badshahan-i-Dehli***<sup>29</sup>

This is a work of Mir Hashim 'Ali Husaini written in 1217 *Hijri*/ 1802 in *Dakkani* Urdu. It is not known whether the author wrote the work of his own accord or at the behest of somebody. It does not record the purpose of writing the work nor does it mention the sources taken into account.

## **Contents**

The author begins with the account of the Tomar Rajputs and ends with the reign of Akbar Shah II (1806-1837). The narration includes non-political matters, too. There is reference to the revenue yield of Shajahanabad and other different places. This is followed by an account of distance between towns such as Lahore, Kabul, etc., from Delhi<sup>30</sup>. The boundary and geographical surroundings of various provinces like Lahore, Kabul, Qandhar, Ghazni, Kashmir, Multan, Thatta, Gujarat and Ajmer have been given<sup>31</sup>. Some of the old names of the cities have also been mentioned<sup>32</sup>. The contents include the expenses incurred during the reign of Shahjahan<sup>33</sup>, the titles used to address princess and nobles<sup>34</sup>; the contemporary coins prevalent in different parts of India<sup>35</sup> as well as in the territories of Istambul, Iraq, Balkh, Bukhara and Khurasan. It also bears copy of a farman of Shahjahan (1627-58). It is in reply to a noble, Mirza Asad Khan, and relates to the setting up of administration following the death of a *mansabdar*<sup>36</sup>.

## **Methodology**

It begins in the name of God, followed by a preface. The narration has been rendered under different headlines in red ink. The accounts have not been placed in a very systematic manner. The last page bears a *ghazal* in Persian.

## **Style**

The language is *Dakkani* Urdu blended with Persian words. At places the language is almost purely Persian.

## **Conclusion**

From the writings available with regard to early historic writings in Urdu, it may be said they were generally undertaken at the behest of certain individuals, both Indians as well

Europeans. However, independent historical writings can also be conjectured in respect to a couple of works having no reference to the patrons. Significantly, all the works relate to Indian history and may be classified as regional and general history. This may again be grouped as original and translated works. The language of these works is termed as *Hindi-Urdu*, *Urdu*, or *Dakkani*. It is generally simple, although because of characteristics of orthography, coupled with use of local words, the language often tends to be unfamiliar. Some works such as the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and the *Kaifiyyat-i-Ism ha-i-Rajgan Wa Badshahan-i-Dehli* contains copious use of Perso-Arabic words. Use of Persian verses is also frequent.

In the works examined we find no mention of sources of information except those in the *Tarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan*. The author of *Qissah Wa Ahwal-i Rohillah*, Rustam 'Ali Bijnori, is very sincere in admitting that he did not have any direct knowledge of the events he recorded; he wrote on the basis of the information collected by himself. On the other hand, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan*, Mun'im Khan Aurangabadi, has made use of some standard Persian works such as the *Akbar Namah*, *Tarikh-i Firishtah*, *Ma'asir al-'Umara'*, etc. It may be added that Mun'im Khan Aurangabadi was a famous historian of the reign of Nizam 'Ali Khan Asaf Jah. Since he was in the state service and had served at various places, he certainly had access to state records, too. His work is specially important for the topographical accounts, revenue yields, flora and fauna, missionary centres, and material culture.

Except the *Tarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan*, and to a lesser extent the *Qissah Wa Ahwal-i Rohillah*, the writers of the early Urdu histories do not appear to have been very skilled and aware of the art and requirements of historical writings. None of them have given attention to the problem of historical causation. On

the basis of these factors we may not fully appreciate the works, but their historical importance can not be ignored. We have to take into account the period and circumstances under which they were written. For example, the English mentors, under whose instructions, many of the works were written, were themselves not very much concerned with serious historical study; they simply wanted to acquaint themselves with the general history of those parts of the country over which they had acquired possession. Lastly, we may conclude by saying that the early works may not be serious historical works if compared with some of the standard works of modern times, but nevertheless, they do connote the desire to write history in the emerging Urdu language.

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*End Notes*

1. A transcribed copy of the original manuscript, being the work of Munshi Bu 'Ali of village Barah, undertaken at the orders of W.B. Baker in 1196 *Hijri* 1781-82, is preserved at Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Karachi, Pakistan. It consists of 238 pages. The manuscript was first brought to notice by Professor Mahmud Khan Sheerani and Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haque. Later, Syed Sarfaraz 'Ali Rizvi, Afsar Amrohi Siddiqui, Dr. Najm-al-Islam and Dr. Moin-al-Din 'Aquil made references about this manuscript in their articles: Afsar Amrohi Siddiqui (Ed.), *Makhtutat Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, Vol. III, 1975, p.2-3, Dr. Najmul Islam, "*Tin Nasri Nawadir*" - *Mashmulah Nuqoosh*, Lahore, July 1966, p.144, Dr.Moin-al-Din 'Aquil, "*Tahrik Azadi Men Urdu Ka Hissah*", Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Karachi, 1976, p.280. For further details see the *Qissah Wa Ahwal-i Rohillah*(ed.), Qazi Arif Husain, Majlis Tasneef Wa Talif, 20, F/320, Wah Cantt., Pakistan.
2. Jamil Jalibi, *Tarikh-i-Adab-i-Urdu*, Educational Publishing House, Delhi-6, Vol. II, p.1074. He has taken the information from several sources. The first is the *Umda-i-Muntakhabah* of 'Azam al-Daulah-Sarwar. This work has been edited by Khwajah Ahmad Faruqi, Delhi University, 1961. The other source of information is the *Tazkirah Bi Jigar* of Khairatilal Bejigar (the manuscript belongs to India Office Library, London). Another source of information is the *Yadgar-i-Shura'* translated by Tufail Ahmad, Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1943, p.122.
3. Jamil Jalibi, *op.cit.*, p.1075.
4. *Ibidem*.

5. It is worth mentioning that Charles Hamilton had published '*A Historical Relation of the Origin, Progress, and Final Dissolution of the Government of the Rohillah Afghans in the Northern Provinces of Hindustan* (London, 1787)'. It is not known whether Hamilton made use of Rustam 'Ali's work.

6. For example

گھوڑے has been written as گھوڑیے

چڑیا has been written as چریا

جنگ has been written as جنک

بیٹا has been written as بیتا

پٹھان has been written as پیتان

اون دنوں میں دارانگر قبضہ دوندے خان کے میں تھا

Nowadays the above sentence will be rendered as:

دارانگران دنوں دوندے خان کے قبضے میں تھا

7. The Qissah Wa Ahwal-i Rohillah, (ed.) Qazi Arif Hussain, p.190.

8. Jamil Jalibi, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p.1077.

9. *Ibid.*, p.1081

10. The manuscript does not bear the name the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, rather the title has been assigned to the work because of the nature of the work. It also does not mention the name of the author, purpose of writing, date of compilation, name of the scribe, or, the place of writing. The manuscript covering 360 pages is preserved in the library of *Idara-i-Adabiyat*, Hyderabad. It is partly moth-eaten but repaired by butter paper.

11. S. Mohi-al-Din Qadri Zore, the *Tazkira Urdu Makhtutat*, Hyderabad, 1943, vol.I, p.270.
12. *Ibid.*, p.270.
13. This portion relates to the beginning of conflict between Siraj al-Daulah and Captain Drake, and other local political figures.
14. The *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, p.63.
15. The pages are not marked numerically, but the last word of the page is put at the beginning of the next page to mark the continuity. This system was used in manuscripts as well as in some of the old published works.
16. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, p.204.
17. For example:  
 بھاک بھاک has been written as باک باک  
 بنگال has been written as بنگالے
18. The work belongs to the personal collection of Muhammad Abd-al-Samad of the Urdu Research Centre, Hyderabad. Consisting of 106 pages, it is moth-eaten, but repaired with butter paper.
19. This is stated in an endorsement by Maulawi 'Abd-al-Haque at the beginning of the cover page of the manuscript.
20. Copies of the Persian manuscript the *Twarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan* are preserved in the *Idara-i-Adabiyat-i-Urdu*, Hyderabad, and in the Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Centre, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. It bears the name of the writer as Khwajah Mun'im Khan

Hamdani of Aurangabad. The manuscript at *Idara-i-Adabiyat-i-Urdu* bears the date of compilation as 1197 *Hijri*/ 1782-83, whereas the manuscript at Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Centre, bears the date of compilation as 1200 *Hijri*/ 1785-86.

21. The *Tarikh-i-Sawanih Dakkan*, pp.3-7.

22. For example:

گ has been written as ک  
 پانی has been written as پانے  
 سرکاروں has been written as سکاروں  
 ہاتھی has been written as ہاتے

23. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. Each one of its 83 pages consists of forty nine or more lines. The manuscript bears the seal of Hyderabad State Library in the beginning as well as at the end page.

24. This is suggested by Rafia Sultana on the ground that like many other writings<sup>3</sup> of pre-Fort William College, the preface has been written in Persian. Also, the orthography is characteristically different from post-Fort William College works. See Rafia Sultana, *The Urdu Nasr Ka Aghaz aur Irtiqa*, Majlis Tahqiqat Urdu, Hyderabad.

For example ے has been written as ے

25. Translated by Muhammad Fida 'Ali Talib, and published by Nafees Academy, Karachi, Pakistan, 1965 (3rd edition).

26. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. Partly damaged, it consists of 156 pages. Other slightly varying copies are available at the British Museum and India Office, London, and Karachi (Pakistan). See Abdul Qadir Sarwari's article 'A Manuscript History of Mysore', *Journal Mysore University*, vol.V., Part III, 1994; Afsar Siddiqui Amrohi(Ed.), the *Makhtutat-i-Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, vol.III, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Karachi, Pakistan, p.1
27. The *Tarikh-i-Seringapatam*, pp.58, 120-121.
28. For example *مروت* has been written as *مگروگر*
29. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. It contains of 89 pages. On page 1(One) as well as on page ten(10) an amulet has been designed to protect the book from insects.
30. *Kaifiyyat-i-Ism ha-i-Rajgan Wa Badshahan-i-Dehli*, p.13.
31. *Ibid.*, p.17.
32. For example, Dacca's old name has been mentioned as Jahangir Nagar.
33. *Kaifiyyat-i-Ism ha-i-Rajgan Wa Badshahan-i-Dehli*, p.42.
34. *Ibid.*, pp.48-50.
35. For example, in the Deccan the prevalent currency was called *hun* and *putli*; in Ahmedabad and Gujarat it was called *mahmudi*; in Khandesh it was called *tunkcha*, and in Berar it was called *tunkcha Berar*.
36. *The Kaifiyyat-i-Ism ha-i-Rajgan Wa Badshahan-i-Dehli*, p.60



## Historical Works

### Fort William College, Calcutta

Following the establishment of British power in India, it was considered necessary for the new rulers to understand the language, laws and tradition of the Indians. Consequently, Lord Hastings and Duncan gave serious attention towards the study of oriental subjects. The first step in this direction was the establishment of the 'Oriental Seminary' in 1799. Subsequently Wellesley made it compulsory for the British civil servants of Bengal to have the knowledge of Indian languages. This 'Oriental Seminary' presaged the establishment of Fort William College on 10 July 1800. John Borthwick Gilchrist, the eminent orientalist was made the Principal and later the Director of the College. Fort William College soon won fame as an important educational and missionary centre. The College was also known as *Madarsa-i-Jadid* and *Madarsa-i-Hindi*.

The subjects included in the syllabus of Fort William College were Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindustani (Urdu), Bengali, Tilangi, Marathi, Tamil, Kannari, Islamic jurisprudence, Hindu Law, *'Ilm al-Akhlaq* and *'Ilm-i-Qanun*. Emphasis was laid on the study of economics, commercial activities in general - particularly about the development of East India Company, and the study of geography and mathematics. More importantly, it laid stress on the study of general history, Indian history, Greek language, Latin, English and classical literature.

The establishment of Fort William College at Calcutta was to turn a new leaf in the advancement of historical writings in

Urdu. The British with the professed aim of understanding the religio-political and cultural aspects of the country over which they ruled, made a determined move towards the study of Indian history. It certainly goes to the credit of Fort William College that it took a lead in discovering and publishing many of the rare oriental works, which would have otherwise perished. Proficient Indian writers called *munshis* (writers) were invited by the College where their skill was tested and then put into use in accordance with the British requirements and ideology.

The historical works produced<sup>1</sup> at Fort William College may be studied under these three heads: (i) Original Historical Works, (ii) Translated Historical Works, and (iii) Quasi-historical works.

### ***Original Works***

#### ***Husn-i-Ikhtilat***<sup>2</sup>

It is a work of Sayyid Abu'l Qasim Sabzwari<sup>3</sup>, written in 1803. The significant thing about the work is that the author does not claim it to be a work of history, rather he uses the word story for this work. He also makes no reference to any book used by him. It is, however, definitely a work of history though not of a serious nature. This work, perhaps, encouraged Khalil Ali Khan 'Ashk to write the *Intikhab-i-Sultaniyah* which is also a short history of India.

### ***Contents***

Contrary to what the title would suggest, the *Husn-i-Ikhtilat* is not a book of romantic tale, but is a concise history of India dealing with the rise and fall of different kingdoms, and in particular, deals with the city of Delhi. It begins with the reign of Vikramajit of Ujjain and rapidly reaches the reign of Muhammad Shah. It records that Nadir Shah(1739) was invited. After his

invasion India lapsed into anarchy and civil war, resulting in the weakening of the Mughul empire and its central structure. It then mentions the affairs of Bihar and Bengal. It also deals with the condition of Azimabad (Patna) and about the *nawwabs* of Bengal in the 18th century. The reign of Nawwab Ja'far Khan has been praised for peace and tranquility, whereas Siraj al-Daulah has been described as inefficient, ease-loving, proud and cruel. In the end the British have been greatly eulogised. On the whole, the account appears to be cursory and incomplete. The author also commits factual errors. For example, the author writes that the dissolution of Hindu kingdom was followed by the Pathan rule. He thus confuses the Turks with Afghans. Although it gives some political information about the period, it fails to discuss the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the time.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

Abu'l Qasim Sabzwari praises the enterprising efforts of John Gilchrist in raising Urdu to a high standard. Perhaps, he wrote the work to show the potentiality and excellence of Urdu language which it had come to acquire on a national level. He, however, explicitly states that he is writing the account with the hope that the Governor General Marquis Wellesley may extend some favour to him.

### ***Methodology***

The *Husn-i-Ikhtilat* begins in the name of God, followed by a doxology. It has no index or preface. It has not been broken into chapters or paragraphs. The pagination is based upon the *tark* system.

### ***Style***

The language of the *Husn-i-Ikhtilat* is simple but without any punctuation marks. Rhymed prose has been used<sup>4</sup>. The writer

conveys his feelings and subject matter in a meaningful way. Persian verses, *masnawi*, sayings, and Urdu proverbs have been freely used. It also contains Arabic idioms<sup>5</sup>. The language is extremely useful for the study of Urdu orthography<sup>6</sup>.

### ***Intikhab-i-Sultaniyah***<sup>7</sup>

An important work of Khalil Ali Khan<sup>8</sup>, it was written in *Hijri* 1219 /1804-5 at the request of Marwant Rictes for Fort William College, which was then known as *Madarsa-i-Jadid*<sup>9</sup>. The title is chronogrammatic, indicating the date of its composition.

### ***Contents***

It begins with the description of the city of Delhi whose earlier name was *Inderpath* (Inderprasth) and which was ruled by Raja Vikramajit. It then records how the Chauhan rulers came to power, the establishment of Muslim power at Delhi by Muhammad Ghori, and also the activities of Qutb al-Din Aibak. Thereafter, the succeeding rulers have been mentioned briefly. The Mughul rulers have received greater attention as compared to the earlier rulers. The social and welfare activities of Sher Shah (Suri) as well as the postal system introduced by him has received special attention.

The work cannot be described as a critical study of medieval Indian history. It gives a very generalised political account of the rise and fall of kings. As a result, many important events do not find a place. No attempt has been made to trace the cause and effect of any event. Dates of events are noted, generally in the *Hijri* era. The writer is, however, not very particular about mentioning dates.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

Khalil Ali Khan writes that he was requisitioned to write

the history of the foundation of Muslim rule in Delhi till the reign of Shah 'Alam II(1759-1806) in *Rekhta*. Its immediate pupose was to acquaint the British trainees at Fort William College with an outline of medieval Indian history.

### ***Methodology***

The work begins with a doxology. It contains an introduction, although not titled specifically. It gives some information about the author and the circumstances in which the book was written. The author writes that he has borrowed some material from the *Akbar Namah*, the famous historical work of Abu'l Fazl. The different Indian rulers have been described under separate red head-lines. The author also states that for any mistakes, or for anything that does not suit the interest of the readers, he may be pardoned. The writer has used *tark* system for pagination.

### ***Style***

The writer has used both simple as well as highly ornamentative style. At places the author has used local and colloquial words. He also makes use of Persian couplets. The accounts of the kings have been narrated in a story-like fashion. This was done in order to make it easily intelligible to the Britishers. The grandeur and splendour of the Mughul court has been described in an effective manner.

### ***Translated Works***

#### ***Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*<sup>10</sup>**

It is a work of Mazhar 'Ali Khan (also known as Mirza Lutf 'Ali, d.1816), with the poetical pen name of *Wila*. In the beginning Wila was a pupil of Nizam-al-Din Mamnun. Later when he went to Calcutta in 1800 he joined the study circle of Mirza Jan Tapish who was then well-renowned in Calcutta.



According to Kazim 'Ali Jawan, Wila was racially a Turk. His ancestors had migrated from Isfahan to Shajahanbad (Delhi). Aqa Muhammad Husain, the grandfather of Wila, had entered the service of Mughul emperor, Muhammad Shah. The emperor bestowed him with the title of 'Ali Quli Khan'. Aqa Muhammad's son, Muhammad Zaman, was a famous Persian poet of his period. Muhammad Zaman's youngest son was Wila. Wila appears to have been born about 1175 *Hijri*/ 1761-62. After his father's death Wila became associated with the court of Jahandar Shah. Later on he moved to the court of Nawwab Asaf-al-Daulah. Subsequently he entered the service of Maharaja Bankat Rai. After the decline of power and prestige of Bankat Rai, Wila was without job for some time. Wila then entered the service of Mr. Scott with whom he came to Calcutta in 1800 and was appointed *munshi* at Fort William College. Javed Nihal believes that had Wila paid attention solely to poetry he would have been ranked among the few distinguished poets of his time. Wila in a span of ten years wrote and translated about eight books. His book entitled *Betal Pachchisi* is a Urdu translation of the original Sanskrit work. It is a collection of stories of the time of Raja Vikramajit, the ancient Indian king. This book had earlier been translated into *Braj Bhasha*. Another book is *Haft Gulshan*, the translation of *Jahangir Shahi*. His other translated works are *Madhunal kam Kundla* (translation of a Sanskrit romantic tale) and *Diwan-i-'Ala* (collection of Wila's Urdu poems).

The *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* is a translation of the third chapter of the well-known Persian history of Sher Shah's reign (1540-1545), the *Tuhfa-i-Akbar Shahi* written by 'Abbas Khan Sirwani by the order of the Mughul emperor Akbar. The Persian text of the work and also its translation into English has been published by S.M. Imamuddin<sup>12</sup>, who also refers to the present Urdu translation by *Wila*. According to Imamuddin it was prepared at

the instance of Frederic John Mount<sup>13</sup> of the Fort William College. The original copy of the Urdu translation is now in the India Office Library, London, and some portions of it were published by Dr. Moinul Haq of Pakistan in the quarterly Urdu journal *Al-Basa'ir* (later the whole book was published).

The work was completed in 1220 *Hijri*/ 1805-6. It has a doxology, and the whole narration is one unindented whole, without being divided into chapters or paragraphs.

### **Contents**

It is a history of the reign of Sher Shah Suri (1540- 1545), but begins with the accession of the Afghan ruler Bahlol Lodi (1451-1489) on the throne of Delhi. It describes at some length about the Afghans of Roh, and the family background and upbringing of Sher Shah. Thereafter, it narrates his early political-cum-military success, military manoeuvres, habits and traits - all of which won for Sher Shah the throne of Delhi. It also throws light on the reforms in the army and its set-up, welfare activities, building of roads and inns, fortresses, taxation and custom rates.

### **Style**

In the preface of the book Mazhar 'Ali Khan Wila informs that he had translated the full Persian text of the *Tuhfa-i-Akbar Shahi*. But from the extant portion it does not appear so. The Urdu work is fairly blended with Persian words and couplets. The language is simple, and is notable for its orthography<sup>14</sup>.

### **Tarikh-i-Asham<sup>15</sup>**

It was completed in 1220 *Hijri*/ 1805-6 by Sayyid Bahadur 'Ali Husaini. It is a translation into Urdu of the earlier Persian work, the *Tarikh-i-Asham* by Shahab al-Din Talish. Meer (Mir) Bahadur 'Ali Husaini was appointed *Mir Munshi* (Chief *Munshi*)

at Fort William College on May 4, 1801 and he appears to have stayed there till 1805 as evident from the preface of the book. Nothing is known about his life before his joining the Fort William College<sup>16</sup>.

### ***Contents***

It deals with the expedition led by Mir Jumla<sup>17</sup> (a general of Aurangzeb) in 1662 in Assam and Cooch Bihar. It recounts the preparation and start of the Mughul campaign, the hardships which the Mughul army had to face because of the lack of knowledge of local topography and difficult terrain<sup>18</sup>. After crushing the uprising in Cooch Bihar, the Mughul army moved towards Gauhati and attained success. It also discusses the role and political activities of the nobles, and the treatment meted to the peasantry. Weapons and arms used by the Mughuls have also been mentioned.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

The translation work was undertaken at the request of Herbert Harrington and Henry Colebrook. The purpose was to gain favour of Marquis Wellesley who was a great patron of learning.

### ***Methodology***

The translation begins with a brief doxology. It bears an introduction after which the main contents of the text begins. It contains four chapters. Head-lines have been marked with red ink indicating a break of narration and the contents. In the beginning, it pays tribute to all those martyrs who died to bring the men of this country on the right path, and begs pardon for the mistakes that the author may have committed in the book. The author does not specify what he means by the 'right path'. The pagination is based upon the *tark* system.

### *Style*

Husaini calls the language of the *Tarikh-i-Asham* as Hindi. He views that it is impossible to render in toto the matter of any text into another language, particularly in a language which contains more Hindi words and less Persian words. As a result, the translation lacks flow. The language is significant for the study of Urdu orthography<sup>19</sup>.

### *Significance*

The *Tarikh-i-Asham* is an important work as it throws light on the history of Assam in the 16th century, its geography, rivers, flora and fauna, the characteristics of the Assamese people, their habits, traditions and customs and even social and political conditions.

### *Aara'ish-i-Mahfil*<sup>20</sup>

It is a work of Meer Sher Ali Afsos (d.1809 A.D.). He was born in Delhi in the year 1746/1748 A.D. where he had his early education. He then spent some years of his life at Patna, Lucknow, Faizabad, and Hyderabad. In 1784 he entered the service of prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah. Following his master's death, Afsos lived in some distress, until he was called by Colonel Scott to Fort William College in 1800. He was appointed translator on a monthly salary of Rs.200, which was a fairly high amount according to the contemporary rates. His another important literary work in Urdu is the *Bagh-i-Urdu* (1799) which is a translation of *Gulistan* of Shaikh Sa'di<sup>21</sup>, the famous 14th century savant and poet of Iran.

Various earlier Persian works, including the *A'in-i-Akbari*, and the *Khulasat-al-Twarikh* of Munshi Sujan Ra'i Bhandari, were used in course of compilation of the work. In particular, the author claims that he has not translated the *Khulasat-al-Twarikh*,

but has only borrowed some matter from it. At the same time he has added additional information and details<sup>22</sup>. Thus, the author calls the *Aara'ish-i-Mahfil* his original and innovatory work. The work was completed in 1805.

### **Contents**

In the introduction Meer Sher 'Ali Afsos discusses other important books of the period that he corrected, and also comments upon the nature of the work.

The first chapter presents a very laudatory account of the country, its people and their ways. This is followed by the description of the provinces of India. This includes information of the coming of the Turks, topography, important sufi saints (such as Khwajah Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki and Hazrat Nizam al-Din Auliya), important towns, the mountains and hills, rivers, and the number of parganas, etc. Account of other provinces are arranged more or less on similar lines. The other provinces discussed are Allahabad, Awadh, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Aurangabad, Berar, Khandesh, Malwa, Ajmer, Gujarat, Thatta, Multan, Lahore, Kashmir and Kabul. While discussing the provinces, Afsos has also discussed many places which are not found in the *Khulasat-al-Twarikh*. In the information about towns, Mirzapur, Murshidabad, Hoogly, Calcutta and Chaderanagar are additions made by Afsos. It also contains information with regard to the revenue obtained from different towns within the province. Afsos states that the income of the provinces have been given, as it was during the reign of Aurangzeb. He adds that to know the current revenue yield at the time of compilation of the work, was difficult.

The third chapter which gives the account of Indian kings is quite general.

Finally, it may be pointed out that Afsos has also written



about his personal life in course of the narration. He comments about some of the prevailing customs and traditions. In short the *Aara'ish-i-Mahfil* is an important work which gives valuable information about non-political activities. The use of various standard Persian chronicles in the compilation of the work deserves attention.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

This work was undertaken at the request of Harrington, who, in turn was ordered by the East India Council to have the work done. The work was started towards the end of 1219 *Hijri* 1804-5 and was completed in the year 1220 *Hijri* 1805-6. The purpose of writing was to win fame and be remembered by the people of later generation. Afsos writes that while knowledge is necessary to know God, the study of history is important for it provides both ecclesiastical as well as temporal lessons. It is a source of wisdom and knowledge. In the absence of history mankind will go astray.

### ***Methodology***

The *Aara'ish-i-Mahfil* begins with a doxology. The book has been divided into three parts: the first deals with the study of India in general, the second deals with the study of provinces, and the third deals with the study of Indian rulers from Raja Yudhishter to the coming of Muhammad Ghorī. Each chapter is a continuous whole and is not broken into paragraphs. At places the margin bears brief notices which have been numbered. This may be regarded as something resembling foot-notes. The *tark* system has been used for pagination.

### ***Style***

Afsos calls the language of *Aara'ish-i-Mahfil* as Urdu. Generally speaking, the language is simple and plain. However, it

abounds in rhymed sentences. Also, at places it has been interspersed with Perso-Arabic words. Colloquial words have also been used but in a proper setting. The description is often quite picturesque. The significant thing about Afsos is that when he describes the Hindus, he uses Hindi words, and when he writes about the Muslims he uses Persian and Arabic words.

### *Tarikh-i-Nadri*<sup>23</sup>

It is an Urdu translation of the Persian work the *Jahan-kusha-i-Nadri* of Munshi Muhammad Mahdi<sup>24</sup>. The Urdu translation was undertaken by Haider Bakhsh (Haidar Bakhsh), poetically surnamed *Haidari*, at the request of William Taylor<sup>25</sup>, in the year 1224 *Hijri*/ 1809-10.

Haidar Bakhsh *Haidari* was born in Delhi. The date of his birth is not known but he came to Calcutta at the age of forty. Haidari's father, Sayyid Abu'l Hasan, had moved to Benares (Varanasi) in search of fortunes. Like *Wila*, *Haidari* is also the author of many books and also undertook many translation works, which number about ten. With respect to literary achievement his *Aara'ish-i-Mahfil or Qissah Hatim Tai* is very famous. Like the *Tarikh-i-Nadri*, his other book *Haft-i-Paikar* could not be published. Another manuscript of his is *Gulshan-i-Hind* which is not available in India. In *Haft-i-Paikar*, Haidari mentions about his other works, they being *Guldasta-i-Haidari*, *Rauzat-al-Shuhada (Gul-i-Maghfirat)*, *Gulzar-i-Danish* and *Tarikh-i-Nadri*.

From the introduction of the work it appears that Dr. William Hunter helped and guided Haidar Bakhsh Haidari in the translation work. Haidari's father Sayyid Abu'l Hasan belonged to Najaf Ashraf but later on settled at Delhi. The exact year of Haidari's birth is not known. However, Javed Nihal writes that Haidari's age was forty years when he came to Calcutta. From it

the date of his birth can be taken around 1760. Haidari had his education at Benares where his father was employed. It was at Benares that he translated a Persian tale, the *Qissah Mihr Wa Mah*, in Urdu and later presented it to John Gilchrist. Gilchrist was impressed by the work and appointed Haidari as a *munshi* at Fort William College in 1801 on a salary of Rs.40. It is not known when Haidari left Calcutta, but he died<sup>26</sup> at Benares in 1823.

### ***Contents***

The *Tarikh-i-Nadri* throws light on the life and times of Nadir Shah and the conditions in contemporary Iran. This includes the conflict of Nadir Shah with the *Turks* and the Russians, condition in Herat, Kohistan and Balkh, the strife among the Abdalis, and about various other conflicts and mutual rivalries. It also narrates about Nadir Shah's march to India, the condition prevailing in the court of Mughul emperor, Muhammad Shah, and finally about the destruction of Nadir Shah's empire.

### ***Methodology***

The text begins with a doxology. It contains broad headlines in red ink indicating the contents. Many of the headlines are in Arabic<sup>27</sup> whose meanings have been explained. The book ends with a *masnawi*. Thereafter, there is an appendix consisting of glossary of Turkish words. The pagination is based upon the *tark* system.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

Haidari uses eulogistic titles for his English patrons. He presented the book to William Hunter, perhaps in expectation of some favour from him.

## **Style**

He calls the language of translation as Hindi. Of all the books of the period, this is the most highly Persianized. It is a word to word translation of the Persian text, and hence, lacks lucidity and simplicity, except for certain passages. The orthography is similar to some other books of the period.

## ***Kitab Waqi'at-i-Akbar*<sup>28</sup>**

Muhammad Khalil Khan translated the *Akbar-Namah* of Abu'l Fazl and gave it the name the *Waqi'at-i-Akbar*. The translation was made at the request of Captain William Taylor, and it was completed in 1224 *Hijri*/ 1809-10.

## ***Methodology and Contents***

The work begins with a doxology. Broad head-lines in red ink have been used to indicate the contents. At places margin has also been used for writing. The pagination is based on the *tark* system.

The author states that he has not translated the whole of the *Akbar-Namah*, but only the portion beginning with the birth of Akbar. In fact, it is a translation of only the second volume of the *Akbar-Namah*. The author attempted to produce word to word translation of the Persian work, but because of the nature and often stiff phraseology of the Persian language a free translation has been presented at several places. Khalil Ali Khan begins with the position of stars at the time of Akbar's birth, followed by genealogical tables of Akbar and Amir Timur, about the reign of Timur, Babur, Humayun, their military campaign, and other related issues. The period of Humayun has been described in detail. While writing about Akbar, he highlights his special attributes and traits. The book ends after Humayun's death and Akbar's campaign of the Punjab.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

The purpose of undertaking the translation was to win the favour of Captain Taylor and Dr. William Hunter. Khalil Ali Khan uses eulogistic titles for them.

### ***Style***

The author calls the language of the *Waqi'at-i-Akbar* as Urdu. The author could not produce simplicity and lucidity in style, although the spirit of *Akbar-Namah* has been maintained<sup>29</sup>. The language is highly Persianized, and the translation is stiff and not easily intelligible. However, there are certain passages where the pen of the author moves with ease and flow. The orthography is similar to some other works of the period.

### ***The Jahangir-Shahi***<sup>30</sup>

It is a work of Mazhar 'Ali Khan Wila and a translation into Urdu of the Persian work, the *Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri*. The work was completed in 1224 *Hijri*/ 1809-10.

### ***Contents***

The introduction of the *Jahangir Shahi* gives valuable information regarding Mazhar 'Ali Khan. His early life and various services he undertook under different notables, and how he was finally sent by General Scott to Calcutta to meet John Gilchrist<sup>31</sup>.

As is well known, the work relates to the reign of the Mughul emperor, Jahangir, and its contents need not be repeated here.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

It appears that Wila undertook the translation of the *Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri* into Urdu at the behest of John Gilchrist,



Captain Mouat and William Hunter<sup>32</sup>.

### ***Methodology***

It begins with a doxology. Broad head-lines in red ink have been used to indicate the contents. The doxology and the introduction have been written in one continuous narration. The account has been given year-wise. At places margin has also been used for writing<sup>33</sup>.

### ***Style***

Mazhar 'Ali Khan calls the language of the *Jahangir Shahi* as both Rekhta and Urdu<sup>34</sup>. He writes that because of difficulty of translating Persian idioms and phrases, a free translation was necessary<sup>35</sup>. The author has used rhymed sentences in the introduction. Generally speaking, the language is highly ornamentative. However, lucidity and simplicity are also found at places. *Wila* presents description of wars and banquets in a picturesque manner.

### ***The Shah Nama-i-Hind***<sup>36</sup>

It is a translation into Urdu of the Persian work, *Shamsher Khani* by Tawakkul Beg<sup>37</sup>. The translation was done by Muhammad 'Ali in the year 1226 *Hijri*/ 1811. Muhammad 'Ali was the son of Sayyid Nisar 'Ali Tirmizi Nanutawi. He first entered the service of Nawwab Sarfaraz al-Daulah. Later he left the service and came to Calcutta, where he entered the service of Captain William Strick, Galoli, and Lieutenant George Howatt. He then finally entered the service of the East India Company on the recommendation of Captain Strick. As a servant of the East India Company, he served under different British officials<sup>38</sup>.

### ***Contents***

It is a history of the early pre-Islamic Persian kings, which

ends with an account of the Sassanid kings. The book deals with court intrigues, conspiracies, bravery, chivalry, dress, habits and traits of the kings; armies, battles; an account of the enormous appetite of Rustam; and fight between Rustam and Suhrab, the main characters of the epic. The account given is in a very generalised manner.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

The purpose of translating the work was to win the favour of British officials and those of Fort William College<sup>39</sup>.

### ***Methodology***

The book begins with a doxology. This is followed by an introduction, which briefly recounts the life and activities of Muhammad 'Ali, the translator.

### ***Style***

Muhammad 'Ali calls the language of *Shah Nama-i-Hind* as *Urdu-i-Mu'alla*. The doxology as well as several portions of the book have been written in rhymed sentences<sup>40</sup>. The book contains a fair amount of Persian words, and Arabic phrases. The orthography is different from that of the present day<sup>41</sup>. So also is the language which at times is not easily intelligible. No punctuation mark has been used.

### ***The Iqbal Nama***<sup>42</sup>

Sayyid Bakhshish 'Ali Faizabadi translated into Urdu the famous 18th century work *Siyar al-Muta'akhhherin* of Munshi Ghulam Husain and named it *Iqbal Namah*. The translation appears to have been completed before the end of 1825 for William Price wrote a report<sup>43</sup> on the book bearing the date 25 March 1825. The cover page also bears an endorsement that the work is of the year 1825. Mir Bakhshish 'Ali was a regular

employee in the Urdu department of the Fort William College. His name is written as Bakhshish 'Ali in the annals of the Fort William College and in the proceedings of the College. But in the *Iqbal Namah* he has written his name as Sayyid Bakhshish 'Ali Faizabadi. He was born in 1782 and was appointed as *munshi* in the Fort William College in 1803. He retired from the College in 1830. In recent times the *Iqbal Namah* has been translated into English, and articles on it have been published in Pakistani journals, etc.<sup>44</sup>

### **Contents**

The *Iqbal Namah* begins with the account of accession of Siraj-al-Daulah, his political relations with other family members, grant of posts to different officials, about Shaukat Jung and his activities, Siraj al-Daulah's march to Calcutta, the tactics adopted by the Englishmen to oust Siraj-al-Daulah, the coming of the British to Calcutta and the defeat of Siraj-al-Daulah, the accession of Mir Jafar, the arrest, torture, and execution of Siraj-al-Daulah.

It further deals with the activities of Rajah Ram Nara'in, Mubarak al-Daulah, Muzaffar Jung, Shitab Ra'i and other nobles of the period. Thereafter, it accounts the accession of Mir Muhammad Qasim Khan; the political activities at Purnea, Murshidabad, and Azimabad; the introduction of new administrative units and measures in Azimabad and in the provinces of Orissa, Bengal, etc. The book also contains description of the character and habits of the *nawwabs*. The bravery and justice of the British have been stated in eulogistic terms.

### **Purpose of Writing**

Sayyid Bakhshish 'Ali Faizabadi states that he translated the *Siyar al-Muta'akhhherin* at the behest of Taylor and Martin

for the Fort William College, the *Madrasah Hindi* as he calls it. The purpose of translation was to gain favour of the British officials, and to benefit the people in general.

### **Methodology**

The *Iqbal Namah* begins with a doxology and introduction. Head-lines in red ink have been written to indicate the contents. The pagination is based on the *tark* system.

### **Style and Quality of Translation**

The style is very simple as compared with other works of the period. The translation is free, and hence, lucid in general. Persian words and verses of Sa'di have been used. The orthography is similar to some other works of the period.

### **Quasi-Historical Works**

#### ***The Muntakhab al-Fawa'id*<sup>45</sup>**

It is an Urdu translation of the Persian work *Kitab-i-Ausaf al-Muluk Wa Turuq-i-Hurabaham* written by Muhammad Mansur Sayyid Abul Farah Khalil<sup>46</sup>. On examination it has been found that it is actually the translation of the well-known Persian work *Kitab Adab-al-Harb wa al-Shuja'at* of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. The translator, however, claims that he has added minor information here and there as per his knowledge. The point of importance is that *Kitab-i-Ausaf al-Muluk Wa Turuq-i-Hurubihim* appears to be another title of *Kitab Adab-al-Muluk Wa Kaifiyyat al-Mamluk* in certain manuscript and which contains some additional chapters<sup>47</sup>. It belongs to the category of *Adab* literature, and contains moral instructions for the rulers, norms of good government, etc. A more important section is that relating to the methods of war, weapons, rearing and training of horses, etc. The translation into Urdu has been rendered by Khalil 'Ali Khan and was completed in 1226/ 1810-11. It is further recorded that the

translation work was undertaken during the reign of Mughul emperor Muhammad Akbar, obviously referring to Mughul emperor Akbar II (1806-37). The name of the reigning Governor-General Lord Minto(1807-13) of the East India Company has also been given.

### ***Contents***

The book is especially valuable for giving information about medieval warfare and the role of horses in medieval military system<sup>48</sup>. It describes in detail about the various breeds of horses, their habits, rearing and training. It also mentions the signs on the animal by which one can know whether the animal will prove to be unlucky. In this context, sketches of horses have been drawn<sup>49</sup>. Sketches of arms, such as bow, swords, daggers, spears, and other weapons, have also been given. It explains how and when the different weapons were invented and brought into use. It also describes the position of the different sections of the army in the battle field<sup>50</sup>, of how horsemen should overcome the archers, the positioning of the army before the start of a battle by different people, i.e., the Hindus, the Romans, the Persians, the Mongols and the Turks<sup>51</sup>.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

It was translated at the behest of Captain Taylor for *Madrasah Aliyah*, Calcutta. The work received patronage from William Hunter.

### ***Methodology***

The title of *Muntakhab al-Fawaid* is chronogrammatic. It contains 34 chapters, and the pagination is based upon the tark system. There is an index at the beginning of the manuscript and the index of chapterisation has been given in red ink. The narration begins with a doxology and introduction. Sentences in



red ink have been used to indicate contents in it as well as break of chapters and other important matters that need attention. Both *Hijri* as well as the Christian era has been used for dating. Finally, the author begs pardon for mistakes committed by him.

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*End Notes*

1. Some of the historical works produced at the Fort William College which are not extant are the *Twarikh-al-Salatin* (1803) of Ghulam Bhik, the *Twarikh-i-Alamgir* (1803) of Muhammad Umar, the *Twarikh-i-Taimuri* (1803) of Tasdiq Husain, the *Twarikh-i-Bahmani* (1803) of Kazim Ali Jawan and the *Twarikh-i-Bangala* of Ghulam Akbar. See Obiadah Begum, *Fort William College Ki Adabi Khidmat*, Nusrat Publications, Lucknow, 1983.
2. Copies of the manuscript are preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Central Library, Hyderabad; and Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. The Calcutta manuscript consists of 60 pages and is a gift to the society by the writer Abul Qasim. Its first and last page bears the seal of the Fort William College. It also bears the seal of the Asiatic Society. The manuscript is a bit moth-eaten, but on the whole it is intact, neat and clearly written. The Hyderabad manuscript at Salar Jung Museum is partly moth-eaten. It bears the seal of Salar Jung on the first and last page. It consists of 19 pages, each page consists of 21 lines.
3. Not much is known about Abul Qasim Sabzwari, except that his ancestors belonged to Iran. He settled down at Calcutta, where he came into close touch with Dr. John Gilchrist, the Director of Fort William College.
4. *Husn-i-Ikhtelat*, pp.11-16.(Ms. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta).
5. *Ibid.*, p.10

6. For example:

بھائی has been written as بہائی

کو has been written as کوئی

پاؤے has been written as پاوی

7. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It is written in neat Nasta'liq and consists of 306 pages, each page consisting of 9 lines. The pages of the manuscript are brittle and moth-eaten. The first and last pages bear the seal of Fort William College.

8. We learn from the introduction of the manuscript that the *nom de plume* of Khalil Ali Khan was Ashk. He was a native of Shajahanbad(Delhi). He later settled down at Faizabad where he was fortunate to have the company of learned men. Thereafter, he was introduced to John Gilchrist and Harrington by Scott of Lucknow. Gilchrist appointed Khalil Ali Khan as *munshi* in the Fort William College on 9 August 1803 on a salary of Rs. 30. It is not known when Muhammad Khalil Khan left Calcutta. He, however, died in about 1821. His other works are *Qayamat-Ju*, *Qissah Rizwan Shah*, *Kitab-Waqiat-i-Akbar* and *Muntakhah al-Fawaid*. He was also told to write *Qissah-Amir-Hamzah* in *Rekhtah*. He had even started the work but soon left it for reasons not mentioned. See Obaidah Begum, op.cit. For details also see Javed Nihal, *Unniswin Sadi Men Bangal Ka Urdu Adab*, pp.215-254.

9. *Intikhab-i-Sultaniya*, pp.9-10.

10. A copy of the manuscript, consisting of 332 pages, is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Each page consists of thirteen lines and the

pagination is based upon the *tark* system. Under this system the pages are not marked numerically, but the last word of the page is put at the beginning of the next page to mark the continuity. This system was used in manuscripts as well as in some of the old published works.

11. Javed Nihal, *op.cit.*, p.161.

12. University of Dacca, 1964.

13. John Mouat was a Professor at Fort William College.

14. For example گجرات has been written as گجرات

15. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It consists of 278 pages. Each page consists of 17 lines. The first and the last page bear the seal of Fort William College. The manuscript is moth-eaten but repaired.

16. See Obaidah Begum, *op.cit.*

17. For a comprehensive account of his life and works, see J.N. Sarkar's *the History of Aurangzeb*.

18. For the Mughul reverses and consequent behaviour, see Qeyam al-Din Ahmad, Mirza Nathan -- "A Memoirist of the 17th century". in *Historians of Medieval India*, edited by Mohibbul Hasan, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1968.

19. For example:

گھوڑے has been written as گھوڑے

ڈھاکا has been written as ڈھاکے

20. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It consists of 474 pages. Each page consists of 13 lines and the pagination

is based upon the tark system. The first page bears the seal of the Asiatic Society. It was first published by the Hindustan Press, Calcutta, in the year 1808, under the supervision of John Gilchrist. Later it was published sometime before 1850. Still later it was published by the Majlis Taraqqi Adab, 1963. Also, see Z. Ahsan's book (Urdu), *Mir Sher Ali Afsos*

21. Obaidah Begum, *op.cit.*, pp.110-117.
22. Oalb Ali Khan who has edited *Araish-i-Mahfil*, however, feels that the additions made by Afsos in course of the translation, are minor. He further adds that Afsos has also made factual errors. See *Araish-i-Mahfil* edited by Kalbe Ali Khan, pp.70,81.
23. A copy of the manuscript, consisting of 986 pages, is preserved in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Written in fine *nastaliq*, each page consists of fifteen lines. The pages of the manuscript are moth-eaten and brittle. The first and the last pages bear the seal of Fort William College.
24. Munshi Muhammad Mahdi was a *Waqai-i-Nawis* (news reporter) of Nadir Shah and had composed *Tarikh-i-Nadiri* in Persian language blended with Turkish words at places.
25. He was a Professor of the Hindustani Department at Fort William College.
26. Obaidah Begum, *op.cit.*, pp.134-138.
27. *Tarikh-i-Nadiri*, pp.14,28,196,286,448.
28. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It consists of 962 pages and bears the seal of Fort William College in the



beginning as well as on the last page. Each page consists of 13 lines. The manuscript is moth-eaten and brittle.

29. See, *Javed Nihal, Bangal Men Urdu Adab Ki Khidmat*, op. cit.
30. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It consists of 786 pages. Generally, each page consists of 13 lines, except a few pages wherein the number of lines vary. It appears that several scribes completed the work, for the handwriting varies from place to place. The first page bears the seal of Fort William College.
31. *Jahangir Shahi*, p.20.
32. *Ibid.*, p.22; William Hunter was appointed Professor of the Hindustani Department in 1804 at Fort William College.
33. *Ibid.*, pp.306,340,470.
34. *Ibid.*, p.22.
35. *Ibid.*, p.24.
36. A copy of the manuscript consisting of 762 pages, is in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Each pages consists of 15 lines. The beginning and the last page bear the seal of Fort William College. It is slightly moth-eaten but well intact.
37. Tawakkul Beg lived during the reign of Shahjahan. In *Shamshir Khani*, he has rendered briefly, in prose, the accounts of *Shah Namah* of Firdausi.
38. See, Obaidah Begum, *op.cit.*, pp.219-220.
39. *Shah Nama-i-Hind*, p.3.
40. *Ibid.*, p.10.

41. For example:

اتھائے has been written as اتھائے

چینا پٹن has been written as چینا پٹن

42. A copy of the manuscript consisting of 802 pages, is in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Each page consists of 13 lines, except the first and the last. The opening and the last pages bear the seal of the Fort William College as well as that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The *Siyar al-Muta'akhhherin* of Ghulam Husain Khan is a general history of India from 1700 to 1786. It contains information about the last seven emperors of Hindustan, and an account of the progress of the English power in Bengal upto 1781.
43. Obaidah Begum, *op.cit.*, p.556; Captain William Price was appointed Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindustani in 1813. He made great efforts to separate *Hindustani* and *Hindi* as separate languages. He was greatly interested in Sanskrit and Braj Bhasha, and is the author of several works.
44. Obaidah Begum, *op.cit.*, p.125-126.
45. A copy of the manuscript consisting of 656 pages, is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Each page consists of 11 lines. The first and the last pages bear the seal of Fort William College.
46. The *Muntakhab al-Fawaid*, p.8. The Persian work was written at the order of Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish. Further details have not been given.
47. For details see, M.S. Khan, "Islamic Culture(Hyderabad)", April, 1977, pp.127-140 and *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. XXXVIII, October, 1990, Part

IV, pp.293-308.

48. See, Simon Digby, *War-Horses and Elephants in the Delhi Sultanate*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1971.

49. *Muntakhab al-Fawaid*, pp.286-292.

50. *Ibid.*, pp.406-409.

51. *Ibid.*, pp.452-454, 458.

## Historical Works: Fort Saint George College, Madras

The foundation of Fort St. George at Madras was laid by the Englishmen as early as 1640 on a piece of land given by Raja Chander Giri. It was completed in 1643. Two years later in 1645 Father Abraham, a scholar of Arabic and Persian, started a Public School within the fort complex. Later in 1675 Patrick Warner first drew attention towards the training of employees stationed at Fort St. George. Thus, in 1717, before the establishment of Fort William College, Calcutta, Joseph Collect, the Governor of Madras, laid the foundation of Fort St. George School or Writers College. Subsequently, this institution came to be known as Fort St. George College.

The purpose of the college, like that of Fort William College, Calcutta, was to acquaint the English officials and employees with the Indian languages, particularly Urdu which had acquired the position of a common medium of expression in large parts of British India. The college was modernised in 1812 and shifted to a new building. Here the college was furnished with a library, a press, and a separate apartment for writing and teaching. The subjects taught were Hindustani, Dakkani, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannad, and Malyalam.

The teachers and writers were commonly called *munshi*. A number of books on literature, mathematics, law, rules and regulations, history and biography, were written here and mostly published by the press of the college. The college continued to function till 1854 after which it was handed over to the Madras Literary Society. Some of the eminent figures of the college were

Thomas Roebuck, Dr. Henry Harris, General Joseph Smith, Dr. Edward Balfour, Turab Ali Nami, Sayyid Hussain Shah Haqiqat, Hasan Ali Mahuli, Sayyid Taj-al-Din, Munshi Muzaffar, Munshi Sayyid Ghulam Dastagiri, Munshi Muhammad Ibrahim Bijapuri and Sayyid Amir Haidar Bilgrami. Under the aegis of these scholars a number of works in Urdu, Tamil, Persian, and Arabic were produced<sup>1</sup>.

Two of the historical works relevant for the present work are *Haidar-Namah* and *Guldasta-i-Hind* of Sayyid Taj-al-Din and Munshi Muzaffar respectively.

### **The *Haidar-Namah*<sup>2</sup>**

It is a work of Munshi Muzaffar who was associated with Fort St. George College as a writer. He was also a member of the first battalion of Fort St. George. He wrote *Haidar-Namah* in 1229 *Hijri*/ 1813-14 at the request of the commander of his battalion. It is a brief history of Nawwab Haidar Ali Khan and also about his son, Tipu Sultan.

### **Contents**

The work begins with the genealogy of Haidar Ali, the exploits of Fateh Muhammd, the father of Haidar Ali, against local petty chiefs and kings, and the consequent honours bestowed upon him.

Munshi Muzaffar then proceeds to narrate the service of Haidar Ali under Nandraj, his suppression of disorderly conditions and his victory over such chiefs as Kanga Ram, Kumuk Rani, and the Maratha chief Gopal Rau. The writer opines that the Marathas suffered reverses because they were busy with the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani. He is very particular in mentioning the forces deployed by Haidar Ali during his military actions and the siege of forts. Haidar Ali's conflict



with Ragho Rau finds a special place. His activities against the British in the region of Trichonopally and Baramahal, and the resultant peace, have also been narrated. He also writes about the marriage of the daughter of Tipu Sultan<sup>3</sup>. From it some idea of the marriage custom of the period can be known.

Tipu's administrative measures and military tactics have also been described. His relations with the officials, both Indians and the British, and the martyrdom of Tipu Sultan has been narrated. Munshi Muzaffar accounts the treachery of Qamar-al-Din Khan, an official of Tipu Sultan, who was in league with the British.

### *Methodology*

It begins with a doxology, and uses *tark* system for pagination. Major events have been written under separate headlines in red ink, and the period of events have been dated in *Hijri* era. The author does not mention the source of his information, nor does he quotes references, or makes use of foot-notes.

### *Style*

The language of Haidar-Namah is simple, but bears imprint of old Dakkani Urdu. Persian words and verses have also been used<sup>4</sup>. The early portion of the work contains rhyming sentences.

### *Significance*

The work may be described as a general political history, with emphasis on military conflicts. The author is sympathetic towards Haidar Ali<sup>4A</sup> and Tipu Sultan, and uses unbecoming words for the rivals and opponents of Haidar Ali.

### *The Guldasta-i-Hind<sup>5</sup>*

It is a work of Sayyid Taj-al-Din who was a native of Madras and a teacher at Fort St. George College. He taught Urdu

to the Englishmen. He was well versed in Tamil, Arabic, Persian, English and was also famous for his knowledge of medical science. Professor Yusuf Konkan in his work '*Arabic and Persian in Karnatak*' has listed Sayyid Taj-al-Din's works of Urdu, Tamil, Arabic and Persian. Among his other Urdu works are *Taj Namah* and *Aqa'id*<sup>6</sup>.

It is a brief general history covering a long period of some one thousand years, from the time of Samanid dynasty to the Mughul ruler Shah Alam II. It was written at the request of Lieutenant Moulsoorith of the 5th battalion at a place called Gutta<sup>7</sup> in 1848. The introduction of the manuscript bears the statement that accounts of Indian kings in Persian and English have been rendered into Karnataki idioms.

### **Contents**

The first chapter begins with the Samanid dynasty in which Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni has been given a prominent place. It begins with the account of accession of Ismail Samani. The author praises Subuktagin and his wisdom. It then narrates Mahmud Shah's conflict with the Indian chiefs — that he attacked India twelve times, looted and plundered, carried away Indians as slaves to Ghazni, and was an idol-breaker. It further records that Mahmud Shah (Mahmud Ghaznavi) captured Delhi but did not think it advisable to annex it in his empire. He, however, annexed Kashmir to his territory. The city of Qannauj has been described as beautiful and prosperous, and that Mahmud Ghaznavi wanted to build Ghazni on its model. This is an important information. The chapter also describes about the temple of Somnath and Mahmud Ghaznavi's attack on it. It recounts that ladders were used to climb the walled city of Somnath<sup>8</sup> and that the fight continued for three days. On way back to Ghazni Mahmud Ghaznavi was severely harassed by the

Jats<sup>9</sup>.

The third chapter is about description of Delhi kings whom Sayyid Taj-al-Din wrongly addresses as 'The Pathan rulers of Delhi'<sup>10</sup>.

Apart from the brief accounts of rulers of the so-called Slave dynasty, the reign of Ala al-Din Khilji has been dealt with. It however, does not mention the conquests of Ala al-Din Khilji or about his administrative regulations. Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign has been noted briefly. Mention has been made about his change of capital, but no comment has been made on it. Firuz Tughlaq has been described as a weak ruler who was not well-versed in the art of soldiery, but was kind-hearted and restored law and order.

The fourth chapter deals with the Mughul kings and ends with the period of Lord Lake. Sayyid Taj-al-Din opines that the Mughuls gained success over the Pathans and the Rajputs because of their artillery<sup>11</sup>. After dealing about Humayun's activities and fortunes, Sher Shah's welfare measures have been recorded. Sayyid Taj-al-Din's attempt to trace the reasons for the success of the Mughuls is a noteworthy aspect of his historical writing.

Sayyid Taj-al-Din while praising Akbar, records Abul Fazl as the *Wazir* of Akbar<sup>12</sup>. Hawkin's coming to the court of Jahangir has been recorded. Shah Jahan's obliteration of all family members who might have stood up as contenders to the throne have also been mentioned. The writer says that Shah Jahan got similar treatment by his sons<sup>13</sup>.

Events of the reign of Aurangzeb have been recorded in a comparatively more detailed manner. The activities of Sayyid Brothers, the party-politics at the Mughul court, and the invasion of Nadir Shah have been narrated. The author does not write

anything about the coming of the British, except that Alamgir II of his own will handed over his wealth to the British, and in return obtained peace and tranquility, and was awarded the title of *Shamsher-al-Mulk*<sup>14</sup>.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

The purpose of writing the book was to acquaint the common people as well as the British administrators about the different rulers of this country and of their deeds.

### ***Methodology***

The manuscript begins with a doxology. The writer has used the *tark* system for pagination. It is a chaptered history, consisting of four chapters. Sayyid Taj-al-Din is quite particular in mentioning the date of the events.

### ***Attitude towards Sources***

Sayyid Taj-al-Din has evidently used Persian and English sources, but he has not named them. At one place he quotes Farishta, but does not name his book<sup>15</sup>. At another place he says that '*Saheb-i-Farishta*' writes<sup>16</sup>. He normally refers to his sources in some specific terms, such as 'historians say' and that 'it is written in history'<sup>17</sup>. He quotes a person Francis<sup>18</sup>. It is not known whether he means Francois Bernier or Francis Buchanan.

### ***Style***

The language of *Guldasta-i-Hind* is blended with old *Dakkani* Urdu. The orthography<sup>19</sup> is also different which makes the task of the reader difficult. However, it has been written in a simple language.

### ***Significance***

Sayyid Taj-al-Din has written in a very impartial way, and has succeeded in giving a brief outline of Indian history to the

British officials. The account is also significant in respect to the fact that the writer very often expresses his own opinion. It, however, throws little or no light on the social, economic and cultural aspects of the time. Sayyid Taj-al-Din also commits some factual errors.

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## End Notes

1. For details see Afzal-al-Din Iqbal, Fort St. College, Moin Publications, Jam Bagh Road, Hyderabad, 1979.
2. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad. It consists of 118 pages. Each page consists of 21 lines, except the first and the last pages. These pages also bear the seal of Salar Jung State Library. It is also stated that it was re-copied in 1845, name of the scribe being Ghulam Murtaza.
3. *Haidar-Namah*, pp.48-49.
4. *Ibid.*, p.57
- 4A. We may refer to the opinion expressed by a contemporary Persian writer Ali Ibrahim Khan (d.1793) regarding Haidar Ali in his book *Swanah Haidar Ali*. Ali Ibrahim Khan, though being in the service of British East India Company, was bold enough to appreciate the qualities of head and heart that Haidar Ali possessed. He, however, at the same time calls him *Hinduised - Muslim*. He records that following the invasion of Karnataka, Haidar Ali got prepared a grand crown (*mukut*) and presented it to the temple of Tirupati as his *nazer*. Also, he continued to present golden dome-covers and donate money to temples like those of Rameshwar, Kalji and others. Significantly, Haidar Ali carried the image of a local diety *Parsu*, worshipped by all the local people. Haidar Ali would kindle *Shama* (candle) round the clock and called *Parsu* as *Baba*, and would say that he owed all his power and strength to the grace of Parsu Baba.

Ali Ibrahim Khan was born around 1730 in Shaykhpur

near Monghyr in Bihar, but was brought up at Murshidabad. He initially served under Ali Wardi Khan Mahabat Jung, and later on opted to serve the British East India Company as the chief judicial magistrate of Benares. At Benares he saw at close quarters the battle between the British and Chait Singh (the Raja of Benares). His historical works in Persian are *Swanih Haidar Ali*, *Tarikh-i Marhatta*, *Swami Chait Singh*, *Fatwa-i-Ibrahim Khani* (Muslim Personal Law), and perhaps an English work *Trial by Ordeal* (Hindu Personal Law). For details see *Swanih Haidar Ali*, abridged translation and edited by Shaista Khan, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, 1993.

5. A copy of the manuscript, consisting of 132 pages, is preserved in the Asfiyah Library, now known as Andhra Pradesh Government Oriental Manuscript and Research Centre, Hyderabad. It was corrected and published in Madras in 1848 under the supervision of Munshi Ghulam Dastagir at Jamia-al-Akhbar Press.
6. Muhammad Afzal-al-Din Iqbal, *op.cit.*, pp.142-143.
7. *Guldasta-i-Hind*, p.2
8. *Ibid.*, p.13
9. *Ibid.*, p.14
10. *Ibid.*, p.29
11. *Ibid.*, p.62
12. *Ibid.*, p.72
13. *Ibid.*, p.83
14. *Ibid.*, p.132

15. *Ibid.*, p.8

16. *Ibid.*, p.33, 56.

17. *Ibid.*, p.21, 109.

18. *Ibid.*, p.109

19. For example:

بتیا has been written as بتیا

تیر has been written as تیر

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## Historical Works: Dehli College, Delhi

The fortunes of the Fort William College ran into rough weather after 1830 because of the conflicting attitudes and policies of the British officials with regard to the continuance of Oriental studies. However, as educational pursuits declined at the Fort William College, a new nucleus of semi-Westernized educational centre emerged and progressed at Delhi (Dehli). This was the famous Dehli College<sup>1</sup> (where now stands the Zakir Husain College).

The tomb-complex in which the College was established was built in about 1710 by Mir Shahab al-Din Ghazi al-Din Khan Firuz Jung, the father of Chin Qilich Khan Nizam al-Mulk Asaf Jah I (the founder of the state of Hyderabad). Abd-al Haqq in his work *Marhoom Dehli College* writes that a *madrrasah* (by the name of Ghazi-al-Din Ka *Madrrasah*) was started in the tomb-complex in 1792. It received financial aid from the *waqf* established by Itimad al-Daulah, the Nawwab of Awadh. It was transformed into a College in 1825, and in 1828 English education was introduced. In about 1845 the College was transformed to a place where once stood the library of Prince Dara Shikuh at Ajmeri Gate Complex. During the revolt of 1857 the college was ransacked. It started functioning again in 1864 and was attached to the Punjab University. But since the Punjab University was not empowered to conduct examinations, the examination of Dehli College was conducted by the Calcutta University. As a result, its Urdu medium character was soon lost. In 1877 the college was closed<sup>1</sup> for all times, and its teachers

were transferred to the Government College, Lahore.

Unlike the Fort William College, the Dehli College was not meant for the European civil servants, but served as an institution for imparting full-fledged education in both the Oriental and Western sciences through the medium of Urdu. One of the most significant aspect of the Dehli College is that it belies the general notion that the Muslims were averse to the study of the English. In 1845, out of 460 students who were studying, 245 students had offered English, and the students were both Hindus and Muslims.

The Dehli College was to initiate growth of a new culture that brought the East and West together in understanding science, journalism, fiction, criticism, poetry, etc. It produced great men such as Ram Chander, Muhammad Zaka-Allah, Aloys Sprenger, Muhammad Husain Azad and Peyare Lal Ashob.

Since the foundation of Dehli College (1825) till its closure in 1877, it had a chequered history. The pre-1857 period was, however, one of quiet progress, and it was during this period that many works on science, literature and history were produced. A notable feature of these books is that many of them relate to the history of countries other than India, and to non-political topics such as sketches of Urdu poets, etc. As we shall see that a number of English works were translated into Urdu by the efforts of the Muslims and the Hindus associated with this college. This participation of the Muslims is significant. These translations must have exercised a strong influence on the mind of the Muslim intellectuals. Had this college functioned properly without break it would have ushered in an awakening among a section of the Muslims and would have played a role long before what Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, was later destined to play. Even the limited success that it met is significant, for some of its products later contributed to the



Muslim renaissance. Following is a study of history<sup>2</sup> works produced under its auspices.

### **The Tarikh-i-Kashmir<sup>3</sup>**

It is an Urdu translation of the Persian work by Muhammad Azim. It was translated into Urdu by Munshi Ashraf Ali<sup>4</sup>. The Urdu version, however, mentions *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* originally as a Persian work of Muhammad Azam. This statement appears to be correct for corroborating references in the book support this statement. It is also probable that the English imprint bearing the name Muhammad Azim is a printing error.

Ashraf Ali refers to some of the earlier histories of Kashmir, including the famous *Rajtarangini*. Another significant work on Kashmir that remained unpublished is of Malik Chawda.

### **Contents**

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* recounts the Hindu mythology associated with the land of Kashmir, and describes its geographical boundaries and features. It narrates the activities of different rulers, and the wide extent of their rule extending far beyond Kashmir. It also sheds light on the early frontier attacks of the Turks and of the proselytizing activities of the *sufis*.

Thereafter, it narrates the conquest of Kashmir by the Mughuls during the reign of Akbar, the subsequent political condition under his successors. It also refers to Nadir Shah's invasion of Delhi. Among some other matters discussed in the work are different administrative units<sup>5</sup>, Shia-Sunni conflict and natural calamities<sup>6</sup>.

### **Purpose of Writing**

From the preface of the book we learn that the translation work was done at the behest of the famous Orientalist, Dr. Aloys

Sprenger, the Principal of Dehli College. Obviously, the intention was to know about the land of Kashmir over which the British had become the masters.

### ***Methodology***

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* bears a chronogrammatic title. It consists of 356 pages after which there is a *masnawi* in Persian and few pages of errata.

### ***Style***

The translation lacks lucidity. Sentences are often complex and the use of gender is incorrect. The work is representative of the Urdu orthography of the first half of the nineteenth century as prevalent in northern India<sup>7</sup>. The text is interspersed with Persian *masnawis* and *rubaiyat*<sup>8</sup>.

### ***The Tarikh-i-Bengal***<sup>9</sup>

It is a summarised translation into Urdu of Marshman's *History of Bengal*. However, the translation has also additional information and notes. The translation was done by Nur Muhammad<sup>10</sup>. The book deals with the establishment of the British rule over Bengal as well as an account of the British rule in India till 1840.

The introductory chapter of the *Tarikh-i-Bengal* deals with the trading activities of the Europeans, the landing of Vasco de Gama in 1497(sic) at Calicut, and the establishment of the East India Company in 1600. It also briefly mentions the number of share holders, the initial capital invested, and the number of directors of the Company. It then describes the facilities granted by the Mughuls to the East India Company from time to time. Thereafter, the Anglo-French rivalry in South India has also been described in the most abusive and derogatory manner. Subsequently, events leading to the battle of Plassey and the

developments, thereafter, have been described in detail.

The *Tarikh-i-Bengal* also furnishes information about the administrative reforms of Robert Clive, the economic dislocation and the distress of the countryside in the wake of British conquest and the consequent implementation of the Permanent Settlement by Lord Cornawallis, and the administrative activities of some other administrators.

Of the additional notes made by Nur Muhammad, the first deals with the activities of Alamgir II and his conflict with the British. It also deals with the grant of *Diwani* to the British, captivity of Shah Alam II at the Allahabad fort and later on his departure to Delhi under the protection of the Marathas. The second note deals with the British intervention in the mutual dissension of the Rohilla and the Nawwab of Oudh(Awadh), and their final success over the Rohilla. The third note deals with the time and death of Haidar Ali, the fourth deals with Hastings' relation with Rajah Chait Singh of Benares, the fifth deals with the accession of Tipu Sultan, his conflict and death at the hands of the British, and the sixth note deals with the preponderance of the Marathas over the Mughul emperor. Finally, the seventh note narrates how the British fought the Anglo-Afghan war and the Anglo-Chinese war.

### ***Organisation***

The main text of the *Tarikh-i-Bangal* consists of 196 pages, and 3 pages of notes. It does not have an index or errata. Account of the rulers have been described under separate headings.

### ***Style***

The Urdu orthography as compared to the present day is different. The use of gender and tense also appears at times to be erroneous. The language is cumbersome, complex, and loaded

with Persian words. However, as the account proceeds the language becomes more simple, and there are fewer Persian words. The language of the additional notes is distinctively simple and easily intelligible.

### ***The Tarikh-i-Afghanistan***<sup>11</sup>

It is an Urdu translation of the English work entitled *History of Afghanistan* by Monstuart Elphinstone. The name of the translator is not known because the first four pages of the book are missing. It is from the concluding note at the end of the book that the name of the writer could be ascertained. It was published at Matba-al-Ulum, Madrasah Dehli. It is for this reason that it has been clubbed together with the publications of the Dehli College, although in the list of the books produced at Dehli College as given by Malik Ram, the name of the *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*, is not to be found in the list<sup>12</sup>.

### ***Contents***

It gives an account of the history of the Barakzai Afghan tribe and in particular the activities of Dost Muhammad Khan.

### ***The Tazkirah Shuara-i-Hind or Tabaqat-Shuara-i-Hind***<sup>13</sup>

This is an abridged account of Garcin de Tassy's *Hindustani Adab Ki Tarikh*, prepared by Maulawi Karim-al-Din and Fellon. It was printed in 1848 and consists of 504 pages.

### ***Contents***

Maulawi Karim-al-Din emphasises the importance of biographies as a part of historical studies. He gives brief notes of 964 poets along with some specimen of their verses. Among the poets included are first of those who are regarded as founding fathers of Urdu language, the second portion deals with poets who attempted to make the Urdu language compatible with local

words and usages, the third deals with poets who attempted to enrich the language with phrases and idioms. Lastly, poets who were contemporaries of Maulawi Karim-al-Din have been dealt with.

Professor Mahmood Ilahi writes that like some of his contemporaries Karim-al-Din picks up material from other sources without any acknowledgement, but adds that Karim-al-Din improved upon the work of Garcin de Tassy and gave a new dimension to *tazkirah* writing, making it a part of historical writings<sup>14</sup>.

### ***Methodology***

The book has no index, preface, foreword, and table of contents. The rest of the book is divided into four chapters with a concluding note. The index bears the *nom de plume* of the author, his name and reference to the concerned page number. From the text of the preface it appears that Karim-al-Din does not consider Fellon as his partner or assistant in the compilation of the work.

### ***The Tarikh Barri Aur Bahri***<sup>15</sup>

Since the introductory page is lost nothing is known about the actual author and the translator. However, Malik Ram considers Sheo Prasad as its translator and also states that the book was revised by Steward. Malik Ram describes the source of the book as *History of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, from Lardner's *Cabinet Encyclopaedia*<sup>16</sup>.

### ***Contents***

The book deals with an important, out-of-way topic, namely navigators and sailors. It narrates how mankind started sailing on the sea, discovered new places, how different roads, canals, rivers and oceans connect each other, and how people in the course of their commercial activities learned different



languages, etc.<sup>17</sup>. It shows a new dimension in Urdu writing.

### ***Organisation***

The book has been divided into three parts, each part being sub-divided into several chapters. Each part of the book has a separate index of its own. In the end there is an errata of 9 pages<sup>18</sup>.

### ***Style***

The language is simple and lucid. The writer has unity of thought. The orthography is similar to other works of the period produced at the Dehli College.

### ***The Tazkirat al-Kamilin***<sup>19</sup>

It is an Urdu work of Ram Chander dedicated to Sir Theophilus Metcalfe. The purpose of writing the book was to acquaint the Indians with the eminent personalities of Europe and Asia. According to the English imprint the date of publication is 1st October 1849. The Urdu imprint, however, bears the date of publication as 23rd October 1849. The book was included in the syllabus of the Patiala State.

### ***Contents***

The *Tazkirat al-Kamilin* deals with 198 personalities belonging to different fields such as philosophy, medicine, history, religion, etc. It contains biographical sketches of Confucious, Ibn Sina, Newton, Locke, Abul-Fazl, Sankaracharya, and others. This is a work of general information, and not based on in-depth study. Ram Chander does not give the source of his information. In the beginning Ram Chander makes use of foot-notes<sup>20</sup> but later gives it up. Some of the foot-notes are fairly long<sup>21</sup>.

## **Style**

The language is generally simple, and the author has also made use of quatrain<sup>22</sup> and verses<sup>23</sup>.

## **The *Tarikh-i-Inglistan*<sup>24</sup>**

It is an Urdu translation of Goldsmith's *History of England*. It traces the history of England from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the reign of George II.

## **Organisation and Contents**

It consists of 488 pages and has a glossary, a statistical table, an index and errata of 7 pages. In the beginning, after an introductory page, there is a preface, followed by an index. There is another index of English terms, to which is added a chart containing the names of the European countries, their population, income, strength of the army, and the number of naval ships. The book bears on the right hand side the number of chapter, and on the left hand side has the title contents of that particular chapter. This arrangement is, however, some times placed in a reverse order<sup>25</sup>. It comprises of 38 chapters.

## **The *Khulasat al-Twarikh*<sup>26</sup>**

It is an Urdu translation of Marshman's English work the *Brief Survey of History*. The translation has been rendered by Munshi Sheo Prasad and revised by Steward of the Dehli College. It was published in 1849.

## **Organisation**

The book consists of 233 pages, including three pages of errata. It is divided into two parts: the first part has seven chapters and the second has eight. The chapters have further been sub-divided into five and six sections respectively.

## **Contents**

The seventh chapter opens with an account of the expansion of the Roman empire, its population, the strength of its army, its cities, towns and, particularly of the citizens of Carthage who were enemies of the Romans.

Several rulers including Kaiser Augustus have been described with special references to their qualities and character. It describes the conflict between the Romans and the Iranians, and also mentions King Nero's atrocities. The rise of Tartars and the attempt to check the Turkish onslaughts by the Christians has been dealt with at length. It also records the spread of Christianity in Eastern Europe.

The eighth chapter starts with the beginning of the decline of the Roman empire and covers a period till the death of Charlamagne(395 to 814 A.D.). Thereafter, it covers the expansion of Islam in these regions. The author speaks eulogizingly of Prophet Muhammad(P.B.H). It then describes the Muslim conquest of Syria, Iraq, Khurasan, North Africa and Spain. Significantly, it throws light on some characteristic features of idolatry that crept into Christianity. Finally, the book mentions the establishment of two Churches(Eastern and Western) in the Christendom, the position and functioning of the priests and the gradual increase of the influence of priestly class.

## **The Tarikh-i-Rum(Rome)<sup>27</sup>**

It is an Urdu translation of the English work, the *History of Rome* by Goldsmith. The Urdu translation was rendered by Munshi Sheo Prasad under the supervision of Steward. The book was published in 1845.

## **Contents**

It is a history of the Roman emperors. It gives brief

information of the revolts, conspiracies, political moves and alliances, battles, destruction of cities and towns. The last chapter examines the causes of the decline of the Roman empire.

### **Organisation**

The *Tarikh-i-Rum*(Rome) consists of 336 pages including four pages of errata. It is divided into 25 chapters. The book has no index or preface, but the body of the book contains bold titles indicating the subject matter of each chapter.

### **The *Tarikh-i-Iran*<sup>28</sup>**

It is a translation of the English work the *History of Persia* by Lander. The translation was done by Munshi Husaini<sup>29</sup> in 1845.

### **Contents**

It is a general history of Iran from the earliest times to the time of the Safawids. It takes note of the contacts between Iran and India in ancient times. Among the works used in its preparation are those of Edward Gibbon and Sir John Malcom.

### **Organisation**

The *Tarikh-i-Iran* consists of 248 pages. It has an index and the work begins with the name of God. The text starts according to the index but does not contain the subject heading during the course of the narration in the body of the book.

### **Style**

The language has literary chaste with an easy flow. The orthography is definitely better than that of other historical works of the period. Full-stop and hyphen have been used. Foot-notes have also been given<sup>30</sup>.

### **The *Tarikh-i-Yunan***<sup>31</sup>

It is an Urdu translation, jointly done by Munshi Wazir Ali and Sheo Prasad, of Goldsmith's *History of Greece*<sup>32</sup>. The copy examined by me did not have the opening page, so I was unable to verify the name of the author.<sup>33</sup>

### **Contents**

It is a brief history of ancient Greece with particular reference to the city-states of Athens and Sparta. It presents a laudatory account of the Greeks. It also gives brief accounts of the social customs and the institution of slavery.

### **Organisation**

The *Tarikh-i-Yunan* has no introductory page, and also no preface or errata. The whole book is divided into 20 chapters. Each chapter has bold heading indicating the contents in the chapter. Page number 135 has a foot-note.

### **Style**

The language of *Tarikh-i-Yunan* is definitely different from the other translated works of the Dehli College because Persian words are fewer in number and the language is easily intelligible.

### **The *Tarikh-i-Abul Fida***<sup>34</sup>

It is a translation of Abul Fida Ismail's<sup>35</sup> Arabic work the *Twarikh Al-Mukhtasar Fi-Ahwal-al-Bashar*. The translation into Urdu was done by Maulawi Karim-al-Din at the behest of Aloys Sprenger, Principal of Dehli College.

### **Contents**

The book is a general history of mankind, with particular reference to the origin of Islam and later Muslim ruling dynasties. It gives a brief account of earlier prophets and religions before



the rise of Islam and then examines at greater length the history of Islam and Muslims.

### **Organisation**

The *Tarikh-i-Abul Fida* has been divided into three volumes. The first volume runs from page 1 to 260, the second volume from 261 to 512, and the third from 513 to 570. However, the third volume has been translated by Maulawi Muhammad Mir. Different paragraphs have bold titles. The chapters have head-lines, indicating the events of a particular year.

### **The *Tazkira-i-Sikandar-i-Azam*<sup>36</sup>**

It is a translation of the English work titled *Alexander* by Plutarch. The translator is Swarup Narain<sup>37</sup>. According to the introductory page the book was completed in 1846. It was published by Munshi Sayyid Ashraf Ali at Matba-al-Ulum, Dehli.

### **Contents**

It is an account of the life and achievements of Alexander the Great.

### **Organisation**

The book consists of 153 pages. It has an index consisting of four pages bearing the title *Khulasah Matalib-i-Kitab* (summary of the contents of the book). The narration is continuous and contains no title or heading. A significant feature of the work is that Swarup Narain has discussed each matter in different paragraphs. This feature is not to be found in the earlier translated works<sup>38</sup>.

### **The *Tazkirah Shuara-i-Arab*<sup>39</sup>**

It is an Urdu translation of Maulawi Karim-al-Din's own work in Arabic entitled *Faraid al-Dahar* which he wrote at the request of Dr. Aloys Sprenger<sup>40</sup>. The translation was completed

on 20th June 1847, and was published the same year.

### **Contents**

An anthology, it also gives brief accounts of Urdu poets with specimen of their compositions.

### **Organisation**

The *Tazkirah Shuara-i-Arab* comprises 422 pages and is divided into thirteen parts or chapters. It contains a preface followed by a brief account of how the text has been categorised. It has an index, consisting of ten pages at the end of the book. Each chapter covers a period of one century, containing the account of several poets who flourished during that period. The account begins from the *Jahiliyah*. According to the introductory page there are 397 entries of poets but the index has reference to only 372 poets.

### **The *Twarikh-i-Hind*<sup>41</sup>**

This book printed in 1840 and written in three parts, appears to be associated with Dehli College. The first part bearing several chapters consists of account from earliest times to the coming of the Mughuls. The second part is an abridged account of *Siyar-al-Muta'akhkherin*, bearing account from the time of Amir Timur to Muhammad Shah. The third part is history of Bengal from the establishment of British power to 1840.

The first part is a translation of Marshman's English book by Munshi Nur Muhammad who was a teacher at *Madrasah Angrezi*. The second part was translated by the efforts of Maulawi Imam Bakhsh of Persian College, Maulawi Subhan Bakhsh teacher of Arabic, and by Maulawi Ahmad Ali teacher of Persian. The translation of the third part has been done by Munshi Nur Muhammad.

### ***Significance of the Dehli College Works***

The various translated works undertaken at Dehli College are a testimony to the collective efforts of the Indians and the British to the growth of historical writings in modern times. The Indians certainly benefited from the venture. Methodology, organisation, and style of the different works show impact of Western influence. However, the adoption of the Western methodology was still in a process of evolution, and the Indians often held to the hitherto practice of interspersing Persian *masnawis*, *rubaiyat*, chronogrammatic titles, etc., in their works. The Muslims who undertook the translation must have been well-versed in English. The translation was generally undertaken at the behest of the Europeans, but the topics were not exclusively European: subjects both Indian and European, coupled with Islamic history, were included. This is a pointer to the spirit of objective scholarship present at Dehli College.

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## End Notes

1. For details about the Dehli College, see Abdul Haqq. *Marhum Dehli College*, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, 1945; Malik Ram, *Qadeem Dehli College*, Maktaba Jamia Limited, 1975.
2. Malik Ram, the author of the *Qadeem Dehli College*, gives a list of the following historical books compiled at that College. These are; The *Khulasat al-Twarikh* (2 vols), the *Tarikh-i-Inglistan*, the *Tarikh-i-Iran*, the *Tuzuk-i-Timuri*, the *Punjab Kay Sikh Ahad Ki Tarikh Aur Sawanih Maharajah Ranjit Singh*, the *Tarikh-i-Yunan*, the *Tazkirah Sikander-i-Azam*, the *Tazkirah Cicero*, the *Tarikh-i-Mughul*, the *Tarikh-i-Abul-Fida*, the *Tarjuma Tarikh-i-al-Hukama Aur Tazkirah-al-Mufassirin*, the *Tazkirah Damastheneze*, the *Tarikh-i-Islam*, the *Tarikh-i-Hind*, *Mukhtasar-Khaka-Tarikh-i-Alam* (2 vols), the *Tarikh-i-Charles Dawm*, the *Tarikh-i-Charles Dawazdahum*, the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, the *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, the *Sunan Tirmizi*, the *Tarikh-i-Yamani*, the *Hukama-i-Yunan*, the *Tarikh-i-Masudi*, the *Intikhab Plutarch*, the *Tazkirah al-Kamilin*, the *Tazkirah Shuara'-i-Hind*. These are all translated works from Persian, Arabic or English works, except the *Tazkirah al-Kamilin*.
3. A printed copy of the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. It was printed at *Matba-al-Ulum*, Madrasa-i-Dehli, 1846, under the supervision of Pandit Dharam Narain. The translation was done during a short period of just a few months. The Persian work belonged to the library of Muhammad Sadr-al-Din Khan of Dehli who was *Sadar-us-Sudur*.

4. Munshi Ashraf Ali was a teacher at Dehli College. He was well-versed in Persian and Urdu. Apart from translating the Persian work the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* into Urdu, he rendered help to Babu Hardeo Singh in translating a work of Mathematics in Urdu. He also checked and corrected the Urdu version of the English work '*Brief Survey of History*'. See, K.A. Faruqi (Ed.), *Dehli College Urdu Magazine*, 1953, p.194.
5. The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, pp.333-355.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.241-254.
7. For example اس واسطے has been written as ایوا سیطی
8. The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p.295.
9. A printed copy of the first edition of the *Tarikh-i-Bangal* is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. The English imprint on the introductory page bears the year of publication as 1844. The Urdu imprint, however, bears the year of publication as 1846. It was published at Matba al-Ulum, Madrasa-i-Dehli, under the supervision of Pandit Dharam Narain. Another copy of it is preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
10. Nur Muhammad, a teacher at Dehli College, also worked with master Husaini for the translation of the *Tarikh-i-Mughaliyah* and the *Siyar al-Islam*. He was well-versed in English.
11. The *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan* comprises 410 pages, and is divided into 18 chapters. Each chapter at the beginning furnishes briefly the contents of the chapter. Intizar Mirza who has brought to light this work in his *Qadeem Dehli College Ki Khidmat Ka Adabi Jaiza*



does not mention where the printed copy of the *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan* is available.

12. Intizar Mirza, *Qadeem Dehli College Ki Khidmat Ka Adabi Jaizah* (unpublished thesis), Delhi University Central Library, p.111.
13. Two printed copies of *Tabaqat-Shuara-i-Hind* are preserved in the Jamia Millia Islamia Library, New Delhi. One of these does not contain the introductory page, but is otherwise intact. Another copy is preserved at Saulat Public Library, Rampur. All these three copies were published at *Matba-al-Ulum, Madrasa-i-Dehli*, 1848, under the supervision of Sayyid Ashraf Ali.
14. Maulawi Karim-al-Din was associated with Dehli College. He was also the author and translator of some other works such as the *Tarikh-i-Agra* and a biography of eminent women of Asia and Africa. From the *Tarikh-i-Abul Fida* we come to know that Maulawi Karim-al-Din was also preparing a work entitled the *Tarikh-i-Dehli*. The book is, however, not extant. See. K.A. Faruqi(Ed.), *Dehli College Magazine*, p.121. Reference to another book entitled *Tarikh-i-Hind* may also be made here. The author is Karim-al-Din. It has not been mentioned whether the author is Maulawi Karim-al-Din or some one else. It was printed by Munshi Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, January 1884, and has the semblance of a text book. The book consists of 255 pages and bears an index, but is devoid of any reference and foot-notes. In the beginning it has a very sketchy account of ancient India, but when dealing with the Muslim period and British rule, the author has paid more attention. Ancient period has been studied under

'Satyug', 'Duamduapar', 'Suamtrita' and 'Kalyug'. These generally deal with Hindu mythology. In respect to the British period while writing about the mutiny of 1857 it says that the uprising took place at Peshawar, Ambala, Shimla, Ferozepur, Lahore and other places, but were suppressed. He addresses the mutineers as rebels.

15. A copy of the *Tarikh Barri Aur Bahri* is preserved in the Saulat Public Library, Rampur. In the beginning there are three blank pages. According to the concluding note the book was published in the year 1847 by Urdu Akhbar Press, located in the house of Maulawi Muhammad Baqi. It was published under the supervision of Pandit Motilal who was the printer and publisher.
16. Malik Ram, *op.cit.*, p.17.
17. Intizar Mirza, *op.cit.*, p.105.
18. *Ibid.*, pp.104-105.
19. A printed copy of the *Tazkirah al-Kamilin* is preserved at Hardayal Public Library, Delhi. It was printed at *Matha-al-Ulum*, Madrasa-i-Dehli. Copies of it are also found at other places.
20. The *Tazkirah al-Kamilin*, pp.5,6,8,9 *passim*.
21. *Ibid.*, p.9.
22. *Ibid.*, p.178.
23. *Ibid.*, p.177.
24. It is a work produced by the combined efforts of different scholars and teachers of Dehli College. Their names have, however, not been mentioned. The book

was published by *Dehli Urdu Akhbar*, located in the compound of Maulawi Baqi. Pandit Motilal was the printer and publisher. The book was published twice, but I could not trace any copy of the first edition.

A printed copy of the second edition of the *Tarikh-i-Inglistan*(1844) is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. The book bears a seal, dated 1291 *Hijri* of the Nawwab Wilayat Ali Khan, a famous philanthropist and *zamindar* of Guzri, Patna City. The last page bears a seal of the Khuda Bakhsh Library dated 1897.

25. The *Tarikh-i-Inglistan*(1844), p.193, as quoted by Intizar Mirza, *op.cit.*, p.72
26. A printed copy of the *Khulasat al-Twarikh* is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. It was printed at Matba-al-Ulum, located in the house of Munshi Nuruddin Ahmad, Shahjahanbad (Delhi). The publication work was supervised by Inayat Husain.
27. A printed copy of the *Tarikh-i-Rum* is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. It was published by Dehli Urdu Akhbar Press. The printer and publisher of the book was Pandit Motilal.
28. A printed copy of the *Tarikh-i-Iran* is preserved in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh. It was published by Dehli Urdu Akhbar Press, Shahjahanbad (Delhi), under the supervision of Pandit Motilal.
29. Master Husaini was a teacher at Dehli College. His other work is the translation of the *Tarikh-i-Mughaliyah*. He also translated many law books. See K.A. Faruqi, *op.cit.*, p.194.

30. The *Tarikh-i-Iran*, pp.197,199,202-204.
31. A printed copy of the *Tarikh-i-Yunan* is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. It consists of 401 pages and was published in 1846.
32. Malik Ram, *Qadeem Dehli College*.
33. The catalogue at Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, also bears the information that Wazir Ali and Sheo Prasad were the translators of the English work. Also, see Intizar Mirza, *op.cit.*, p.98.
34. Copies of the *Tarikh-i-Abul-Fida* published at *Matba al-Ulum, Madrasa-i-Dehli*, under the supervision of Sayyid Ashraf Ali, can be found at many places. Apart from this, copies published by *Matba Afghani*, Amritsar, in the year 1900, can be found at Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad, and Raza Library, Rampur. See Intizar Mirza, *op.cit.*, pp.58-59.
35. Abu al-Fida Ismail belonged to Himat. Born in 673 Hijri, he was a reputed scholar and philosopher. One of his important Arabic works had earlier been translated into Latin and was published in Europe. Among his important works are *Najm al-Hadi* (a book on Islamic jurisprudence) and *Taqwim-al-Bilad* (on Geography).
36. A printed copy of the *Tazkira-i-Sikandar-i-Azam* is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. The introductory page has a seal of Khurshid Nawwab Sahib of Guzri, Patna City.
37. Swarup Narain was a scholar at Dehli College. He was actively engaged in the translation works of the college. He also participated in the translation of a work on Indian geography.

38. Intizar Mirza, *op.cit.*, p.120.
39. A printed copy of the *Tazkirah-Shuara-i-Arab* is preserved in the Jamia Millia Islamia Library, New Delhi. It was published in the year 1847 at *Matba al-Ulum*, Dehli, under the supervision of Sayyid Ashraf Ali.
40. Dr. Sprenger earlier served as the Secretary of Fort William College and Asiatic Society of Bengal.
41. A printed copy of *Twarikh-i-Hind* (in III parts) is available in Raza Library, Rampur. The year of publication has not been mentioned but it was printed by Dehli Urdu Akhbar Press (situated in the house of Muhammad Baqir) under the supervision of Pandit Motilal (Printer and Publisher). The first part consists of 151 pages. The second part consists of 494 pages in which each ruler has been dealt under separate heading. The third part consists of ninety-eight pages. This is supplemented by 7 pages of foot-notes, and 4 pages of chart showing different revenue yield, boundary and population.
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## Chapter Ten

## Independent Historical Works

The historical works of Fort William College fostered a new spirit of knowledge among the Indians. On the pattern of work done at Fort William College, a couple of Indians and Europeans produced works of immense importance. With regard to the independent writers, on the basis of certain references, it may be conjectured that some of them were in contact with the officials of Fort William College. Their works include both original as well as translated works.

**The *Lubb-at-Twarikh***<sup>1</sup>

It is a work of Lewis Da Costa<sup>2</sup>. It runs in three volumes. It is not an original work of history but a translation of the book *Elements of General History* of Alexander Tytler. The first two volumes were completed by Tytler. After his death, Edward Nares completed the third volume. Louis Da Costa translated the work into Urdu with the help of Hakim Abdul Majid, R. Halifax, George Meyee, and other learned Indians. Abd-al-Majid has written foreword of the second volume, and Dr. Edward Nares has written the preface of the third volume. Thus, it is a work of unique type, being the result of the efforts of several men, including Anglo-Indians.

***Contents***

In the beginning Lewis Da Costa presents his views about history, its growth and development, purpose, modes of historical studies, and its utility. According to him human knowledge remains incomplete without the knowledge of history. It serves as mirror of the past human civilisation and culture.

The first volume of *Lubb-ut-Twarikh* begins with the narration of the inhabitation of the world after the great flood that occurred during the time of Prophet Noah. It then goes on to describe about the ancient history of Egypt, Jerusalem and Greece. With regard to Greece, it discusses its different city-states, republican form of government, and of its wars —especially with Iran. Further, it proceeds to give an account of Alexander, and of other eminent rulers, writers, poets and philosophers of Greece, and the factors that led to its decline. It discusses these aspects as to how history should be read, and refers to different Greek historians as well as other modern historians whose views should be taken into account for the understanding of history. It ends with the fall of Byzantine empire.

The second volume begins with the description of the rise of Islam and Arabs and about the Muslim kingdoms. It then deals with the history of France, Spain, Portugal, Anglo-Saxons, the Crusades, Switzerland, England, Greece, Germany, the Turks, and the spread of Christianity in some Asian countries in the 16th and 17th century.

The third volume has the account of the reign of king George III of England till 1820. It also contains an account of Europe, about the Vienna Settlement of 1815, and about India. Lastly, it may be pointed that the work deals not only with the culture and society of different countries and civilizations but also of the writers, poets, philosophers, and artists.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

The work is dedicated to the members of the Bombay Native Education Society under whose patronage it was written.

### ***Methodology***

Lewis Da Costa writes that he endeavoured to follow the plan

of Alexander Tytler's English work, but at the same time he has made some additions. In accordance with the tradition of the period Abd-al-Majid has written two chronograms determining the date of completion of the work. The main text of the first volume is prefixed by an introductory page. It is then followed by a foreword, which is especially important for a brief statement of Alexander Tytler's views on history. Thereafter, there is an index. The whole book has been divided into forty nine chapters, each chapter being sub-divided into several paragraphs. The main text is suffixed by the contents entitled '*Comparative view of Ancient and of Modern Geography*' bearing both English and Urdu names.

The second volume is divided into sixty-seven chapters, each chapter being sub-divided into several paragraphs. This volume also contains an index and bears the seal of Fort William College. There is a concluding note by Maulawi Abd-al-Majid in which he talks about the utility of history and about Alexander Tytler's book.

### *Style*

The language of *Lubb-ut-Twarikh* has been termed as *Hindustani* by Lewis Da Costa. Because of the use of Perso-Arabic words the language has become extremely difficult at times. The sentences are complex and cumbersome. The book is a fine example of Urdu orthography prevalent during the 1830's.

### **The *Hamla-i-Haidari*<sup>3</sup>**

It is work of Shaikh Ahmad Ali of Gopamau (Uttar Pradesh). It deals with the history of Haidar Ali and is a concise translation of the Persian work of Abd-al-Rahim<sup>4</sup>. Its chronogrammatic title is *Twarikh-i-Guzidah*. Shaikh Ahmad Ali translated the work at the request of Hakim Maulawi Ahmad Husain Shahjahanbadi. The work was dedicated to John Elliot by his friend Ghulam Muhammad, son of Tipu Sultan, on 21st April, 1849.

### **Contents**

It begins with a brief description of the geographical frontiers and features of India. This is followed by an account of the ascendancy of British power in India. A long *Masnawi* is also given. The decline of Sultanate in the Deccan, and the rise of Haidar Ali has been given in a lucid manner.

### **Purpose of Writing**

It was written for the benefit of the general people. The author writes that knowledge of the past is useful for the people of today, and that history is the spring of all knowledge. The book begins with a doxology. It is a chapterised history broken into paragraphs. It begins with an index, followed by the main text, and ends with an *erratum*. At one or two places foot-notes have been used<sup>5</sup>. The language of *Hamla-i-Haidari* is blended with Persian words. The orthography is similar to some other historical works of the period<sup>6</sup>.

### **The Surur-i-Sultani<sup>7</sup>**

It is a work of Mirza Rajab Ali Beg Surur<sup>8</sup>. The work is a translation of *Shamsher Khani*, a summarised version of *Shah Namah* of Firdausi in Persian by Tawakkul Beg. It was completed in 1847.

### **Contents**

The book gives a brief account of pre-Islamic Persian history. However, in the beginning it praises the land of India. It also narrates the coming of Alexander to India, his return and his wars on the Iranian soil, his success and death. But the account has been dealt like a story and cannot be regarded as serious work of history.

### **Purpose of Writing**

The work was undertaken at the behest of Wajid Ali Shah,

the *nawwab* of Awadh. A secondary purpose of the author was to display the literary talent and win favour from the *Nawwab*, whom Surur calls a learned person.

### *Methodology*

*Surur-i-Sultani* begins with a doxology and an introduction. Broad head-lines have been used to indicate break of narration and contents. At the end of the book Rajab Ali Beg Surur gives an index of important personalities<sup>9</sup>.

### *Style*

The language, though Urdu, is highly ornamentative and Persianized. Very often the sentences are rhymed. Persian couplets and verses of Firdausi have been interpolated to the author's delight. Surur has attempted to write *Surur-i-Sultani* based upon his work *Fasana-i-Ajaib*.

### *The Fasana-i-Ibrat*<sup>10</sup>

This is another work of Mirza Rajab Ali Beg Surur. In it Surur casually refers to the last four kings of Awadh. Nasir-al-Din Haidar, Muhammad Ali Shah, Amjad Ali Shah and Wajid Ali Shah. Different portions of *Fasana-i-Ibrat* were written at different times. The exact year of its compilation is not known, but in all probability it was completed after the dissolution of the Awadh state. It was handed over for publication in 1861-62 and was published by Maulawi Muhammad Yaqub, Matba Najm-al-Ulum, Kanpur, in 1884. The importance of the work is that it is an eye-witness account of the life at Lucknow.

### *Contents*

The work gives accounts of social gatherings and court life, about licentious lives of the rulers, of conspiracies and intervention of British troops in matters of succession, of stables,



gardens and fountains, construction of granaries and *madrassas*, the low spirits of native troops, and deteriorating law and order conditions. With regard to the reign of Wajid Ali Shah, Surur mainly concentrates on describing the marriage celebration, and breaks off abruptly with a brief account of the orders of annexation of the state of Awadh by the East India Company.

### ***Basic Form***

It can be described as a chronicle dealing with the life and activities of the last four kings of Awadh. Surur wrote it more for the purpose of exhibiting his literary talent than for establishing himself as a serious historian. He begins with the accession of a ruler and ends with the death or dethronement of the ruler, except for the account of the reign of Wajid Ali Shah, which he snaps off following the annexation of Awadh to the East India Company. Surur's account chiefly relates to the activities within the precincts of the court complex. However, within this limited horizon, Surur has tried to be all pervasive. Generally, an event of accession is accompanied by British involvement, followed by distribution of posts and change of officers. Surur especially takes delight in describing the splendour and grandeur of the court of Nasir-al-Din Haidar, the subsequent ruination of the court after his death, and the sensual leanings of the ruler. Each event or issue is described in a paragraph or two or more. He makes passing remarks on economics and administrative activities. Surur does not abruptly skip over to another issue but tries to maintain sequence of thought. The remarks made by Surur are straightforward. He does not make any formal assessment of the reign of any ruler. He, however, reminds people, from time to time, that history provides numerous examples which can serve as lessons to mankind.

### *Methodology*

Surur does not make use of foot-notes. He, however, inserts infrequently Persian and Urdu verses to emphasize his statement and heighten the effect. Surur is quite particular in mentioning the exact age of the rulers at the time of accession, the date and hour of death, and the date of many other political events. Surur admits the limitations of his work, and therefore, entitles his work as *Fasana-i-Ibrat*, and does not attribute to it the connotation *Tarikh*. He does not add his own views, except for Wajid Ali Shah's reign<sup>11</sup> — that it marked the beginning of ruination of Lucknow. The approach of Surur is such that it tends to give a generalized picture, and consequently, it becomes untenable to trace inter-relationship between two or more events. He does seem to have adhered to the sequence of events, but they are of such nature that it is not very helpful for an indepth historical study. He selects events according to his wishes and treats them individually.

### *Attitude towards Sources*

Surur does not mention the source of his information, nor does he acknowledge the informant or refers to any source for further reading on the subject matter. Evidently, Surur wrote on the basis of his memory and what he heard or saw in and around the Awadh court. But in all probability, Surur had an informant; and equally well, it seems that he had access to state records for Surur often records the date of events meticulously.

### *Style*

*Fasana-i-Ibrat* is composed in rhythmical sentences or jingling prose. This is unsuitable for historical writings for it tends to generalize or give an exaggerated version of the happenings.

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## End Notes

1. A printed moth-eaten copy of the work is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. The introductory page bears the seal of Khuda Bakhsh Library dated 1891. The first two volumes were published in 1829, and the third volume was published in 1830 by Church Mission Press, Calcutta. The main text of the first volume consists of 234 pages, the second of 338 pages, and the third of 374 pages.
2. Lewis Da Costa was a Christian who lived and died in Calcutta. He had great admiration for Urdu language and was also proficient in Persian poetry. He held a high position in the East India Company, being the Assistant Superintendent of Police of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and was highly respected by the Anglo-Indian society of Calcutta.
3. A printed copy of *Hamla-i-Haidari* is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
4. Maulawi Abd-al-Rahim was well versed in English, Arabic and Persian. The books that he used in compiling his work are: *Futuh-at-i-Haidari* of Lala Khem Narain, *Nishan-i-Haidar* of Mir Husain Ali Kirmani, *Twarikh-i-Hamid Khani* of Munshi Hamid Khan, *George Namah* (in verses) of Mullah Faiz, *Futuh-at-i-Bartaniyah* of Mulla Firuz, *History of Haidar Ali Khan* (2 vols, 1784), *British Military Biography* (1841), *Authentic Memoirs of Tipu Sultan* (1820) by an officer in the East India Service, *History of Nadir Shah* (1742), *East India Gazette* (1828), *History Sketch of South India*, *Memoirs of Haidar Ali Khan and his son*

*Tipu Sultan* by Charles Stewart and *Historical Sketches of South India* —An attempt to trace the history of Mysore by Lieutenant Colonel Mark Wilke. See *Hamla-i-Haidari*, pp.8,9,10.

5. *Hamla-i-Haidari*, p.399.

6. For example: *تھرا* has been written as *تھرا*

7. A printed copy of *Surur-i-Sultani* is preserved in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It consists of 200 pages.

8. Surur, son of Mirza Zafar Beg, who belonged to Lucknow, was born in 1785 and died in 1868. He had a taste for poetry, excelled in calligraphy, and also had knowledge of music. During the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah, Surur came back to Lucknow and was given an assignment. He served for some time but soon left Lucknow because of court politics. He left for Delhi in 1854 and met Mirza Ghalib. However, in the meantime he again got a job when Wajid Ali Shah became the *nawwab*. After the exile of Wajid Ali Shah, Surur joined the services of Jshwari Prasad Narain Singh, the Maharaja of Benares. After the revolt of 1857 Surur came back to Lucknow from Benares and spent his life in distress. As a result he again went back to Benares in 1859. For the treatment of his eyes he went to Calcutta where he met the deposed *nawwab* Wajid Ali Shah. The eye treatment, however, proved to be of no use. He died in Benares.

His other historical and non-historical works are *Fasana-i-Ajaib*, *Fasana-i-Ibrat*, *Gulzar-i-Surur*, *Insha-i-Surur*, *Shabistan-i-Surur*, *Surur-i-Sultani*, *Shagufa-i-Mohabbat*, *Sharar-i-Ishq*, *Nasr-Nasrah-Nisar*, *Diwan-*

## Eminent Historians

### *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*

Sayyid Ahmad Khan(1817-1898)<sup>1</sup> belonged to a distinguished family of Delhi. His ancestors who traced their genealogy to Imam Husain, the grandson of prophet Muhammad(PBUH), originally belonged to Herat. From Herat they migrated to India sometime during the reign of Mughul emperor Akbar. The Mughuls were quick to realise the administrative potentiality of the members of this family and entrusted them with important administrative assignments. For their services they were also rewarded with rank and titles from time to time.

Sayyid Muttaqi, the father of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, was among those who had easy access to the Mughul court. He had sufistic leanings and was a disciple of Shah Ghulam Ali, the eminent Naqshbandi saint of India. Sayyid Ahmad's maternal grandfather, Khwajah Farid<sub>3</sub>-al-Din, was also a man of various abilities — a scholar, mystic, mathematician, diplomat and administrator. For his administrative abilities he was appointed Superintendent of Calcutta Madrasah. At the instance of Lord Wellesley, he went on a diplomatic mission to Iran and Burma. His fame attracted the attention of Akbar Shah II(1806-1837) who appointed him as *wazir* and conferred upon him the title of *Dabir-al-Daulah Amin-ul-Mulk Musleh Jung*. But soon, for various reasons, he left the job. Later, he was also invited by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Khwajah Zain al-Din Ahmad, the maternal uncle of Sayyid Ahmad, was also a man of exceptional qualities. He was expert in music, mathematics, kite-flying,



appearing for appointment as *munsif*. This had important bearing upon his career and in 1841 he was appointed *munsif*. His reputation as a talented civil servant attracted the attention of Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah, who conferred on him the family title of *Jawwad-al-Daulah* as well as the title of *Arif Jung* in 1842. In the succeeding years from 1846 to 1876 he served at various places such as Rohtak, Bijnor, Moradabad, Ghazipur and Benares, and went on achieving promotion from *Sadr Amin* to *Sadar-us-sudur* to become the Judge at Benares. To rise so high in the judicial service was a great achievement under British rule. After that he took retirement and decided to devote himself to the cause of social and educational uplift of the Indians, particularly the Muslims.

In between his administrative engagements Sayyid Ahmad found time to establish himself as an accomplished writer and historian. In 1840 he prepared a chart of the kings of India and published it by title *Jam-i-Jum*. Thereafter, he wrote three *risalas* which included such topics as biography of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), a translation of two chapters of *Tuhfa-i-Asna-i-Ashariyah* and translation of Bu Ali's Persian brochure *Meyar-al-Uqul* dealing with *Jarr-i-Saqil*. He also edited several Persian works. For his contribution he was made Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1864.

In 1864 Sayyid Ahmad Khan founded the Scientific Society<sup>2</sup> at Ghazipur which was later on transferred to Aligarh. Under its aegis a number of historical works were translated into Urdu. Shortly after he started two journals, *Indian Institute Gazette* and *Tahzib-al-Akhlaq*<sup>3</sup>. The purpose of the latter was to publish progressive articles which would help broaden the mind of the Muslims. He himself wrote various articles on nature, law, religion, and agricultural sciences. He also wrote commentary on the Qur'an and Bible.

Of the works in religious science, his most important work is *Al-Khutbat-al-Ahmadiyah* (lectures or essays on Islam, 1870), a reply to William Muir's insinuations. This work is more than a rejoinder. It embodies his attempt to re-interpret in a rational and convincing manner many of the institutions and ideas of Islam in the light of the trends and tendencies of the 19th century. In a way he paved the way for comparative religious studies. For the writing of this work in 1869, at his own cost, he went to England via Aden, Egypt, Italy and France. There he met eminent British personalities. Among the historians he met were Carlyle and John Kaye. It was in England that he was awarded the insignia of 'Companion of the most Exalted Order of the Star of India'.

However, the greatest contribution of Sayyid Ahmad Khan is his effort towards the social and educational uplift of the Muslims. He had been a witness to the horrors of mutiny of 1857, the declining prestige of the Muslims and to the despondency that had engulfed them. His heart was moved at the conversion of Hindu and Muslim orphans by the Christian missionaries. He thus came to the conclusion that education of Muslims on modern lines was the panacea of all their ills. It was at Moradabad and Ghazipur that he had first conceived his educational and cultural aspirations. It started taking shape when in 1867 he demanded setting up of a Vernacular University, and later during his visit to England he thought of setting up a college on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge University. His efforts finally bore fruit in the opening of Muhammadan Anglo-College in 1875. In 1886 he established the Mohammadan Educational Conference to further promote his educational schemes. It greatly promoted Urdu historiography, for one of the objectives of the conference was to investigate, correct, edit and promote research and disseminate the collected information.

Sayyid Ahmad also took part in politics. In 1869 he

opposed the increase of the power of the Governor-General. In 1878 he became a member of Viceroy's Council, and in 1888 he founded the United Patriotic Association. Soon the degree of LL.D *honoris causa* was conferred on him by the Edinburgh University. He died in 1898.

In fact, Sayyid Ahmad's personality was multi-faceted, and much has been written on different aspects of his life and works. However, here we are concerned with his contribution to the growth of historiography in Urdu.

The historical works of Sayyid Ahmad Khan may be studied under the following order: (a) Pre-mutiny Works (b) Writings on the Mutiny (c) Edited and translated Works (d) Miscellaneous Works.

#### *The Asar al-Sanadid*<sup>A</sup>

The book was completed on 21 September 1846, and its first edition was published from Sayyid Ahmad Khan's printing press in 1847. The second edition was published in 1854 by William Dimonte of the Indian Standard Press, Delhi, in which the fourth chapter dealing with the great men of Delhi from all walks of life, was deleted.<sup>3</sup> This was done at the suggestion of Edward Thomas, Session Judge of Delhi and the author of the *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*<sup>5</sup>. The third edition was published from Lucknow in 1876.

The *Asar al-Sanadid* has four chapters. The first chapter relates to the monuments around Delhi, the second about the Red Fort and the buildings within it, the third with the buildings of Shahjahanbad(Delhi), and the fourth with the important personalities of Delhi.

Of the buildings around Delhi, it gives an account of mosques, temples, tombs, bridges, gateways, towers, tanks, baths,

garden, etc. —all numbering about 132.

While discussing the archaeological remains Sayyid Ahmad Khan generally writes about the location of a building, its builder, period of construction, and any other information of significance. He also gives many replica of the epitaphs, and discusses the deities in the temples. Quite frequently he narrates his experience while collecting the information<sup>6</sup>. Sometimes, during the course of description, he opines that the ruins of the monuments provide lessons to mankind.

The second chapter describes the location and laying of the foundation of *Qilah Muallah* (the Red Fort), the main architects, the number of years it took for construction, amount of money spent, the number of gateways, tanks, various other buildings (numbering thirty two) and the significant architectural features of the fort.

The third chapter contains an account of the foundation of the city of Shahjahanbad in 1058 *Hijri*/1643, and describes seventy buildings. It may be noted that a number of these monuments are no longer extant, and a number of mosques were demolished by the British during the revolt of 1857.

### ***Pupose and Background of Writings***

Like many of the British officers, Sayyid Ahmad Khan was profoundly interested in historical writings, with the difference that the British Orientalists largely wrote in order to understand and rule India, while Sayyid Ahmad wrote to preserve the vestiges of a rich but dying Medieval culture. He says that the book "will serve as a lesson to mankind, for it shows that once mighty rulers now lie helplessly in dust. Such is the fate of mankind. Its study will awaken, enrich, furbish, and enlighten men's knowledge and wisdom".

His urge for historical writing first found expression in the *Jam-i-Jum*<sup>7</sup> (1840), a Persian book, containing chronological and biographical data of all the forty three rulers of Delhi from Amir Timur down to Abu Zafar Bahadur Shah. Professor Habibullah categorises it as a continuation of the *taqwim* form of historiography<sup>8</sup>. It was also about this time (1645-46) that the Mughul emperor Bahadur Shah entrusted Sayyid Ahmad Khan with the task of making a map of the *Qilah Muallah*. This may be regarded to have marked the beginning of the *Asar-al-Sanadid*. Other factors also influenced the undertaking of this work. During this period the wide range of archaeological activities<sup>9</sup> carried out by the British also provided an impetus to Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

### *Basic Form*

Zia-al-Hasan Faruqi and Rosenthal both place the *Asar-al-Sanadid* in the group of local histories<sup>10</sup>. Specifically, writing about the fourth chapter, Irfan Habib expresses the opinion that it is based upon *Tazkirah* writing<sup>11</sup>.

### *Style*

The *Asar-al-Sanadid* was written at a time when Urdu was in the process of being fully<sup>9</sup> recognised as a medium of serious literary expression. In its compilation Sayyid Ahmad Khan may have benefited from the earlier prose works of Fort William College and Dehli College<sup>12</sup>. The language of the preface is extremely flowery and Persianized. This is in accordance to the literary contemporary taste. However, in general, the language is simple and is marked by clarity of expression. Sayyid Ahmad Khan often writes in the first person and the narration is frequently interspersed with Persian<sup>13</sup> and Arabic verses. The language and style of the second edition shows greater simplicity. Shibli Nomani views that Sayyid Ahmad Khan's style bears the



influence of Bedil and Zahuri. He writes that Sayyid Ahmad himself admitted to him that some portion of the book were written in toto by Imam Bakhsh Sahbai who was an ardent admirer of Bedil<sup>14</sup>. In fact, Sayyid Ahmad Khan laid the foundation of what one may call the 'Aligarh School of Urdu Literature'. Nearly all the important Urdu writers of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century such as Shibli, Hali, Nazir Ahmad, Zaka Allah, Wahid-al-Din Salim, etc., belong to this school. They continued the tradition of Sayyid Ahmad Khan in Urdu literature and applied it to the new and bold experiments that they made in this language<sup>15</sup>.

### **Significance**

The *Asar-al-Sanadid* earned more popularity than *Sair al-Manazil* and some other earlier Persian works, because it was produced in Urdu language. Edward Thomas, who is considered an authority on numismatics, considers the book as the best work on historical monuments of Delhi. Raverty holds the work to be of great value. The work is specially important for it reproduces inscription on buildings and monuments and also epitaphs.

### **The *Silsilat al-Muluk*<sup>16</sup>**

It was published<sup>17</sup> in 1852 at the *Ashraf-al-Matabi*, Delhi, at a time when Sayyid Ahmad Khan was a first class *munsif* at Delhi. It begins with a doxology, and offers thanks to Arthur Robert. The preface is not written separately but is in continuity with the textual matter.

### **Contents**

It is a sort of annals, beginning with an account of the Great Flood that occurred during the time of Prophet Noah(A.S.). The date of this great event has been examined in the light of scriptural evidence of different religions.

It has entries of 202 kings of Delhi, starting from Raja Judishtar to Queen Victoria. The entries have been arranged in the following manner: serial number, name of the king, his father's name, year of accession to the throne, the capital of the kingdom, reigning years, total number of years ruled, and other brief particulars. The arrangement has been modified while dealing with the rule of Turks. It has serial number, name of the king, his father's name, race, year of birth, year of accession to the throne, place of coronation, capital, reigning years, total number of years ruled, year of death, age, where buried, and other brief particulars. In later times this frame-work served as an example and guideline to several text-book historians.

### *Purpose of Writing*

The work may be regarded as a supplement to Sayyid Ahmad Khan's earlier work the *Asar-al-Sanadid*. The author felt that the contents of the *Asar-al-Sanadid* could not be properly appreciated until and unless a brief account of the past rulers of Delhi was also known. Accordingly, he prepared a list of the rulers of Delhi of the past five thousand years. The list caught the attention of Arthur Austin, upon whose insistence, Sayyid Ahmad Khan decided to edit it properly and name it *Silsilat al-Muluk*.

### *Attitude towards Sources*

For the compilation of *Silsilat al-Muluk* works of different nature, including some non-Persian works, were used<sup>18</sup>. Sayyid Ahmad Khan writes that ancient India did not produce any written work of history, except the *Mahabharat*. However, in India there was a custom of keeping records of the genealogical tables of families by a class of professional persons known as Bhat. A similar practice existed in Iran. The short-coming of such records or *pothi* (*puthi* as it was called) is that if a sheet or two is found to be missing, then a historian is unable to give a full

account of that family. Also, often certain kings were known by different names and, therefore, were thought of as different kings. Consequently, they are mentioned separately in the list. Apart from this, errors made by copy-writers also could not be ruled out. Sayyid Ahmad Khan holds the opinion that the account of any particular historical book is authentic only when the date of accession of a ruler and the period of his reign are found to be correct. Finally, the writer claims to have made great efforts in removing the difficulties with regard to dates<sup>19</sup>.

### ***Writing on the Mutiny***

Sayyid Ahmad Khan looked upon the great uprising of 1857 as a mutiny<sup>20</sup>. This characterisation of the movement is not acceptable. But as a first-hand account of event by a person well-placed to comment on it, and more importantly, for Sayyid Ahmad Khan's thoughtful observations about the reasons which led to it, this group of his writings has great value. They present an Indian perception of events, which has its own merit even if we do not share that perception.

### ***The Sarkashi-i-Dila' Bijnaur***<sup>21</sup>

It may be regarded as supplement to Sayyid Ahmad Khan's earlier work the *Tarikh-i-Dila' Bijnaur*. The *Sarkashi Dila' Bijnaur* forms an important chapter in the history of the freedom movement, for it contains an account of the war of independence from May 1857 to April 1858 in this district of Bijnor.

The work begins in the name of God, followed by a preface. In the preface Sayyid Ahmad Khan stresses the importance of truthfulness in the writing of history. The work is based on direct information about events.

### ***Contents***

It is a first-hand account of the outbreak of the war of

independence in the district of Bijnor and the subsequent events and also the role played by different *ta'alluqdars* of this area. It occupies an important position in the non-English source material for a study of the history of the great uprising.

### *Style*

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was both a professional historian as well as a literateur, hence his writings are not dry but lively and interesting. The narrative is characterized at places by sarcasm and humour. In terms of orthography, a remarkable aspect is that the words have been written separately, and not joined together, as was the current practice.

### *The Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind*<sup>22</sup>

This political treatise<sup>23</sup> was presented to the British government by Sayyid Ahmad Khan in 1860. When Sayyid Ahmad Khan got the article published it bore the title *Asbab Sarkashi-i-Hindustan*. However, by the time when Altaf Husain Hali, the biographer of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, wrote *Hayat-i-Jawaid*, it acquired the title *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind*<sup>24</sup>.

It begins in the name of God, the customary way of beginning a work by the Muslims. The treatise is based upon the eyewitness accounts and also hearsay.

When it was received by the government, Lord Canning, the Governor General and Sir Bartle Frere, who was a member of the council, considered it the work of a sympathiser. However, Cecil Baden, who was the Foreign Secretary at that time, considered it a seditious essay. He was of the view that Sir Sayyid should be reprimanded for the writing and also that if he was unable to provide a satisfactory explanation he should be severely-punished. Sir Sayyid, however, firmly stood his ground and contended that he had written the essay keeping the best

interest of the government and those of the country in mind and that he felt it was his duty to bring to notice his views to the government. It took some time for Cecil Baden to get convinced, but when he did so, he became an admirer of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan<sup>25</sup>.

### **Contents**

The treatise begins with the explanations of the meaning of *sarkashi* (uprising), and what action of the people can be termed as revolt. He then goes on to explain the causes of the mutiny, emphasising the point that the revolt of 1857 was not due to a single cause or conspiracy, but was the result of several factors which were brewing up since the preceding decades and were ready to burst out at the slightest provocation.

Writing under different headlines or short paragraphs, Sayyid Ahmad Khan tries to prove that there was no prior planning or preconceived idea for an uprising, and that it would be wrong to consider the distribution of *Chapatias* as part of a wider programme, for it did not carry any written or verbal message. Similarly, he rules out any conspiracy with Iran on the ground that sectarian differences between the *Sunnis* and *Shi'ahs* could not lead to an understanding with Iran. As for contacts with Russia, India then did not have any meaningful relation with her. In fact, political developments outside the Indian frontiers had no direct bearing upon India. Had there been a conspiracy the mutineers would have openly spoken about it after the outbreak of the mutiny.

Attention has also been drawn towards the point that it were only some disgruntled elements who led the revolt. Sayyid Ahmad Khan especially draws attention towards the status of the Mughul Emperor. He writes that a sizeable section of the *Ulema* considered Mughul Emperor apostate. Moreover, the religious



decree of *jihad* issued in Delhi by the Emperor was a forged one, for many of the signatories to the *fatwa* had died before the mutiny, while many others gave shelter and helped Englishmen and Christians during the turbulent days. He goes on to discuss the connotation of *jihad* and the validity of its declaration in the context of British India. Sayyid Ahmad Khan stresses that mutiny occurred largely because of some basic discontent, to which, false propaganda acted as fuel to the fire.

He traces the basic cause of the revolt to the non-participation of the Indians in the functioning of the government, particularly in the legislative council. From this outflowed all other associated factors. Non-participation in the councils bred suspicion about all legislative measures passed by the British government. Although they were not necessarily ill-conceived, they often affected the interest of the vested and propertied class, and generated misgivings.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan accuses the British for their ignorance and indifference towards the feelings of the Indians<sup>26</sup>, and their refusal to become a part of Indian cultural milieu. He blames the British for treating the Indians merely as subjects and as unworthy of cultural contact. He also says that the British government was devoid of a paternal outlook. He then draws attention to the pitiable condition of the Indians who were forced to work on poor wages. All these factors drove the people into wilderness, particularly the Muslims who were more poverty-stricken. This analysis of the causes of the mutiny deserves attention. It shows that Sayyid Ahmad Khan was not just an uncritical sycophant, but gave expression to the Indian point of view also.

The writer further focuses attention towards the growing indiscipline among the Indian troops, particularly after the military operation in Afghanistan. They had grown haughty and

were indiscreet towards the British soldiers. He views that keeping of Hindus and Muslims in the same platoon had bound them by a common sense of being Indians. Had they been kept apart the Muslim soldiers might not have objected to the use of greased cartridges.

He also explains why the revolt did not take place in Punjab. He attributes several reasons for this. Firstly, the condition of Indians in the Punjab was not so bad as in other parts of northern India. Secondly, a sizeable strength of British force was stationed there. Thirdly, the Indian soldiers had been disarmed prior to the mutiny.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's letter addressed to Sir John Kaye, dated 14 December 1869, written during his stay at London, also throws light on Sayyid Ahmad Khan's view about the mutiny. The letter was written in reply to Sir John Kaye's (who was then the Secretary in the Political and Secret Department and had undertaken the task of writing an official history of the Indian Mutiny) who had sought Sir Sayyid's opinion on as to the extent the mutiny grew into a popular rebellion. The reply supplements certain views already expressed in his pioneer writing though some contents are contrary to his earlier expressions.

For example, whereas in his first writing he did not consider appropriate to use the word 'mutiny' for the rebellion of 1857, here in this letter he argues against calling it as a military mutiny. Further, as rightly argued by Salim Quraishi, although Sayyid Ahmad Khan attempts to treat the mutiny as a localized disturbance, he uses the title *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* or causes of the Indian revolt which certainly suggests some thing of a national level. More significantly, Sayyid Ahmad Khan argues that it was the severe punishment and humiliation meted to the Sepoys that forced them to take up arms. Had they been given the option of either using cartridges or resigning from their service,

the sepoys would have peacefully withdrawn themselves from the Company's service.

Some other observations also deserve attention. For example, Sayyid Ahmad Khan attributes the following reasons for the unrest in the North West Province: that the people of NWP were dissatisfied with the Company's rule largely because the Company's rule had brought about the ruin of respectable families, and the natives were provided with no means which could lead them to honourable positions.

Sir Sayyid also opines that the rebellion in the NWP had the following characteristics. There were some minor chiefs, who, having lost their former position and power endeavoured to retain their lost position. Mutiny bearing this characteristic occurred in places such as Kanpur, Barielly, Bijnore and Farrukhabad. And, of course, some of the lower classes of men, variously employed, entered the service of such rebellious chiefs. In general, of course, it were the robbers and dacoits who took advantage of the situation to attack wayfarers and plunder villages and towns. Further, Sir Sayyid strongly argues that the population, in general, in the NWP did not think of rendering any assistance to the native rebellious chiefs or subverting the British rule. This can be said on the ground that as soon as rebellious chiefs were expelled from rebellious places, peace was immediately restored.

### *Purpose of Writing*

The purpose of writing the treatise was to acquaint the British government of the causes of the revolt and to absolve the Muslims, in particular, and the Indians in general, of being solely responsible for the uprising. It was written at a time when many political remedies were being discussed by many Hindu writers on requisition by the British government<sup>27</sup>. Sayyid Ahmad Khan,

however, wrote to give expression to his own pent-up feelings, with the strong hope that it would provide some thought to the British authorities. Abid Reza rightly points out that Sir Sayyid's treatise certainly helped the rehabilitation of the Muslims after the mutiny.

### **Style**

The treatise was written under intense emotional stress and Sayyid Ahmad Khan frequently writes in the first person. The language is simple and direct. There are several insertions of Persian couplets<sup>28</sup>, and there is one Arabic couplet<sup>29</sup>.

### **Significance**

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's views, along with other factors, exercised some influence on the formulation of British policies after 1858. Soon after, many Indians were admitted to the legislative council and to other offices<sup>30</sup>. The impact of these observations can also be seen in the formulation of some demands advocated by the Indian National Congress. Some scholars regard the work as the first mile-stone in the history of India's struggle for freedom<sup>31</sup>. It sheds light upon the nature of state and Sayyid Ahmad Khan's idea of British kingship. It also throws light upon the nature of the uprising and the conditions of the Indians at that time.

### **Edited and Translated works**

Sayyid Ahmad Khan also edited the texts of three Indo-Persian chronicles of the medieval period — the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*<sup>32</sup> of Ziya al-Din Barni, the *Ain-i-Akbari*<sup>33</sup> of Abul-Fazl and the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*<sup>34</sup>, which are all of basic importance. He was the first to undertake this kind of work. This shows his awareness to new methods of historical studies. The book has foot-notes and photographs of the Mughul ornaments, tents,

flowers, dress, etc. This edited work was used by Blochman in his English translation<sup>35</sup> of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. These three works alone are sufficient to give Sayyid Ahmad Khan a very high place in the ranks of Indians contributing to the growth of indigenous trend in Indian historiography. Since these works are not in Urdu, they are just being mentioned here<sup>36</sup>.

Also, under the aegis of 'The Scientific Society' founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a number of historical works were translated into Urdu<sup>37</sup>.

### *Miscellaneous*

#### *The Qadeem Nizam-i-Deh-i-Hindustan*<sup>38</sup>

This is another important treatise of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, which has not received attention it deserves. It is a valuable work in understanding the social and economic structure of the Indian village community. The work contains valuable information about cultivators, artisans, service classes, the *zamindars*, distribution and categories of land-holdings, payment of revenue to the government, village *panchayat* and *chaupal*, village population, taxes, cesses, methods of irrigation, etc. All this help us in understanding the medieval Indian village life.

#### *The Sirat-i-Faridiyah*<sup>39</sup>

*Sirat-i-Faridiyah* (1896) is a biographical account of Nawwab Dabir-al-Daulah Amin-ul-Mulk Khwaja Farid al-Din Ahmad Khan Bahadur Musleh Jung (1747-1828) who was the maternal grandfather of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The biography written by Sayyid Ahmad Khan is extremely useful, for it not only sheds light on the life and works of Khwaja Farid al-Din Khan, but also provides an important source of information about Sayyid Ahmad Khan's family background — about some of his memorable childhood events and the influence of his mother on



his life and thought, a glimpse into contemporary life at Delhi and the intellectual pursuit of the family members of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Information regarding some significant political developments, certain diplomatic activities of the British, the decadent condition of the Mughul court, the attitude of the British towards the royal Mughul family, and the grimful life of the Timurides within the fort complex is also available in plenty.

The biography is based upon the *roznamcha* (diary) of Khwaja Farid al-Din Khan, coupled with Sayyid Ahmad Khan's personal knowledge and observation<sup>40</sup> and the use of some books. It may be added that the *roznamcha* was lost during the mutiny of 1857. In order to verify certain information the author has used some English sources although he does not specify<sup>41</sup> the source, except the Diary of General Garden<sup>42</sup>.

### Contents

To begin with Khwaja Farid al-Din Khan was among the descendants of Khwaja Yusuf Hamdani, the eminent Sufi saint who was popularly known as Shah Hamdan and whose tomb is in Maru. A scion of this family settled in Kashmir. To this pedigree belonged Khwajah Abd-al-Aziz, the grandfather of Khwaja Farid al-Din Ahmad Khan. He had a big silk industry and would frequently visit Delhi for sale of Kashmiri goods. The trade connection finally induced him to settle down at Delhi. His son, Khwajah Ashraf, had illustrious sons. Of them Khwajah Najib-al-Din and Khwajah Farid-al-Din rose to become men of great honour and respect. The former was an eminent Sufi saint of the *Hasul Shahi*<sup>43</sup> order of *Suhrawardi Silsilah*. He had around him a large number of admirers and followers. The latter, as we shall see, served in various capacities and at one stage even became the *Wazir* of the Mughul emperor Akbar Shah (1806-1837).

Khwajah Farid-al-Din Khan's politico-administrative career

was bolstered when he was made Superintendent of Calcutta Madrasah established by the British<sup>44</sup>.

Khwajah Farid-al-Din acquired greater fame when he headed a diplomatic mission sent to Iran and Bushar by the British government. The motive of the mission to Iran was to ensure continuance of cordial relations between the two countries<sup>45</sup>. It may be mentioned that earlier Persian ambassador to India, Haji Muhammad Khalil Khan, was accidentally killed (July 1802) following a cross-fire that erupted between British East India Company's picket and the Persian entourage posted at the residence of Haji Muhammad Khalil Khan<sup>46</sup>. For this incident Lord Wellesley, the governor-general, wrote a condolence letter to the Persian monarch.

Later, Khwajah Farid-al-Din Khan was sent to Burma as the 'Agent' of the British government. It has, however, not been mentioned as to what was the purpose of his visit. On his return from Burma in 1803 he was appointed *tahsildar* of *parganah* Ogassi and other places (which now forms part of Banda district) in Bundelkhand which had then been brought under the domination of the British<sup>47</sup>. Interestingly, Sayyid Ahmad Khan informs that during those days *tahsildar* would not get salary; instead a certain part of an area was assigned and whatever revenue was collected thereof, ten percent of it was deducted as the collection right<sup>48</sup>.

Writing about the Mughul court Sayyid Ahmad Khan records the pitiable condition of Mughul emperor, Shah Alam. In this context he narrates the Persian *ghazal* composed by the blind emperor Shah Alam in which he expresses his sorrows and earnestly appeals to the masses as well as to the British to help him<sup>49</sup>. The *ghazal* had earlier been quoted by a lady writer William Bale in her *Miftah-al-Twarikh* but it had many printing errors. Sayyid Ahmad Khan made necessary corrections and even

used foot-notes to elucidate the point in hand. Briefly, the thought of the ghazal is as follows:

Having once enjoyed the seat of power, the poet (Shah Alam) says that it is good that his eyes can no longer see others sitting on the throne ... he comforts himself with the idea that what he has suffered is a well-deserved punishment for him for it is an atonement of all the sins he has committed ... he feels at loss over his wealth taken away by others ... he names and curses those who betrayed him ... but especially notes that Madhoji Sindhia, the Maratha Chief, is taking revenge on his behalf ... further, he is hopeful that Asif-al-Daulah and the British may come to his help and appeals to all class of people to help him .... finally, he is not broken hearted by the blows of destiny and is hopeful that God will restore him the crown and kingdom to him<sup>50</sup>.

It has been further recorded that financial bankruptcy and distress continued as it existed during the days of Shah Alam. Expenses were more than the income. *Karkhanas* were sick and on the verge of closure. Princes were not paid their monthly money/allowance in time and it would remain in arrear for several months. They would climb atop the Red Fort and cry "We are starving. We are starving." Akbar Shah had strong desire to improve the finances and undertake other remedial measures. In order to revive the prestige of the crown he was of the view that in and around Delhi there should be the sole control of the Mughul emperor and he should be given three lakh rupees as monthly salary<sup>51</sup> by the British.

In order to bring about reforms Khwajah Farid-al-Din was called from Calcutta in 1815 by Akbar Shah. He was made wazir and honoured with the title of *Dabir-al-Daulah Musleh Jung*<sup>52</sup>.

Khwajah Farid-al-Din Khan reduced the salary of the royal

members by ten-percent to balance the budget. Another important step was that the bronze ceiling of the *Diwan-i-Am* which had copper decorative works and which had been pulled down but could not be carried off, by the Maratha chief, Bahu, was removed of its gold and bronze metal. Bronze was used to mint coins which remained in circulation till the mutiny of 1857. The remaining copper was sold and from the money obtained several lakh of imperial debt was cleared off. By such steps Khwajah Farid-al-Din succeeded in balancing the budget. But the reduction in salary caused resentment among the royals and their retinue. Many stories were aired by the people against Khwajah Farid-al-Din. Unable to bear the situation and witnessing a change in the attitude of the Mughul emperor, Khwajah Farid-al-Din resigned and went to Calcutta. He was, however, recalled in 1819. But court intrigues against him continued and he was blamed for not making efforts with the British administrators to get the pension of the emperor increased. As a result Khwajah Farid-al-Din finally resigned in 1822. His place was taken by Raja Sukh Rai<sup>53</sup>.

Raja Sukh Rai tried to accomplish what Khwajah Farid-al-Din could not. He invited Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Brahma Samaj, who had great reputation among the Englishmen, with the purpose of sending him to London to plead the cause of the Mughul emperor. Accordingly, Ram Mohan Roy came to Delhi and he entered the service of the emperor and was awarded the title of 'Raja'<sup>54</sup>. Raja Ram Mohan Roy proceeded to England, but as is known, he died in 1833 without achieving anything. The efforts to get the pension of the emperor increased, continued during the reign of emperor Bahadur Shah(1837-1858) but proved in vain.

The repeated rejection of the plea for the enhancement of the pension, as Sayyid Ahmad Khan believes, was because Shah

Alam in violation of the accord between him and Lord Lake, had written a letter to the Marathas. The letter incidentally fell into the hands of Lord Lake. Consequently, the earlier accord became invalid and it was entirely to the British to act according to their own discretion<sup>55</sup>.

Hitherto internal Mughul politics and court affair also influenced the attitude of the British rulers. About this time Nawwab Mumtaz Mahal, the chief consort of emperor Akbar Shah, wanted to forward the claims of prince Mirza Jahangir as their heir-apparent, superseding the claims of prince Abu Zafar who was the eldest son. The emperor who was greatly under the influence of the queen, was toying her wishes. The British administrators, however, did not hold this to be just. Prince Jahangir with the avowed intention of creating trouble collected some armed men in the fort. Thereupon, when Mr. Seaton, the British Resident, went inside the fort to mollify prince Jahangir, the latter shot him with a pistol. He missed him but shot the helmet. Seaton went away, upon which the gates of the fort were immediately closed. But Seaton returned back with a small force. He uprooted the fort gate and arrested prince Jahangir. The prince was sent to Allahabad fort. This happened in 1809. At that time Mirza Jahangir was nineteen or twenty years old. Later prince Jahangir died in 1821 at Allahabad. His body was buried in Khusrau Bagh (Allahabad) but later the remains were taken to Delhi<sup>56</sup>.

The incident had important bearing upon the relation between Governor-General Lord Minto and Akbar Shah. Perhaps this was taken as a pretext and it emboldened the British to reject the several petitions of the Mughul emperor which had called for the recognition and restoration of his rights and privileges<sup>57</sup>. The British sanctioned pension worth Rs. 76,500 which had earlier been approved by Lord Wellesley. The amount was later



increased to one lakh. A proposal was even made to increase the monthly pension to Rs.1.25 lakh but it was not approved. Interestingly, at one stage even the amount was sent to the imperial treasury but was immediately withdrawn<sup>58</sup>.

Meanwhile, Khwajah Farid-al-Din, was called by Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler, obviously to entrust him with an important administrative post. He, however, declined to accept the offer at the instance of her eldest daughter (i.e. mother of Sayyid Ahmad Khan). The reason advanced by her daughter was that her father had reached a fairly advanced age and it was also not feasible to take hold of the reins of administration beyond the paramountcy of the British empire, and leave the rest of the family members within the control of the British<sup>59</sup>.

Besides being an administrator, Khwajah Farid-al-Din was also a scholar and a mathematician of repute. Several person who rose to eminence had studied under him. He had a large library of his own. He wrote several *risalahs* on astronomy and on instruments used in the observatory. Those which have survived are *Risalah Musamma ba Tuhfa-i-Nomaniyah*, *San'at-i-Astrolab*, *San'at-i-Purkarmutnasabah* and *Amal-i-Purkarmutnasabah*.<sup>60</sup>

*Sirat-i-Faridiyah* also gives a glimpse of contemporary life and about some of the festivities of Delhi. For example, on the 24th of every month at the tomb of Khwajah Mir Dard a night assembly (*jalsah*) was held in which eminent singers would sing *dhurpat* and *khayal*<sup>61</sup>. Khwajah Zain-al-Abidin (son of Khwajah Farid-al-Din Khan) was interested in singing and could play *Bin* (an Indian musical instrument). Such was his interest that he had developed a special kind of *Bin* containing copper metal, and had eminent singers as companions who excelled in singing *dhurpat* and *khayal*. Mir Nasir Ahmad and Bahadur Khan were famous *Bin* and *Sitar* players respectively. A prostitute, Bi Jinna, who had left her profession to live with Rai Pran Kishan, a wealthy

person, was famous for her melodious voice. She excelled in playing *Bin* and would sing *dhurpat* to the delight of everybody. Rai Kishan would hold a small musical concert every month in a hall which was well decorated with tiles and glasses, and was attended by selected friends of Rai Kishan. Even Sayyid Ahmad Khan attended several times the assembly with his maternal uncle, Nawwab Zain-al-Abidin<sup>62</sup>.

Nawwab Zain-al-Abidin was keenly interested in mathematics and astronomy. He had built an observatory and could himself make many instruments for his observatory. He was also interested in making kite and kite-flying and archery. Such was his interest that he wrote a *risalah* on kite-flying and also on the making of kite of different shapes and sizes with their specific merit. Unfortunately the *risalah* got lost during the mutiny<sup>63</sup>.

Some diplomatic developments recorded also merit attention. For example, Zaman Shah, the ruler of Kabul, was contemplating an attack on India and was corresponding with the rulers of Punjab. However, by diplomatic manouvering and inciting the brothers of Zaman Shah, the British succeeded in creating a situation which forced Zaman Shah to give up his plans of Indian invasion and had to move to Herat<sup>64</sup> in order to meet the new danger created by his brothers.

We also get information of the functions of some of the Mughul officials<sup>65</sup>. Those mentioned are:

*Malik-al-Ulama*: It was through him that *Ulama* would appear before the emperor and receive gifts, *jagirs* and *mansabs*.

*Malik-al-Shuara*: It was through him that poets would appear in the court.

*Naqib-al-Aulia*: It was through him that *dervesh* and *mashaikh*

would appear before the emperor and receive grants. He also sanctioned money for the maintenance of shrines, etc.

In short, *Sirat-i-Faridiyah* is a valuable source of information about contemporary life in Delhi, about the moribund Mughul court and the attitude of the British, and also about Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his family. It is also an excellent example of Sir Sayyid's style of language and presentation which profoundly influenced the growth of Urdu language and literature.

### **The *Khutbat-i-Ahmadiyah***

To Sayyid Ahmad Khan also belongs the quasi-historical work *Khutbat-i-Ahmadiyah* (1870) and several other works on religion. Although written to refute Sir Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, the work marks a significant advance in adopting western methodology in the use of source material. Deeply impressed by the progress of experimental science in Europe, Sayyid Ahmad Khan adopted Reason and Nature as his criterion in assessing the literary evidence<sup>66</sup>. The writing forms a part of the attempt to make the European change their attitude with regard to Islam and Muslims.

It may be recalled that Muir in his book had passed hostile and slanderous comments on the preachings of Islam and Prophet Muhammad(PBUH). For example, he writes that the "The sword of Mahomet, and the Coran are the most stubborn enemies of civilization, liberty, and truth, which the world has yet known".

In order to refute Muir's observations, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan travelled to England in search of source material at Indian office library, for during the mutiny most of the Muslim libraries in India were burnt. In England, among other people, he also met Thomas Carlyle and John Davenport, both of whom had written

favourably about Islam. He held a high opinion about Edward Gibbon, Godfrey Higgins, Thomas Carlyle, and John Davenport. Syed Muhammad Aslam opines that Sir Sayyid in his discussion on the contributions of Islam to human society, virtually reproduced the ideas of Davenport from his *Apology for Mohammed and the Koran*; of Thomas Carlyle from his lectures on Hero-Worship, of Edward Gibbon from his *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and of several other anonymous authors on Islam<sup>67</sup>. To the Christians he argued that the greatest service of Islam was that it revived the Unity of God as Jesus Christ had preached. Another point of importance is that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan admitted that some Muslim conquerors and rulers were guilty of cruelty and intolerance but their actions should not be equated with the preachings and doctrines of Islam. "He made a distinction between Islam as revealed through the Quran and Islam as it made itself manifest in history"<sup>68</sup>. According to him Islam does not preach intolerance, and quotes examples recorded by Christian writers of the magnanimity and tolerance of Islam.

### *An Appraisal*

Sayyid Ahmad Khan remained actively engaged in historical writings in the midst of his numerous other onerous works. Even when socio-political activities engaged his greater attention, his interest in historical writings did not die out. During the later part of his life, he encouraged and patronised other scholars like Muhammad Zaka Allah, Shibli Nomani, Abd-al Halim Sharar and Ghulam Yazdani to take up this kind of work<sup>69</sup>.

Born and brought up in Delhi it was natural that he was deeply interested in the men and monuments of the city, and its immediate past history. This can be seen in his early works such as the *Jam-i-Jum* and the *Asar-al-Sanadid*. It was during this

period when he said that there can be nothing more shameful for a nation which forgets its history and deeds of its ancestors<sup>70</sup>. In consequence, history was made subservient to an end or purpose. Sayyid Ahmad Khan viewed history as a means of resuscitating a nation. While writing the preface of Shibli's *Al-Mamun*, Sayyid Ahmad Khan stressed the need that history should not only discuss incidents and events, but should try to trace the causes of those events, and also attempt to encompass social, cultural, political and intellectual progress of mankind.

In his *Asar al-Sanadid* Sayyid Ahmad Khan has tried to represent people of all classes — *Ulama, mashaikh, sufis*, skilled craftsmen, etc., — giving a new dimension to Urdu historiography. Perhaps, he borrowed the idea from Abu al Fazl. From the description, it can be discerned that Delhi even in its decadent period, was humming with intellectual and cultural activities, and each person with his specific talent, was contributing to its grandeur.

At the same time, he was also of the view that remembering the deeds of the ancestors, has both good and bad aspects. For example, some people harp on the greatness of their ancestors, and themselves do not make any efforts for the betterment of their lot. This leads to degradation.

He was equally conscious of the impact of history on the minds and attitude of the people and government. This was probably why he deleted a portion of the *Asar al-Sanadid* in the second edition, relating to personages, in which he had written about *Wahhabi* leaders in laudatory terms. Perhaps, he did not want that he should be regarded as a sympathiser of the *Wahhabis*, who were regarded as 'traitors' by the British government. He gave greater importance to the immediate and practical needs of his compatriots. Thus, for example, he tried to dissuade Shibli Nomani from writing *Al-Faruq*, for fear that it



would spark off Shia-Sunni differences. To Sayyid Ahmad Khan, history has some bitter fruits which can prove destructive. He asserted that destructive elements of history should not be highlighted. Instead the interest of the country should always prevail. He thus wanted to give a specific direction to the writing and study of history. Viewed from this perspective Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan may be regarded as the first nationalist historian<sup>71</sup>.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan appears to be the earliest to have laid the foundation of critical examination of *hadis*, the spring of Muslim theology and biographical writings. He considered the *asma-al-Rijal* as a genuine means of establishing the authenticity of *hadis* literature. The spirit of his writings likened to the thinking and approach of the early Muslim thinkers, the Mutazalites. By some of his writings he tried to lessen bitterness and enmity between the Muslim-Christian relation, and thereby tried to draw the Muslims in the main stream of contemporary times.

He is also among the earliest modern Indian historians to have used coins as an evidence to establish date of political events, namely the coronation date of Sher Shah Sur. As a member of the Archaeological Society of Delhi he carefully studied the excavated bricks of Hastinapur. On the basis of his study he wrote an article in which he expressed the view that by observing the changes of the size of the bricks it is possible to determine the age of a building. He also showed keen interest in the collection of antiquities.

By his wide range of works which included archaeology, local history, editing of texts, comparative religious studies, thoughtful study of the uprising of 1857, rural history, etc., he deeply influenced Urdu historiography. His various writings provide valuable information about the thought process of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the evolution of his ideas, and the gradual shaping

of his attitude towards contemporary political affairs. Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed that historical writings should be in simple language, and flowery language should be discouraged. Commenting upon his style Shibli Nomani has all praise for Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He writes that Sayyid Ahmad's contribution to the growth of decent and matured Urdu is immense. He rendered into Urdu in a very characteristic manner the various emerging style and thought of thinkers of English scholars, particularly those of Addison and Steele, the two eminent English writers of contemporary times. He expressed the philosophical and religious thought with remarkable dexterity and success at a time when Urdu prose was still in a formative stage of growth<sup>72</sup>.

In respect to methodology, he tried to learn from the historical methods of the West. Elements of objectivity and materialism in Urdu historical writings first found application in his writings. In the field of history the contribution of Sayyid Ahmad Khan is indeed valuable. His historical works single him out as an accomplished scholar, researcher, antiquarian and historian.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's contribution to the Urdu historiography in particular, and to the Indian historiography in general, can be fully appreciated only when viewed in the background of his attempt to set in an atmosphere of 'reason and enquiry'. To this one has to take into account his entire conspectus of writings as well as the socio-cultural developments of the Indian society. Like his writings on other subjects, his writings on history aimed *inter alia* to draw the Muslims out of sloth and false sense of pride; to demonstrate that Islam is not inconsistent with human progress and does not impinge on human liberty and speech. Bravest of the brave, he stood undeterred in expressing his opinion about the revolt at a time when even the slightest suspicion would earn the wrath of the

British. It was this spirit in essence which was picked up by later Indian historians to base the Indian history on a new ground, making it well-equipped to challenge some of the notions put forward by the Europeans on different aspects of the Indian historiography.

### ***Muhammad Zaka Allah Khan***

Shams-al-Ulama Maulawi Muhammad Zaka-Allah Khan (1832-1910) or Munshi Zakaullah, as he is popularly known, was a mathematician, writer, teacher, educationist, translator and historian all combined in one. He was born<sup>73</sup> in Delhi on 20 April 1832 in a respectable family that lived at Bulaqi Begum Lane, which lies close to *Jama Masjid*. The family lineage of Munshi Zaka-Allah goes back to the first Caliph, Abu Bakr (632-634). The family moved out of Arabia in search of fortune and settled down at Ghazni, from whence, it again travelled to Lahore. A scion of this family, Hafiz Muhammad Ali, came to Delhi. Here he was appointed tutor to prince Aurangzeb. Since then the descendents of this family served as tutors of the Royal children. The grandfather of Munshi Zaka-Allah was Hafiz Muhammad Baqa Allah, a man widely respected for his religious piety and scholarship. Naturally this had great bearing upon his son Hafiz Sana-Allah and grandson Zaka-Allah, both of whom, inherited many of the characteristic features of the family.

Hafiz Muhammad Sana-Allah Khan, the father of Munshi Zaka-Allah, was also a very pious man. Such was his trust in God that during the turbulent days of 1857, on one occasion, when a gang of plunderers and looters approached him while he was offering prayer, he refused to budge (from his praying position) lest it would disturb his prayer<sup>74</sup>. The mother of Zaka-Allah was equally a very pious lady with very strong will power. She had deep concern for her children and at one stage even sold her

ornaments to meet their educational expenses.

Zaka-Allah received his preparatory education from his grandfather and parents. His grandfather would often take him to the Mughul court where he would receive compliments and prizes for his wit and intelligence by the ladies of the court<sup>75</sup>. Undoubtedly, the sterling guidance of his family members exercised an abiding influence on the life and character of Zaka-Allah, enabling him to develop into a man of piety and learning. Zaka-Allah himself acknowledged the abiding influence of his parents on the development of his mind and soul. So deep and sensitive was his attachment for his mother that even when he had grown old he would break into tears and weep bitterly at the very talk of his mother<sup>76</sup>.

After receiving the traditional Muslim education, Zaka-Allah was admitted to Dehli College at the age of twelve years. This clearly speaks of the progressive thoughts of his father, who quite early realised the advantage of modern education that was ushered in by the Englishmen. His views were contrary to the general belief of the time that Dehli College was a breeding ground of heretics. Zaka-Allah remained a student of Dehli College for six years where he always stood first in the class<sup>77</sup>. As a student he received scholarship and also received recognition (two medals and prizes) for his outstanding academic performance. At Dehli College, apart from the Oriental subjects that he studied, he also studied Mathematics, Medicine, History, Geography, Mechanics, etc. Zaka-Allah had thus in him a blend of Oriental and Western culture<sup>78</sup>.

At Dehli College, the teachers who exercised profound influence upon Zaka-Allah, were Maulawi Imam Bakhsh Sahbai and Master Ram Chander. The former was a Professor of Arabic and Persian, and was held in high esteem by even Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Mirza Ghalib. The latter was a distinguished

mathematician of his age. Under his influence Zaka-Allah developed special liking for Mathematics. According to the well known Urdu writer Nazir Ahmad, Zaka-Allah had gained high proficiency in Mathematics and his interest in Persian and Arabic was secondary. Since Master Ram Chander had been converted to Christianity, Zaka-Allah's compatriots started casting doubt about his belief because of his constant association with him<sup>79</sup>. It was for his interest in Mathematics that at an early age of seventeen he wrote a book in Urdu on Mathematics, which perhaps is the first book of its kind. As a student of Dehli College Zaka-Allah received education through the medium of Urdu and he was not very proficient in English. But later on he took up the study of English in right earnest and acquired such mastery over it that in the opinion of Nazir Ahmad, "even post-graduate students of that subject were of no match to him"<sup>80</sup>

Of his friends and companions at Dehli College who distinguished themselves in different fields were Nazir Ahmad, Muhammad Husain Azad, Maulawi Karim Bakhsh, Mir Baber Ali, Ziya al-Din Ahmad, Peyare Lal, Chandu Lal and Kanhaiyyah Lal. One of his friends, the famous C.F. Andrews, was so much impressed by the personality of Zaka-Allah, that he wrote his biography under the title '*Zakaullah of Delhi*'.

After completing his studies, Zaka-Allah was appointed as a teacher of Mathematics in his *Almamater* itself at the age of nineteen in the year 1851 on a salary of rupees twenty. He next joined Agra College as a teacher of Persian and Urdu. In 1855 he was appointed Deputy Inspector of Schools of Bulandshahar and Muradabad<sup>81</sup>. It was about this time when he had to face the horrors of mutiny. His house at Delhi was ransacked and property confiscated, forcing the family to wander about hither and thither in search of shelter and refuge for a considerable period of time<sup>82</sup>. At one stage "the family was even brought before a British



Officer to give explanation of their antecedents"<sup>83</sup>. During this hour of crisis and chaos Zaka-Allah found himself constantly confronted with the problem of providing protection and security to his aged parents and brothers and sisters. Like many of his fellow-citizens of Delhi, he sought shelter near the tomb of Hazrat Nizam-al-Din Auliya. He would sleep in the open field during the night and during the day he would seek refuge in desolated tombs. It was during the course of this time that his esteemed teacher Imam Bakhsh Sahbai became a victim of British vandalism and his entire family was killed. Zaka-Allah condoled the loss of his teacher throughout his life and would often mention about him with deep reverence to his students<sup>84</sup>.

Later, as normalcy returned, Zaka-Allah was reinstated to his government job. As time passed on, fortunes also improved. He first made arrangements for his parents to perform Hajj and thereafter, married a lady of his own choice whom he loved dearly throughout his life. Later, for his services to the cause of girl's education as Deputy Inspector of Schools, the British government awarded him *khilat* (robe of honour) in 1864. In 1866 he was appointed Head Master of Normal School of Delhi. In 1869 he was called upon to serve as Principal of Oriental College, Lahore. But in<sup>3</sup> the meantime he was offered Professorship of Vernacular Science and Literature from the Muir Central College, Allahabad. Zaka-Allah opted to join the latter institution. He remained there for 15 years and finally retired in 1887 as a pension holder. Thereafter, he was appointed honorary Professor of Mathematics at Aligarh-Mohammadan Oriental College. Here he added one more feather to his cap when he was awarded the title of *Shams-ul-Ulama* and *Khan Bahadur* by the British government. Afterwards he went back to Delhi where he continued his literary and academic pursuits until he died on 7 November 1910. He was laid to rest in the graveyard adjacent to

a mosque in the locality of Paharganj(Delhi) on the Qutub road<sup>85</sup>. His grave still bears a marble epitaph.

As a teacher and scholar, Zaka-Allah possessed a powerful and imposing personality and he was greatly admired by his students for his ready wit and humour. In manners and behaviour he was an embodiment of simplicity and amiability. In gatherings and meetings he would keep rather quiet, but when he was amidst his family members he appeared quite talkative and busy<sup>86</sup>. He would spend his time writing incessantly. Particularly after his retirement he wrote to his heart's content. He would sit down to write in the calm recess of his house amidst pile of books and almirahs all around him, with *gau-takia* (a big pillow supporting the back of person sitting) under his back, and his head resting against the wall. This resting place on the wall was found after years to have developed a dent. Hamid Husain Qadri has epitomized it as the resting place of knowledge and wisdom<sup>87</sup>.

Throughout his life Zaka-Allah actively associated himself with the educational progress of India and rendered great service to the cause of education by writing and translating many books on Mathematics, Science, Ethics, Politics and Geography in Urdu. In doing so, he considerably enriched Urdu language by including new scientific terms and usages, and at one stage nearly succeeded in making Urdu the medium of instruction in India. He thus successfully demonstrated that higher Western knowledge could be imparted to the Indians in vernacular languages; and to him, to hold a contrary view was to stifle and destroy education.

Zaka-Allah was actively associated with the reformist activities of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan(1817-1898). As early as 1866 he became a member of Scientific Society founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan. During the very formative years of Anglo-Mohammedan College, Zaka-Allah became a member of its Board of Trustees and retained this position till his death. He was

also a member of the Fund Committee and of the programme of imparting secular education. Later he was appointed 'Life Honorary Professor of Mathematics' in 1887. When Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan founded the United Patriotic Association, Zaka-Allah was also among those who participated in its proceedings. Zaka-Allah was deeply interested in the development of Anglo-Mohammadan College. On one occasion when a crisis arose at Aligarh on account of difference between English Professors and Muslim students, he hastened to Aligarh from Delhi, murmuring, "the hopes of my whole life time are centered on that college. If evil comes to it, the work of my life is ruined"<sup>88</sup>.

In one respect, however, he differed with Sayyid Ahmad Khan. While Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan wanted all Western education to be imparted through the medium of English, Zaka-Allah espoused for Indian vernaculars<sup>89</sup>. This largely explains why he endeavoured all his life, translating and writing, books of Science, Geography and History in Urdu. According to *Siyar-al-Musannifin* the number of his works<sup>90</sup> stands at 143. However, according to Zaka-Allah himself, by 1901 his works, numbering 146, had been published and eleven manuscripts remained unpublished. This brings the total number of his works to 157. Apart from this he also contributed substantially to leading news papers and journals such as *Tahzib-al-Akhlaq*, *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, *Makhzan*, Lahore, *Zamana* of Kanpur, *Hasan* of Hyderabad, *Shams* of Calcutta, *Subh-i-Bahar*, *Adib*, *Khatun*, etc.

Although Science and Mathematics were of special interest to Zaka-Allah, the field in which he worked seriously and won fame was history. He regarded the study of Indian history as a necessary prelude to the study of world history and civilization<sup>91</sup>. He did not look upon any so-called Islamic country as a torch-bearer, rather he loved his country dearly and was proud of its mosaic culture. He always wore Indian dress, and in manners he

remained strictly Indian.

Zaka-Allah's historical works are *Ain-i-Qaisari*, *Sawanih-Umri Hazrat Aliyah Malkah Muazzamah Mulki Safab Qaisar Hind Wa Ali Janab Prince Consort Albert*, *Tarikh-i-Uruj Ahd Sultanat-i-Inglishiyya-i-Hind*, *Sawanih-Umri Haji Maulwi Muhammad Sami-Allah Khan*, *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, and a few others<sup>92</sup>. Among these historical works the one which made him well-known is *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* in 10 volumes. This was published between 1915 and 1918 and is arranged on the pattern of, and partly to correct certain portions of, Elliot and Dowson's well-known *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*. The works have been examined in a chronological order.

***The Sawanih-Umri Hazrat Aliyah Malka-i-Muazzamah Mulki Safab Qaisar Hind Wa Ali Janab Prince Consort Albert.***<sup>93</sup>

It is a hagiography of the life and rule of Queen Victoria and her consort Prince Albert. Although it is a biography of Queen Victoria of England, it also throws much light on the policies and functioning of the government. It is a long account consisting of 952 pages.

***Contents***

The biography is, broadly speaking, divided into two parts; the first relates to the personal life of the Queen, the second relates to the Queen's state activities.

Muhammad Zaka-Allah begins with the genealogy of Queen Victoria, her birth, upbringing, etc. He then writes about her political training and crowning, and shift to Buckingham palace. The work of some of her famous Prime Ministers such as Palmerston and Robert Peel have been mentioned. Finally, he writes about her illness and death, habits and traits. There is a

separate portion relating to the uprising of the Indian revolt of 1857, the measures taken to curb the revolt, and different letters and correspondences, etc.

The first appendix relates to the progeny of Queen Victoria, and the second appendix to the paintings, tickets, coins and medals issued in honour of the Queen, and memorials constructed in her honour--Victoria Memorial Hall of Calcutta being one of them.

### *Methodology*

The book begins with invoking in the name of God, followed by a preface. Thereafter, it has been divided into 18 chapters. Regarding Queen Victoria, the events after the year 1854 have been described yearwise till the year 1901. Chapters are divided into paragraphs, each dealing with a particular topic. Muhammad Zaka-Allah does not make use of foot-notes, but he is quite particular in mentioning date of events. He also incorporates many interesting stories, and makes use of cross references by using phrases such as "as it has been described in the earlier chapter", "I have mentioned above", and "it is not necessary to write in detail".

### *Attitude towards Sources*

Muhammad Zaka-Allah claims that he used twenty to thirty books before writing the biography. He mentions some of these specifically<sup>94</sup>. He does not comment upon the sources, but considers them as authoritative.

### *Style*

The book has been written in simple language, using short sentences. However, at times he uses flowery language. The writing is not entirely insipid. He shows immense capacity of rendering into Urdu materials contained in English sources.



## **The *Tarikh-i-Uruj-i-Ahd Sultanat-i-Inglishiyya-i-Hind*<sup>95</sup>**

The book contains an account of the British rule in India during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenbrough and Lord Hardinge (1836 to 1848). It gives an account of the expansion of British hegemony, coupled with the administrative measures taken during the period.

### ***Contents***

Among the main topics dealt with are the first Anglo-Afghan war<sup>96</sup>, the affairs of Awadh, and the British interference there since 1837. This is followed by the description of disturbance in Kolahapur and Saunatwadi, the straining of Anglo-Sikh relations, and the consequent war of 1845. It describes the British administrative measures and social reforms such as banning of human sacrifices practised by the *Khand* community of Orissa, and the removal of navigational hindrance on the high seas caused by *Dank* community.

### ***Methodology***

It is a chapterized account, comprising of 220 pages. It has been divided into two parts. Each part consists of several chapters with specific headlines. Towards the end there is an index, followed by an *erratum*. It, however, contains no foot-notes. Index and corrigenda were used by earlier writers too, but here in this case the influence of books published in English can easily be seen.

### ***Attitude towards Sources***

Zaka-Allah does not list the sources used in the compilation of the book, nor does he frequently quote the sources. It is evident, however, that much use has been made of John William Kaye's well-known work '*A History of the Sepoy War in India*', though Zaka-Allah does not specifically mention

this. Among some authors referred to are the narratives by Captain Trotter, Lady Seal and Major Outram.

### *Style*

The style and language is simple. Zaka-Allah frequently uses apt idioms and phrases<sup>97</sup>. He also uses English words on some occasion. There are many digressions, and Zaka-Allah often adds his own remarks too<sup>98</sup>.

### *The Ain-i-Qaisari*<sup>99</sup>

This is in a way, a continuation of the previous work on the expansion of British rule in India. It relates more specifically to administrative measures and reforms introduced in India during the reign of Queen Victoria or *Qaisar-i-Hind*. Though not specifically stated by Zaka-Allah one can see here the influence of the celebrated history of Akbar's reign, *Ain-i-Akbari*. The similarity in the titles of these two works, and their rhyming together, (*Ain-i-Akbari*; *Ain-i-Qaisari*) is no just a coincidence. The purpose of writing the book was to give full account of British rule in India.

### *Contents*

The preface informs the reader of the progressive changes brought in India in the wake of British rule. This pertains to the changes in the customs and habits of the people, their food habits, style of living, dress and dress-material, housing, consciousness and assertiveness of the people towards their rights, use of uniform by men and children which indicates discipline and order, etc.

Thereafter, it deals with the extent of British empire under Queen Victoria in different parts of the world. In minute detail it shows how British control was established and consolidated in different regions. In discussing it, a brief past history of that

place has been given.

The author records some of the changes made in Hindu civil laws, how the judiciary functioned at different levels, appointment of judges, functioning of the Indian Civil Service, how Englishmen were trained at different centres for proper discharge of administrative affairs, the holding of Indian Civil Service examination, the powers and functions of a 'Civil Servant', and functioning of the officers of the lower administrative hierarchy such as Inspectors of Schools and Industrial Officers.

Further, it describes the eminent Indian States — their boundaries, population and revenue, about the composition of the people of these states, its political history and status, relation with the British government, and the religious status. For the state of Hyderabad, Zaka-Allah writes it to be a 'Muslim state', and for Kashmir, he calls it a 'Hindu' state. Obviously, this characterisation is made on the basis of the religion professed by the ruler. That of the great majority of the people is not considered relevant. Among other things it also mentions about taxation system under British rule, how people's mind drew towards setting up of industries, about establishment of Colleges and Universities at different places and how the Indians benefited from it, about educational policies of the British under different Governor-Generals, literacy rate in different areas, report of Educational Commissioners, about Sayyid Ahmad Khan's role in improving the education of the Muslims and growth of medical and technical education.

Thereafter, it deals with the military strength of the armed forces of the British government as also of the different Indian States, about finance and revenue yield from different sources, development of roads and telegraphs, irrigation, public debt, insurance, reforms of the municipality and its income, density of

population, and the general contemporary conditions and psychology of the Muslims and Hindus.

Some of Zaka-Allah's observations are worth noticing. For example he says that spreading of network of railways was intended to serve and consolidate British hold over the country. Here Zaka-Allah unconsciously expresses his real feelings that the British promoted railways not for the benefit of the Indians but for their own gains. Similarly, the reason behind promotion of the growth of Press was to draw out Indian public opinion. On the other hand, he praises some of the measures of the British government. He remarks that the British restored faith of the people in the judiciary and the government. He is critical of the absence of the practice of widow-remarriage in the society and pleads for reforms in this matter. He thus appears to be a strong supporter of British hegemony. In short, *Ain-i-Qaisari* is a mine of information about the state of affairs under the British. The author tries to show that the condition under them was better than that of earlier times.

### *Methodology*

The book consists of two parts, the first consisting of 132 pages, and the second of 169 pages. The first part consists of 9 chapters, and the second of 16 chapters. It also consists of a preface and an *erratum*. The author explains some English terms, and uses charts to elucidate the matter under description. The language is simple and the style is straightforward.

### *The Curzon Namah*<sup>100</sup>

*Curzon Namah* is a biographical account of the life and activities of Lord Curzon (1899-1905). The purpose of writing was to draw a favourable sketch and to remove some of the misgivings among the Indians about Lord Curzon.

### **Contents**

*Curzon Namah* begins with the official announcement in England of Lord Curzon's appointment as Governor-General and Viceroy of India, his address to the students of Eaton College, dinner by Royal Society of London on the occasion of his farewell, Lord Curzon's coming to India, his knowledge of India, about the functioning of local government, the working of the Congress Party, spread of plague and other diseases and the measures adopted by the government to overcome the distress, north-west frontier policy, preparation of budget, Tibet mission, currency reforms and objections to it raised by Dada Bhai Naoroji, net-work of roads and rail-lines and irrigational facilities, opening of agricultural bank, setting up of post-offices and telegraph, laws enacting protection of ancient monuments, reforms in the University education as well as those which produced an adverse effect on the students of higher caste, reforms in the police department, his military administration, etc.

It also describes about Curzon's relations with the neighbouring foreign countries, the passing of Secret Bill Act, the partition of Bengal, the sources of income, about taxation and allotment of revenue to the various departments for the welfare of the Indian subjects, Curzon's relation with the members of the Council and Local government, his internal policy and treatment to the agriculturist, about commerce and industries, employment of the Europeans in the railway department, and Curzon's resignation.

### **Sources and Methodology**

*Curzon Namah* is based upon the speeches of Lord Curzon edited by Sir Thomas Raleigh. Articles in newspaper and magazines commending Lord Curzon's work and policies have also been used.



It begins in the name of God and bears a preface. It consists of 461 pages. The main text of the book ends on page 453, after which there is an index and *erratum*. The author occasionally uses English phrases<sup>101</sup>.

### *Significance*

The work may be characterised as representing the biographical approach to history-writing, seeing British rule in terms of the activities of an individual. Here too, some of Zaka-Allah's personal observations are worth noticing. Regarding the criticism that Lord Curzon was imposing in his attitude and functioning, he states that the powers of the Council were not reduced to cipher as opined by many and that the Governor-General was not a dictator<sup>102</sup>. More importantly, this work throws valuable light on Curzon's opinion and Congress Party, and also what the educated Indians thought about the British. He was critical of the policies of the Indian National Congress and did not like the Muslim joining it<sup>103</sup>.

### *The Sawanih-Umri Haji Muhammad Sami-Allah Khan Bahadur*<sup>104</sup>

It is a biographical account, written in the memory of his friend Haji Sami-Allah (1834-1908), who belonged to a distinguished family of Delhi. Skilled in calligraphy, horse riding and various art of exercises, he also won fame as a distinguished lawyer, judge, philanthropist and political mediator. Zaka-Allah calls upon the readers to imbibe the qualities of Haji Sami-Allah.

### *Contents*

It begins with the geneology of Haji Sami-Allah, followed by an account of his ancestors, his birth, upbringing, manners and behaviour, education, his joining as *munsif*, his promotion in the judicial service, philanthrophical activities, his participation along with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in the educational

programmes as well as in the foundation and development of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, his travel to different European and African countries, performance of *Hajj*, the award of the medal of CMG<sup>105</sup> by the British government, etc. Haji Sami-Allah died<sup>106</sup> on 7 April, 1909, at Aligarh. His body was taken to Delhi, where he was buried besides his father's grave. The burial place is known as *mahdiyun* where the grave of Shah Abd-al Aziz Muhaddis is also situated.

Mention may be made of some of the important events of Haji Sami-Allah's life. One such information is that it was Muhammad Sami-Allah, who, during the uprising of 1857, provided protection and shelter to numerous Delhi men including the mother of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his two sons (Sayyid Hamid and Sayyid Mahmud). It was during this uprising that Wahid al-Din Khan, the maternal uncle of Sayyid Ahmad Khan was killed. Sami-Allah specifically mentions that these information have not been recorded by the biographer of Sayyid Ahmad Khan<sup>107</sup>. Perhaps, this bears reference to Colonel Graham, the biographer of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, for Zaka-Allah often refers to him in the foot-notes.

Maulawi Sami-Allah was selected to accompany Lord Northbrook on his voyage to Egypt, where he worked to soften the anti British feelings of the Egyptians. It was in Egypt the Jamal-al-Din Afghani, the famous Pan-Islamist, criticised the functioning of Maulawi Sami-Allah<sup>108</sup>.

### **Methodology**

The biography consists of 250 pages, which is divided into 14 chapters. It begins with an index, and in the end contains an *errata*. The narration is interspersed with Persian couplets, verses and *ghazals*. He mentions about the source of information and also makes use of foot-notes. He quotes many letters of praise

concerning Haji Sami-Allah by many distinguished personalities of the time. It also contains obituaries by leading news-papers of the time, as well as those written by eminent personalities.

### **The *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*<sup>109</sup>**

This work, which runs into ten volumes, may be regarded as the *magnum opus* of Muhammad Zaka-Allah and is the only example of a connected history written in an indigenous language in modern times. Being the most important work of Zaka-Allah it has been examined under different sub-headings.

#### **Contents**

*Tarikh-i-Hindustan* begins with an account of pre-Islamic Arabia, the rise of Islam, the period of the Caliphate(632-1258), a brief account of 118 Islamic dynasties which ruled different parts of the world, Arab invasion of Sindh, the history of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids, and the establishment of the rule of the so-called Slave Dynasty in India.

The second volume contains an account of the rule of the Khaljis, the Tughluqs, the Sayyids, and the Lodis. A notable feature of the portion about the Khaljis is the account of the price-control scheme of Ala-al-Din Khalji.

The third volume consists of the first Mughul rulers, Babur and Humayun, and the Afghan ruler Sher Shah(1540-45). Zaka-Allah specially praises Sher Shah, and points out that no British ruler could match him<sup>110</sup>.

The fourth volume deals with the regional kingdoms -- Sindh, Kashmir, Gujarat, Malwa, Khandesh, Bengal, Bihar, and Jaunpur, the Bahmani rulers, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, the Qutb Shahis of Golconda, the Imad Shahis of Berar, the Barid Shahis of Bidar, and the advent of the Portuguese in the Deccan.

The fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth volumes deal with the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan, and Aurangzeb respectively. The political, administrative and other activities of each ruler have been described in great detail. He specially praises Aurangzeb for his courage, devotion to duty, justice, and his concern for the *shariat*.

The ninth and tenth volumes contain description of the decline of the Timurids from Aurangzeb till the last Mughul emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. This includes description of the war of succession, the Mughul-Sikh relations, Mughul-Maratha relations, Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid Brothers, the Rathor Rajputs, the Shiah-Sunni conflicts, the reign of Muhammad Shah, the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, etc.

In the final analysis he argues that Muslim rule was beneficial to India, and draws attention to some aspects of the cultural progress during the Mughul period.

Zaka-Allah has generally given information of political nature encompassing the affairs of the court intrigues, diplomacy and political manoeuvring, military expeditions, war and battles, transfers and posting of *mansabdars*, genealogical tables, etc. But at times he also provides various other useful information such as manners and etiquette of the court, *affaire d'amour*, city planning and buildings, cutting of canals, spread of diseases such as plague and other natural calamities<sup>111</sup>, the land and its people, their beliefs, religious attitudes of the rulers<sup>112</sup>, origin of Sikhism as a religion and its growth as a political power, the Raushaniyyah movement and growth of an ephemeral religious sect<sup>113</sup>, the activities of the Portuguese and their effort to win converts to Christianity. Towards the end of his work<sup>114</sup>, Zaka-Allah has dealt separately with coins under different rulers. While writing about Akbar's reign he especially pays great attention to administrative matters and gives valuable information about

developments in metallurgy, calligraphy and literature, and also about horses and elephants, hunting, catching of birds, etc. While recording the Mughul campaign of Assam, Zaka-Allah gives detailed information about the topography and climate of Assam. About means of amusements, he specially refers to cock-fighting. He also furnishes information as to how elephants were caught in Assam and how gold dust was sieved from the sands of river Brahmaputra. He writes further about women and their habits, and the laws of the country. He points out that in contemporary Assam salt was very dear. People ate flesh of all animals, even the dead ones. Generally, a man had four wives whom he could buy and sell. The people of Assam considered selling of elephants as bad omen. Zaka-Allah also refers to the local boat building techniques. He informs us that the Assamese, unlike the Hindus, did not hesitate in mixing and eating with the Muslims. However, significantly, the Muslims were not allowed to give *azan* or offer *namaz*. He remarks that Muslims of Assam were not aware of their religious tenets. Similarly, Zaka-Allah gives valuable information about the Maratha land and its people.

### **Basic Form**

*Tarikh-i-Hindustan* is a detailed general history of the rise of Islam and of Muslim rule in India. It is arranged in a chronological form. The contents are dealt with under separate head-lines, but this has not been meticulously followed. A review and a summary of the contents of some volumes have also been presented.

During the course of narration *surahs* from the Quran and apt verses in Persian and Urdu have been quoted. In particular, Zaka-Allah quotes the biographer of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the composer of the famous *Musaddas*, Altaf Husain Hali.

Zaka-Allah is quite particular in mentioning dates in *Hijri*



era and corresponding dates in other eras, such as the *Samvat* and the Gregorian calendars. The regnal years (*Julus*) have been mentioned. Very often Zaka-Allah gives the genealogical table of different dynasties. When describing an Indian kingdom, he gives a list of India's Hindu rulers who ruled before the coming of the Muslims.

On the whole, *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* is quite informative, but does not seriously try to probe the cause and effect of any historical event. Each event has been treated independently and described fully. Paragraphs are at times extremely lengthy. He does not make use of foot-notes.

### ***Concept of History***

The *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* begins with the discussion of the word *Tarikh*, the Muslim interest in history, the views of great historians such as Ibn Khaldun, Bayhaqi, al-Biruni and Ziya al-Din Barni. It then records that Muslim historiography began with the collection of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad and the *maghazi* or the wars of the period. Effort to depict the truth of an account led to the evolution of the system of *isnad* which aimed at checking the veracity of statements made in *ahadis*. Zaka-Allah also draws attention towards the writing of *tamhidat* (introductions) by Oriental historians. He opines that although they are not directly concerned with history, they are nevertheless very thoughtful presentations.

Zaka-Allah believes that a historian must be God fearing, and must abstain from making statements that smack of rhetoric. Since people readily believe a historian, he must behave in a responsible manner, else he will be accountable before God<sup>115</sup>. Zaka-Allah writes that the task of a historian is to benefit mankind. He should not reduce himself to the position of a mere-reporter, rather he should examine the past<sup>116</sup>. That a historian

may live up to the expectation which his subject demands, Zaka-Allah enumerates certain virtues and principles which a historian must cultivate<sup>117</sup>. A historian must primarily be honest, devout, of firm conviction, and must have knowledge of geography as well as of the different religions of the world. Secondly, he must narrate what actually happened with full details of local government, religion and belief of the people, totems, trade and commerce and the various communities engaged in such activities, conveyance and communication, arts and crafts, educational methods, development of science, etc<sup>118</sup>. He should not try to conceal anything. However, for reason of expediency if he is unable to write the truth, then he must make hints of the actual happenings. He must not flatter, and must not let the subject matter be overshadowed by obscure events. More importantly, Zaka-Allah stresses that efforts must be made to understand daily life and attitude of the people, the under-carpet happenings, and those forces which lie dormant but play an important role in shaping the events, so that different forces and events can be pieced together and understood in their proper context<sup>119</sup>. Above all, his language must be simple and lucid.

In conformity with his view that medieval Indian history was a part of Islamic history, Zaka-Allah pays attention to the growth of Islamic historiography. He considers Ibn Ishaq as the earliest Muslim historian, and Ibn Khaldun as not only the greatest Muslim historian but also the greatest historian of medieval ages. Zaka-Allah writes at length about Ibn Khaldun's concept of history and his views about necessary tools required for the writing of history. The cardinal point of Ibn Khaldun's thought is that the proper study of history requires knowledge of cause and effect of any event<sup>120</sup>. He joins Robert Flint, an eminent scholar and writer, in saying that it was Ibn Khaldun who first treated history as science<sup>121</sup>. Zaka-Allah, nevertheless,

also points out some of the mistakes of Ibn Khaldun, especially of his understanding of the movement of the Sun<sup>122</sup>, and comments that Ibn Khaldun did not follow meticulously his own established principles. In this context he also notes the criticism made by some European scholars such as Dozi de Sleen and Ameri.

Commenting on the views of Western scholars that Oriental history is full of exaggeration, Zaka-Allah remarks that presenting an exaggerated account is not so harmful as that of giving false information. He quotes Mill's version that if Oriental languages have the characteristics of rhetorical expression, then likewise, the European languages abound in falsification<sup>123</sup>. He refers to Carlyle and Herbert Spencer who believed that Europe had very few good books on history<sup>124</sup>. Zaka-Allah believes that Asiatic historians write in such a manner that a person can take moral lessons from them. This aspect is absent in European chronicles<sup>125</sup>.

Zaka-Allah also examines the views on history of some European writers such as Lord Bacon, Hegel, Voltaire, Carlyle, Elliot, Johnson and Mill. More importantly, he narrates how according to Professor Sealey history should be studied, and whether history should be considered a science or philosophy. He then compares the historical approaches of Western and Eastern historians. For example, he says that a European historian lays stress on the study of economic and cultural aspects of human life, while an Eastern historian does not attach so much importance to it. Zaka-Allah believes that in olden days the power of the sword was considered as the most powerful, and hence emphasis was laid on the description of war and battles<sup>126</sup>. Moreover, values keep on changing with the passage of time. What was once considered good and worth emulating may in the succeeding period be decried as bad and unworthy<sup>127</sup>. Zaka-Allah

opines that Muslim histories suffer in comparison with the methodical and investigative histories of modern European writers, and do not help us much in understanding the cultural aspect. However, on the basis of modern standard the past historical account can not be disparaged<sup>128</sup>. The past medieval histories, despite certain shortcomings, have rendered great service to mankind.

Finally, Zaka-Allah opines that the task of a historian is more difficult than that of a scientist because he is likely to succumb to passions and emotions<sup>129</sup>. He also enumerates the difficulties faced in the study of these subjects. History writing, he believes, although benefitted from modern scientific approach, cannot be termed 'science' because "all historical judgements portray the underlying assumptions and prejudices of the historian"<sup>130</sup>. Further, he emphasizes the usefulness of studying history and says that it gives happiness, pleasure, judgement, skill, administrative knowledge, etc. According to him the purpose of understanding history is to take lessons from the past and pick up those elements which are useful. This will help us to shape the present and the future<sup>131</sup>.

### *Attitude and handling of Sources*

At the beginning of each volume of *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* Zaka-Allah mentions the sources of his information. The sources are both Persian and English. He, however, does not meticulously quote the source during the course of the narration. At places he has mentioned the name of a book along with the author, while at other places he has simply named the author or the book.

Zaka-Allah has used almost all the available medieval Persian sources<sup>132</sup>. He has also taken into account some English and Jain sources<sup>133</sup>. For numismatic studies, Zaka-Allah has borrowed information from Edward Thomson's book<sup>134</sup>.

Zaka-Allah says that he has taken into account only those historical books which are considered reliable and authentic. He, however, notes that since histories by Hindu writers are not available, it is difficult to make a comparative study with those of Muslim writers<sup>135</sup>. Perhaps, the intention of such a statement was to check the veracity of information. Zaka-Allah is conscious of the shortcomings of Muslim historians, but praises them for their emphasis on writing truth.

Of the Persian chronicles of the Sultanat period, Zaka-Allah does not express his opinion except about a passage in *Tarikh-i-Firishtah* wherein the assault on Somnath temple has been narrated and whose chief point of interest is that when the idol was broken, precious stones fell out of it. Zaka-Allah considers this account as concocted<sup>136</sup>. He places the statement of Abu Raihan Biruni that Somnath was actually a *ling*. As such, it was solid, and not hollow, and consequently, there is no point in believing that precious stones were stored in it<sup>137</sup>. He ridicules the English sources (does not name the books) for their view that *sandal* gate of Somnath was carried away by Mahmud Ghaznavi, but was brought back by the British from Ghazni in order to display it as a symbol of their triumph<sup>138</sup>. Zaka-Allah also expresses doubts about the authenticity of Ibn Batutah's accounts. He believes that many of Ibn Batutah's description of India are not in conformity with records available in other contemporary sources. Zaka-Allah, however, does not give specific examples<sup>139</sup>.

Zaka-Allah highly praises Abul Fazl and his style of writing but characterises his work as laudatory<sup>140</sup>. In studying the sources of Aurangzeb's reign, he begins with the remark that while other Mughul emperor's lives had been written during their life-time, this was not the case with Aurangzeb. Initially, Munshi Muhammad Kazim had been entrusted with the task of writing



the history of Aurangzeb's reign. But after ten years he was directed to discontinue the work by the emperor for reason that such writing amounted to personality worship. Of the several Persian chronicles of the period, *Maasir-i Alam-giri* and *Muntakhab al-Lubab* of Mustaid Khan and Khafi Khan, respectively, are the target of special scrutiny by Zaka-Allah. He remarks that Mustaid Khan wrote secretly and his work suffered from being a one-sided account<sup>141</sup>. About Khafi Khan, Zaka-Allah mentions that his father was in the service of Murad Bakhsh, the brother of Aurangzeb. He was, therefore, envious of Aurangzeb<sup>142</sup>. Since Khafi Khan wrote many accounts on the basis of his father's information, his writing smack of enmity<sup>143</sup> and are full of seamy aspects of Aurangzeb's rule.

In his biographical writings Zaka-Allah shows immense capacity for rendering into Urdu material contained in English sources<sup>144</sup> and accepts them without any scrutiny. But in *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* he is very critical of the account of European writers. Since he was well versed in English he had the advantage of examining their works critically. Apart from the works of well-known historians of the time, the various references made in the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* suggest that Zaka-Allah was fully aware of the accounts given by foreign travellers such as William Hawkins, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Thomas Herbert, John Albert de Weleslo, Bernier, John Baptiste Tavernier, Manucci and De Lite.

Zaka-Allah criticizes Elliot and Blochmann for refusing to see any good in the Mughul emperor Jahangir and his rule<sup>145</sup>. Zaka-Allah is critical of Wheeler's statement that two daughters of Jahangir had accepted Christianity in order to free themselves from the captivity of *harem* life. He questions the English historians as to why they do not name these daughters, for Jahangir had many daughters and some of them died in their childhood. Above all, how did the Christian priest succeed in

having access to the *harem*<sup>146</sup>. Zaka-Allah blames the English historians of taking delight in giving fictitious accounts in order to make fun of the Mughul rulers. He refuses to accept the various incidents narrated by them in which Shahjahan failed to receive obeisance in the manner he wanted from the Persian representatives, and rather always fell a victim to the wit of the Persians<sup>147</sup>. Similarly, he considers the statement of British historians that Aurangzeb wanted to marry the widow of Dara Shikuh as fanciful story<sup>148</sup>. Zaka-Allah considers Bernier account of Jahan Ara as malicious and asserts that it was intended to malign the Mughul emperor and the royal ladies<sup>149</sup>. He believes that Bernier wrote on the basis of hearsay<sup>150</sup>. The same is somewhat true about Dow<sup>151</sup>.

In general Zaka-Allah accuses European historians of viewing the work of Muslim historians as unworthy and of evaluating the Muslim historians in an unfair manner. They suffer according to him from preconceived notions about medieval history and do not see any good in Muslim rule. He quotes the version of Sir Henry Lawrence that an Englishman even if he becomes an angel and begins to write the history of the Hindu and Muslim periods he cannot desist from finding fault<sup>152</sup>. He believes that although European writers claim to be above religious prejudices, in reality they have used them to create religious discord. They have set a high standard for judging historical works, but interestingly their own works nowhere reach those marks. However, despite such criticism he praises European scholars for their effort in studying Oriental languages and constructing the history of Islam and of ancient India on new lines, and remarks that the shortcomings of the European historians arise because they lack proper knowledge of Asiatic languages<sup>153</sup>.

### *Treatment of History*

In order to make his narration candid, Zaka-Allah has at times tried to compare the version of Indian chronicles with those of the Europeans. For example, at places he compares the statement of Abul Fazl with that of Elphinstone<sup>154</sup>, and Colonel Tod's narration with accounts of the Persian sources<sup>155</sup>. He even tries to rectify some of the errors<sup>156</sup> committed by Elphinstone and Tod. However, despite Zaka-Allah's belief that historical events must be studied in a scientific manner, he has himself not followed meticulously his own approach and has faltered at times. For example, he has followed the lines of medieval historians in saying that the projects of Muhammad bin Tughluq were ill conceived without trying to study inherent merits in them. On the contrary, with regard to the introduction of 'token-currency' he remarks that it could not succeed because the government under Muhammad bin Tughluq lacked stability. He does make a reference to 'Paper Currency' but does not try to probe the function of such a system. Similarly, while discussing Ala al-Din Khalji's Deccan campaign<sup>157</sup>, without inquiring into the matter, he endorses the view of Persian chronicles that just when the Muslims were about to be defeated divine help changed the fate of the battle.

Zaka-Allah's treatment of Aurangzeb deserves special attention. He describes Aurangzeb as an indomitable and indefatigable ruler, full of piety and concern for his subjects. He does not hold him responsible for the downfall of the Mughul empire, and has taken pains to highlight some of the bright aspects of his rule. But at the same time he is not an uncritical sympathizer of Aurangzeb. He remarks that Aurangzeb did not directly interfere in the beliefs of the Hindus, but certainly acted in a way which displeased the Hindus. For example, he unnecessarily ordered that except the Rajputs, no other Hindu

could ride a horse, an elephant or a litter, without obtaining permission<sup>158</sup>. Similarly, he injudiciously issued orders that Hindus were not to be appointed in state services. Zaka-Allah does not study this aspect in depth, but remarks that in essence such an order remained merely on paper and could not be carried out to bring the desired results. Such a step failed to benefit the Muslims or dislodge the Hindus from their positions. On the other hand, it was sufficiently partisan to antagonize the Hindus and create chaos in the rank and file of the administration.

### *Language*

Zaka-Allah has advocated that history must be written in simple and intelligible language. He has himself generally written in chaste and lucid Urdu. But at times his descriptions are very lengthy, off the mark, and embedded with stiff phraseology. Often his narration is interspersed with Persian couplets, verses, and *ruba'is* (quatrains). He also uses English words and phrases such as 'government', 'prototype', 'development of mind', 'matter of opinion', etc.

### *An Appraisal*

Muhammad Zaka-Allah Khan was among the few Indians to have quite early imbibed Western influence from the pioneering efforts of Dehli College. A mathematician turned historian, he was attracted towards history by the historical works of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Dehli College. Later in life the skilful writings of Shibli Numani must have further attracted him towards history. The large number of sources, both Persian and English, that he used for his works shows that Zaka-Allah was a well read historian. He was fully conversant with the works of Elliot, Blochmann, Tod, James Mill, Thomson, John Kaye, and many others. Since he was well versed in English he had an advantage over some of the other Muslim historians of the time

who did not have knowledge of English. His perception of history is quite akin to that of some of the Persian historiographers who tried to draw out the utilitarian aspect of history.

Zaka-Allah's historical writings had two main purposes which were, in a way, inter-connected. The first was to bring the advantages of Western liberal thought and education to his Urdu-speaking compatriots, and to make them familiar with works written in English. He admired some aspects of British rule, and wanted to remove some misgivings on this point. Naturally, he earned the admiration of the British ruling circle for this work. That he did so with the specific object of earning government favour is difficult to establish. The more so, because his second purpose was to bring to light the prejudiced attitude of European historians with regard to Islamic history of the Indian subcontinent. The latter purpose dominated his mind when he wrote the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*. In it, like Shibli, he tried to absolve some of the Mughul rulers such as Jahangir and Aurangzeb of the accusations laid against them by European historians. He also criticized the Europeans for spreading wrong notions about Islam and Muslims. Naturally, this would not have endeared him to the rulers and administrators.

Of all the historical works of Zaka-Allah, the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* may be regarded as the most notable. It establishes him as a capable historian, and is very valuable in that it throws light on Zaka-Allah's view of history.

Zaka-Allah wrote both biographies and history. His work marks a qualitative change as compared to some of the early works produced under the auspices of Fort St. George College and Fort William College. His work shows the influence of Western methodology, for they contain use of index, foot-notes, appendixes and *erratum*. He also makes use of charts and data to elucidate the subject under discussion. In his biographical works



he does not use the sources critically, rather he takes them as authorities. In terms of style and language he bears no comparison with his junior contemporary Shibli Nomani (1857-1914). His prose is simple, rather insipid at times, and lacks the lustre of Shibli's prose.

In the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, Zaka-Allah appears to be a totally different historian. To begin with, he shows a wider awareness of history, particularly Muslim historiography. He is more critical towards his sources, and does not accept them as unquestionable authority. He cross-examines some of the statements of both Indian and European historians and comments upon the quality of their work as well as on their personality. He terms the account of European travellers as gossip-based histories and comments that European works suffer from fallacies. In particular, he accuses Colonel Tod for favourable bias towards the Rajputs. More importantly, he also endeavours to project the benefits accruing from Muslim rule in India.

This brings us to an important point about the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* which is largely neglected. The work is often compared with Elliot and Dowson's famous work *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (herein after EDHT) though there are important differences between the two. In EDHT, Elliot and Dowson do not write directly. They write in the words of medieval Indo-Persian chronicles. Their selection from the Persian historians is very selective, and made with clearly stated objective of making the 'Hindu *babus*' realize that they were much better off under British rule than under the Muslim rule. Zaka-Allah tries to controvert this interpretation and he does so with some success.

Zaka-Allah disagrees with the characterization of Aurangzeb as intolerant, cruel, anti-Hindu, and as one who was solely responsible for the downfall of the Mughul empire. He

considers some of the Shia historians of the reign as prejudiced against Aurangzeb. Quoting passages from T.W. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam* Zaka-Allah tries to emphasize that Aurangzeb did not let religion interfere with his state policies<sup>159</sup>. Zaka-Allah draws attention towards the fact that Aurangzeb did not punish or torture Hindus for their religious belief<sup>160</sup> and, like Shibli, argues that it is wrong to contend that Rajputs withdrew their support. He says that Aurangzeb kept in check the unruly Rajputs and suppressed the Marathas. He poses the question: had Aurangzeb not enjoyed the confidence of his subjects, how was he able to carry the Mughul empire to its largest territorial extent. Zaka-Allah dismisses the generalization of some European writers that a good Muslim King could not *ipso facto* be a good ruler or that Islam had no inherent qualities of greatness<sup>161</sup>. He demolishes the charge that some of the Muslim rulers destroyed Hindu works on history<sup>162</sup>.

The few articles appended to volume X are in reply to James Mill's opinion as expressed in his book *History of British India*. Zaka-Allah tries to show here the benefits of Muslim rule to Hindus in India. He states that the Muslims who came to India as conquerors were superior to the native Hindus in all departments of life. Even the Europeans were no match to them, who, till recent times, did not even have written laws. The Mughuls had great sense of justice and were benevolent rulers who worked for the welfare of their subjects. Their rule is commendable if one looks at the religious and cultural diversity of the Indian people. The Mughuls contributed greatly, in accordance with the needs of the time, to the growth of science and technology. The several forts, mausoleums, bridges, canals, improvements in textile industry, etc., all reflect the great engineering skill of the period. In response to the claim of the British that under no time in Indian history, taxation was so light

as under their rule, Zaka-Allah remarks that under Islamic rule whatever was exacted was returned back to the soil in some way or the other, but under the British rule it was carried away to a distant country<sup>163</sup>.

A notable aspect of his writing is that he expresses unqualified support for British administration, so much so that he goes to the extent of remarking that wars fought against the British by Haidar Ali, Tipu Sultan and others stemmed out from ill-conceived judgement. Even the uprising of 1857 was denounced by him as "the revolt of a black-faced army"<sup>164</sup>.

Zaka-Allah comments that of the many Europeans who visited India, a few wrote casual account of India in their language. It served as the basic source to some European historians who did not visit India and did not take into account the native sources. They relied more on hearsay. Their gossip-based histories were, however, read with delight by the Europeans and it gave currency to many false notions. On the other hand, even learned Indian scholars were considered illiterate and their work as unworthy of notice by the Europeans. In this context, Zaka-Allah asserts that Indian Muslims have contributed remarkably to historical studies more than any other Asiatic country can claim.

Zaka-Allah, although well-versed in English, undertook historical writings in Urdu. His object in doing so was to propagate the message that education should be imparted through the medium of vernacular.

A note-worthy feature of his writing is that Zaka-Allah was descriptive. He hesitated to give judgements, and down played the role of individuals in Indian history, placing greater emphasis on the importance of the environment in shaping events<sup>165</sup>. At this juncture what we really miss is that Zaka-Allah does not

speak of the decline and decay of the Mughul empire, nor does he tend to probe into the factors which contributed to the rise of British power.

Finally, we have to remember that in terms of scope and coverage of the subject, *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* stands as unique in the history of Urdu historiography. No similar work exists during this period in any other Indian language.

### ***Muhammad Shibli Nomani***

Muhammad Shibli Nomani (1857-1914) was born in 1857 at Bindwal, a village in Sagri sub-division, fifteen kilometers north-west of Azamgarh city, on the day when the mutineers broke open the gate of the Azamgarh jail. Naturally, as he grew up his childhood saw the fear and anxiety among the Indian Muslims who were the worst sufferers of the horrors of the mutiny.

Shibli's ancestor of the fourteenth generation is known to have been a *Bais* Rajput by the name of Sheoraj Singh<sup>166</sup>. Shibli's father, Shaikh Habib-Allah, was a landlord as well as a lawyer with literary taste and proficiency in Arabic and Persian languages. He had mystic leanings and was a disciple of Ilahi Shah, a *sufi* saint of the *Chishtiyah* Order who lived in village Sabrehad in the district of Jaunpur and had a large number of followers. It is believed that the *bismillah* ceremony marking the beginning of Shibli's education was initiated at the hands of Ilahi Shah. Ilahi Shah was a disciple of Maulana Kamil, a reputed judge who had in his later part of his life devoted his attention to spiritualism. Notably Maulana Kamil was the son-in-law of the famous Islamic scholar, Maulana Faruq Chirayyakoti. Shibli grew in the company of such men.

Born in a remote area of eastern Uttar Pradesh, which was

thought to be materially and culturally insignificant, was not without men of letters and scholars. Being close to Jaunpur which had been, until recent times, a renowned seat of learning, it was open to its radiance.

Shibli received his early education from Hakim Abd-Allah Jairajpuri, Maulwi Shukr-Allah Sabrahdi, Maulana Ali Abbas Chirayyakoti, Maulana Abd-al Hai Firangi Maha'li, Maulana Irshad Husain, Maulana Faid-al-Hasan Saharanpuri, and others. He studied the traditional Islamic sciences such as *mantiq*(logic), *fiqh*(jurispudence), *usul* (Islamic principles), *hadis*(sayings of Prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H), *munazarah*(religious debates) and astronomy. He does not seem to have received English education, but perhaps during his stay at Aligarh he acquired some elementary knowledge of it.

The formative period of Shibli's education as well as of his thought began when he entered the circle of Maulana Muhammad Faruq Chirayyakoti(d.1909). It was the sterling guidance of this scholar that sharpened Shibli's wit and intellect. It was his life no less than his teachings and thoughts which first stamped on the impressionable mind of Shibli a great zest for Islamic learning, and in particular attracted him towards *Hanafite* school of thought.

In 1876 at the age of nineteen Shibli along with his father left for Makkah to perform *Hajj*. The journey provided Shibli an opportunity to visit different libraries of Makkah and Madina where he came across rare Islamic literature in abundance. By this time Shibli nurtured deep passion for the revivalism of Islamic glory. Such a spirit first found sympathetic expression in his raising of fund for Turkish relief during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, a voluntary work which later earned him the *Tamgha-i Majidi* from the Sultan of Turkey.



Later, Shibli appeared for the Law examination and passed it in 1880. Thereafter, he started his career as a lawyer. He, however, left it for the profession was not congenial to his temperament. Consequently, he joined Azamgarh Collectorate as temporary copy-writer<sup>167</sup>. Thus Shibli had a very humble beginning as against his high educational attainments. Subsequently, Shibli joined as *qurq amin*, but soon left it to start practising as lawyer again in 1882.

For Shibli the period between 1878 and 1882 were rather disturbed, but he did not relax his religious and literary pursuits. He engaged himself in giving short lectures to interested pupils. He would organise and attend poetic symposiums where his poems would win for him applause from all corners. It was about this time that a certain British soldier who had participated in the British campaigns of Kabul and Kandahar and had versified the events in English, wished to get it translated into Urdu. Shibli readily agreed to take up the task. He would first listen to the English account in Urdu prose and would then render it in verse. The text of the poem is entitled *Razm-i-Kabul-Wa-Kandahar*<sup>168</sup>. But the most significant aspect of his life during this period was his fierce attack on the non-conformists or *Ahl-i-Hadis*. He threw open challenges to the non-conformists, distributed pamphlets, and wrote many religious tracts in an attempt to discredit them.

It was about this time in 1881 that Shibli went to Aligarh along with his father to meet his brother, Mahdi Hasan, who was studying there. Shibli met Sayyid Ahmad Khan and in obedience to the time-honoured custom on such occasion recited a *qasidah* (panegyric) in Arabic in praise of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. This paved the way for Shibli's later appointment as Professor of Arabic at Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. The stay at Aligarh was to mark the beginning of the next and the most important phase of Shibli's life and career. It was in the study-

circle of Sayyid Ahmad Khan that Shibli's interest in literary, historical, religious, political, and social studies found newer views and expressions. The spirit of 'reason and enquiry' set in by the various works and writings of Sayyid Ahmad Khan generated in Shibli the necessity to mould his thought and action in this new perspective. The company of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan bred in Shibli a certain amount of leaning toward *mutazalite* theology.

Shibli spent the next sixteen years of his life at Aligarh where he completed several important academic works. It was here that he came in contact with the famous Professor and missionary, Thomas Arnold, who was deeply interested in Islamic history. The friendship between the two was to exercise a profound influence upon each other. Shibli called him as both his teacher and friend. It was from him that Shibli acquired some knowledge of the French language. In short, it was at Aligarh that Shibli's *furor loquendi, furor poeticus and furor scribendi* emanated to win rich acclamation..

In 1892 Shibli went on a tour of different Middle-East countries, in the course of which he collected some material for his historical work, *Al-Faruq* — a biographical study of the second *Khalifa* Hazrat Umar(632-644). It was during his stay at Constantinople that he was awarded *Tamgha-i Majidi* by Sultan Abd-al Hamid II in 1893. The travel considerably broadened Shibli's outlook and he henceforth strongly advocated a blend of the Oriental and Western education in an attempt to make Muslim education more meaningful and powerful. About this time the British government, in an attempt to win the confidence of Shibli, at the behest of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, awarded him the title of *Shams-al Ulama* (1894).

Soon after other organizations and institutions were quick to honour Shibli. He was appointed Fellow of Allahabad University and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

He also planned to attend the Congress of Orientalist in its Rome session in 1899 but could not go because of certain preoccupations. In 1908 he was made the President of Edinburgh Muslim Society. In the same year he was invited by the Hyderabad State authorities for a preliminary management of the Oriental University<sup>169</sup>. In 1910 he attended the Oriental Conference held at Shimla under the Presidency of Sir Harcourt Butler. In 1911 on the occasion of the Coronation Darbar held in Delhi he was introduced to King George V. In 1912 he was appointed a member of the Allahabad Government Vernacular Scheme Committee. In 1913 the Sultan of Turkey wanted to establish a University in Medina, and Shibli, among others, was selected to compile the text books for it. He was also a valued member of various other committees — the committee on the controversy of Urdu and Hindi, and the Committee for Hindu-Muslim unity convened by the government.

Shibli's scholarship blossomed at Aligarh during 1880's and early 1890's, but by the mid-ninetees, he became disheartened and dejected. He could not reconcile himself to the new trends at Aligarh as well to the religious-cum-political thoughts of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Ultimately, he resigned from Aligarh, although he continued to serve the cause of Anglo-Mohammadan College. Subsequently, he turned down several academic offers from different quarters, including that of Professor Arnold who wished to call Shibli to Oriental College, Lahore. Later, on the advice of Mohsin-al Mulk, and under economic stress, Shibli left for the state of Hyderabad where he lived and worked for the next few years. Here he completed several historical and literary works and also extended a helping hand to the compilation of several other works.

Shibli felt uneasy at Hyderabad, too, because of machinations, conspiracies and party-politics at the Hyderabad

Court. Consequently, he resigned from his service in 1905, and decided to serve Dar-al Ulum Nadwat-al Ulama as Secretary -- a place where Shibli's interest had been growing ever since he was getting disheartened at Aligarh. At Nadwa he became the editor of *Al-Nadwa* journal which was instrumental in revolutionizing the thought of Indian *Ulama*. After some time Shibli came to be regarded as too radical and had to face many charges. As a result he resigned from his service in 1913. Following this, he came to Azamgarh and laid the foundation of Dar-al Musannefin (abode of writers) the very same year.

During all these years Shibli actively worked for the protection and preservation of Urdu in *nastaliq* script. He foiled Mr. Burn's<sup>170</sup> scheme of introducing Urdu in *devnagri* script. Upon his insistence the British government was forced to withdraw certain objectionable text books of history from the courses of study, and a general scrutiny of all historical books was ordered by the British government. He also participated in some *munazrah* against Arya Samajistes, and worked to protect and promote the interest of *wakf* institution.

Shibli took interest in politics and held an independent view. He believed in Hindu-Muslim unity and appreciated and supported many of the views and demands of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He was always ready with his pen to attack the British government. This denied<sup>171</sup> Shibli a C.I.E (Companion of the Indian Empire) in 1911. For his anti-British stance during the world war I, the British government ordered his arrest. But a kind-hearted Muslim Police officer evaded the government orders, for Shibli was seriously ill and bed-ridden. The illness proved fatal and Shibli died on 18 November 1914 at the age of 57.

Shibli was a prolific writer<sup>172</sup> and wrote a number of works on Islamic history, and Persian literature. Among his notable works are *Sher-al-Ajam*(5 vols) and *Sirat-al-Nabi*(2 vols), the



latter being the most comprehensive study in Urdu on the life and mission of Prophet Muhammad(P.B.U.H.). This work had been started by Shibli Nomani and completed by Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi.

Here, however, we are concerned more particularly with his work related to Indian history. These again can be subdivided into works of jurisprudential nature such as: (1) *Huquq-al-Zimmin* and *Jiziyah*(vide infra) and those relating to (2) some significant historical writings of the Mughul period.

In this respect, his works are solely of the nature of articles. Some of these are examined in the following pages.

### *The Huquq-al-Zimmin*<sup>173</sup>

The article seems to have been written in response to the article of a priest Malcolm Macaul published in the *The Times*, London, dated 2nd January 1895, at a time when the Turks were castigated for atrocities on Armenians. The British missionaries in Delhi translated the article into Urdu and had it published with the note that a Muslim who had been writing a series of articles in support of Islam, discontinued his writing and could give no reply after reading Malcom's article.

The article traces the origin of the rights of *Zimmis*, a word which has a technical meaning and is commonly rendered as 'protected aliens' in the Islamic state. The *Zimmis* were, to begin with, 'People of the Book'; later it came to denote a larger group.

### *Contents*

The origin of the capitation tax on *Zimmis*, called *Jiziyah*, can be traced to pre-Islamic tax, *gezit* levied in Byzantine empire. It was first levied by the Muslims on the 'People of the Book' or Jews, Christians and Sabaens. In return the person concerned was granted certain rights and protections. Shibli has listed fifteen



such rights such as protection of life, property, trade and commerce, land, articles in possession, religion professed, places of religious worship, non-forfeiture of hitherto held rights, etc<sup>174</sup>. These remained the basis on which relations were established between Islamic state and its non-Muslim subjects. Shibli states that under the then prevailing state of affairs the guarantee of such rights were sufficient<sup>175</sup>.

Further, in matters of killing or murder, a non-Muslim had equal rights like the Muslims. Shibli cites numerous examples during the early days of Islamic republic when a Muslim convict was handed over to a non-Muslim for punishment<sup>176</sup>. Similarly, in the matter of right of property, a non-Muslim could not be dispossessed of his ancestral property, or the Muslim state could not forcibly acquire any land or property from a non-Muslim. In case of necessity, it could be done so, but only after payment of necessary compensation<sup>177</sup>. Rules were laid down which disallowed a Muslim to buy land of the non-Muslims of the conquered areas.

Shibli compares the situation with that prevailing in contemporary Europe and shows that on the point of religious tolerance the record of Muslim rulers was much better. He quotes extensively the words of Prophet Muhammad(P.B.U.H) and the terms of the treaties made with the non-Muslims following conquests of new regions<sup>178</sup>. The terms were never put to question by the later rulers. Shibli cites examples when state decrees were issued to repair or rebuild churches destroyed or demolished by any fanatic Muslim ruler, and that churches forcibly occupied were handed back to the Christians<sup>179</sup>. He quotes Christian sources which speak of protection and grants accorded to the Christians by the Arab rulers<sup>180</sup>.

Shibli next examines the charge on Islam that it forced the non-Muslims to wear special kind of dress, that they were not

allowed to ride horses, and were asked to evade coming into contact with the Muslims. Shibli admits that although some such restrictions are mentioned in judicial works, these were later additions and are contrary to the principles laid down by the Prophet (P.B.U.H.), his Companions and the *mujtahidin*. Also, it did not become a general practice and remained confined to the reign of some particular tyrannical ruler. However, with regard to the orders of Caliph Umar Faruq who instructed the *Zimmis* to wear a special kind of dress, Shibli believes that the order arose not out of administrative or religious reasons but because of the personal notion of Caliph Umar who wanted to preserve the cultural identity of each community<sup>181</sup>. His preventive orders, however, could not check the growth of cultural milieu, for, as Islam came into contact with other regions and people, interaction between the Muslims and non-Muslims could not be circumscribed, and the Arabs borrowed many of the non-Arab features and dress-material.

Finally, Shibli shows as to how far the *Zimmis* were allowed to take part in the administration of the country. Notably, revenue and fiscal departments of the Islamic state were generally in the hands of the Christians and Zoroastrians<sup>182</sup>. In India also, the Hindus held important administrative and military posts at different times, although Hindus think that this happened only during the reign of Mughul emperor Akbar.

### *Significance*

*Huquq-al-Zimmin* is notable for its comprehensive and critical exposition<sup>183</sup>. It may, however, be noted that Shibli has largely confined his study of the subject to the period of the early Caliphs. In other words, it is mainly in the context of early Islamic history and conditions in Ottoman empire, and does not have much reference to the Medieval Indian context, except to the brief reference that many non-Muslims held high posts. It

may be pointed out that both these topics taken up by Shibli, *Huquq-al-Zimmin* and *Jiziyah*, had been examined earlier by the famous scholar and reformer Chiragh Ali in his *Azam-al-Kalam-Fi-Irtiqa-al-Islam*<sup>184</sup>. The importance of Shibli's writing is that they show that rights extended by the conquering Muslims were fairly extensive and in total conformity with the needs and requirements of the people of contemporary India and were in no way an obstacle to the growth of the aspirations of the Hindus. It had strong elements of acceptability and formed the pivot upon which Hindu-Muslim relations continued to be regulated for centuries in a meaningful manner.

#### **The *Al-Jiziyah***<sup>185</sup>

As in the case of the previous work, we do not know as to when and where it was first published, but it was most probably written at about the same time as the work on *Huquq-al-Zimmin*, i.e., around 1895-96. The purpose here too was to explain the strictly theoretical and juridical view on a point on which Islam has been criticized by many modern Western writers.

It is commonly but incorrectly believed that the word '*Jiziyah*' originated with the advent of Islam and its purpose was to demarcate between the Muslims and non-Muslims in a highly prejudiced and discriminatory manner. It is also believed that as a tax it was so coercive that in order to escape from the tax the people were forced to accept Islam. In other words, the tax forced non-Muslims to embrace the fold of Islam. Such misgivings have arisen because of the Europeans hostility to Islam. In order to understand *jiziyah* in its true historical perspective, Shibli has examined the term at three levels — the language to which the word *jiziyah* belongs and the connotation associated with it; when did the word originate in Iran and Arab, and for what purpose Islam incorporated it in its polity.

### Contents

On the basis of philological study, Shibli holds the view that like many Persian words that found their way into Arabic *lingua-franca* and subsequently became popular in its Arabicised form, the word *jiziyah* embodies one such inflexion. In reality *jiziyah* is an Arabicised form of the Persian word *gezit* which means a tax. As a tax it existed in the Persian dominion during the Sassanid period and Nausherwan Adil, the Sassanid ruler, was the first ruler to systematize it in the Sassanid polity.

Secondly, Shibli holds the view that the principles associated with *jiziyah* (poll-tax) and *kharaj* (land-tax), which became customary to Islam, were framed long before the reign of Nausherwan Adil. He made *jiziyah* distinct from *kharaj* and imposed its realisation from the subjects in lieu of their exemption from military service.

According to the principles laid down by Islam, military service was obligatory upon the Muslims and consequently, when they did so, they were exempted from *jiziyah*. But the non-Muslims could not be forced to perform military service, and whenever they did so, they were relieved from the payment of *jiziyah*. In other words, *jiziyah* was exacted in lieu of providing protection (both internally as well as externally) to the non-Muslims. It can thus be described as compensatory tax. Since the Muslims would endanger their lives for the protection of the country they were not to pay this tax<sup>186</sup>. This remained the essential spirit behind the imposition of the tax. Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) instructed his men not to apply coercion while collecting the tax<sup>187</sup>. The amount collected from the levy of this tax was spent on equipment of army, security of frontiers, construction of forts, and construction of roads and bridges.

Finally Shibli notes that *jiziyah* was not imposed on a

considerable section of the population, such as women, children, the disabled, blind, lunatic, poor and destitutes, and persons who were above the age of fifty years. He does not, however, take up the point that it was an invidious tax.

### *Sources Used*

In support of his contention Shibli used some of the standard works on *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and general history, such as *Al-Kharaj*, *Ta'rikh-i-Kabir-i Tabri*, *Mujam-al-Buldan* and *Jalil-al-Qadar*. He does not give specific citations; he only cites a work by its title.

### *The Ma'asir-i-Rahimi Aur Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan*<sup>188</sup>

*Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* was written by Mulla Abd-al-Baqi Nahavandi during the life time of Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan with the help of official records and personal knowledge. It is a detailed biography of Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan, his scholarly pursuits and patronage of learning. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Many other manuscript copies exist and the work has also been printed by Bibliotheca Indica Series in three volumes (1910-27).

The purpose of undertaking this work was to introduce *Maasir-i-Rahimi* to Indians as well as to the European readers, and dispel the belief of the latter that Persian historians do not throw light on medieval pattern of education and of the attainments in the field of public works, arts and science. It may be noted that Shibli wrote on it at a time when the Persian text had not been published and expressed the hope that arrangement will be made for its edition and publication. Perhaps the appeal prompted Hidayat Husain<sup>189</sup> to undertake the task of editing.

### *Contents*

Shibli writes that *Maasir-i-Rahimi* consists of two thousand



pages. About half of it deals with the ancestors of Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan. It gives an account of the birth, education and upbringing of Abd-al-Rahim, his relation with imperial court, conquests, literary attainments, manners and behaviour, his attainment as a soldier and swordsman, works of public interest, craftsmanship and artistic skill, discoveries made by the artists of Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan's court, library of Khan-i Khanan, the *Ulama*, calligraphists, and physicians of the period<sup>190</sup>. It is on these aspects which Shibli has paid attention, and leaves out the descriptions pertaining to war and conquests.

As is well known Abd-al-Rahim translated *Tuzuk-i Bahari* from Turki into Persian at the instance of emperor Akbar. He also composed a *diwan*<sup>191</sup>, whose reference is made only in the *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*. His age witnessed literary luminaries such as Naziri, Urfi and Sheikbi. But Shibli places Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan as higher to them<sup>192</sup>.

Abd-al-Rahim's literary interest is also manifested in the large library he built for himself. A large staff worked in the library which undertook different works, such as copying and decorating of manuscripts, etc.

Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan was a great builder. He built inns at important places like Delhi, Lahore, Agra and Gujarat. He also built public bathing places, got ships constructed for *Hajj* pilgrimage, invented the *abri* paper (a kind of shining paper used for binding, etc.). He planted many gardens and orchards.

Shibli then turns to Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan's qualities as a soldier and general. To him goes the credit of introducing many new ways of excersises. Shibli cites one such performance which he feels that Abd-al-Rahim must have learnt from the jugglers of Karnatak<sup>193</sup>.

It is to be pointed out that Shibli criticizes the author of

*Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* for presenting only an eulogistic account. There is no criticism worth the name, which is considered to be an essential element of modern historical writings. He, however, adds wryly that even in modern times although claims are made about writing critical biographies, these are hollow claims, and criticisms are made in a very covert manner.

### **Significance**

The significance of Shibli's article is that Shibli acknowledges the contributions of the Europeans towards the growth of historical science and asks his compatriots to inculcate similar spirit. Secondly, he wants to highlight that the medieval times contributed in many ways to cultural and scientific progress. More importantly, he realised quite early the need of studying the social and cultural history for proper evaluation of any age.

### **The *Humayun Namah*<sup>194</sup>**

Gulbadan Begum (Princess rose body), the author of *Humayun Namah*, was the daughter of Mughul emperor Zahir-al-Din Muhammad Babar. She was born around 1523 when Babar was the ruler of Kabul. Her childhood thus saw Mughul military actions on the frontiers of Punjab and the eventual success over Delhi. Later, she also saw the fall and exile of Humayun. But a turn in Humayun's fortune brought her back to India. Shortly after the death of Humayun, at the instance of emperor Akbar, she wrote *Humayun Namah*.

Shibli's article on this work was first published by *Al-Nadwa* in April 1908, and is included in *Maqalat-i Shibli*<sup>195</sup>.

### **Contents**

Although there is considerable information regarding political and state activities in the *Humayun Namah*, the main

interest of Gulbadan Begum, a women with tender heart, seem to have been in social life and customs.

Shibli writes that women, apart from learning and acquiring knowledge, were also well-versed in the art of warfare. They would mount horses and would even wear male attire. Women also excelled in music and would display their skill when they were amidst family members. Women were highly respected. When Maham Begum, the chief consort of Babar, came to India from Kabul, Babar walked on foot for about two miles to receive her. Women were at liberty to express their will when they were called upon for marriage negotiations. The example of Hamida Begum has been cited. She initially refused and showed her reluctance to marry Humayun, and it was only after great persuasion from the royal ladies that she finally expressed her acquiescence. But women observed seclusion and would not go out without veil. Shibli stresses the importance of the portion of the work wherein Gulbadan Begum describes marriage ceremonies in a vivid manner.

It was customary for the Mughul emperors not to mix freely with the nobles or admit paternal love or affection to their children in any form, both in the court as well as in their private life. But this does not appear so during the reign of Babar and Humayun, for they would meet their near and dear ones like common men. Gulbadan Begum was greatly grieved when Hindal was killed in a battle.

Shibli expresses his astonishment over the talent of a Muslim lady who could produce such a fine piece of writing during the formative days of the Mughul empire. According to Shibli, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, and *Waqiat Alamgiri* are fine examples of simplicity and lucidity, but *Humayun Namah* seems to have surpassed them.

Shibli praises Gulbadan Begum for her historiographical insight and the responsibilities she displayed as a historian. She shows historical acumen of piecing an event in its proper context, being fully aware of the effect it will produce. She successfully displays her capability of presenting a narration with vividness and brevity. Shibli notes that Gulbadan Begum admits that she wrote in obedience to the royal commands and based her work on whatever she heard from others. According to Shibli, such an acknowledgement is in accordance with the practice of Arab historians<sup>196</sup>.

### ***Purpose of Writing***

As in the previous case, the purpose was to introduce another significant Persian work, *Humayun Namah*, to the Urdu knowing readers. The manuscript, about which Shibli was totally unaware, had been found after great efforts by Annette S. Beveridge in 1902. Shibli regards the work as very valuable for constructing the cultural and social life of the period.

### ***The Zib al-Nisa***<sup>197</sup>

Shibli's *Zib al-Nisa* is a rejoinder to a biographical article published in the *Indian Magazine Review*<sup>198</sup> which made disparaging remarks about the character of Zib al-Nisa.

### ***Contents***

Shibli begins with the genealogy of Zib al-Nisa from the mother side, her year of birth, and the education received by her from the renowned lady scholar *Hafiza Mariyam*<sup>199</sup>, and Mulla Sa'id Ashraf Mazandarani<sup>200</sup>. Shibli then writes about some letters of Zib al-Nisa addressed to her brother prince Akbar who had rebelled against Aurangzeb. These letters which were perhaps political in nature, were intercepted. Consequently, she fell from imperial favour. Her properties and allowances were

confiscated and she was confined at the fort of Salimgarh. She was later released and thereafter participated in many imperial ceremonies<sup>201</sup>.

Shibli states that all contemporary historians of Aurangzeb are unanimous on the point that Zib al-Nisa excelled in literary virtues. But none of her literary work remain extant. It is generally believed that Zib al-Nisa wrote with the *nom de plume* of *Makhfi* and *Diwan-i Makhfi* is attributed as her creation. But Shibli holds this to be incorrect, for there is no reference about it in any historical book<sup>202</sup>.

It can, however, be safely said that under her guidance a number of books were compiled<sup>203</sup> for she was incharge of an Academy which was equipped with rich library, and under whose aegis, a large number of works were produced. These works bore the word *Zib* in the beginning which has misled people to believe that the different works are creation of Zib al-Nisa<sup>204</sup>. Be that as it may, her active patronage to poets and men of letters certainly relieved much of the seriousness of the puritanical court life of Aurangzeb.

It is towards the end of the article that Shibli discusses the malicious account stating that Zib al-Nisa would secretly invite Aqil Khan<sup>205</sup> into the palace. He states that none of the contemporary historical accounts such as the *Alamgir Namah*, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, *Ma'asir al-Umara*, *Tazkirah Sarkash*, *Khazana-i-Amirah*, *Sarw-i-Azad*, and *Yad-i-Baiza* contain any reference to such an allegation.

According to another version, Nasir Ali, a poet composed some verses which affronted the princess<sup>206</sup>. But Shibli maintains that Mughul ladies, especially the princess, were inaccessible to all and there was no prying into the secrets fo the seraglio, and whoever tried to be audacious was severely punished<sup>207</sup>.



Shibli accuses that some Muslim writers have also written fanciful stories about Zib al-Nisa which do not bear any historical truth. He stresses the point that while mistakes of the English writers tend to become universal because they are accepted as admitted facts, the views of people who try to refute the European allegations remain unheard because they do so in a language which is not understood through out the world (i.e., in Urdu).

Shibli dismisses the episode of Aqil Khan Razi, an official of Aurangzeb's time, as unfounded and solely intended to scandalize Zib al-Nisa. He also rejects the remarks of some European writers that the Mughul emperors allowed their daughters to remain unmarried. He cites the marriage of the two daughters of Aurangzeb, namely Zubdat al-Nisa Begum and Mihr al-Nisa Begum with Sipahr Shikuh and Izad Bakhsh (the son of Murad), respectively<sup>208</sup>. In all probability, Zib al-Nisa did not marry of her own accord.

### *Significance*

The significance of Shibli's article is that it represents the first attempt in modern times to study Zib al-Nisa's life in some detail. It perhaps influenced Jadunath Sarkar to write a sketch of Zib al-Nisa's life in his work<sup>209</sup> in which he has brushed aside the story of the alleged closeness between the princess and Aqil Khan. More recently Syed Hasan Askari's well-documented article 'Princess Zebunnessa — Facts and Fiction' has thrown further light on her career.

### *The Jahangir Aur Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*<sup>210</sup>

This is a short biographical study of the Mughul emperor Jahangir(1605- 1627) in which Shibli has defended him from the charges of Indian as well as European writers. Shibli states that the best way to assess Jahangir is to scan his famous memoir

*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*<sup>211</sup>.*Contents*

Shibli draws attention to the many facets of Jahangir's personality. He was a connoisseur of the art of painting, and Mughul painting under him attained great heights. He had acquired such knowledge that he could decipher the different portion of a painting drawn by different hands. Abul Hasan and Bishan Das were renowned artists of his age. Bishan Das also visited Iran to draw portrait of Shah Abbas Safawi.

Jahangir was interested in sculpture. He had statues made of different Hindu chiefs. Penmanship and artistic skill reached high standard. Such was the artistic skill that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan mistook a particular piece of work to be the work of Europeans. Even metallurgical experiments were carried out. Jahangir showed keen interest in natural sciences, such as Botany, Zoology and Ornithology<sup>212</sup>. For example he carried out experiments on different plants and trees. He would get paintings drawn of any curious living thing he would come across. By his orders many herbal test were carried out to ascertain the effect, some of which were found contrary to the general belief. The most remarkable aspect is that Jahangir tried to study the natural habits of some wild animals and tried to bring about changes in their habits when kept in confinement. The description of birds and animals is very graphic and furnishes valuable information in arriving at certain zoological conclusions. According to Shibli, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, apart from being a memoir and a source of study of the Mughul period, is a valuable book for the study of zoology and in this respect can be ranked as next only to the *Hayat al-Hayawan* which is considered to be the best book on zoological study of medieval times.

Contrary to the picture portrayed by the Europeans about

Jahangir being ease-loving, Shibli maintains that he was very dutiful, and displayed utmost valour and bravery on several occasions. He loved hunting and was a good marksman with athletic merits. He was a skilled swordsman and would fight tigers almost bare handed. At the same time he would take delight in catching fishes and would climb trees in order to eat its fruits.

Jahangir had concern for his subjects. Like his father he would sleep only for three hours in the night, and was particular in making arrangements that people could have free access to him. His concern for dispensing impartial justice is well-known. Shibli mentions the famous twelve regulations announced at the commencement of his reign as recorded in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. He did not hesitate to punish even his own wife or his trusted general Muqarrab Khan. He continued Akbar's policy of enlisting the Hindu support by entrusting them with bureaucratic responsibilities. He had high regard for Hindu *yogis* and ascetics. For example, in order to have the company of Jadup, a *yogi*, who lived in a small cave, Jahangir walked for about three miles in a difficult terrain to meet him<sup>213</sup>.

Shibli thus gives full credit to Jahangir as a geographer, a curious observer and a writer. He has aptly succeeded in dismantling the wrong notions about Jahangir as spread by certain writers. Shibli emphasizes that the Timurids strengthened the bond of unity among the Indians which was hitherto absent.

#### **The *Mubidan-i-Majus*<sup>214</sup>**

A number of Shibli's writings were intended to display the tolerance and progressive features of Muslim rule in India. In one such article entitled *Mubidan-i-Majus* Shibli specifically denounces the European allegation that the Muslim rulers of India did not allow Zoroastrians to spread their faith in India, and

kept them in such a condition that they lost their distinct position and could make no place for themselves.

Shibli, on the basis of contemporary Persian chronicles the *Ma'asir al-Umara* and the *Dabistan-i Mazahib*<sup>215</sup>, states that the earliest information about *Mubid* (religious head of the Zoroastrians) is available from the time of the Mughul emperor, Akbar. When Akbar started religious debates in his court, among other personalities he also invited the Zoroastrian religious chief, Azarkiwan, from Iran. According to the *Ma'asir al-Umara*, the Zoroastrian chief refused to come but sent another person. The *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, however, informs that Azarkiwan did come to India and settled down at Patna where he died at the age of eighty five years.

Azarkiwan's religious piety and learning attracted both the Muslims and non-Muslims alike. During his period Patna became one of the chief centres of Zoroastrian faith. A number of followers of this faith came to India to meet their spiritual head and many of them settled down at different places in India. Some of them were thinkers and writers who were well-versed in different languages. One of them Bahram bin Farhad, who came on foot from Shiraz to meet his spiritual head, was the author of several books. The author of *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, while accounting about the belief of Zoroastrians, has generally borrowed information from the books of Bahram. Some of the Muslim *sufis*, saints and scholars also entered his study circle and benefited from his sermons in their quest for mystical knowledge<sup>216</sup>.

### **The Musalmanon Ki Ilmi Bi Tassubi Aur Hamaray Hindu Bhaiyun Ki Na Sipasi**<sup>217</sup>

This writing is in response to an article of the editor of the *Bharat Mitr*, once a reputed newspaper of Calcutta, and which

was published without any remark by another famous contemporary Urdu newspaper *Urdu-i-Mualla*. In this article Shibli lashes out at some of the writer's comments that the *Ramayan* of Mullah Masih remained lost in oblivion simply because the Muslims disliked it and the poor fellow had to face the ordeal of being dubbed as an infidel and had to submit proof that he had not turned so. The editor had accused that the Muslims despite their centuries of rule in India never paid attention to Indian literature and knowledge. Amir Khusrau showed interest in Indian languages but that was quite casual. Whatever developments that took place under Akbar were very limited. If any Muslim tried to understand Indian books he was declared an infidel, and some of them were even executed, Dara Shikuh being an example.

Shibli first writes about Mullah Masih<sup>218</sup> in some detail, about whom the Hindu writer does not seem to be well aware. He then remarks that Mullah's *Ramayan* certainly did not become popular. This was not because of any communal thinking of the Muslims but rather because Mullah Masih was an ordinary poet whose verses lacked the grace and beauty of Persian poetic expression. Even if Mullah Masih would have written anything about the Companions of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) or about Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.), he would not have earned any fame<sup>219</sup>.

Shibli furnishes information about a number of Muslim scholars who devoted many years to the study of Hindu knowledge and science. For example, Abu Mashar Falaki lived in India for ten years to study Sanskrit in order to understand Indian thought. Another scholar Abu Rihan Al-Biruni spent sixteen long years to study Indian society and science. He is considered the first great Indologist.

Of the Indian rulers, Sultan Firuz Tughlaq paid special attention to the translation of Indian works in Persian. We may



add here in support of Shibli that Sultan Firuz Tughlaq, a fairly orthodox Muslim, could have very well destroyed the JawalaMukhi temple after the conquest of Kangra. On the contrary, the Sultan who was a learned person and a patron of learning and scholarship, took care to see that the library attached to the temple was safeguarded. Of the several books numbering over thousand that he got from the library, he selected a few books of his choice relating to astronomy and planetary system and got them translated into Persian with the help of the Brahmins. In later times, this interest was taken up in greater earnest by the Mughul emperor, Akbar. Prince Daniyal, and Azad Bilgrami showed great liking for Hindi language and have thrown valuable light on its figures of speech. Qasim Khan Farishtah by writing the *Akhtarat-i- Qasmi* preserved much of Hindu learning and thought in Persian.

Shibli further corrects some of the generally accepted but incorrect historical notions. For example, it is wrong to credit Akbar as the first Muslim monarch to have admitted Hindus in the court and paid attention to the study of Indian philosophy, religion and science. Actually, it was Sultan Zain al-Abidin, the enlightened benevolent ruler of Kashmir, who embarked upon a philanthropic and academic policy long before Akbar. It was he who first abolished *Jiziyah*, banned cow slaughter, and opened a translation bureau where Sanskrit books were translated into Persian in an effort to understand Hindu thought<sup>220</sup>. Similarly, appointing Hindus in the administration of the empire was not a novel idea of Akbar. Ibrahim Adil Shah, the Dakkani ruler, who lived two decades earlier had entrusted the Hindus to important administrative positions and had even declared Hindi as the language of administration.

Despite forwarding such examples of Muslim attitude Shibli argues that Akbar and such other persons, who were rulers

might have undertaken the study for reasons of political expediency and to please their subjects. It is very difficult to prove that they were also advocates of Hindu thought and learning<sup>221</sup>.

Shibli remarks that the Europeans of today try to study the language and thought of even petty communities, not always to praise and know about them, but more to make fun of them. The point of importance, according to Shibli, is that the Muslims not only looked upon Hindu knowledge with interest but also praised this country in eloquent terms. For example, Maulawi Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami in his book the *Ghazlan al-Hind* states that the purpose of his writing was to show the magnificence of India which has been described as next to heaven in *hadis* and *tafsir*<sup>222</sup>. Another scholar Allamah Jalal al-Din Siyuti quotes Hazrat Ali, the last pious Caliph, who described the breeze of India as the most pleasant one, and that Hazrat Adam(A.S.) on stepping out of heaven first came to India and brought with him the pleasantries of the heaven. Siyuti further quotes Shaykh Ali Rumi's statement<sup>223</sup> that the land where books were first compiled and from where the spring of knowledge burst forth, was India. To many, such statements have acquired religious sanctity. In this context, Shibli stresses that although these *ahadis* and traditions about India are not authentic, but their importance lies in understanding the attitude of the Muslims towards India.

Shibli records that Amir Khusrau in his *Masnawi Nuh Siphar*(composed in nine metres) has assigned a separate chapter to enumerate the various attainments of India. In it, he has made a comparative study of Hinduism with other religions, except Islam, and has placed Hinduism in a preferential position over other religions. The reason for this view is that unlike beliefs of the people of other faiths, the Hindus believe in a single God<sup>224</sup>.

Shibli contends that it is wrong to believe that those

Muslims who undertook translation of Hindu works, were declared as infidels. On the contrary, the Muslims showed great sense of catholicity and those who undertook such works were rewarded with rank and titles<sup>225</sup>. In support of Shibli, one may cite the example of Sultan Firuz Tughlaq. Of the several Sanskrit books that he got translated into Persian, one was *Dalail-i-Firuz Shahi*. Its chief Persian translator was Izz al-Din Khalid Khani, who, on completion of the work was rewarded with cash, *Khilat* and *jagir*<sup>226</sup>. Another Sanskrit book on astronomy entitled *Barahi* was translated into Persian by Abd al-Aziz Shams Thanesari<sup>227</sup>. There is sufficient evidence to show that the Sultan did not let his religious conviction come in the way of his interest in acquiring knowledge of Hindu science.

Thus, Shibli calls upon the readers to judge Muslim attitude by the works of Amir Khusrau, Abu Mashar Falaki, Abu Rihan Al-Biruni, Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and such other persons, and not with Mullah Masih and other insignificant persons.

#### **The *Bhasha, Zuban Aur Musalman*<sup>228</sup>**

Shibli supplements and substantiates his view point further in this article wherein he highlights the contribution, attainments and excellence of the Muslims in respect to Hindi language and poetry.

As is well known that when the Muslims came to India, Sanskrit was almost a dead language and the Hindus themselves were not paying much attention to it. Whatever writings that were being undertaken were mainly in *Bhaka*<sup>229</sup>. In this respect, on the basis of Maulana Ghulam Ali Azad's writings, Shibli corrects the readers by pointing out that it was not Amir Khusrau but Masud Sa'd Salman, who appears to have first composed a *diwan* in the *Bhaka* language. Masud Sa'd lived about two hundred years

before Amir Khusrau and was the famous poet of the Ghaznavid court<sup>230</sup>. This, however, by no means diminishes the place of Amir Khusrau who was well-versed both in Sanskrit and *Bhaka*. Shibli endorses Khusrau's position by quoting some of his verses which also contains rendering in *Bhaka*<sup>231</sup>. After Amir Khusrau, it was Malik Muhammad Jaisi, who, for his *Masnawi* entitled the *padmavat*, a great classical Awadhi work, is considered as one of the greatest Hindi poet<sup>232</sup>.

The Timurids also gave considerable patronage to Hindi. Ever since the reign of Mughul emperor Akbar, Hindi became quite popular. Nobles and princes took delight in writing and composing in Hindi and also tried to preserve the rich Indian legacy in this language.

Of the several luminaries of the age, a few may be mentioned. The first renowned person is Abd al-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan who excelled in the use of Hindi. Another poet Ghausi had such command over Persian and Hindi that he could render one hemistich in Persian and the other in Hindi. Another person who earned still greater fame was Shaykh Shah Muhammad Ibn Shaykh Maruf of Bilgram, the *hakim* of Hisar. His *doha* and *kabats* are noted and are mostly in the form of dialogues. One of his verses selected by Shibli is worth quoting for its beauty of thought and expression<sup>233</sup>. In support of Shibli we may also cite Nur Muhammad Kamyab(1737-1805), the author of several Persian and Hindi works, who has not received much attention. He also remarked in one of his couplets in *Anurag Bansuri* that the language of the Hindus contain vast knowledge and secrets:

Ka jau uhay Hinui Bhasha

Uttam bhayd bahut mayn rakha

The *bhasha* which is Hindi, it has vast knowledge and secrets.



The Muslims did not merely give expression of their feelings in Hindi, rather some of them such as Mir Hashim even memorised the religious scriptures of the Hindus<sup>234</sup>.

Above all, contrary to the general belief that the Mughul emperor Aurangzeb was communal and that he disliked Hindu thought and belief, it is to be seen that during his reign *Bhasha* made greater progress than ever witnessed before. Notably, an Iranian noble of his court whose *nom de plume* was Pathi translated a Hindi work of music entitled *Yarjatak* (about dancing and singing) into Persian<sup>235</sup>. Two other famous persons were Shaykh Ghulam Mustafa and Abd al-Jalil Bilgrami who held eminent position in Hindi language and poetry<sup>236</sup>.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) when Rajah Jai Singh set up an observatory at Jaipur for the study of planets, a number of Arabic books on astronomy and arithmetic were translated into Hindi. Translation of such books show the command which the Muslim scholars held over this language. During this period Sayyid Nizam al-Din Bilgrami whose pen name was *Madhnayak* earned fame for his knowledge of Sanskrit. He also gained excellence over music which earned him the title of *Nayak*. His two books in Hindi on music are *Nauchandrika* and *Madhnayak Singar (Shringar)*<sup>237</sup>. Some other distinguished persons were Sayyid Ghulam Nabi. The last of them composed a *diwan* in Hindi by the name of *Rang Darpan*. Shibli quotes one of his doxological writings<sup>238</sup>. It may be pointed out that many of these distinguished persons belonged to the class of *Ulama, umarah* and *sufis*.

Shibli questions the readers that were such men declared *Kafir*. He addresses the Hindu fellow men with the assertion that no race of mankind can serve better examples of impartiality such as shown by the Muslims<sup>239</sup>.



### **The *Tuhfat al-Hind***

Shibli supplements his aforesaid writing with special reference to a book entitled *Tuhfat al-Hind*<sup>240</sup> which was written by Mirza Khan bin Fakhr al-Din Muhammad during the reign of Aurangzeb for Prince Azam Shah. The subject matter of the book is Hindi figures of speech.

The purpose of this article is two fold: the first is to emphasize the point that the book was written during the reign of Aurangzeb and that, too, for a prince. This negates the view of the critics that Aurangzeb was a bigot who intended to destroy every thing Hindu, including their literature and educational institutions. The second was to draw similarities of figures of speech of Hindi and Arabic languages. On this topic, Shibli points out that Mirza Khan while studying Hindi figures of speech made additions that were borrowed from Arabic and gave them names in *Brajhasha*. Thus the point of importance is that Muslim scholars and writers understood the finer literary points of Sanskrit and *Brajhasha* and benefited from them. They translated many Sanskrit and *Bhasha* poems bearing tender feelings and delicate thought, a few examples of which have been quoted<sup>241</sup>.

### **The *Sir Sayyid Marhum Aur Urdu Literature***<sup>242</sup>

Shibli fancied writings on literary aspects. This article, written after the death of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, evidently on demand and as a token of tribute, he briefly highlights Sir Sayyid's contribution to the growth and progress of Urdu language and literature.

The article though brief and sketchy deserves our attention for it reflects the position of Urdu as it existed around the mid-nineteenth century. Shibli remarks that although considerable development had taken place by then, Urdu still lacked clarity of

expression and was not considered an elegant literary medium of expression. As a result, writers resorted to the use of Persian style in their writings.

Even Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan while writing the *Asar al-Sanadid*, at places, borrowed the Persian style of expression<sup>243</sup>. To the students of history it will be of interest to know, as informed by Shibli, that some of the passages of *Asar al-Sanadid* were written by Imam Bakhsh Sahbai in the name of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and in style and presentation bear influence of Bedil (Baydil) and Zahuri<sup>244</sup>.

It may be pointed out that about this time several writers, notably such as Muhammad Baqir, Mirza Ghalib and Imam Bakhsh Sahba'i were making efforts to liberate Urdu from stiff phraseology, and bring in simplicity with a blend of vigour and colour.

The language was further enriched and developed by the growth of Urdu newspaper and magazines which had to report and write on various aspects of human life and on national and international issues. Sayyid Ahmad Khan being influenced by eminent writers of his time, and in an attempt to educate the Muslims profusely wrote on the pattern of Addison and Steele, the two famous periodical essayists of the English language. By his writings in his newspaper the *Sayyid-al-Akhbar* and magazine the *Tahzib al-Akhlaq* he demonstrated that Urdu was considerably rich and fertile to undertake any sort of writing on any subject. By his style of writing he set a pattern which was emulated by his junior contemporaries and later writers.

Shibli, despite his differences with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan on many religious and national issues, highly commends his contributions to the development of Urdu language, and eloquently praises him for his writing skill and for broadening the

conspectus of Urdu writing. In this respect, Shibli remarks that no Urdu or Persian writer can equal him.

### **The Urdu-Hindi<sup>245</sup>**

Shibli actively strove to protect Urdu script in its *nasta'liq* form and character. By his article entitled *Urdu-Hindi* written at a time when Urdu-Hindi controversy was in full swing, and Mr. Burn, the chief secretary of Vernacular Scheme Committee, Lucknow, was making efforts to introduce Urdu in *devnagri* script, Shibli clarified the grammatical misconception about the two languages.

Shibli's article is useful in understanding the character and position of Hindi as it existed in rural and urban areas during contemporary times. It has been rightly pointed out by him that Hindi dialect as it existed and still remains so in rural areas was of varied nature. It differed from area to area and region to region and did not require much attention for it was uncouth and lacked propensity to become a literary medium of expression. It was the Hindi that was spoken in urban areas which deserved attention.

He further observes that during contemporary times the Hindi spoken in urban areas and Urdu, in general, were one and the same. The learned Hindus wrote Urdu with perfect ease and spoke chaste language like the Muslims. It were only the learned *pandits*, who, in course of their speech and writing used Sanskrit and *Bhasha* words<sup>246</sup>.

His main objective was to dismiss Burn's proposal which had called for a common syllabus of Hindi and Urdu on grounds that the two have common grammatical rules. As against this, Shibli forwarded the argument that if two languages had common grammar but their words are different, they could not be called one and the same<sup>247</sup>. Shibli held that Burn was off the mark in stating that Hindi prose and poetry had different grammatical

rules. The actual position was that slight differences might be seen in all the languages. In versification the order of words is often changed but it conforms to no particular rule.

Shibli concludes by stating that on the basis of slight homonym there cannot be a common syllabus of Urdu and Hindi. It will be highly unfair to do so and will destroy the two languages. Shibli stresses that instead of trying to unify the two languages, opportunities should be provided so that the two languages may grow independently and serve the literary needs of expression.

*The Hindustan Mayn Islami Hukumat Kay Tamaddun Kay Asar*<sup>248</sup>

In this article Shibli argues that conquering new lands by unknown races is no crime, else the greatest conqueror would have been regarded as the greatest criminal. It is more pertinent to see what abiding cultural and civilising influence followed as a result of their conquest and rule. It is against the back-drop of this thought that Shibli tries to bring forth the beneficial aspects of the Timurid rule in India on the basis of information provided in the *A'in-i-Akbari* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.

In order to place his argument in a proper context Shibli at the outset depicts the general condition of India at the time of the Timurid conquest in the words of Babar: that Indians have no good looks, they move bare-footed, are ill-dressed, there are no good horses in India, no good meat, grapes, ice, baths, schools, flaming torches, gardens and orchards, buildings, etc.

Shibli comments that since the Indians were introvert in nature and refused to visit foreign lands, they were consequently unaware of the developments taking place in the neighbouring lands. The Timurids brought with them the flowers and fruits of Iran and Khurasan and spread them all over India. They introduced new methods of planting and grafting which were

hitherto unknown to the Hindus. Some dry-fruits were also introduced. In short, the Timurids introduced neat scientific methods of laying gardens and orchards.

A number of industries were also introduced and developed. In particular, in the field of textile great developments were seen. Hitherto the Hindus probably knew nothing more than production of coarse cloth. Under Akbar many new production centres sprang up where artisans and workers were brought from Persia and China. They developed textiles of fine texture. Shawl industry also received a new impetus. New colours and designs were developed.

In the field of revenue collection, assessment was based on measurement of land, but simultaneously various other methods were adopted depending upon local topography. Animal husbandry received attention. Animals, especially camels and horses were imported, and a separate department was opened to develop the breed of animals. As a result their number soon grew in plenty in the regions of Gujarat and Rajasthan. In order to promote animal husbandry, exhibition and sale of animals was carried out. Good breed of mules were developed, so much so that people started using them for riding.

Zoological and ornithological experiments were also carried out. Interestingly, wild animals and birds which normally do not mate when confined and thus do not bear off-springs or lay eggs, were trained and acclimatized in such a manner that even elephants and tigers gave birth to young ones. The *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* bear testimony to the interest of the Mughul monarchs and provide detailed information in this context.

Under the Timurids, works of public utility and welfare, whose foundations were laid by Shir Shah, were further developed by the Mughuls. Construction of roads, bridges, ponds,



inns, etc. were carried out on an extensive scale, some of which have survived the wear and tear of nature. Notably, the property of a person who died heirless, was exclusively used for this development. Owing to the net-work of roads, products of Persia, Iraq and Syria were easily available in the Indian markets. As a part of the public welfare programme, attention was also paid to the construction of hospitals in big cities where government physicians were appointed. Granaries were built in all the cities, and travellers were provided with food and lodging facilities. The postal system was fairly developed, and significantly, even trained pigeons were used for this purpose<sup>249</sup>.

During the reign of Timurids, a number of inventions were made. Hakim Ali, a noted physician in the court of Akbar, built a tank in which there was a water proof room in which about ten or twelve persons could sit. The room could receive light from all sides, was properly ventilated, and therein food could also be served<sup>250</sup>. Another noted person Amir Fath Allah Shirazi invented a mill that could run automatically without the use of water or wind. Today this might appear to be an ordinary thing, but in those days even in Europe it must have been looked upon with astonishment.

In the field of armaments, cannons of various qualities and sizes were developed. In one such cannon the barrels could be lengthened by screwing up additional pieces. Since cavalry was the main thrust force of medieval times, the Timurids paid special care to see that it was well-maintained. The *Ain-i-Akbari* contains detailed information in this regard.

Women costumes and ornaments received an entirely new treatment under Nur Jahan. Hitherto ornaments were dull in outlook and dresses lacked beauty. The aesthetic taste of Nur Jahan found expression in the dress and ornaments of the time, which were henceforth marked for their grace, beauty and

gorgeousness.

Although India remained rich in natural resources, it remained unexplored and unused. For example, saltpetre as a cooling agent was used only from the time of Akbar.

Indian architecture also acquired new form and designs. With the introduction of arches, minars, spacious openings, gardens and running water, etc., Indian architecture acquired a distinct character and beauty hitherto unseen.

In short, what Shibli endeavoured to point out is that the Mughuls contributed in large measure to introduce new material and cultural elements in the Indian society which were definitely progressive in nature. This writing probably may have influenced Tara Chand to devote full attention to this topic and which resulted in his monumental work, the *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*.

#### *Alamgir par Ayk Nazar*<sup>251</sup>

Shibli wrote a series of articles on Mughul emperor Aurangzeb in the journal *Al-Nadwa*, Lucknow, during the period 1906 to 1908. These articles were published later in the form of a book entitled *Alamgir par Ayk Nazar* in the year 1911<sup>252</sup>. It is one of the important writings of Shibli and needs a little detailed discussion.

#### *Contents*

Shibli has examined some of the charges against Aurangzeb made by European historians such as imprisonment of his father, murdering of his brothers, ruining the Muslim states of the Deccan, maltreating the Hindus and excluding them from services, disrupting the cordial relations between the Mughuls and Rajputs, waging wars against the Marathas, and as a result of all these paved the way for the downfall of the Mughul empire.

Regarding the Deccan policy, Shibli is of the opinion that the Mughul frontiers had been extended to such an extent during the reign of the preceding rulers that it was difficult to make a retreat. Moreover, there was complete misrule in the state of Hyderabad and Bijapur. Aurangzeb tried to win the Deccan states by grant of favours and honours, but in vain. It was under these circumstances that Aurangzeb had to embark upon a policy of annexation of Deccan states.

Shibli maintains that although Shivaji as well his ancestors had broken records of loyalty, yet Shivaji was not treated shabbily at the Mughul court at Agra. The *mansab* accorded to Shivaji was in accordance with the time honoured Mughul custom, and a superior rank would have hardly left any difference between the vanquished and the conqueror. Shibli also describes how the grandsons of Shivaji were treated magnanimously by Aurangzeb<sup>253</sup>.

In respect to Alamgir and the Rajputs, Shibli examines Lanepoole's remark that "a race which had been the right arm of the Mughul empire was now hopelessly alienated and never again served the throne without distrust... so long as the great Puritan set on the throne of Akbar, not a Rajput would stir a finger to save him"<sup>254</sup>. He refutes this observation by first examining Jaswant Singh's behaviour towards Aurangzeb and his repeated acts of disloyalty. Shibli points out that the Rajputs were not permanently alienated against the Mughul empire. He cites example to show that it were the Rajput commanders of Aurangzeb who were instrumental in quelling the insurrection of the Marathas. Rajput chiefs such as Indra Singh and Man Singh Rathor served with dedication and were granted high *mansabs* by Aurangzeb<sup>255</sup>. Shibli highly praises the Rajputs who served the Mughul empire with full dedication from the days of Akbar to Aurangzeb. These Hindu chiefs who rose against Aurangzeb was

because they believed that Aurangzeb had defied the will of Emperor Shah Jahan. He stresses the point that Aurangzeb lived in Deccan for twenty five years but the Rajputs never threatened the Mughul throne or revolted<sup>256</sup>.

Regarding Aurangzeb's religious bigotry, Shibli writes that the Hindus took advantage of Akbar's liberal policy, and in the succeeding years grew very bold to the extent that they would not hesitate in demolishing mosques or in forcibly marrying Muslim women<sup>257</sup>. Shibli cites examples showing that punitive actions had to be taken to liberate captive Muslim women from the clutches of Hindus during the reign of Shah Jahan<sup>258</sup>. The heretical thoughts of Dara Shikuh further emboldened the Hindus. All this formed the background of Aurangzeb's religious policy.

To the point that Aurangzeb wanted to dismiss the Hindus from state services, but could not do so, Shibli states that only certain posts of quasi-religious nature such as *muhtasib*, and certain departments, such as revenue were affected. Shibli gives a list of Hindu officers during the reign of Aurangzeb who enjoyed position of eminence in the *mansabdari* system<sup>259</sup>. The list includes the family members of the Maharajah of Udaipur, and even the relatives of Shivaji.

Shibli, addressing the English writers, raises the point that if it was unwise to exclude Hindus from high posts, how would then one support the policy of British government in India which for a long time did not think it proper to give any responsible post to any individual other than those of its own race<sup>260</sup>.

Regarding demolition of temples, Shibli argues that only such temples were demolished where intrigues were carried on and where rebellions were planned and carried out. He raises an important point, very often neglected, that Aurangzeb lived in the

Deccan for twenty five years but no historian mentions demolition of any temple there by Aurangzeb. If religious fanaticism had been the real cause, there was no reason to leave the temples in the Deccan undemolished<sup>261</sup>.

In discussing Aurangzeb's treatment of his father and brothers, Shibli states that all contemporary historians are unanimous on the point that Dara Shikuh had in reality usurped all state powers and was ruling in the name of Shah Jahan. Further, he was making all efforts to make his brothers quarrel among themselves. Aurangzeb's participation in the war of succession, was essentially speaking a battle of self-defence, and his activities were directed primarily against Dara and not against Shah Jahan. Shibli comments that during the days of princehood Shah Jahan hurled the banner of revolt against his father (Jahangir) because his *jagir* was wrested from him and given to Nur Jahan, but Shah Jahan has not been vilified for this<sup>262</sup>.

Finally, Shibli assesses Aurangzeb as a ruler. He gives him a high place as a conqueror, for he excelled his predecessors in territorial expansion. His conquests were equally matched by various reforms. Aurangzeb removed all illegal taxes and impositions, and revised the fiscal policy. He also abolished the Mughul practice of escheat and issued a promulgation that any person holding grievances against the king could file a petition. Aurangzeb improved the department of correspondence and report-writing, which kept him well-informed about the affairs in the different part of the empire.

Aurangzeb lived a very simple and austere life, earned his livelihood by making skull caps, and did not believe in investing sovereignty with some sort of divine sanction. With this spirit he abolished the practice of *darshan* which was contrary to Islamic teachings, and stopped the Mughul practice of offering and receiving lavish gifts which gave rise to numerous evils. He paid



special attention to justice and had a book compiled on Islamic jurisprudence, *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*. Shibli praises Aurangzeb's art of epistology. It is characterised by simplicity of writing, racy sentences, brevity of facts, and loveliness of the combination of words<sup>263</sup>. They remain as proofs of his inestimable knowledge of politico-administrative and theological problems, his elegant taste and wry humour<sup>264</sup>. He was of course not above all human weakness. But nobody could deny that he had a number of good qualities too<sup>265</sup>.

Shibli has made use of the main contemporary Persian sources such as *Alamgir Namah* of Kazim Shirazi, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* of Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Muntakhab-al-Luhah* of Abd-al Hamid Lahori, *Khizana-i-Amirah* of Ghulam Ali Azad, *Faiz-al Qawanin*, etc.<sup>266</sup>. He also made use of Francois Bernier's, *Tarvels in the Mogul Empire*. He has utilised the Persian sources with due caution. Since *Alamgir Namah* and *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* are official chronicles, Shibli compares some of their statements. He remarks that some of the historians<sup>267</sup> of the reign were *Shias* and their accounts often suffer from sectarian bias.

Shibli also pays attention to some of the modern works in English. Among the authors taken up by him are Monstuart Elphinstone, Lanepoole and Fryer. Shibli accuses European historians of falsification of facts, facile generalisation from trivial matter, misconstrued notion, of mixing the religious and political issues, and of dextrously manipulating historical facts. He considers it a mistake to examine the political happenings of the past in the light of present standard<sup>268</sup>. Specifically, he blames Lanepoole of fabrication and of failing to quote authority for his statements and judgements. Likewise, he charges Eliphinstone of refusing to believe Bernier if he praises Aurangzeb for some act, but his disparaging remarks against Alamgir are accepted without

any question<sup>269</sup>.

### *Significance*

In assessing the significance of this work it is to be recalled that it was written much before the monumental study of Aurangzeb by Jadu Nath Sarkar in 1924, whom Shibli assisted in the preparation of this work<sup>270</sup>, and the later apologetic work of Zahir-al-Din Faruqi entitled *Aurangzeb and his Times*. It stands no comparison with Sarkar's work, but it should be remembered that although Sarkar is critical in respect to some of the policies of Aurangzeb he at the same time has much praise for many aspects of Aurangzeb's character as ruler and as a man. As far as Faruqi is concerned, he towed the line of Shibli's approach but he can not be regarded as belonging to Shibli's school of thought.

Significantly, Shibli tried to study the character of the Mughul nobility during the reign of Aurangzeb, with particular reference to participation of the Hindus. This it may be recalled, was more than half-a-century before Asar Ali's now well-known work *The Mughul Nobility under Aurangzeb* (1968), in which the same point has been established more scientifically and conclusively by quantifying the data on grant of *mansabs*. Similarly, the opinion expressed by him with regard to the position of the Rajput nobility and their relation with the Mughuls under Aurangzeb is being supported by many modern historians.

Further, some of his comments have not received the attention they deserve. For example, addressing mainly the British, he draws comparison with the British policy of denying high and responsible posts to the Indians. Secondly, there were no cases of destruction of temples in South India, where Aurangzeb lived for twenty-five years. Also, he draws attention towards the sectarian angle in the writings of some contemporary

historians which may be characterised as condescending and rather racist.

Shibli's writing on Awnagzeb, unlike some of his other writings, lacks critical investigation and suffers from selectivity and bias. It is often embedded with sweeping remarks, and Shibli needlessly equates some of Awnagzeb's action with that of Islam. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad while commenting<sup>271</sup> on some of the statements of Shibli does not approve Shibli's remark about grant of *mansab* to Shivaji "that... should the Indian monarch have stepped out of his throne to greet Shivaji... that Europe can present such unwarranted examples, but should not expect such an example from Islam".

Writing about forging of letters by Dara Shikuh in the name of Shah Jahan, Shibli quotes Murad Bakhsh as the person who also called Dara Shikuh as *mulhid*. This cross-examination of source by Shibli is not liked by Azad, because Murad was a party to Aurangzeb's action against Dara<sup>272</sup>. Azad also does not approve Aurangzeb's calling of Jaswant Singh's son to the Mughul court for upbringing<sup>273</sup>. In a similar spirit he disapproves Aurangzeb's demolishing of temples even if they were disciplinary measures following the uprising of the Hindus.

### *Appraisal*

Much has been written about Shibli, yet so little as a historian. To the English readers (mainly because of his writing in Urdu only) he still remains to be properly understood and appreciated. That he could challenge the writings of his British masters speaks volumes of his intellectual honesty and courage. He wrote much to the displeasure of Englishmen, a factor which denied him the title of CIE (Companion of the Indian Empire)<sup>274</sup>. However, he did not want to completely offend the British government for in one of his writings entitled '*Musalmanon Ko*

*Ghayr Mazhab Hukumat Ka Mahkum Ho Kar Kiyunkar Rahna Chahiyay*<sup>275</sup> he calls upon his Muslim brethren to live in harmony with the British government.

Shibli began his writing career under the inspiration and guidance of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. At Aligarh, the reformist activities of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, coupled with emerging progressive trends, considerably softened Shibli's orthodoxy and conservatism. Here he was also influenced by the works of Western writers and Orientalists such as Carlyle, Vanludof, Ranke and Hegel. It was through them that he could gain access to many English, German and French works on Islam. These works enlightened him to the modern principles of investigation and examination and of developments in historical thought.

In the realm of writing and thought Shibli started as an imitator of the *raison d'etre* of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He, however, soon developed certain reservations, and, therefore, treaded an independent path. But, notwithstanding, at a time when Sayyid Ahmad Khan had started paying more attention to political and social activities, he carried the historical mission of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and enlightened it to an extent which no other Indian of his time could do.

Shibli's activities covered a wide field — poetry, literary criticism, teaching, journalism, and socio-religious reforms. But the fields in which he excelled were literature and history. His numerous writings show that he was a well-read historian who kept himself informed of the latest works and publications in various parts of the world. Apart from his excellent writings on Islamic and Indian history, during the course of his writings he displays very good knowledge of European history, and of its philosophers and thinkers. In fact, Shibli was proud of his historical knowledge and had no qualms in admitting it.

Quite early in his life Shibli came under various religio-political influences, and later with larger issues of the Muslim community. He sharply reacted to the scathing remarks of European historians and writers on some aspects of Islamic as well as medieval Indian history. A protagonist of the *Mutazilah* or rationalist school of thought in Islam, and holding an orthodox Sunni point of view, some of his early writings were, therefore, directed towards Islamic history.

It seems that Carlyle's treatment of history — the biographical approach to history — played an important role in shaping Shibli's thought. Hegel's thesis that religious influence provides impetus to progress also sharpened Shibli's faculties. No less was the influence of Comte's view that human action should be studied as an organic whole. He appears to favour the idea that historical study should be comprehensive and unfold in itself the study of politics, religion, literature, philosophy, and other aspects of human thought and behaviour.

A general feature of the age was that Romanticism had inculcated an interest in classical studies and of restoring the forgotten or lost achievements of human accomplishments. This led to the redefinition of the frontiers as well as the contours of history. History was no longer an exercise in reliving the past: it had a purpose, a direction, and in many cases, even the phases of that direction were known. The historian could discredit a religion, a civilisation, or a people by interpreting the past with a particular philosophy. He could at the same time magnify the achievements of a people by weaving into history the influential fibre of his times<sup>276</sup>.

While accepting such influence, Shibli also expresses his opinion. For example, he emphasizes that physical and geographical situation of a place profoundly influences and shapes the course of history. He believes that political events



invariably influence historical writings. This can be said on the ground that during the early days of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.), all the events of the Prophet's life were termed as *Maghazi*. It remained an essential feature of early Islamic historiography and became the foundation of many other branches of Islamic studies.

The methodology Shibli developed was synthesis of the traditional Islamic disciplines of chronicles and hagiography and Western discipline of objective analysis<sup>277</sup>.

Shibli has been called the first philosopher historian of Urdu who endeavoured to introduce scientific methods in Urdu historical writings. K.A. Nizami writes that Shibli attempted to wield Arabian, Iranian and Western historiographical ideology into one compact blend<sup>278</sup>.

While assessing a source Shibli stresses that<sup>279</sup>:

- a) Whether the narration made is in accordance with reason and accepted human behaviour principles; if not, whether the source taken into account is authentic or not.
- b) How far the author's opinion and analogy has affected the narration.
- c) Attention should be also paid towards the changing times and how the writers' mode of narration has undergone change with the passage of time.

In his writings Shibli made full use of references and footnotes hitherto infrequently used in Urdu historical works. His writings are remarkable not only for wealth of information, but also for interpretation and presentation of facts collected from a vast number of sources.

Shibli did not write complete history of any period or dynasty, although initially he had thought of writing a

comprehensive history of Islam. There is some difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Shibli was a biographer or a historian. As stated earlier, he was deeply influenced by Carlyle's view that history is created, shaped and moulded by heroes. They stand as central figures around which history revolves. His interest in biographical writings may also be traced to his love for Islamic historiography which emerged and developed out of biographical writings on the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.). This may explain why he wrote a number of biographies such as *Al-Mamun*, *Al-Ghazali*, and *Al-Faruq*. The selection for study of some of the biographical works of medieval Indian history, such as the *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* and *Humayun-Namah* may be attributed to a similar spirit and interest. However, in the collection and sifting of the materials he is not merely a hero worshipper but a historian.

Shibli did not confine to mere biographical writings. Some of his writings were exclusively devoted to explore the growth of science and technology and to bring to light the remarkable developments of medieval age. In one of his writings, *Yadgar-i-Salaf*<sup>280</sup>, he asserts that specialisation in a particular field of knowledge is not entirely a modern development. He cites the example of Harun bin Hakim Muwaffiq al-Daulah b. Abi al-Hasan al-Hallabi who wrote a number of books on various diseases of the eye. Shibli, in an effort to demonstrate the advancements made during medieval times, depicts the various instruments used for the treatment of eyes. He emphasises the fact that in the sphere of historical writings the concept of historical causation which is the essence of history writings, was also not entirely unknown to the Muslims. Similarly, the emphasis on veracity of information was also there. It is altogether a different thing that the Muslims did not develop these elements of historical writings further.

Shibli wrote with a purpose. One of his main object was to dispel false notions and presumptions about Islam and the Muslims. The other one was to bring about orientation, transformation and modernisation of the Muslim community. In pursuance of his objectives Shibli endeavoured to make Islamic doctrines compatible with modern philosophical and scientific thought.

He is among the earliest historians to point out some of the generally accepted but incorrect historical notions, and dismantled some of the allegations of European and Indian writers. Specifically, he denounces Professor Renan's comment that Islam and knowledge cannot go together<sup>281</sup>. He displays the grandeur of Islam and the rich treasure of Arabic language and literature. Shibli claims that the advent of Islam and the rise of the Muslims was a boon to mankind. Islamic sciences and learning contributed to the growth of human knowledge. He argues that the early Muslims showed no contempt or discrimination towards the works of other races and communities. Had they not devoted themselves to the study of human thought, much of Europe's achievements of which the Europeans are so proud, would have perished. In this context, Shibli fails to understand as to why the later Muslims developed an attitude of indifference towards the English and refused to be benefited by the treasures of this language.

The wild comments of the Europeans forced Shibli to remark that Western historians have the habit of setting pre-conceived notions in their mind and then pick up facts according to their needs and purpose. He charges them of making false statements, misinterpretations, and of using history to serve their imperialistic rule.

However, though critical of an underlying anti-Islamic cross-current in Western Orientalism, he is among the earliest

historians of modern India to pay tribute to Western scholarship for its painstaking investigation of the cultural and religious resources of Islam, its methodology and its efforts to establish a historical and scientific perspectives for the study of Islam<sup>282</sup>.

Like some of the medieval Indo-Persian chroniclers, he seems to view the medieval Indian history as a part of the history of Islam. Writing, in general, about the characteristics of historical writings of medieval times, he acknowledges that during medieval times history was taught not solely for reasons of knowledge of historicity but more as a literary art<sup>283</sup>.

In respect to writings on Indian history, Shibli chiefly pays attention towards non-political aspects such as growth of language and literature, development of arts and crafts, libraries, position of women, hospitals, mechanics, works of public utility, religious tolerance of the Muslim rulers, etc., in order to contest the allegations of some of the Europeans who described Islamic histories as mere butcher's shop<sup>284</sup> and devoid of social and cultural information. He endeavours to display the progressive elements of Muslim rule in India. Some of his writings are intended to show that before the political in-road of Islam in India, scientific exchanges were already taking place between India and the Muslim Arab world. Even after the establishment of political hegemony the Muslim rulers patronised all that appealed to their senses and needs. This finds manifestation in the growth of Indian music, Hindi language and literature, architecture, art and crafts, etc. Shibli certainly stood in defence of certain Indian Muslim rulers such as Jahangir and Aurangzeb, but very significantly, he does not consider them as Islamic heroes. Shibli does not call the seditious activities of the Sikhs and that of Shivaji as a revolt, rather he considers their actions as a defiant attitude which had ingredients of a nascent state in emergence<sup>285</sup>.

The nature of historical writings that Shibli undertook

necessitated the need for writing on Islamic jurisprudence, rejoinders and reviews. It also demanded an indepth analytical and critical investigation of the subject-matter and citation of sources so that a particular event or thought could be placed in its proper perspective. This has placed Shibli among the foremost Urdu historians who initiated and strengthened the element of critical writing in Urdu historiography. Shibli is among the few modern Indian historians who, quite early, not only emphasized the study of social and cultural history but also drew the attention of scholars towards certain unattended areas of study.

Having read the works of Gibbon and Carlyle, for Shibli, language and style also became important. Having a keen aesthetic sense, his language has different colours and shades. In general, it is marked for its brevity, grace and elegance, replete with vigour of expression. Sometime, it is racy, bold and vivacious. At other times, it is simple and lucid, almost conversational. Shibli had not studied English, yet he has aptly and effectively used many English words in his writings, a tendency initiated by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his colleagues.

Shibli maintains a balance between style, matter and purpose. He does not let style supersede his objectives. There are, however, occasional digressions but they add interest to the narrative.

In the ultimate analysis it must be said that Shibli was a historian with a difference. Deeply pained at the plight of the Muslims all over the world, and impelled by religious fervour, he zealously stood up to guard against the acrimonious attacks on Islam. So untiringly and passionately did he work that he almost lost the vision of his eyes. But in his mission he was prepared to cross any hurdle and overcome all difficulties if that could reveal the magnificence of Islam or could add to the splendour and brilliance of Islam. His love for his homeland was unbounded and



he strongly yearned for the deliverance of his country from the British yoke. Some of his poems are fine expression of this passionate feeling.

Finally, in the use of sources, citations, cross-examination of sources, interpretations and analysis, historical insight, notions of historiography and historical causation, writing of biographies, reviews and rejoinders, etc., Shibli can be regarded as the greatest Urdu historian of modern India. Speaking about himself Shibli remarked that people like to be known as *Akhari* or *Alamgiri*, but he prefers to be known as *Jahangiri*<sup>286</sup>. There can be no better expression of Shibli's personality than his own self analysis, his own perception about himself as a historian.

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## End Notes

1. The brief biography is based upon K.A. Nizami's book *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*
2. The Scientific society undertook the task of collection, translation and publication of a number of works of different subjects — history being one of them. Mention may be made of;
  - a. Rollin's *History of Egypt*
  - b. Sir John Malcolm's *Histories of Persia and Bhopal*
  - c. *A History of Greece*(in Arabic), translated into Urdu by Khwajah Zain-al-Din (a scholar of Dehli College)
  - d. *Tarikh-i-Hind* of Maulvi Karimuddin
3. This journal which later on remained discontinued for many years, is now being published again for the past few years.
4. The first edition is preserved in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh. Initially the book was not received warmly by the British people. However, its merits were displayed when the French Orientalist, M. Garcin de Tassy translated the book into French language in 1861. Thereupon, it acquired considerable popularity, so much so, that it was translated and edited into English by Arthus Austin, Collector of Delhi. A new edition has also been published by Urdu Academy.
5. Syed Abdullah, *Sir Syed Aur Unkay Namwar Rufaqa*, Sir Litho Press, Delhi-6 (n.d.), p.55.
6. The *Asar al-Sanadid*, ed., Syed Moinul Haque, Pakistan

Historical Society, Karachi, 1966, p.75.

7. The work greatly helped Sir Henry Elliot in his research programme. See K.A. Nizami, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p.112 (foot-note no.43).
8. To this class belongs the Persian work, *Sair al-Manazil* of Sangeen Beg, which was completed by 1827 at the behest of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe. Professor I.H. Siddiqui considers it as the first example of the study of surface archaeology.[ I.H. Siddiqui, *Tahzib al-Akhlaq*, 1998 (March-April), p.188]
9. It is not known whether Sayyid Ahmad Khan made use of *Sair al-Manazil*. Another book written earlier on this pattern was *Khulasah Ahwal-i-Gaur Wa Jay-i-Digar* of Munshi Shyam Prasad. It was written at the instance of Major William Franklin in 1810, and deals with some of the buildings of Gaur which was once the capital of Bengal. Another British official James Stephen Lushington (Magistrate of Agra and Superintendent of the Government College) was also instrumental in encouraging students of Agra to write on the monuments of Agra. Under his patronage Lala Sail Chand and Manik Chand wrote the *Tafrih al-Imarat* and *Ahwal-i-Shahr-i-Akbarabad* in Persian, respectively, in 1825(see Sangeen Beg, *Sair al-Manazil*, ed., Dr. Shareef Hussain Qasimi, Ghalib Institute, New Delhi-110002, pp. ۷۰, ۷۱). Besides these works, a list of the archaeological remains of Delhi had been prepared by Maulawi Zafar Hasan (Deputy Director, Department of Archaeology) at the request of Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Likewise, an European, Leslie Stephen, had written a book on the archaeological remains of Delhi. Cunningham too had written on this topic. (See, Sayyid Abdullah, op.cit., p.49).

10. Z.H.Faruqi, *Hindustani Daur-i-Wusta-Kay-Muarrekhin*, ed., Mohibbul Hasan, Taraqqi Urdu Bureau, New Delhi, 1984.
11. Irfan Habib, "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan Aur Tarikh Nawisi", *Tahzib al-Akhlaq*, October-November 1994, Aligarh Muslim University, (Ed.), Professor Masood Alam, p.54.
12. See, Habibullah's article in the *Historians of India and Ceylon*, edited by C.H. Philips.
13. The *Asar al-Sanadid*, op.cit., p.212.
14. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. ii, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1988, p.58-59.
15. K.A. Nizami, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, op.cit., p.107.
16. Printed copies of the *Silsilat al-Muluk* are preserved in Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, and Dar-al-Mussanifin, Azamgarh.
17. Reprinted in 1899 at the *Matba'-i-Khadim al-Talim*, under the care of Munshi Muhammad Abd-al-Aziz. It contains forty pages.
18. The list of books used in compilation of the *Silsilat al-Muluk* are the: *Tarikh-i-Farishtah*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Khulasah al-Twarikh*, *Mira'at-i-Aftab Numa*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Jam-i-Jam*, *Mahabharat* and *Bhagvad Gita* (Persian version) *Pothi Karak Sankhna*, *Rajah Dehli of Wali* and *Rajah Dehli* whose writer is not known, and the *Torah*.
19. *Silsilat al-Muluk*, pp.7,8,10.
20. See, *The Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind*.

21. The work was first published by Mofussilite Press, Agra, July 1858. Sayyid Ahmad Khan was then working as the *sadr-i-Amin* of Bijnor since 1855. This work has been edited by Sharafat Husain Mirza, and printed by *Nadwatal Mussanifin*, Delhi, 1964.
22. The *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind*, ed., Dr. Fauq Karimi, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Jama Masjid, Delhi, 1985.
23. Maulana Hali in his *Hayat-i-Jawaid* (Agra, 1903, pp.73-76) writes that the treatise was started shortly after Sayyid Ahmad Khan's arrival at Muradabad (April, 1858) and it was published in 1859. Sayyid Ahmad utilised some English works too (*Political Economy* by John Mill and Lord Broom's *Political Philosophy*) in the preparation of this work. It was translated into English by Colonel Grahame and Sir Auckland Colvin in 1873. Recently, Francis Robinson has also translated it into English (Oxford University Press, 2000).
24. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *The causes of the Indian Revolt*, (Ed.) Salim Quraishi, London, Published by Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, 1995.
25. *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, op. cit., pp.71-72.
26. For a discussion on this point, expressed in the work of an earlier Indian historian, Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, see Q. Ahmad's article entitled 'An Eighteenth Century Indian Historian on early British History', *Journal of Indian History, Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1973, pp.873-908.
27. It is, however, not known whether Sayyid Ahmad Khan was aware of their writings. Some of the persons who expressed their views were Munshi Jiwan Lal, Munshi Mohan Lal and Munshi Kedarnath. They all wrote to



exonerate the Hindus of engineering the revolt, and to express their loyalty to the government. For details see, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (Ed.) Salim Quraishi, op.cit.

28. Syed Ahmad Khan, *The Ashab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind*, Ed, Fauq Karimi, op.cit., pp.71,81,103,104,105.
29. *Ibid.*, p.107.
30. It may be noted that in 1861 an Indian was nominated to the legislative council. In 1862 Maharaja Narendra Singh (the *Ra'is* of Patialah), and Raja Dev Narain Singh (the *Ra'is* of Benares), and Raja Dankar Rao *Diwan* of Gwalior state, were nominated to the legislative council. In 1862 for the first time Pandit Shambu Nath was appointed judge of Calcutta High Court.
31. *Syed Ahmad Khan*, op.cit., p.68.
32. It was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1862.
33. It was published in Delhi.
34. It was published in 1864 in the press of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. For more information, see, Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, pp.55-56.
35. K.A. Nizami, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, op.cit., p.102.
36. K.A. Nizami, *op.cit.*
37. These are: Rollin's *Ancient History of Egypt and Ancient History of Greece*, Persian translation of Exoo's *History of China* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
38. K.A. Nizami, "Sir Sayyid on the Indian Village Community", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. LXIII, Nos.1-2. Jan-

April, 1989, p.30.

39. A printed copy of *Sirat-i-Faridiyah* is in my possession. It bears the information that it was printed by Matba Mufid Am, Agra, 1896, under the supervision of Waqar Ali Khan Sufi. The last cover bears the notice that money obtained from the sale of this book was to be credited to the account of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. The book consists of fifty-seven pages. It is not exactly known when this work was started and completed, but from the contents of the book as well as from an indirect reference it appears that the book was written in 1893.
40. *Sirat-i-Faridiyah*, pp.8,16,17. He has also used *Tarikh-i-Safarat Haji Khalil Khan Wa Muhammad Nabi Khan*, a persian work, which was published in 1886 in Bombay (p.14)
41. *Ibid.*, p.16.
42. *Ibid.*, p.28.
43. The followers of this order believed in ontological monism, and would keep their face clean shaved. Khwajah Najib-al-Din during period of mediation would wear only a *langoti* and would smear his whole body with coal ashes called *bahbut*. See p.5.
44. *Sirat-i-Faridiyah*, p.11.
45. *Ibid.*, p.17.
46. *Ibid.*, p.13.
47. *Ibid.*, p.13.
48. *Ibid.*, pp.18-19.

49. *Sirat-i-Faridiyah*, pp.19-20.

50. *Ibid.*, pp.19-21.

51. *Ibid.*, pp.23-24.

52. *Ibid.*, p.24.

53. *Ibid.*, pp.25-29.

54. *Ibid.*, p.30.

55. *Ibid.*, pp.30-31.

56. *Ibid.*, pp.22-31.

57. *Ibid.*, p.23

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*, pp.31.

60. *Ibid.*, pp.23,34. Many of his *risalah* got lost during the mutiny. Three hand-written *risalahs* which managed to survive and was in possession of Wazir-al-Daulah Mudbir-al-Mulk Khalifa Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Khan Bahadur(CIE), the Prime minister of Patiala State, was handed over to Sayyid Ahmad Khan. They are placed in the library of Aligarh Muslim University.

61. *Ibid.*, p.41.

62. *Ibid.*, pp.41-42.

63. *Ibid.*, pp.42-43.

64. *Ibid.*, p.12.

65. *Ibid.*, pp.8.

66. A.B.M. Habibullah, Historical Writings in Urdu: A survey of tendencies in *The Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, edited by C.H.Philips, London, 1961, p.483.

67. Syed Muhammad Aslam, *op.cit.*, p.46.
68. *Ibid.*, p.66.
69. K.A. Nizami, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, *op.cit.*
70. K.A. Nizami, *Sir Sayyid Aur 'Aligarh Tahrik*, Aligarh Educational Book House, 1982, p.86.
71. M.Y.M. Siddiqui (Ed.), I.H. Siddiqui, *Sir Sayyid Aur Ulum-i-Islamiyah*, Idarah Ulum-i-Islamiyah, Muslim University, Aligarh, 2001, pp.258-263.
72. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. II, Ma'arif Press, 1988, p.64.
73. Khwaja Ahmad Farooqui(Ed), *Qadeem Dehli College Number*, Delhi Printing Works, Delhi, p.139. He places the date of birth of Munshi Zaka-Allah on 1st April 1832. As against this C.F. Andrews, the biographer of Munshi Zaka-Allah, dates the birth of Zaka-Allah on 20th April 1832.
74. *Ibid.*, p.139.
75. *Ibid.*, p.140.
76. N.H. Naqvi(Ed), *Fikr-o-Nazar (Namwaran-i-Aligarh, Puhla Karavan)*, Aligarh Muslim University, 1985, p.192.
77. C.F. Andrews, *Zakauallah of Delhi*, Cambridge, W.Heffer & Sons, 1929, p.VIII.
78. N.H. Naqvi, *op.cit.*, p.193.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, p.195.
81. *Ibid.*, p.193.
82. C.F. Andrews, *op.cit.*, p.50

83. *Ibid.*, p.51.
84. N.H. Naqvi, *op.cit.*, p.194.
85. Khwaja Ahmad Farooqui, *op.cit.*, p.195.
86. N.H. Naqvi, *op.cit.*, p.194.
87. *Ibid.*, p.195.
88. Shan Mohammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan - A political Biography*, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1969, p.99.
89. *Ibid.*, p.99.
90. N.H. Naqvi, *op.cit.*, p.196; or see my article entitled "Mohammed Zakaullah Khan", *Azad Academy Journal*, S.G. Mohiuddin(Ed), Lucknow, June 1989, p.10.
91. C.F. Andrews, *op.cit.*, p.112.
92. Two other works of Zaka-Allah are *Muhimma-i Azim* and *Farhang-i Farang ki Tarikh*. The former deals with the account of wars between the British and other countries, except India, during the reign of Queen Victoria. The latter is a history of European civilization and life of Queen Victoria and Prince consort. These books, however, could not be traced for historical examination. See Ram Babu Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, 1927, p.296

Zaka-Allah translated the French work *Risala-i Tazkirat* of Garcin de Tassy. It contains *tazkirahs* of Hindi and Urdu poets. The work was first translated into English. Subsequently, Zaka-Allah translated the English version into Urdu. It was first published in March 1879 by Matba Mufid Amm, Lahore. The work has been edited by Dr. Tanweer Ahmad Alavi, 1968, and published by Matba - Mazhar-al-Aja'ib. A printed copy of it is preserved in the



Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.

Zaka-Allah is also the author of *Arab Qabl-i-Islam* and *Farabdin Zakayi*. A printed copy of these are preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.

93. The work is not easily available now, but a copy printed of Matba Shams, Delhi, 1904, is available at the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.
94. He specifically mentions the following books that he took into account: General Grey's *Early Years of Prince Consort*, Sydney Lee's *Biography of Queen Victoria*, Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of Prince Consort*, Greyule's *Memoirs*(1817-1860). Home's *Life of Victoria*, and the *Diary* of the Queen. He adds that the last two books were prepared under the supervision of the Queen herself.
95. A printed copy of it is kept in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. It was published in 1904 at Matba Shams, Delhi, by Muhammad Ata-Allah.
96. A noticeable portion is that relating to the reverses suffered by the British there.
97. *Tarikh-i Uruj*, pp.25,40.
98. *Ibid.*, p.152.
99. A printed copy of the book is preserved in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. It was published by Matba Shams of Muhammad Ata-Allah at Delhi on 2 December, 1904.
100. A printed copy of *Curzon Namah* is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. It was published in 1907 at Delhi by Mushtaq Press under the supervision of Mushtaq Husain.
101. *Curzon Namah*, pp.11-12.

102. *Ibid.*, p.10.

103. *Ibid.*, pp.11-12.

104. A printed copy is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. It was published by *Matba Nur-al-Islam*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1909.

105. C M G - Companion of (the Order) St Michael and St George.

106. Maulawi Muhammad Faruq Chirayyakoti, the eminent scholar, records his death chronogramatically in Arabic. See pp.239-40.

107. *Swanah Umri Haji Muhammad Sami-al-Allah*, pp.31-32.

108. The Arabic letter of Jamal-al-Din Afghani has been included in the text. See pp.143-145.

109. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* consists of ten volumes. All the volumes were published under the supervision of Muhammad Muqtada Khan Sherwani at Matba Institute, Aligarh, between 1915 and 1918. The first volume consists of 404 pages, the second of 394 pages, the third of 508 pages, the fourth of 776 pages, the fifth of 1004 pages, the sixth of 300 pages, the seventh of 554 pages, the eighth of 506 pages, the ninth of 360 pages, and the tenth of 30 pages. It amounts to a total of 4836, which represents a stupendous effort by any standard.

110. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.III, p.90

111. Mentions about the serious earthquake that took place during the reign of Sikander Lodi in the year 1505. See *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.II, p.364.

112. For example, Sikander Lodi banned the worship of *Shitala Devi* (Small-Pox), and imposed certain religious

restrictions upon the Hindus of Mathura. See vol.II, p.374.

113. Zaka-Allah records that during the reign of emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) a new religious faith was started by Muhammad Husain. He belonged to Mashhad but had settled down at Kabul for some time. Here he married a relative of *Subahdar* of Kabul, Umdat al-Amir Khan. He later marched towards Delhi and had with him several followers. By the use of ancient Persian words he tried to give birth to a new language. He tried to establish a new creed by propagating that between Prophethood and *Imamat* lies the stage of *Bagogiyat* [sic], and declared himself a *Bagog*. He also wrote a book and named it *Ajurah Muqaddas*, which he claimed equalled the Holy Quran. He named himself as Namud-Allah and Namud. Likewise, he named one of his disciple as Farabud. Mughul emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719) secretly went to him. The new creed, however, soon died out. For details see vol.IX, pp.204-5. Reference about this faith has also been made in an earlier book entitled *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* (1781-82) by an anonymous writer. For details, see my article "Beginnings of Historical Writings in Urdu", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol.XIII, January 1994, Part 1, pp.25-27,34.

114. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.X.

115. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.9.

116. *Ibid.*, vol.11, p.57.

117. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.14.

118. *Ibid.*, vol.11, pp.61-62.

119. *Ibid.*, p.59.

120. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.18.
121. *Ibid.*, p.15.
122. *Ibid.*, p.27.
123. *Ibid.*, p.36.
124. *Ibid.*, vol.11, p.63.
125. *Ibid.*, p.262.
126. *Ibid.*, pp.51-52.
127. *Ibid.*, p.52.
128. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.52.
129. *Ibid.*, p.55.
130. Muhammad Aslam Syed, *op.cit.*, p.61.
131. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.1, p.64.
132. Among the sources mentioned are *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Ziya al-Din Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Shams Siraj Arif, Travelogue of Ibn Battutah, *Habib al-Siyar*, *Tarikh-i-Rawzat al-Safa*, *Tarikh-i-Salatin Afaghinah* of Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Da'udi* of Abd-Allah, *Tarikh-i-Khanjahan Lodi* of Nimat-Allah, *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, *Akbar Namah* of Abul Fazl, *Tarikh-i-Shir-Shahi* of Abbas Khan Sherwani, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar Duglat, *Muntakhabat al-Tawarikh* of Abd al-Qadir Badayuni, *Zafar-namah* of Mulla Yezdi, *Rajtrangani*, *Ratan Mala* of Krishnaji, *Siraj al-Tawarikh Bahmani*, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, *Tarikh-i-Malwah*, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, *Maasir al-Umara*, *Padshah-namah* of Muhammad Amin Qazvini, *Padshah-namah* of Abd al-Majid Lahuri, *Shahjahan-namah* of Inayat Khan, *Amal-i-Salih* or *Shahjahan-namah* of Muhammad Salih Kambuh, *Alamgir-namah* of Munshi

Muhammad Kazim, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* of Muhammad Saqi Khan Mustaid, *Futuh-at-i-Alamgir* of Muhammad Masum, *Jang-namah* of Nimat Khan Ali, *Adab-i Alamgiri* of Munshi Abul Fath, *Ruqat-i Alamgir*, and *Siyar al-Mutaakhkhirin* of Ghulam Husain Tabatabai. A less-noticed work *Tarikh-i Assam* of Talish has also been utilised.

133. Some of the English sources taken into account are *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Colonel Tod, and *The preaching of Islam* by T.W. Arnold. He also quotes H.M. Elliot, Priest Keatrose, Manucci, Bernier, and Elphinstone. He opines that Colonel Tod was sympathetic towards the Rajputs, and hence, wrote a biased account. See *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.vi, p.359

134. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.X, p.25.

135. *Ibid.*, vol.V, p.355.

136. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.291.

137. *Ibid.*,

138. *Ibid.*, p.292.

139. *Ibid.*, vol.11, p.140.

140. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.44.

141. *Ibid.*, vol.Viii, p.274.

142. Zaka-Allah does not explicitly state as to why was Khafi Khan's father unhappy.

143. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, Vol.VIII, p.274.

144. For the compilation of *Sawanih-Umri Hazrat Aliyah Malkah Mu'azzamah Mulki Safab Qaisar Hind Wa Ali Janab Prince Consorti Albert*, Zaka-Allah states that he



used twenty to thirty books. Specifically, however, he mentions the following sources: General Grey's *Early Years of Prince Consort*, Greyule's *Memoirs*(1817-1860), Home's *Life of Victoria*, and the *Diary of the Queen*. According to Zaka-Allah the last two books were prepared under the supervision of the Queen herself. With regard to *Tarikh-i-Uruj-i-Ahd-i-Sultanat-i-Inglishiyyah-i-Hind*, he refers to some authors such as Captain Trotter, Lady Seal and Major Outram. The *Curzon-namah* is based upon the speeches of Lord Curzon and edited by Sir Thomas Raleigh. Papers and magazines commending Lord Curzon's work and policies have also been used.

145. Elliot believes that Jahangir's ordinances lacked novelty. Many of its provisions were never promulgated, or were already enforced during the reign of Sher Shah and Akbar. Blochmann, on the other hand, believes that Jahangir was bad tempered, cruel, and that during his reign there was a decline in the revenue of the state. See *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.vi, pp.298-299.
146. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.vii, p.547
147. *Ibid.*
148. The English account says that one of the widows of Prince Dara Shikuh was a Rajput who refused to marry Aurangzeb. Another was a Christian lady of Udaipur or Jodhpur who married Aurangzeb. See vol.viii, p.467.
149. Dr. Bernier narrates that Jahan Ara, the daughter of Shahjahan, was in love with a man who would secretly visit her. One day when the lover came, Jahan Ara hid him in the cauldron used for heating water for bath. When Shahjahan came to know about it, he ordered the eunuchs to lit fire beneath the cauldron. In this way the lover was

roasted. Another story narrated by Bernier is that Jahan Ara was in love with an Iranian *khansaman*. When Shahjahan came to know of it he poisoned the Iranian and he died instantaneously. See vol.vii, p.482.

150. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol.viii, p.70.
151. *Ibid.*, p.32.
152. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.40.
153. *Ibid.*, p.36.
154. *Ibid.*, vol.v, p.535.
155. *Ibid.*, p.359.
156. *Ibid.*, vol.vi, p.3; vol.ix, p.8.
157. *Ibid.*, vol.ii, p.23.
158. *Ibid.*, vol.viii, p.471.
159. *Ibid.*, vol.ix, p.10.
160. *Ibid.*, p.11.
161. *Ibid.*, p.3.
162. *Ibid.*, vol.vi, p.356.
163. *Ibid.*, vol.viii, p.487.
164. *Ibid.*, vol.iv, p.1.
165. Syed Muhammad Aslam, *op.cit.*, p.62.
166. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, *Hayat-i-Shibli*, Dar-al-Mussanifin, Azamgarh, 1943, p.60.
167. *Al-Basir*, Shibli issue (Birth centenary), Islamic College, Chiniot. 1957.
168. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, *op.cit.*, p.99.

169. *Makatib-i-Shibli*(letters of Shibli), Vol.1, p.196, letter number 97.
170. He was the chief secretary of the government of Uttar Pradesh.
171. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 177.
172. The important literary and historical works of Shibli Nomani are as follows: *Musalmanon Ki Guzashta Talim*, *Al-Mamun*, *Al-Faruq*, *Al-Ghazali*, *Tarikh-i-Badi-al-Islam*, *Sirat-al-Noman*, *Ilm-al-Kalam*, *Sawanih Maulana Rum*, *Muwazanah Anis-o-Dabir*, *Shir-al-Ajam*, *Sirat-al-Nabi*(2 vols) and *Maqalat-i-Shibli*(8 vols).
173. It is not known for which journal Shibli wrote the article nor the date when originally published. But Shibli generally contributed to Urdu journals such as *Ma'arif*(Aligarh), *Deccan Review* *Institute Gazette*, *Tahzib-al-Akhlaq*, *Al-Nadwa* and *Muslim Gazette*. The article was, however, collected and edited by Maulana Masud Ali Nadwi, *Maqalat-Shibli*, Vol.1, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1954, pp.185-250.
174. *Maqalat-Shibli*, Vol.1, pp.188-189.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
176. *Ibid.*, pp.191-193.
177. *Ibid.*, p. 193, 195.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
179. *Ibid.*, p. 199-200.
180. *Ibid.*, p. 201,203.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

182. *Ibid.*, p. 218,219.
183. Shibli has based his study on *Futuh al-Buldan, Kitab-al-Kharaj, Zila-I-Takhrij Hadaya, Kitab-al-Awail, Annajmuz-Zahir-Waqi'at, Ibn-al-Asir, Waqiat Tabri, Uyun-al-Hadaiq, Muruj al-Zahab Mas'udi-Zikr-Khilafat Qahir Billah, Ta'rikh-Yaqubi*, and writers such as Maqrizi.
184. Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan (1857-1964)*, Oxford University Press, 1967.
185. It has been collected in *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol.1, Ma'arif Press, 1954, pp.221-231.
186. *Ibid.*, p.230.
187. *Ibid.*, p.213.
188. It was first published in *Al-Nadwa*, Lucknow, 17th April, 1907. It was later included in *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol.IV, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1956, from which references have been quoted here.
189. Shams-al-Ulama M.Hidayat Husain, Presidency College, Calcutta. He was also the Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
190. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol.IV, p.67.
191. *Ibid.*, p.71.
192. *Idem.*
193. *Ibid.*, p.80.
194. The Persian manuscript lies at British Museum(Hamilton Collection). London. It has been translated into English by Annette S. Beveridge. A reprint of it has been published by Atlantic Publishers and Distributors in

1989.

195. See *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol.IV, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1956, pp.54-65.
196. *Ibid.*, p.59.
197. The article was published in *Al-Nadwa*, Lucknow, in October 1909.
198. Shibli does not mention the year of publication of the biographical article about Zebunnesa in the *Indian Magazine Review*, nor does he mention the name of the writer.
199. *Hafiza* Mariyam was the sister of Enayat-Allah Kashmiri, the secretary of Aurangzeb. See S.H. Askari's article '*Princess Zebunnessa—Facts and Fiction*'. (Unpublished).
200. He came from Iran and was a direct descendant on the mother side with the renowned Shia' *mujtahid*, Mullah Taqi Majlisi. He was attached to Zib al- Nisa as her tutor guide. See S.H. Askari's article '*Princess Zebunnessa—Facts and Fiction*'.(Unpublished).
201. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol.V, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1955, pp.102-103. For a different view on this point, see S.H. Askari's article cited above. He thinks that Shibli has perhaps inadvertently confused Zib al-Nisa's name with that of another sister of her Zinat-al-Nisa.
202. *Ibid.*, pp.104-105.
203. *Ibid.*, p105.
204. *Ibid.*, pp.105,106.
205. His real name was Mir Askari, an Iranian, and his *nom*



*de plume* was Razi. He was a favourite official of emperor Aurangzeb who conferred upon him the title of Aquil Khan. He served the Mughul empire in various capacities. He died in 1699. See S.H. Askari's article cited.

206. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol.V, p. 111.

207. *Ibid.*, p109.

208. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol.V, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1955, p 103.

209. J.N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughul India*.

210. It was written for *Al-Nadwa*. Lucknow, February 1910. The article consists of 33 pages and has been included in *Maqalat-i-Shibli* (M.S.), Vol.IV, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1956, pp.82-114.

211. See Rogers and Prasad (English translation), *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 1989.

212. See Rahman, *Jahangir the Naturalist*, and also Alvi Mujtaba Ahmad, *Jahangir the Naturalist*.

213. See Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, The Indian Press Pvt. Ltd, Allahabad, 1962.

214. This article was written for *Al-Nadwa*, Lucknow, in its September issue, 1905. See M.S. Vol, V, 1955, pp. 92-99.

215. Shibli, while referring to the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* as the chief source of information, points out that it is wrongly attributed to Muhsin Fani Kashmiri or to Dara Shikuh. It is actually the work of Zulfiqar Ardastani.

16. M.S. Vol. V, pp. 98-99.

17. M.S. Vol. VI, Ma'arif Press, 1989, pp. 217-234.

218. Shibli states that there is hardly any account of Persian poets which does not contain reference to Mullah Masih. He actually belonged to Kiranah, but since he was in the service of Muqarrab Khan, the famous Mughul *mansabdar* who belonged to Panipat, he also came to be associated with Panipat. The Persian source bear reference to his writing of *Ramayan* and the *Ma'asir al-Umara* even contains quotation of the couplets from Masih's *Ramayan*.

219. M.S. Vol. VI, p. 233.

220. It may be added that Sultan Zain al-Abidin was a scholar and a poet. He knew Sanskrit, Persian and Tibetan besides Kashmiri which was his mother tongue. The Sultan in order to win the good will of non-Muslim subjects reduced *jizyah* to a nominal amount. In reality it was as good as abolished for it was never collected under him. The Sultan also participated in the festivals of his non-Muslim subjects, reposed confidence in them, patronized men of letters, established a translation bureau, and gave a number of high ranks in the administration of the state to *Brahmin* and Buddhists. For example, Sivabhatta was the superintendent of the King's court of justice. Jonaraja and Srivara were great Sanskrit scholars. Yodhabhatta was a great Vedic scholar who also knew Persian and had learned Firdausi's *Shah Namah* by heart. He wrote a book on music and a play in Kashmiri verse named *Jaina Prakasa* giving an account of his master's reign. Notthosoma Pandit, a Kashmiri poet, composed a book in Kashmiri verse called *Jaincarita* in which he has described the life and achievements of Zain al-Abidin. Bhattavatara, influenced by the *Shah Namah* and other Persian works, composed the *Jainavilasa* which

contained the sayings of the Sultan. For details see Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Iran Society, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 87-91.

221. M.S. Vol. VI, p. 231.

222. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

223. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

224. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

225. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

226. Zafrul Islam Islahi, Aqli wa Sa'insi Ulum Ka Farogh Ahd-i-Firuz Shahi Mayn in *Fikr-o-Nazar*(ed), Aligarh, Muhammad Shahriyar, Vol.33, 1996, p. 39.

227. *Ibid.*

228. This article was published in *Al-Nadwa* in October 1906.

229. *Bhasha* and *Bhaka*, both denote Hindi language. Some writers believe that Muslims used the term *Bhasha* for literary Hindi in which Sanskrit words were used appreciably. Till late medieval times and even during mid-nineteenth century since there was no uniform pattern of expression in Hindi language, the local language spoken by the people was also termed *Bhaka*. During medieval times the language spoken around Mathura was known as *Brajbhasha* and was the language of the learned men.

230. M.S. Vol. II, 1988, p. 80.

231. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

232. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

233. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

235. *Ibid.*

236. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

237. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

238. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

239. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

240. The article was published in *Al-Nadwa*, February in 1911.

241. M.S. Vol. II, pp.100-103.

242. The article was first published in the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College Magazine, Aligarh, May 1898. See M.S. Vol. 11, pp.57-66.

243. M.S. Vol. II, p. 59.

244. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

245. This article appears to have been written in 1912. Later, it was published in *Ma'arif*, October, 1916. See M.S., Vol. 11, *Ma'arif* Press, Azamgarh, 1988, pp. 72-78.

246. M.S., Vol. II, p. 74.

247. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

248. M.S. Vol. VI, *Ma'arif* Press, 1989, pp. 194-216.

249. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

250. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

251. The articles were written at the instance of Maulana Muhammad Ali, the famous national leader and the moving spirit of the Khilafat Movement of early 1920's, and who was a former student of Aligarh College and an

ardent admirer of Shibli. He requested Shibli to write a biography of the Prophet Muhammad(P.B.U.H.). See *Hayat-i Shibli*, p. 454.

252. It has been translated into English by Sayyid Sabah-al-Din Abd-al-Rahman, and it has been published by *Idara-i Adabiyat-i Dehli*, 1981. The references to page numbers are from this edition of the book.

253. *Alamgir par ayk Nazar*, (1911), pp. 23,24.

254. Refer to Lanepoole's book.

255. *Alamgir par Ayk Nazar*, op.cit., pp. 35-36.

256. M.S. Vol.VII, 1972, p. 187.

257. *Ibid.*, p. 37

258. *Ibid.*, p. 38

259. *Ibid.*, p. 41-42. This it may be recalled, was half-a-century before Asar Ali's now well-known work *The Mughul Nobility Under Aurangzeb*(1968), in which the same point has been established more scientifically and conclusively by quantifying the data on grant of *mansabs*.

260. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

261. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

262. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

263. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

264. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

265. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

266. It is a collection of historical letters of the rulers, princess and nobles of the Mughul court as also of some Persian rulers. Mulla Fayyaz collected these letters and



*farmans* in 1134 *Hijri*. The manuscript was in possession of Nawwab Ali Husain Khan Bahadur of Lucknow, a friend of Shibli.

267. Nimat Khan, Kazim, Aquil Khan and Khafi Khan to mention a few.
268. *Alamgir par Ayk Nazar*, op.cit., p. 45.
269. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
270. K.A. Nizami's article *Maulana Shibli Ba Haysiyat Muarrikh*, Ma'arif, Azamgarh, 1986, p. 205.
271. Syed Masih-ul-Hasan(ed), *Hawashi Abul Kalam Azad*, Urdu Academy, Delhi, Daryaganj, Delhi-2, 1988, p. 348.
272. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
273. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
274. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, op.cit., p.177.
275. M.S. Vol.1, pp.165-171.
276. Syed Mohammad Aslam, The use of History in the Imperial Age: The Case of James Mill, *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.VIII, No.2, July- December, 1986.
277. Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan(1857-1964)*. Oxford University Press, 1967, p.77.
278. K.A. Nizami, *Maulana Shibli Ba Haysiyat Muarrikh*, Ma'arif, Azamgarh, 1986, p. 187.
279. Akhtar Waqar Azim, *Shibli Ba Haysiyat Muarrikh*, E'tiqad Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, p. 63.
280. M.S. Vol. IV, Ma'arif Press, 1956, p. 49.

281. *Ibid.*, Vol. 111, op.cit., p. 168.
282. Aziz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 78.
283. M.S. Vol. 111, p. 89.
284. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 176.
285. M.S. Vol. VII (2nd Ed. 1972), p. 188.
286. K.A. Nizami, *Adab Aur Mashriqi Tarikh Ka Makhzan* —  
*Shibli* (ed), Muhammad Shahriyar, Shibli Number,  
*Fikr-o-Nazr*, June 1996, p. 107. Or, See *Makatib-i-*  
*Shibli*, Vol.1 (ed), Maulana Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi,  
 Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1966, p. 176.

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## Some More Historians of Repute

### Kalay Rae

#### *The Futtuhgarh Namah or Twarikh Dila Farrukhabad(1849)*

*Futtuhgarh Namah or Twarikh Dila Farrukhabad*<sup>1</sup> is a valuable work of Kalay Rae and is among the first of its kind in Urdu language. Kalay Rae was a native of Sultanpur under district Saharanpur and belonged to the *Agarwal* caste. He was appointed Deputy Collector of district Farrukhabad on 6th June 1843. The appointment gave him the opportunity to visit different administrative units of the district and collect information from government records, some of which were documented and proved to be of great help in the compilation of this work.

The author was inspired by his father Koda Mal, a learned man who was profoundly interested in historical studies, to undertake this writing. As recorded by the author it was upon his father's insistence that the various information collected were finally pieced together in the month of February 1846. He further writes that the purpose of writing the book was to make the people, in general, and in particular the people of Farrukhabad district, know their history and benefit from the work. Another book of Kalay Rae is *Sair-i-Punjab Kamil*<sup>2</sup>.

On completion of the work it was Hon'ble Thomson, Lieutenant General of Agra, who suggested the title *Futtuhgarh Namah* to this work. Thereafter the manuscript was presented (April, 1846) to J.H. Elliot, the distinguished scholar of history, who on going through the work, liked it. He, however, pointed out certain errors, provided fresh information, and suggested organisational and textual improvement in the light of

further reading. For example, he advised use of *Devnagri* letters for correct use of certain words. The letter of Elliot suggesting improvement (dated 28 April, 1846) has been incorporated in the beginning and may be treated as foreword of the book.

After necessary modification the book was sent to Francis Horsley Robinson, Commissioner of Agra, who soon returned back (June 1, 1846) the manuscript to Kalay Rae with a note suggesting improvements proposed by Mr. Elliot. Thereafter the book was accepted for publication.

The author, Kalay Rae, received compliments for his work from different personalities<sup>3</sup>. As was the practice, Kalay Rae finally requests the readers to pardon him for the short-coming of the work.

#### ***Basic form and organisation***

The title *Futtuhgarh Namah* is chronogrammatic and the book has the character of a district gazetteer. It begins in the name of God, the traditional Islamic way of starting any work, followed by a brief doxology, and ends with an Arabic prayer meaning that may God make the book popular among the masses and the notables<sup>4</sup>. The book consists of 204 pages, including four pages of index in the beginning and four pages of *erratum* at the end. The entire work has been divided into four chapters and forty eight sections. Generally, the description made is in the form of long running narration without any break of paragraphs. Kalay Rae takes up each *pargana* as the unit of description and gives a host of information, along with the map of each *pargana*. The various *parganas* whose account have been given are Patiyali, Azamnagar, Barna, Shamshabad, Qayamganj, Kampal, Muhammadabad, Biragaon, Pahadah, Bhojpur, Chabra Mau, Talgram, Surakh, Sikhra, Shaukatpur, Qannauj, Amritpur, Kahahat Mau, Premnagar and Sakatpur.

### Contents

Kalay Rae begins with the description of the geographical location of Farrukhabad district, about the surrounding districts, population, climate, production and quality of the soil<sup>5</sup>. This is followed by a brief account of the past history of Farrukhabad, recalling that its ancient name was *Panchal Desh*. Thereafter he narrates its history during medieval times and how the state of Farrukhabad came into existence during the period of later Mughals.

It recounts that the state of Farrukhabad was founded by Nawwab Muhammad Khan Ghazanfar Jung. His father was a *Pathan* who came to India from Bangash in Afghanistan during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb. The Bangash *Pathans* continued to rule the area till 1801. Of this period a brief narration has been made of the various struggle with the local chiefs, the attacks of the Marathas, the relation with Nawwab Shuja-al-Daulah of Awadh, etc. In 1802 the paramountcy of the British was established. In 1804 Nawwab Wazir of Lucknow handed over the areas of Murādabad, Bijnor, Barielly, Itawah, Farrukhabad and Gorakhpur to the British. Later in 1843 the boundary of the state was finally established. Among other things it mentions the legal rights given to the Bangash *Nawwab*, a chart showing the *nawwabs* along with the name of their father and mother, date of birth, date of death, place of burial, and period of reign<sup>6</sup>. This is followed by genealogical tables of different *nawwabs*<sup>7</sup> and details of free land grants made to different nobles of the Bangash family<sup>8</sup>.

The author draws attention towards the raids of the Marathas in this area and the consequent chaos and anarchy created by them, about the turbulent Mewati chiefs, various steps taken by the British to restore law and order, and the clauses of



the treaty (in Persian) made between the *Nawwab* of Farrukhabad and the British<sup>9</sup>. He especially records that in 1803 famine ruined the state and consequently rice had to be imported from Bengal<sup>10</sup>. In 1805 a fierce storm ravaged the country. During this period there was much anarchy. Loot and plunder was common and highways became unsafe. Law and order was restored after the defeat of Maratha chief, Holkar.

Kalay Rae records minute details such as the temperature of the place, degree of rainfall with full illustration by the use of chart, depth at which water<sup>11</sup> was found and its quality, timing chart of the sun-rise and sun-set of the whole year, timing chart of the lunar and solar eclipse, distance-chart of the important towns and cities of India from Farrukhabad in an alphabetical order<sup>12</sup>, population figure of both the Hindus and the Muslims, the agriculturist and non-agriculturist class of people (among the Hindus and Muslims), grain markets, the different races and caste of people who inhabited the area, different kinds of orchard<sup>13</sup> with special reference to the palm trees which were found in great numbers, and the language spoken by the people in the urban and rural areas. He writes that the language spoken in urban areas was chaste Urdu, and in rural areas it was akin to the language spoken in eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Kalay Rae further accounts the various rivers and *nullahs* of the area, the sources of the rivers, whether the rivers were accessible by bridges or not, the different ferry posts (*ghat*) and the ferry rates of men and animals, and about holding of the fairs (both by the Hindus and Muslims). The author also gives the historical background of these fairs, and the place and the month in which they are held.

Regarding collection of revenue it specifically mentions that the system of *batai* and *kankut* were not prevalent, rather revenue was collected in cash on the basis of *patta* assigned to

the peasants<sup>14</sup>. The *zamindars* generally belonged to *Thakur* caste, where as the *Qanungo* and *Patwaris* belonged to *Kaisth* caste<sup>15</sup>. It records that 41.5% was taken from *Chahi* and 58.5% from *Khaki* lands. Chart showing rate of different crops have been given<sup>16</sup>.

The author is particular in giving brief information of the past history of the different places in the district and how certain areas were inhabited by people of different races and communities. For example he makes use of genealogical table to explain the different *Rajput* tribes inhabiting the area and also records their mythological origins. Significantly, he writes about the *Rathor Rajputs* who ruled the area. He informs that few members of this tribe migrated to Rajputana and founded the kingdom of Jodhpur. A scion of this family went towards Nepal and founded the dynasty which is ruling to this day<sup>17</sup>. Some of the *Rajputs*, such as *Bhar Rajputs* who were *zamindars* of Harari, Kasamkahur, Diljahpurah, etc, accepted Islam and came to be known as *Jahujha* and *Bhati*<sup>18</sup>. By and large the *Rajputs* were attached to land and agriculture, but they were not hardy in their profession.

Writing about the different caste<sup>19</sup> and their sub-caste<sup>20</sup>, Kalay Rae at times comments about their marriage custom<sup>21</sup> and whether the people were hardy and laborious. Except for *Agarwal*, *Bania*, and *Gaur Brahmins*, the rest of the people had no reservation in eating meat and flesh. *Brahmins* were very few in number in the district. The author records the superior *gotra* of each caste division and whether inter-caste marriage was permissible or not. He also makes an analytical study of the Muslim society, especially of the *Pathans* who inhabited the area. His analysis is, however, not sound and he is not clear in his conception.

Descriptions are often supplemented with various other

information such as report of different *Bandobast* (of 1803, 1806, 1808, etc) carried out, about the different *jagirdars* and the rights of the *zamindars*, sources and collection of revenue (makes use of chart). timing of collection, different categories of village, succession rights of the *zamindars*, tenancy right, occupancy rights of the peasants<sup>22</sup>, relation between the *zamindars* and peasants, chart showing salary of the different collectorate staff, police force, and the rights of the *zamindar* over orchards, pasture lands and jungles.

Kalay Rae also mentions labour wages for various works related to tilling of the land and preparing it for plantation<sup>23</sup>.

Mention has also been made about important shrines, lakes and ponds, monastries, tombs<sup>24</sup>, opening of shools and *maktabs*, mode of payment of salary to the teachers, hospitals, net-work of roads and their repair work, gateways, important buildings, profession of the different classes of men, and the important products of the area. Significantly, the author refers to the system of insurance of goods which was in vogue.

With regard to education it may be pointed out that in English schools, according to the chart, out of 104 students, there were 14 Muslims, 46 *Brahmins*, 2 *Rajputs*, 29 *Kaisthya*, 6 *Bania*, and the rest belongd to other communities<sup>25</sup>. Of the teachers there were 86 *Sheikh*, 61 *Sayyid*, 4 *Mughul*, 25 *Pathan*, 1 *Julaha*, 49 *Brahmin*, 87 *Kaisthya*, 7 *Nau Pandey*, 1 *Thakur* and 1 Hindu Christian<sup>26</sup>.

Kalay Rae informs that although the *Rajputs* formed the majority of the population their children were not interested in education and were generally engaged in agriculture. Students generally studied Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi, and to a lesser extent English and Arabic. Notably, there is a reference to a Urdu school run by an American priest<sup>27</sup>.

Attention may be paid to the account of *sati* practice<sup>28</sup>. Kalay Rae informs that according to Hindu religious scriptures women of all the four castes can perform *sati*. Actually, people feared the curse of a widow, and hence, preferred that the widow should perform *sati*. He further furnishes the information that it was not incumbent for a pregnant women or a women having a small child to perform *sati*. However, if the women felt assured that the child could be reared up by others, it was up to her discretion to perform or not to perform *sati*. A women during period of menses was also not supposed to perform *sati*. He further records that Hindu Shastras and social practice do not allow use of intoxicated eatables in order to induce the women to perform *sati*. A woman could perform *sati* even several years after the death of her husband.

The woman who was to perform *sati* was dressed in red clothes and adorned. She was then told to move towards the pyre tossing a coconut in her hands and then sit on the pyre with her husband's head on her lap.

Kalay Rae gives a list<sup>29</sup> of *sati* cases of the district before and after the promulgation of the anti-*sati* Act of Lord Bentick on 31 December 1829. According to the list the *Brahmins* were on the top.

Interestingly, *inter alia*, the author informs that once when a Christian ordered the teachers of a particular *madrasah* to attend the Church on Sunday and listen to the Bible, the Muslims and Hindu teachers left the school<sup>30</sup>. Consequently, many of the students also left the school, and only four were left. However, after great efforts the strength was revived again.

Kalay Rae records the full functioning of the collectorate in Futtuhgarh. He begins with the account of the staff members of Session Judge, names of the different posts — both of the



officers as well as of the subordinate and helping staff. Similarly he records the staff under *Sadr-us-Sodur* and *munsif*, about jails and the money spent on the construction programme, punishment meted to certain culprits, and a chart list of the *Qadis*, *Patwaris* and night-guards who were employed. He also notes the colour of the dress of peons who were attached to different officials. He mentions that the almirahs of different officers were of different colour. Among other things, he also records the bungalow in which *Adalat-i-Diwani* was stationed, from whom it was purchased and at what price and when. He further lists the chart of police officials, revenue officials<sup>31</sup>, about the *Qadis* (along with their names) posted in different areas and the *Patwaris* posted in different *tehsils*<sup>32</sup>, functioning of the postal system, postal rates, etc.<sup>33</sup>.

Finally, there is the picture of different agricultural tools and the instruments used for tilling and levelling the land. These include those used for harnessing the bullocks, drawing water from the well, irrigation, weeding and husking, etc.<sup>34</sup>. Kalay Rae briefly describes how they were used. He refers to the various totem and worship performed by the peasants and cultivators so that there may be rich harvest<sup>35</sup>. For example, after the harvest of sugar cane, the people share its juice which they call *raspohan* or *parwahi*, the Muslims called it *unjari*<sup>36</sup>. Herein the share given to different village community-men by the agriculturists and *zamindars* have also been recorded<sup>37</sup>.

Lastly, the author has written about some of the important political developments as well as about the strange events of the district from 1802 to 1846.

Kalay Rae does not explicitly mention the books and sources consulted by him, except to the reference of *Ain-i Akbari*<sup>38</sup>, which he used for the corroboration of certain facts. However, it is plausible that since the writer was well-versed in



Persian he might have used other Persian sources as well. The Arabic prayer mentioned earlier shows the author's attachment to the prevalent Indo-Islamic writing ethos.

### *Style*

Compared to some of the earlier works this work is also an important milestone towards rendering historical writings in a simple and straightforward manner. In this respect Kalay Rae may be ranked along with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who rendered yeomen service to the cause of Urdu language. The language used by the author is mature, but to the modern readers it causes strain because the sentences are often clumsy and the orthography<sup>39</sup> at places is also different. The author is aware of the problem of orthography of Hindi and Urdu languages, and hence, for reasons of convenience to the readers Kalay Rae while writing about the different caste of Hindus spells the name in Hindi (*Devnagri* script) along with Urdu.

### *Significance*

*Futuhgarh Namah* is a unique book of its kind, Kalay Rae makes full use of charts, maps (with use of different colours) and genealogical tables to illustrate and elucidate the matter under discussion. Such meticulous treatment is not to be found in any other Urdu book of history written during the first half of the nineteenth century. It is certainly a valuable source for local history as well as for sociological studies. It marks the beginning of an important trend in Urdu historiography, namely the writing of district history. To the modern scholars it provides valuable social and economic data, attitude of the Hindus and Muslims, their apprehension towards schools run by the British, the representation of the Indians in the British administration, and many such other aspects.

### Pandit Debi Prasad

Pandit Debi Prasad was a native of Bareilly or of the neighbouring area. He had his early education at *Madrrasah* Bareilly. As a boy he appears to have been a bright student because he was requisitioned to write the history of Punjab while he was still studying at *Madrrasah* Bareilly. Having acquired education at a *madrrasah*, Pandit Debi Prasad naturally imbibed knowledge of Islamic sciences and Islamic culture as is evident from his writings. It also appears that Pandit Debi Prasad had gained knowledge of English because he was entrusted with the important posts of 'Visitor' and 'Deputy Collector' at different periods of time by the British government.

Here an attempt has been made to examine three of his available works: *Khulasa-i-Twarikh-i-Hind*, *Tarikh-i-Dilah Farrukhabad* and *Gulshan-i-Punjab*.

#### The *Khulasa-i-Twarikh-i-Hind*(1852)<sup>40</sup>

*Khulasa-i-Twarikh-i-Hind* begins with the information that this is a work of Pandit Debi Prasad, 'Visitor Resident' of district Farrukhabad. The significance of the book is that it was written at a time when the author was pursuing his studies at *madrrasah* Bareilly<sup>41</sup>. The purpose of writing the book was to present it to the Lieutenant Governor of the province.

Pandit Debi Prasad at the very outset pleads that this book should not be treated merely as a story. In it the author has briefly recorded the political history of India from ancient times to near about 1846. The book ends rather abruptly.

*Khulasa-i-Twarikh-i-Hind* begins with a foreword consisting of a doxological quatrain. This is followed by a brief

rendering of the utility of the knowledge of history. For example the author states that history provides us moral lessons as well as means for understanding material and worldly benefits. It reminds us of the next world and the desire for renunciation. In fact the knowledge of history can not be encompassed.

The early portion dealing with ancient India is based upon Sanskrit accounts. The author has, however, not named the sources. It appears to have been based more upon Hindu mythology, is rather sketchy, and therefore, it does not deserve much attention.

The same thing can be said about the Muslim period. The author does not specifically mention the source of his information. Some of the information provided are as follows: that the Mughul emperor Babar attacked several times but was defeated by the ruler of Lahore, and that it was on the occasion of his fifth invasion that he got success. Similarly he states that Mughul emperor Akbar started *Ilahi* religion which gained popularity. Also, that Shah Jahan was pleasure loving, etc.

Some other information provided are that Malik Kafur poisoned Sultan Ala al-Din Khalji<sup>42</sup>, and that the Portuguese established their factories on the Malabar coast during the reign of Sikandar Lodi<sup>43</sup>. The author occasionally mentions the date of coronation or death of a ruler which are correct.

The portion dealing with the advent and establishment of British rule is fairly vivid and meaningful. In particular, we can draw valuable information about Anglo-Afghan and Anglo-Sikh relations. It also gives brief account of the British conquest of Sindh and Gwalior. Of the Sikhs, it records about the rise of Ranjit Singh, that Ranjit Singh killed his mother, about the bravery of the Sikhs in their battle against the British, political developments during the later Sikh rulers, about the different

battles fought against the British, and details of the clauses and terms of the treaty arrived at between the two sides. The author remarks that on many occasions luck favoured the British. He specifically states that the British destroyed Ghazni and ransacked it, etc<sup>44</sup>

Some examples of orthography are as follows:

تھے has been written as تہی

بڑی has been written as بری

چھوٹی چھوٹی has been written as چھوتی چھوتی

بٹھایا has been written as بتھایا

#### The *Tarikh-i-Dilah Farrukhabad*(1859)<sup>45</sup>

*Tarikh-i-Dilah Farrukhabad*(1859) is another book of Pandit Debi Prasad. He wrote the book at the orders of Lieutenant Governor of Western Province. When Pandit Debi Prasad undertook the work he was serving as the 'Visitor' in the district of Farrukhabad.

#### *Organisation and Methodology*

This historical work bearing characteristics of British gazetter gives a general information of the district of Farrukhabad. It bears information of nineteen *parganas* into which the district was divided. During the course of narration it briefly records about the administrative division under the Mughuls. Each *pargana* has been discussed in fair detail—stating its territorial extent and boundary, its past history, important places and towns, the different races of people who inhabited and ruled the region (including the *Rajputs* and other tribes), the several grain-markets established, etc. Events before the coming of the British have been recorded in *Hijri* era, and

those after the coming of the British, especially after the Subsidiary Alliance, have been given in Christian era. Months have been recorded with English names.

### Contents

In general *Tarikh-i-Dilah Farrukhabad* provides information of political nature, of battles and conquests, grant of *jagirs*, food habits, society, changes that took place in various departments of life in the wake of British hegemony, and other related matters.

The historical account begins from the time of the later Mughuls, stating that Nawwab Muhammad Khan Ghazanfar Jung was the founder of the city of Farrukhabad. The city of Farrukhabad has been described in detail and the fort of Fatehgarh<sup>46</sup> has received special attention wherein a *karkhana* was also functioning. The territory acquired importance when Nawwab Muhammad Khan sided with the Mughul emperor Farrukhsiyar, during the struggle for power and on whose name the city was founded. After being successful the emperor showered political privileges and honorific titles upon Nawwab Muhammad Khan. Muhammad Khan was succeeded by Qayam Khan.

While discussing the *nawwabs*, the author describes their political relations with the *Bundelas*, *Rohillahs*, *Jats* and the *Marathas*. It also mentions rival claimants to the throne, court intrigues, conspiracies, and political relationship with the British. In particular, the author writes about the different clauses of the agreement made with Lord Wellesly, obviously referring to the Subsidiary Alliance. The agreement text is recorded in English.

After stating the territorial extent of the district Farrukhabad and its frontier, Pandit Debi Prasad writes in



praiseworthy words that the British brought law and order, exacted revenue from those who hitherto refused to pay, and consequently brought peace and prosperity never witnessed before<sup>47</sup>. In general, some of the important information provided are as follows.

According to census report of 1853 the population of the district was 10,45,607. Of them 1,24,519 were Muslims, and the rest were Hindus.

The people of the city and towns spoke Urdu, while the people of the village spoke *Bhaka* which contained many words that were akin to those spoken by the village-men of eastern Uttar Pradesh.

The climate of the place has been described as moderate. It has been recorded that palm tree grew in great number. The fruit of jujube tree is very famous. Beetles were also grown. Potatoes were grown in abundance. People relished *Arhar* and *Mash* pulses. Comparatively rice was eaten less. Except for the *Agrawal Banias* and *Gaur Brahmins*, people were fond of meat.

The district had five hundred mosques and 2800 temples<sup>48</sup>. According to the census report there were 665 *maktabs* (schools) in which there were 6769 students. They studied Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian and *Majuzah*<sup>49</sup>.

The author records some of the products of the area and the mineral resources. This includes saltpetre, bronze, indigo and tin. Merchants would travel to sell cloth in different parts of the country. In particular printed cloth of this district was very famous. Saltpetre, indigo and opium were carried to Calcutta. In *Qayamganj* swords, guns and *sarotah* were made. Weapons made of iron were reputed for their high quality. The author states that tigers and elephants were not found in the jungles of this area.

Mention has also been made of the different rivers that flow through this district, how people crossed it, about the different *Nullahs*, about the different fairs held — their name, place, where and when held. It refers to the use of *Charkhi*(wheel) for irrigation<sup>50</sup>.

It makes reference to the court of justice and the different courts and police administration. Herein the author records fourteen different police stations of the district.

The author specifically refers to a camp in the fort of Futtugarh where the American missionaries had purchased girls and boys during the famine(1245 *Fasli*). The girls were taught embroidery and the boys were taught carpet weaving. They were paid Rs.4/- per month and when they reached adulthood they were married. The author has, however, evaded the point whether such children were converted into Christianity or not.

With respect to *pargana* Chabra Mau the author writes how it acquired the name, and also about the city of Kannauj. About the latter, Pandit Debi Prasad writes that the name of the daughter of the king was Kanya-kunj on whose name the city was named. For convenience of pronunciation the people started calling the name as Kannauj. The author also writes about the tombs of eminent *Sufis* of the district. One such description is of *Sufi* Makhdum Jalal Salis whose tomb was constructed in 881 *Hijri*.

Among other things it records that in *pargana* Amritpur crime was common but under the British it was considerably reduced. While writing about *pargana* Shamsabad, the author records that village Sanksa Basantpur is important because the Saxena *Ka'isths* consider this village as their original homeland. A very strange information that has been recorded is that when well is dug for water in a particular area measuring near about 500 *bighas*, then below the earth crust one comes across wood

plank. It is only after cutting this plank that water is available<sup>51</sup>.

The language is simple and written in a straightforward manner. At times the orthography is different from present times<sup>52</sup>

### The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*<sup>53</sup> or The *Tarikh-i-Punjab*

This is a notable work of Pandit Debi Prasad. The work was written when Pandit Debi Prasad was a student of the *Madrasah Barielly College*, and was published by *Matba Barielly* in 1850. According to the author the work was very popular and all the copies were sold. Consequently, on demand the work was revised and after fresh additions it was published again in August 1872. Pandit Debi Prasad was Deputy Collector of Mathura when this work was recompiled. The author states that he undertook writing about the province of Punjab especially because revolutionary changes started taking place after the birth of Guru Nanak and also because the region is famous for its greenery and mirthful people. In all probability Pandit Debi Prasad was in Punjab for some time where he got the opportunity to observe the Punjabi society from close quarters. He must also have been a witness to some of the political events.

#### *Methodology*

When the writing of the book was first undertaken it was written as a single whole. However, when it was republished in 1872 it was divided into two parts. The first part deals with the history of the Punjab till 1850, and the second part describes the developments after the establishment of the British rule.

The book begins in the name of God, upholding Him as the compassionate and merciful — the traditional Islamic way of starting a work. This is followed by a preface in which the beauty

of the Punjab and of its carefree people have been praised with rendering of verses, both in Urdu and Persian. In the process of writing, the author makes use of footnotes, some of which are fairly long and informative and have also been used at times to cross-examine<sup>54</sup> certain statements. He also quotes *farmans*<sup>55</sup> and notices<sup>56</sup> of the government. Significantly, at one place he furnishes a statement within inverted commas<sup>57</sup>, and at another place he has used the Qur'anic phrase *Al hamd-u-Lillah*<sup>58</sup> as a token of thanks to God. In the beginning and towards the end of the book some of the passages are extremely long. The pages have been numbered but simultaneously the *tark* system of pagination has also been used. Each subject-matter has been narrated under separate headings.

A significant feature of the methodology is the use of charts and lists to illustrate various aspects of revenue yield, types of land, the different races of people who inhabit the country(land) of the Punjab, about the ruling chiefs and *jagirdars*, etc. The author is quite meticulous in recording events with dates, especially when dealing with the British period.

### *Contents*

The first part begins from the time of Guru Nanak with the remarks that his period marked the beginning of revolutionary changes in the Punjab. Thereafter, it traces the early life of Guru Nanak and his association with saints, ascetics, *derveshes* and *Sufis* — the most notable of them being Sayyid Husain. Soon after, Guru Nanak entered the services of Babar<sup>59</sup>. Here Pandit Debi Prasad incorrectly states that Babar came from Iran<sup>60</sup>. Following Babar's death, Guru Nanak left Mughul service and became a recluse given to meditation. In course of time, he collected and compiled the different sayings of saints and *Sufis* along with that of his own, and named it the *Granth Sahib*. This



statement, as we all know is incorrect.

The life and activities of the successors of Guru Nanak, ending with Guru Gobind Singh have been accounted. It records that Tegh (Taygh) Bahadur was executed because he failed to perform any miracle when asked by the Mughul emperor Aurangzeb. The author however, at the same time records that Tegh Bahadur had grown in strength and would move with a contingent of five to seven thousand men along with a drum and a canopy. These were royal prerogatives and its adoption was definitely a challenge to the Mughul sovereignty. This appears to be the real cause behind the execution of Tegh Bahadur, although the author does not state so. Be that as it may, the reference to the strength of Tegh Bahadur and his growing political overtones are noteworthy.

The author accounts that it was Guru Govind who called upon the Sikhs to take up the profession of soldiery and to adopt the title of *singh* (meaning lion). Interestingly, he refers to a mythological story<sup>61</sup> related to Guru Govind Singh. Pandit Debi Prasad also accounts the fanaticism of Banda *Bairagi* — his dislike for Islam and Muslims, his ruthless destruction of mosques and Muslim villages, and damage caused to Muslim graves<sup>62</sup>. He then goes on to write about the different *subedars* who ruled Punjab and about the repeated attacks of Ahmad Shah Abdali which led to chaotic conditions in Punjab. The political chaos paved the way for the rise of Sikh *mists*, and encouraged the *Marathas* to advance into Punjab. About the emergence of *mists*, the author gives a chart of different *mists*<sup>63</sup>, their activities, the name of the leader of each *mist*, their area of control, military strength, and details about the functioning of these *mists*.

The rise of Ranjit Singh has received special attention. Among other things Pandit Debi Prasad informs that Ranjit Singh poisoned his mother<sup>64</sup>. In doing so, he followed his father, Maha



Singh, who had also killed his mother on charges of adultery<sup>65</sup>. The author states that Ranjit Singh's initial successes were based upon loot and plunder. He took full advantage of the anarchial condition and political vacuum created by frequent invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Ranjit Singh's expansionist activities and the ensuing conflict with the other Sikh chiefs and *Pathans* have been described. His meeting with Sir Charles Metcalfe and the resultant settlement of boundary dispute has also been noted. Pandit Debi Prasad opines that Ranjit Singh accepted the British terms because he feared that in case of refusal the British would help his opponents.

Pandit Debi Prasad portrays Ranjit Singh as a brave, crafty, cruel, and treacherous person<sup>66</sup>, who, in his youth, was sensuous and easeloving and addicted to heavy drinking. But he lived a simple life and always remained concerned about the welfare of his subjects. He believed in the prophecies of sooth-sayers and would not undertake any work without consulting them.

Thereafter, the political activities of the successors of Ranjit Singh, namely Kharak Singh, Naunehal Singh, Sher Singh, Gulab Singh, Mul Raj, and others have been briefly discussed. The narration contains account of internal strife among the warring Sikh chiefs, intrigues, revenge, conspiracies and such related matters and political developments.<sup>67</sup>

Pandit Debi Prasad briefly writes about the preachings and activities of the *Wahhabi* leader, Sayyid Ahmad. He especially points out that Sayyid Ahmad introduced certain practices which offended the frontier people of Peshawar. He, however, does not enumerate what were these practices. Taking advantage of the situation, the Sikhs, led by Sher Singh, attacked and killed Sayyid Ahmad in a battle in 1831. His head was cut off and sent to Lahore<sup>68</sup>.

He also discusses the Anglo-Sikh relations and the different battles fought between the two sides. In describing the different battles he records the terms of treaties between the two and even about the ratification of some of these treaties. He opines that had the different factions of the Sikhs fought unitedly they would have been able to fight the British. He remarks that if the Sikhs had taken courage and pursued<sup>69</sup> the British troops at Ludhiana they would have met with success. But since the Sikhs lacked generalship and courage they could not inflict loss on the British. He expresses the view that a number of Sikh chiefs were in secret league with the British. For example, Gulab Singh, stationed at Jammu, would give false assurances to help the Sikh troops stationed at Lahore. In fact, he anxiously waited for the British success<sup>70</sup> over the Sikhs in the Punjab. Another Sikh chief, Tekh Singh, behaved in a similar fashion. In discussing about the Anglo-Sikh battles the author is quite particular in informing about the movements of British troops, the timing of the battles, and losses of men during the war<sup>71</sup>, especially of the British.

The second part of the *Tarikh-i-Punjab* deals with the geographical limits of the Punjab state under the Sikh rule, the administrative divisions under the British, the different cities and their population, trade and business, system of taxation, laws of the country, society and custom of the Sikhs, condition of the Muslims under the Sikh rule, genealogical table of the Sikh Gurus and that of the Jammu rulers, sketches of the important Sikh chiefs, spread of the war of 1857 in various parts of the Punjab and the calamity that befell the Muslims, the political affairs of the Bahawalpur State, succession disputes among the different chiefs of the Punjab and the role of the British government, the origin and activities of the Koka sect, etc.

Writing about the administration of Ranjit Singh, Debi

Prasad writes that there was no specific code of law under him. Much of Ranjit Singh's time was spent on loot and plunder, and he adopted the system of contract for the collection of revenue. *Kharaj* or land tax was collected from different areas under control of different chiefs<sup>72</sup>. and sometimes Ranjit Singh had to march in person to exact taxes. The author further says that there was no system of collectorate or *diwani*. The different Sikh chiefs used to make decisions after receiving complaints. They were empowered to impose fines. Abusing their powers, they would often take gifts from the petitioners. Culprits with serious offences were punished by chopping off their hands, nose and ears<sup>73</sup>. Capital punishment was rarely accorded<sup>74</sup>. Since Ranjit Singh could not establish proper administrative laws, the country after his death fell into complete anarchy. In general, the peasants, under Sikh rule were subject to oppression of various forms<sup>75</sup>. Interestingly, he informs that police inspectors who recovered stolen goods had the right to claim one-fourth value of the property. If the owner refused to give, the police inspector had the right to return the stolen goods to the culprit<sup>76</sup>.

Debi Prasad refers to the several salt mines located in the Punjab from where *Lahori Namak* was mined. Multan was specially famous for its silk. Under Ranjit Singh's rule traders and merchants moved freely. Ranjit Singh himself carried trade in *shawl* and salt<sup>77</sup>. Kashmir was specially famous for the production of saffron and paper.

Of special importance is the brief account of the Sikh society. This pertains to the religious book of the Sikhs, the initiation ceremony into Sikhism as also of *Singha* Sikhs<sup>78</sup>, the different groups and sects of the Sikhs<sup>79</sup>, their religious centres, marriage laws and customs, property rights of the *Manji* Sikhs, etc. He records that among the Sikhs a widow can not adopt a son. Also, among the Sikhs, except the *Kethal* Sikhs, if the elder

brother of the widower sends white garments and nose ring to the widow (i.e. wife of the deceased brother), then the widow becomes the wife of the elder brother<sup>80</sup>. Among the *Malwa* Sikhs the elder brother is the sole inheritor of his father's property, the younger brother only gets a fixed amount as stipend<sup>81</sup>. *Sati* (immolation by widows) was practised among the Sikhs. Some of the queens of Ranjit Singh performed *sati*<sup>82</sup>. And, despite religious prohibition, the Sikhs drink in plenty.

Debi Prasad's information about the condition of the Muslims deserve special attention. According to him, the Muslims, by and large under the Sikh rule lived in abject poverty and were subject to religious intolerance. They were not allowed to call *azan* or perform prayers in mosques (except on certain occasions when they were allowed to assemble in mosques) or eat beef<sup>83</sup>. The Sikhs were so biased against the Muslims that they would not do anything that was in any way related to the Islamic way of life irrespective of its merit. They considered learning of Persian and Arabic as ignominious<sup>84</sup>. During the days of the Mutiny of 1857 the Muslims had to suffer untold miseries. The author laments the condition of the Muslims who wandered helplessly and were subject to the torments of nature.

After the suppression of the Mutiny, first the Hindus were allowed to rehabilitate Delhi, and then in March 1858 the Muslims were allowed to settle back<sup>85</sup>. *Jami Masjid*, occupied by the British during the days of revolt, was handed over to the Muslims on 27 November 1862. Similarly, the *Idgah* of Multan was handed over to the Muslims in 1863<sup>86</sup>.

A very sketchy account of the *Wahhabis* has also found place, although they have not been specifically termed so. It states that a section of the Muslims in an attempt to drive out the British carried on their activities from Bengal via Patna to Sitana and Mulka. Their activities were first brought to notice by



Ghuzzan Khan, a police official. Three suspected persons — Muhammad Jafar (of Thanesar), Muhammad Shafi (a contractor of meat for the British troops) and Yahya Ali were arrested and put to trial under Captain Parsis<sup>87</sup>. He in turn, handed them over to the commissioner of Ambala on whose order they were hanged<sup>88</sup>. The last word about them, is however, an error of information. It is true that Yahya Ali, Muhammad Jafar and Muhammad Shafi were sentenced to death on 2nd May 1864, but the judgement was repealed on 24th August 1864. The capital punishment pronounced to the three accused was commuted to transportation for life and they were sent to Andaman island, popularly known as *Kala Pani*. Muhammad Jafar of Thanesar lived to compile the account of his penal settlement entitled *Tarikh-i-Ajib* (History of Port Blair)<sup>89</sup>.

Several internal clashes of the *Pathan* tribes and Sikhs, as well as uprisings against the British that took place from time to time have been recorded. For example, the uprising of the *Afridi Pathans* was suppressed. Similarly, the uprising of the Mumund (Mohmund) *Pathans* of Peshawar was quelled in 1851. However, the British at the same time attempted to win over the recalcitrant Afghan chiefs by distribution of lavish gifts and pensions. But the Afghans continued to fight amongst themselves as also against the British. The author gives valuable information about the activities of the *Yusufzai* Afghans and the Baloch, and also about the political condition of the Bahawalpur State. Among other things it records that in 1864 the Sayyids of Sitana, along with many Indians, incited the people to rise against the British. They were, however, crushed. In 1852 the Sikhs also resorted to an uprising, but were suppressed and they finally accepted the suzerainty of the British.

The War of 1857 and how it spread in the Punjab has received greater coverage. It records various developments such



as the suppression of the revolt at Ferozepur, Jalandhar, Sialkot, Peshawar and other places; the attitude of the frontier tribes of Hazara, Swat, Kohat and other places; the disarming of different platoons; the clashes between the Indian troops and the British; the help extended to the British troops by some Indian chiefs; confiscation of property of those persons who helped the mutineers; beheading of the Mughul princes, etc.<sup>90</sup>.

Pandit Debi Prasad also records the origin and development of the *Kuka* sect of the Punjab. Its founder was Balak Singh of Harzokah in the Rawalpindi district. After his death in 1863 he was succeeded by Ram Singh of the village Bini (in the Ludhiana district). Another writer, Ghulam Sarwar, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* (published in 1877) records that Balak Singh, son of Sadhu Singh, belonged to the Hijron village in the district of Rawalpindi. His successor Ram Singh, son of Kartar Singh, belonged to the Bahini village in the district of Ludhiana<sup>91</sup>. It appears that Bini and Bahini are one and the same village whose name has been recorded with slight variation. This sect laid stress upon morality, and denounced acceptance of dowry. Those who indulged in adultery and robbery were excluded from this sect. The followers of this sect created disturbance in Malirkotla and Patiala. As a result, Ram Singh, along with some of his followers, were imprisoned at Allahabad.

The book is specially significant for the use of charts and lists — a feature almost unseen in the early historical works of Urdu. With the help of these a variety of information has been provided. For example, census<sup>92</sup> as conducted during 1854-55, revenue yield during 1849-51, details of various types of land<sup>93</sup>, administrative units<sup>94</sup>, death of chiefs<sup>95</sup>, chiefs who were bestowed with titles<sup>96</sup>, pensions<sup>97</sup>, *jagirs*<sup>98</sup>, etc., have been provided.

In the end, there is a brief account of the Punjab history in

which population of important towns has been given, extensions of navigable routes in miles, rail and road extensions, the important states of the Punjab, the nature of their relations with the Punjab government and what they were supposed to do for the welfare of their subjects<sup>99</sup>, and the racial groups of the different Muslim and Hindu rulers along with their lineage. Finally, there is a chart of the Punjab rulers of states<sup>100</sup> along with their names, race, caste, age, area of control, population, strength of the army, revenue paid to the British government, educational qualifications of the rulers, important products of the area, and various other information. The book ends with the Islamic terminology *Al-Hamd wa al-Miinnat*, meaning thereby that only God is worthy of all praise.

#### *Attitude towards sources*

Pandit Debi Prasad does not specifically refer to the sources he had at hand. He generally uses the phrase<sup>101</sup> 'historian writes' and 'author writes'. But obviously, he must have been in possession of some Persian chronicles and Sikh sources as well as historical and official records of the British. His position as a government servant must have certainly helped in the collection of sources and data.

#### *Language*

The book is a specimen of fine chaste Urdu and in terms of language and presentation surpasses some of the other contemporary works. Having short paragraphs and short sentences, in general, it displays simplicity and grace. Persian couplets used at times embellish the language. At places the orthography is different from the present times. Some Islamic terminologies have also been used. The usage of these terms show the influence of Muslim culture on the writer.

### *Significance of the work*

The *Tarikh-i-Punjab* or *Gulshan-i-Punjab* which is characterised by the influence of British Gazetteer writing, is a seminal work of its kind. The author deserves all praise for imbibing Western methodology and writing such a kind of historical work when Urdu historiography was still in a formative stage. The merit of this book is more obvious if we place this work among the works of mid-nineteenth century. Although brief and sketchy it incorporates in itself political, social, economic and administrative aspects of the history of Punjab. In course of narration it gives valuable information about internal strife among the warring Sikh chiefs of the province, intrigues, conspiracies, assassinations, condition of the Muslims under the Sikh rule, the Sikh-Pathan relations, etc.

Pandit Debi Prasad is among the early Urdu historians to have made appreciable use of charts, lists, notices and foot-notes — all of which make his work highly significant. The statistical data provided can be used for the construction of socio-economic history of the Punjab. The author has written in an impartial way and is free from religious rancour. However, this valuable work appears to have remained unnoticed, for none of the modern historians have utilised it for their writings on the Punjab.

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## Munshi Nawal Kishore

### *The Twarikh-i-Nadir-al-Asar* (1863)

The *Twarikh-i-Nadir-al-Asar* which is among the early works on Awadh, is the writing of the famous publisher and writer, Munshi Nawal Kishore<sup>102</sup>. The author has dedicated this work to Colonel Abbott (Sanders Alexes Abbott), the commissioner of Lucknow Division. In the compilation of this book Munshi Nawal Kishore acknowledges the help of Munshi Tota Ram and Govind Prasad.

The *Twarikh-i-Nadir-al-Asar*<sup>103</sup> is a brief history of Awadh from ancient times till the annexation by the British East India Company to its empire. The author has not made any mention of the sources he has used. However, it is certain that the account about the city of Lucknow is based on the personal observation of the author.

### *Contents*

The narration begins with the life history of Colonel Abbott, about his departure to Europe, the farewell party organised by the Indians on the occasion, and the departure address given by the Colonel to the people.

Nawal Kishore writes about the early Indian kings, Indian wisdom and knowledge, its religion, the geographical and physical position, its mineral resources, different crops grown, temperature, seasons and life of the people.

This is followed by a list of Muslim rulers from the time of Amir Timur to Alamgir II — bearing their names, their father's name, date of birth, place of birth, place of accession to the throne, age of the ruler at the time of accession, year of

accession, cause of death, place of burial, and total life of the ruler.

The author then records the coming of the British, about the mutiny of 1857, and a sketchy account of fifty-four native Indian estates — giving their names, area in miles and yearly yield of revenue in lakhs.

By far the most significant aspect of this book is that it provides a vivid account of Lucknow city and its early history. The author states that the old name of Lucknow was Laksh-Nawati or Lakhmanpur, and it was founded by Lachhman (the brother of Hindu mythological God, Lord Ram). The credit of making it the capital of Awadh goes to Nawwab Asaf-al-Daulah.

It is not known when the name Lucknow first came to be used but the city had acquired importance before the reign of Mughul emperor, Akbar. Munshi Nawal Kishore gives valuable account of contemporary life of Lucknow, its lanes and by-lanes, its splendour, and the language spoken by the people.

Lucknow then had four *tehsils* — *Huzur tehsil*, Lucknow Kursi, Mohanlalganj, and Maleehabad. The author also describes about the adjoining districts, namely Daryabad, Raibariely, Khairabad, Hardoi and Unam. While writing about the district head-quarters and commissionery it records its distance from Lucknow, the fertility of the land, about the condition of *taaluqhdars* (gentry class/nobility), the various races of people (both Hindus & Muslims) who inhabited the state, crops grown, important places of worship, shrines and *dargahs*, fairs, schools, *maktabs* and *madradas*, general condition of the people, etc.

This is followed by a brief political history of each *Nawwab* under separate heading and also about their behaviour, character and other qualities. Special mention may be made of Wajid Ali Shah whom the author criticises for his interest in



music and dancing, but nevertheless, praises the *Nawwab* for being merciful and generous. He states that the *Nawwab* never abused any one, was free from obsession and pretension, was judicious, and did not spare any one on grounds of lineage of birth<sup>104</sup>.

Munshi Nawal Kishore gives valuable information about day-to-day activities of the *Nawwabs*, the administrative condition and problems, the participation of some of the *Nawwabs* in the fairs, the Hindu-Muslim relations, the feelings and expressions of the city-men of Lucknow when order of annexation of the Awadh state to the East India Company's territory was served, the state of affairs in Lucknow during the mutiny of 1857 and what befell the ladies of the *harem*, and the economic poverty and distress that followed. Nawal Kishore shows astonishment at the bravery of Hazrat Begum who fought bravely and fearlessly the British at a time when their male counterparts showed cowardice<sup>105</sup>.

The writer also mentions social activities such as Hindu-Muslim fairs, the *Muharram* activities, dancing girls and prostitutes, prostitution, sodomy, and marriage celebrations of the Hindus and Muslims who both indulged in extravagance; fire-works and poetical symposia were special features.

The book is very valuable for the description it provides about the various buildings of Lucknow. Such information is not to be found elsewhere. The buildings which have been described are *Kothi Bibiyapur*, *Kothi Dilkusha*, *Wilayti Bagh*, *Kothi Martin*, *Naharganj*(canal), *Sikander Bagh*, *Kadam Rasool*, *Najaf Ashraf*, *Moti Mahal*, *Khursheed Manzil*, *Tara Wali Kothi*, *Bara Imam Barah*, etc.

In short, *Twarikh-i-Nadir-al-Asar* is a valuable historical account as well as an important source of contemporary life of

Lucknow and about the inner court-life of the *Nawwabs*. It certainly has a distinct trend of its own, and perhaps influenced the novelist cum-historian, Abd al-Halim Sharar, to write about the socio-cultural history of Lucknow in his *Guzashta Lucknow*. This was obviously written to win the favour of the British officials, and hence, nothing contrary to the British interest has been written. But the author has sometimes also praised the rulers of Awadh.

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## Munshi Ghulam Nabi Meruthi

### *The Tarikh-i-Jhajjar* (1866)<sup>106</sup>

This is a valuable work of Munshi Ghulam Nabi Meruthi who was a *tahsildar* of the town of Jhajjar in the district of Rohtak. The suffix *Meruthi* after the name suggests that the author belonged to Meerut. The book was written at the behest of James Nismit, the commissioner of Hisar<sup>107</sup>. The author highly praises James Nismit for his wisdom, intellect, and benevolence.

As was often expressed by writers of contemporary times the author also expresses his humility for the task assigned to him but had to write in obedience to the orders of a superior official. The author states that despite lack of time he had to undertake the work. He further says that for the collection of source-material he had to undergo great difficulties.

This work which bears a *chronogrammatic* title, begins with a doxology, the traditional Muslim way of starting a work. Here again the author expresses his humility that his pen is too weak to express the magnificence of the Almighty God. The doxology is in the form of rhyming prose interspersed with *Quranic* statements in Arabic.

### *Basic Form and Organisation*

The *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar* may be described as local history or history of Jhajjar state. During the period of the later Mughuls Jhajjar was a *pargana* in Haryana. The book has been written in two volumes. The first volume bears account dating from the time of the conquest of Jhajjar by Shahab-al-Din Muhammad Ghori till about 1863. The second volume consists of accounts of different *pargana* in Jhajjar and its geography. Accordingly the

author insists that the work be known as *Jugrafiyah-i-Jhajjar* or Geography of Jhajjar. This volume is, however, not available.

The first volume under examination has a preface and consists of three chapters. An index gives the content of the book. The first chapter deals with the different rulers of Delhi who administered Jhajjar from the time of Muhammad Shahab-al-Din Ghorī till the period of Mughul emperor, Farrukhsiyar. The second chapter relates to imperial legislation and administrative measures sanctioned from time to time by the Mughuls with regard to this *pargana*. The third chapter gives account of the administrators who ruled Jhajjar. In later times it came to be known as the state of Bahraich<sup>108</sup>.

The first chapter bears six sections: the first section deals about the Ghorids (also termed as Slave rulers), the second about the Khaljis, the third about the Tughluqs, the fourth about the Syeds, the fifth about the Lodis, and the sixth about the Afghans (Sur) and the Mughuls. The second chapter has been divided into nine sections, and the third chapter into six sections.

The *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar* has been written in long unbroken paragraphs, but each aspect has been written with indications termed as *dafah* (دف). For example each Sultan has been discussed under separate *dafah*. The name of each ruler or the matter to be narrated has been written in bold letters. *Hijri* dates have been mentioned along with corresponding Christian dates. Sources have been cited in the body of the text, and foot-notes have been used mainly to explain the meaning of certain words.

#### *Attitudes towards source*

The author has in the very beginning listed the sources<sup>109</sup> he has studied: *Twarikh-i-Hind*, *Khulasat-al-Twarikh*, *Dbd-al-Twarikh*, *Siyar al Mutaakherin*, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, *Mirat-i-Aftab*

*Nama, Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Ain-i-Akbari, Waqiat-i Hind, Sai'r-i-Mukhtasar Hind, Ganjumbah, Tarikh-i-Baran, Mehar-i-Nim Roz, Amir Namah, Tarikh-i-Angrezi George Thomas Saheb*(perhaps the book is in English), *Twarikh-i-Jacom Saheb, Asar-al-Sanadid, Dabistan-al-Mazahib, Fasl-i-Bahar and Jung Namah Ta'tul*. The shortcoming of the author is that he does not name the writer of these chronicles and uncritically accepts the information provided in them. Apart from the use of these chronicles the author also acquired information from aged persons. He uses the phrase 'Some Say'. Sometimes the source of information has been quoted during the course of narration.

### *Contents*

The narration begins with an account of the founder and the growth of the town of Jhajjar, stating that it was founded by a king named Jojan who named the town as Jajnagar after his name, and it lay 24 *karoh* from Delhi. With the passage of time owing to convenience of pronunciation it commonly came to be known as Jhajjar. The period of Raja Jojan is not known, but the settlement laid by him was soon deserted, and it was after about seven hundred years that it was rehabilitated during the Muslim period.

Another version holds that during ancient days a town was established by the name of Bahakolan near a lake by the name of Jhajjar. Following the invasion of Muhammad Ghorī, a number of towns were deserted, Bahakolan being one of them. However, when peace was restored the natives of Bahakolan requested Muhammad Ghorī to allow them to resettle. The Sultan did not allow them to settle on the site asked for, but gave them permission to make their dwellings in the neighbouring area. Thus was laid the foundation of the town of Jhajjar which continues to this day.



Under the Mughul emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748), Raushan-al -Daulah Zafar Jung was made the *jagirdar* of Jhajjar. Later under Faujdar Khan a number of building programmes were undertaken which included construction of mosques and a fort. By his efforts many ruined villages were rehabilitated. While writing about the succeeding administrators the author mentions their welfare programmes and agrarian measures. It especially records that it was Surajmal who first constructed a *shivata* (temple) in the town of Jhajjar.

Later in 1756 the Mughul prince, Ali Gauhar, marched to Jhajjar. After suppressing the revolt Ali Gauhar stayed in Jhajjar for several months. He started building a fort and named it Mubarakabad. From here he also issued *farmans* bearing the name of the place as Mubarakabad alias Jhajjar. The word *Mubarak* had special significance in relation to this ruler. His coronation has often been written in many documents as *Julus Mubarak*, and his wife's title was also Mubarak Mahal. Thus Jhajjar also came to be known as Mubarakabad<sup>110</sup>.

The author makes a brief description from the Ghorid conquest till the reign of Mughul emperor Farrukhsiyar. The information generally given is about the ruler, his character and behaviour towards his subjects.

Often some specific information have been given. For example it has been written that Ala-al-Din Khalji was initially illiterate but he devoted his time in pursuit of knowledge and soon acquired considerable proficiency over Persian language. Another piece of information is that during the days of Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq trade expanded and many laws of *diwani* were introduced, but does not specifies them. He seems to have toed the line of other historians in writing that Muhammad bin Tughluq was intelligent but cruel. Because of him Delhi was completely deserted. All the trees were uprooted and were

planted on the wayside of the road that ran to Daulatabad. This statement is without rationale and a wild imagination.

The welfare programme and architectural activities of Firuz Tughluq have also received attention. Among other things it records that Sikandar Lodi encouraged Hindus to learn Persian. Hitherto Hindus were averse to the study of Persian<sup>111</sup>. The postal system was efficient which can be gauged from the fact that from Rohtas (in Punjab) to Bengal news would reach within three days.

Writing about the Mughul period the author records that under the Mughuls India was divided into twenty-two provinces<sup>112</sup>. These were Akbarabad, Lahore, Allahabad, Awadh, Bihar, Bengal alias Dacca, Orissa, Ajmer, Malwa alias Ujjain, Multan, Kashmir, Ahmedabad alias Gujerat, Kabul, Thatta, Qandhar, Aurangabad or Malaghat, Khandesh alias Burhanpur, Berar, Hyderabad, Telinganah, Balkh and Badakhshan.

Ghulam Nabi praises Mughul emperor, Akbar, in very high terms and discusses his administrative and agrarian measures. He specifically records that Akbar had established the city of Allahabad, and that its original name was kept as Alahbas<sup>113</sup>. He writes that prince Khusrau had attempted to capture the Mughul throne from the hands of emperor Jahangir. He was, however, arrested and kept in confinement for ten years. The treatment meted to him had such a bad effect that he withdrew himself from worldly affairs. Eventually he was killed by prince Khurram.

It is interesting to learn that Shah Jahan had great interest in music. On the basis of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* Ghulam Nabi points out that the famous musician and singer, Lal Khan, used to live in the court premises. By his association Shah Jahan also learned to sing. Lal Khan was awarded the title of 'Gan Samundar'. The author records that many Sufis died in a state of trance on hearing the music of Lal Khan.

The writer has shown keen interest in writing about various Mughul monuments and other precious objects, with special reference to the builders and the expenditure incurred in their construction. In this context he informs that detail information about Taj Mahal can be had from *Mirat-i-Aftab Nama*. He further mentions fourteen gate-ways<sup>114</sup> constructed during the reign of Shah Jahan. These being *Dehli Darwaza, Rajghat Darwaza, Khizri Darwaza, Kalkatta Darwaza, Nagmod Darwaza, Qilaghat Darwaza, Lal Darwaza, Kashmiri Darwaza, Badru Darwaza, Kabuli Darwaza, Patthar Ghatti Darwaza, Lahori Darwaza, Ajmeri Darwaza, and Turkman Darwaza*. Shah Jahan also built fourteen *Khidki*(windows) known by different names<sup>115</sup>.

The author states that Shah Jahanbad was densely populated but during the days of mutiny(1857) many of its *mohallas* (settlements) and *bazaars* (markets) were destroyed. Later many roads were cut through and several canals bridged.

There is a descriptive account about the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan, and how Aurangzeb achieved success. The author makes it a point to note that though Aurangzeb was an orthodox Muslim yet he believed in the favourable position of the stars. Interestingly he makes reference about a woman, Bistamiyah, who marched against Aurangzeb with a force of twenty thousand men consisting of *fakirs* and *jogis*. She marched from Mewar and reached up to Agra. She was, however, ultimately defeated<sup>116</sup>. Inter alia he states that Mughul emperor, Bahadur Shah II, had adopted *Shia* faith<sup>117</sup>.

Attention has also been paid to the Sikh Gurus — of their life and activities, how they were treated by the Mughuls, about the atrocities of Banda Bahadur, how he was arrested, how his followers were executed, and how the Sikhs bravely forwarded themselves to the executor without any sign of despair<sup>118</sup>.

The second chapter informs about the different Mughul administrators who governed the Jhajjar *pargana*. It starts with the description of how jungles were cleared and settlements made, the extension of irrigation facilities, establishment of administrative units, and bringing under cultivation lands that had hitherto lain fallow.

This is followed by an account of the rebellious activities of *Rohilla* chief, Qutub Shah Rohilla, and the uprising of the Balauchs. Alamgir II marched to crush the seditious tendencies.

The activities of different Indian chiefs such as Ranjit Singh, Maharaji Sindhia, Ghulam Qadir, etc have received due attention. It mentions in detail the rise of the Jats after the murder of Alamgir II. The writer pays attention to the political activities of the Jat chief, Surajmal. His expansionist policy brought him into conflict with Jawahar Singh. Surajmal's wife, Kishori Rani, has been described as a very brave and shrewd lady. Jawahar Singh in order to strengthen his position developed friendship with the Marathas. Backed by their support he besieged the fort of Shahjahanbad (Delhi). For about one and half month the conflict continued after which a truce was concluded. It was about this time that Jawahar Singh offered services to Samru Saheb, a person who has been described by the author as a cunning imposter. Jawahar Singh's growing ambition drew him into conflict with the Rajputs. He was finally defeated and had to flee to Bharatpur.

Surajmal's conflict with Najib-al-Daulah, the Rohilla chief, in which the former was killed; Nawab Singh's (Successor of Jawahar Singh) struggle with Ranjit Singh; and, Ranjit Singh's relation with Mirza Najaf Khan have also been recorded<sup>119</sup>.

Samru Saheb<sup>120</sup>, the other political adventurer, maintained his position by frequent change of sides among the warring

factions. This afforded him an opportunity to establish control over Jhajjar, Chahatra and other places. Consequently he was made administrator of Jhajjar and other neighbouring places by Raja Nawal Singh. Samru Saheb, however, stationed himself at Jhajjar. He administered Jhajjar from Agra for over one year and thereafter died. After his death his wife Zaib al Nisa Begum took over the reins of administration. She built a number of buildings and ponds. In later years the buildings were to serve as the collectorate of Jhajjar and barrack of the police force.

By 1790 the Sikhs established control over Jhajjar. About this time the Marathas had also extended their sway over Punjab. At this stage a British adventurer, George Thomas<sup>121</sup>, was to considerably influence the political developments of this area. According to the author some people held the view that hitherto George Thomas began his career as the owner of a fleet of ship. Later he came to Delhi in 1787 and entered the service of Begum Samru. This lady entrusted George Thomas with an important military position and even got him married to a local woman. This marked the beginning of the political ascendancy of George Thomas. His military success against the Sikhs and other chiefs, enhanced the prestige of Begum Samru. However, after seven years, relations between the two became strained and he left the service of Samru Begum. In the early months of 1793 he joined the service of Maratha chief, Apa Kandha Rao.

Apa Kandha Rao made George Thomas alias Jahaz Saheb the administrator of Jhajjar, as a result of which George Thomas became a political entity to reckon with. However, Bawan Rao, the successor of Apa Kandha Rao, tried to dislodge George Thomas from his position by demanding certain *jagirs* from him.

Meanwhile the Sikhs again attempted to take control over Jhajjar. Bawan Rao failed to check the rising political ambitions of George Thomas. The latter in the meantime extended his



control over Hissar, Hansi and Haryana. He started behaving like an independent ruler and built a fort near Jhajjar city and named the fort settlement as Georgegarh or Jahazgarh. A French officer Thomas Baroon/(Peron?), the commander of Daulat Ram Sindhia, tried to bring to bay George Thomas by offering him a treaty. The offer was, however, turned down. About this time Ranjit Singh also turned against George Thomas. Consequently, his fort was beseiged and all supplies to the fort were cut off. Ultimately George Thomas fled away and in 1802 Thomas Baroon was made the administrator of Jhajjar.

In 1803 Lord Lake took control of Delhi. He defeated the Maratha chief Daulat Rao Sindhia, and made Raja Fauj Singh, the *Rais* of Ballabgarh, the administrator of Jhajjar who ruled for some time. Thereafter, Najabat Ali Khan Bahraich was made incharge of Jhajjar who administered it for nine months.

The third chapter deals with the *nawwabs* of Jhajjar. It begins with the political adventures of Mustafa Khan, an Afghan chief, who marched to India and defeated the Sikhs. Thereafter he established his dominance over Patiala and laid the foundation of a village called Bahraichan. His fellow tribesmen and those belonging to his lineage came to be known as Bahraich Afghans.

Subsequently Mustafa Khan rendered admirable military service to Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat Jung in checkmating the Marathas. For his services, on recommendation by Mahabat Jung (the *Nazim* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa), he was bestowed with the title of '*nawwab*' by Mughul emperor, Muhammad Shah. With the passage of time Mustafa Khan became over ambitious and tried to sever his relationship with Mahabat Jung. This led to skirmishes between the two at different places. Mustafa Khan was finally slain.

His son, Najabat Ali Khan, entered the service of Abul

Mansur Khan Safdar Jung, the *subedar* of Allahabad. Under his leadership the Bahraich Afghans served loyally the *Nawwab* of Awadh as well as the British Governor General, Lord Lake. For his services Najabat Ali Khan was given many *jagirs* and made the *rais* and *hakim* of Jhajjar. In return Najabat Ali Khan agreed to work in accordance with the terms and condition of the British. The author writes about the qualities of Nawwab Najabat Ali Khan who died in 1814.

Munshi Ghulam Nabi writes about the different *Nawwabs* who ruled Jhajjar, their habits and traits, and administrative significance. The Nawwabs who have received attention are Nawwab Faiz Muhammad Khan, Faiz Ali Khan and Abd-al-Rahman. About Faiz Ali Khan the author states that he was handsome and well-read in Arabic and Persian, and could even sign in English. The author records about the boundary dispute with the neighbouring states, cases of cattle-lifting, and forced exaction of revenue which often led to riotous condition.

Agrarian and administrative functioning as well as working of the judiciary are among other matters that have received considerable attention. It records that with regard to agrarian administration when crops were ready for harvest the *tahsildar* would calculate the amount to be collected as well as the expenditure likely to be incurred. The *tahsildar* was at liberty to deal with the *zamindars* and collect the revenue according to convenience in the form of *batai* or *amal kankut*. He was empowered to distribute the salaries to the troops and to other government servants, and send the remaining amount to the state exchequer<sup>122</sup>. The author writes about the organisation of the army, the hierarchy of officers, their dress(both of summer and winter), number of canons in the fort, gradation of salaries, and the salaries of those who were skilled in firing canons<sup>123</sup>. Nawwab Faiz Ali Khan introduced reforms in revenue

collection<sup>124</sup>. He even started measurement of land but before the task could be completed, the *Nawwab* died<sup>125</sup>.

Attention has also been paid to the functioning of the police department. It notes the various hierarchy of officers who were responsible for the various units of administration and how the police functioned.

With regard to the court of justice the author enumerates the role of *sarishtadar*. Judiciary had two wings — *faujdari* and *diwani*. Both *muftis* and *pandits* were appointed. The functioning of *Sadr-i-Amin* and *Adalat-i-Ala* have been discussed. Information is also provided about the subordinate staff, about the functioning of *nazir* and *parvanah nawis*, filing of petitions, dispensation of justice, etc<sup>126</sup>.

Reference has been made to the working of *dak-chaukis*. *Harkaras* were appointed at a distance of 4 *kos*. It records the functioning of officers known as *Serishtamal*, *Sarishtanaj*, *Sarishta Khazana*, etc. In each mahal was appointed a *tahsildar*, a *naib tahsildar*, two *qanungo*, a *chaudhary*, a *fautadar*, and a *jamadar*. It states how appointments were made of the *tahsildar* and of their salaries<sup>127</sup>.

Ghulam Nabi gives a fair glimpse of the different buildings, construction of dams, laying of orchards, mosques, and setting up of animal fairs undertaken by Faiz Muhammad Khan<sup>128</sup>. He names forty-two kinds of professional skilled artisans and workers<sup>129</sup>, many of whom were brought from different regions. They give us an idea of the various crafts and cottage industries that received attention and flourished<sup>130</sup>.

Interesting information has been provided about sport and recreational activities such as wrestling, archery, kite-flying, rearing and training of different birds, particularly about quail, cock and nightingale which were trained for fighting to serve as

pastime amusement. In fact, special officers and attendants were appointed for their rearing and training<sup>131</sup>. It gives a specific description of how quails were trapped by the use of special net prepared for this purpose. Some quails were specially trained for the purpose of catching other quails. These quails were trained to chirp in their cage on the sound of a whistle. On hearing them chirp other quails would assemble around them and would get trapped in the net<sup>132</sup>.

The author shows keen interest in writing about important persons from different walks of life<sup>133</sup>. Hakim Muhammad Ahsan-Allah of Delhi and Hakim Muhammad Beg of Panipat were famous physicians. Mirza Mahmud Beg was a famous stirrup-holder. Mirza Muhammad Husain of Delhi was skilled in cage-making, pellet-bow and other crafts. Ahmad Khan and Wahid Khan were famous for hawk-fighting.

Abd-Allah Khatak of Lucknow was an excellent dancer. He could dance with remarkable felicity. While dancing a particular style of dance he could dance without letting his *ghungru* sound of either legs. This would thrill the audience. This dancer was called from Lucknow. He trained two famous prostitutes of Narnaul and for their excellence in dancing they were bestowed with titles of *Khurshid Talat* and *Mah-i-Talat*. Dayal Das of Benares was another famous *kathak* dancer. He had with him several books of *ragas* in Hindi. The *Nawwab* got them translated into Persian. Husain Bakhsh, a noted person of Benares belonging to the *Mirasi* community, was skilled in playing *sarangi*. He was also called to live in Jhajjar where he trained a number of artists interested in playing *sarangi*. Two renowned *veena* players of the period were Ghulam Husain Khan and Rahim Sen from Gurgaon and Gwalior respectively. Rahim Sen claimed for himself to be a descent from the family of Tan Sen, the famous singer of medieval times. Two brothers of Rahim Sen's family.



Sad and Hasohar excelled in singing *dhurpad*.

The *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar* provides a vivid account of the mutiny<sup>134</sup> that took place in the state. On the 12th of May 1857 news reached Jhajjar about the revolt of the Indian troops in Meerut. It records day to day developments, and the duality of thought that beset the *Nawwab*. Swayed by patriotic zeal the *Nawwab* sent some of his troops in support of the rebels to Delhi. The mutiny as is well-known was suppressed. The *Nawwab* was arrested and brought to Delhi. His trial continued for two months. He was finally hanged and his body was thrown in a ditch. A number of sepoys who supported him were shot dead or hanged. Many mutineers who were held captives were first shot dead and later on, letters bearing government orders for their execution were issued. The *Nawwab's* valuables worth one crore rupees were seized, and the state of Jhajjar was confiscated. The ladies of *Nawwab Abd-al-Rahman Khan* were ordered to leave Jhajjar and live in Panipat. Some of the ladies settled down in Ludhiana.

Following the confiscation of the state, Colonel. Duke Lawrence was appointed Agent of Jhajjar. The state was annexed to the Punjab government and British officials were posted in Jhajjar. Subsequently, there is an account of the various administrative measures undertaken by the British to promote different welfare programmes, relief measures, opening of employment opportunities, functioning of the police, salaries of the officials, etc. It also notes exorbitant rise of cotton price following the American civil war when Britain had to import cotton from India.

Some observations made by Ghulam Nabi about contemporary Indian society and measures adopted by the British government to curb the extravagance of Indians, deserve attention. For example the author writes that it is customary in India to spend money beyond one's means in marriages and



death, as a result of which, many families fall in debt. It only creates false sense of pride and generates unnecessary competition. Taking into view the evil effects upon the society, John Findle, in consultation with the *tahsildar* of Jhajjar, fixed the expenditure to be made by each class of people both among the Hindus and Muslims<sup>135</sup>. The list of different class of people along with required expenditure is given<sup>136</sup>. The list is valuable in ascertaining the economic condition and financial strength of men with different status in society. However, this measure could not be strictly enforced, although the government would repeatedly remind the people to abstain from unmindful spending. The author records about the famine that took place in 1860 and the relief measures undertaken by the government, which included waving off of several taxes<sup>137</sup>. It also records the relief measures which were adopted when any particular area was effected by flood. The author records attack of locust on crops and the devastation caused by them, and the measures taken to fight the calamity. A related important information provided here is that the author was asked to prepare a report on locust menace and the preventive measures to be adopted. The author submitted his report in the form of a book which was published. The book proved to be very useful to fight the locust menace.

There are various other information such as: about fixation of salary under the British government to the various officers and staff members, about creation of new administrative posts, transfer and posting of different officers, organisation and structure of the British army, the various officers and subordinate army personnel, the salary given to them, uniform, weapons, etc<sup>138</sup>. Similarly, the functioning of the various departments of the collectorate have been given along with the salaries given to the employees and other related matters. It also provides valuable information about agrarian condition and the relationship

between the *zamindars* and peasants. An important information recorded is that in 1864 two *madrassas* were opened for the education of girls<sup>139</sup>. Another information is the reference to the introduction of income tax and license fee. As in many other places so also in Jhajjar money was collected to be sent as gift from British India on the occasion of the marriage of Prince of Wales<sup>140</sup>.

### Style

Ghulam Nabi has written in a simple and straight forward manner but frequently quotes Persian verses. Towards the end of the book the author has used some English words. Following are some examples of Urdu orthography used in the book

- ے has been written as سی
- کے has been written as کی
- بھاگ has been written as بہاک
- ہاتھی has been written as ہاتہی

### Significance

The *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar* is a fine example of local history and may be compared with some other books of its kind such as *Twarikh-i-Zila Farrukhabad* and *Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar*.

The *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar* provides a host of information, but they generally relate to political history. This was perhaps because valour and territorial expansion was considered the most important thing in life. Accordingly social, cultural and economic aspects have received lesser attention. Specifically, information about Surajmal, George Thomas and Samru Begum are very useful. The brief reference about artists of the period, especially those associated in the field of music and dance makes the book attractive. Obviously, the *Nawwabs* of Jhajjar were great patron

of music and skilled craftsmanship. The book is also a valuable source of information about day to day developments that took place during the days of mutiny in Jhajjar. When the revolt broke out the *Nawwab* was caught in a fix. He was charged of having become a Christian by a group of dissenters. The various stray incidents that shaped the future course of events culminating in the *Nawwab's* eventual siding with the Delhi mutineers and the sacrifices made by a number of Muslim rebels produces a poignant effect. The information is of great significance because it has come from an author who was not only a witness to the changing developments but also held an important official position. When the mutiny broke out he was asked by the British to apprise the *Nawwab* that he must immediately make arrangements for the supply of 500 horsemen to the British. Finally, a significant aspect of the writing is that Munshi Ghulam Nabi has narrated the whole development like an impartial observer and does not let his bias stand in the way of his narration, nor does he uses unbecoming words for the rebels.

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## Ayodhya Prasad Maneri

### *The Gulzar-i Bahar or Riyaz-i Tirhut(1868)*

The *Gulzar-i-Bahar*<sup>141</sup> which contains an account of Tirhut and Darbhanga is the work of Ayodhya Prasad Maneri. Ayodhya Prasad, a *zamindar* and a *khatri* by caste, was a store-keeper in the office of Court of Wards, Darbhanga Raj. The book was completed in 1867 and published in 1868.

Ayodhya Prasad was a native of Maner Sharif under *pargana* Maner, district Patna. The author records that his ancestral home was in Patiala<sup>142</sup>. It is, however, not known when one of his ancestor's, Lala Jain Das, came and settled down at Maner town. Situated on the banks of river Sone Bhadr and lying between the districts of Saran and Shahabad on the one side and Patna on the other, it has been described as having a good climate. During early times Raja Maner was the king of this place, and the remains of his fort and buildings can still be seen. People of all castes and creeds inhabit the town, but is especially known for its gentry. The town popularly came to be known as Hazrat Maner Sharif on account of a *Sufi* saint (obviously he is referring to the famous *Sufi* saint Yahya Maneri, but his name has not been given). During the Mughul period the income of one hundred villages was given as grant by the Central government for the maintenance of the shrine<sup>143</sup>. However, in 1819 the British government by a law confiscated the grant, and a new *Bandobast* (settlement) was made. As per the new *Bandobast* the grant did not exceed more than two or three hundred rupees. This amount was spent on the occasion of *urs* (death anniversary) of the saint<sup>144</sup>.

The author states that the past was very favourable and his

ancestors were very wealthy. However, from the time of Babu Hira Lal the prosperity of the family started declining and the members had to depend on government service for their livelihood. They served at different places such as Shahabad, Ghazipur, Mirzapur, Allahabad and Agra, and were associated with the office of *kotwali* and collectorate<sup>145</sup>.

Ayodhya Prasad's father, Babu Gopal Lal, first served at Mirzapur and then at Muzaffarpur. During the days of mutiny of 1857 when much killing and blood-shed took place around Maner, this *khatri* family left Maner for good<sup>146</sup>.

Babu Gopal Lal who was serving as *thanadar* at Rasanda left his service in 1859 and came to Muzaffarpur. Here he started living in a rented house at Saraiyaganj. In 1860 the family decided to permanently settle down in this locality. Soon after the family built another house at Darbhanga<sup>147</sup>. Ayodhya Prasad had three younger brothers — Babu Mathura Prasad, Babu Mahadeo Prasad and Babu Lakshmi Prasad. They were all well-versed in English, Arabic, Persian and Hindi. Poets and calligraphists, they were also engaged in *mahajani* (money-lending) and they even dealt matters related to legal occupations.

Ayodhya Prasad entered the British service in 1853. However, a turning point came in his career. After the death of Maharaja Maheshwar Singh of Darbhanga, his successor Maharaja Lakshmeshwar Singh was a minor. The Darbhanga Raj was, therefore, brought under the control of British Court of Wards<sup>148</sup>. Accordingly a British was appointed General Manager to look after the affairs of the *Raj*. Ayodhya Prasad came with this manager to Darbhanga, where he was initially appointed as a subordinate officer-in-charge of records. He continuously served for six years in the department of *Sarishtadar*. During this period his major contribution was the arrangement and collection of a number of *farmans*, deeds of purchase, horoscopes of *maharajas*,



and other valuable papers relating to Darbhanga Raj. These papers were in Persian, Urdu, Hindi and *Tirhutia*. His admirable devotion to his work caught the attention of his superiors and he received several letters of appreciation. He got quick promotion. All this made many of his colleagues envious and they conspired to get him removed. He was falsely implicated in a case as a result of which, he was suspended from his service for several months.

Having been ousted from job, Ayodhya Prasad seeing the prosperity of the merchants started business in 1866. He was successful owing to the help of a British. But unfortunately a couple of deaths in his family made him utterly dejected and disappointed. Consequently, he gave up business and relied solely on his *zamindari*.

Being out of service and woe-begone, Ayodhya Prasad decided to write a history so that it may lessen his tension and sorrow, and also please his well-wishers and friends. He explicitly says that he did not write with the hope of getting any reward or with the intention of dedicating it to some body. He wrote so that the learned men may praise his work<sup>149</sup>.

During his days of despair he was helped by Sayyid Imdad Ali Khan (Judge, Small-cause Court, *Sadar Amin*, First class, district Tirhut). He praises his patron with high sounding titles and words. Another person who was kind to the author during his days of distress, was Babu Suraj Deo Narain, the *zamindar* of Balgadah. He would often accompany him when Ayodhya Prasad would travel to Calcutta for business purposes. Notably, he introduced plantation of foreign flowers in Muzaffarpur<sup>150</sup>.

It will be of interest to the readers to learn that Ayodhya Prasad was finally found innocent. He was acquitted of all charges, and his ill-wishers were dismissed. At the time when

this book (*Gulzar-i-Bahar*) was published he was serving as the editor of newspaper *Al-Akhyar*. In the succeeding years he served as honorary magistrate for four years and also as Municipal Commissioner and Secretary of Muzaffarpur district<sup>151</sup>.

The title *Gulzar-i Bahar* is chronogrammatic. The book is divided into seven chapters, preceded by an introduction in which the reason for writing the historical account has been given. The first chapter consists of twenty-three sections. In the end, a Maithili poem, *Maheshvani*, has been incorporated obviously as a mark of gratefulness and thanks to Lord Shiva, the Hindu deity. The book contains a map of Mithila Desh with a scale, prepared by Chinta Mani<sup>152</sup>.

*Gulzar-i Bahar* is a brief history of Mithila kings from the time of Raja Janak to Maharaja Lakshmeshwar Singh, the Maharaja of Tirhut. Tirhut in the 1860's included districts of Muzaffarpur, Vaishali, Samastipur, Darbhanga, Madhubani and Sitamarhi.

In the first chapter the author writes about the city of Darbhanga, etymology of Darbhanga and a description of the buildings belonging to the *Maharaja*, about his gardens<sup>153</sup> and mangoes grown there, the elephants<sup>154</sup>, horses<sup>155</sup> and cattles of Tirhut, the wide cultivation of indigo and other crops, the workmanship of carpenters and gold-smiths<sup>156</sup>, about *kokati* (a kind of cloth woven in Tirhut and used by the rich people), of *makhana* (Euryob Ferox) fruit, about fishes which is among the staple food of the people of Tirhut, and about *Dahi* (Curd)<sup>157</sup> prepared here which is famous for its sweet flavour. It also accounts about a yearly meeting held in Tirhut for the purpose of entering into marriage among the Brahmins<sup>158</sup>, together with a description of the marriage ceremonies, an account of a celebration among the inhabitants of Tirhut called *Joorshital*<sup>159</sup>, description of the *Muharram* celebration, about rivers Kamla and

Jewuch<sup>160</sup> with etymology of their name, about the shrine of a Hindu *fakir* at Darbhanga, the functioning of a school in Darbhanga, of learned men and poets of the city, some elegant Urdu verses, an account of the Agricultural Exhibition held in January 1865, and an account of the Scientific Society established in Muzaffarpur.

Darbhangha, the author writes, is inhabited by distinguished saints, scholars and traders. Peoples are by nature loyal and romantic. Urdu poetical symposiums (*mushairah*) were very popular and were attended both by the Hindu and Muslim gentry. Prostitutes dwelled in the far corner of the city by the side of the road. They would dress beautifully in gay colours and would stroll on the road. Roads were plain, wide and straight and travellers could move freely on them. The climate, as of present times, was humid and the countryside full of greenery. The town is at the entrance to Bengal on the northern side, and therefore, it came to be known as *Dar-i Bengal*<sup>161</sup>. In later times it popularly came to be known as Darbhanga for reasons of convenience of pronunciation.

Writing about the traits and habits of the people, Ayodhya Prasad states that the people do not take recourse to violence and are not very quarrelsome. But the people have sceptical behaviour. They have ingratiating manners and are backbiters. Enmity is strongly maintained. In general people live bare-headed and bare-footed, and remain contented with wearing only *dhoti* and *gamchha*. However, when they go outside they wear *Mirzai* turban.

The houses are made of bamboos and thatches. In summer, they often catch fire and thus get reduced to ashes within no time.

Writing in praise of the mangoes, the author says that if one eats the mangoes of Darbhanga he will forget the apples of

Samarqand and the dry fruits of Isfahan. He mentions the following varieties: *Kishunbhog*, *Gopalbhog*, *Lathhog*, *Saenduriya*, *Maldah*, *Langra*, *Mahboohkaelwa*, *Bavabaiya*, *Bhudaiya*, *Ladua*, etc.

The author had a natural taste for poetry as is evident from his insertion of verses and couplets in this work. The author quotes the *ghazals* of Maulvi Sayyid Muhammad Murshid, Maulvi Abd-al-Hai, Munshi Badrinath, Munshi Mahadeo Prasad (brother of Ayodhya Prasad), and his own *ghazal*<sup>162</sup>. The theme of his *ghazal* as well as the doxological poem written in the beginning of the book reflects the author's mystical bent of mind.

The second chapter deals with the history of Tirhut whose original name was Mithila Desh. He speaks of the etymology of the term and writes about Raja Mithi, the founder of Mithila Desh. Thereafter, he records the different God and Goddesses<sup>163</sup> worshipped in Mithila: *Shilanath*, *Singheshwar*, *Mithileshwar*, *Kapileshwar*, *Jainath*, *Bhairav*, *Gopeshwar*, *Mahamaya Devi*, *Girja Devi*, etc. The names of the rivers flowing across the land are: Kosi, Kamla, Yamuni, Gandki, Bagmati, Birja, etc<sup>164</sup>. Also, the names of the Mithila kings<sup>165</sup> who ruled over Mithila have been given.

The third chapter discusses the circumstances which led to the acquisition of the Darbhanga Raj by the house of the minor *Maharajah* of Darbhanga (Lakshmeshwar Singh), with a genealogical table of his predecessors. The author believes that the wisdom of Hinduism and the knowledge of *Ved* and *Puran* that exists in this family and in Tirhut is not to be seen elsewhere in India. Modnath Jha, Bawujan Jha, Kanhai Jha, Chumme Jha, and Vidya Jha were renowned scholars.

The origin of the Darbhanga House has been narrated as follows. Mahesh Thakur, a *Sothi* Brahmin (considered to be the highest in caste ranking among the Brahmins), was a person of

repute. One of his disciples, Raghunandan Rai won considerable fame and popularly came to be known as Pandit Rai. Raghunandan Rai visited Delhi during the reign of Mughul emperor, Akbar. At Delhi the fame of his knowledge spread in every nook and corner. Soon he acquired access to the Mughul emperor who issued a *farman* in 965 fasli year for the grant of Tirhut Raj to Raghunandan Rai. The latter came back with all pomp and show and most graciously gifted the *farman* to his mentor, Mahesh Thakur.

The fourth chapter has the history of the early Parmar Rajput kings of Tirhut, the Oinwar Brahmin dynasty, and the Kharode-Bhor or *Soti* Brahmin dynasty of Tirhut. The author accounts that the Parmar Rajputs ruled the country for 226 years (496 *fasli* to 722 *fasli*). Ayodhya Prasad states that at the time of Alexander the Great's invasion of India, the country was totally Buddhist except for certain pockets in Kannauj and Benares where believers of the Vedic religion lived. The name of rulers between 723 to 752 *fasli* year are not known. From 755 to 996 *fasli* years the Oinwar dynasty ruled the country whose most famous ruler was Maharajah Shiv Singh Dev. The rulers are known as Oinwar because they were originally the inhabitants of Oinwar. Where Oinwar existed is not known? Some of the archaeological remains of this dynasty can be seen at Darbhanga and other places. From 960 to 964 *fasli* no notable ruler ruled the country. From 965 *fasli* following the receipt of royal Mughul *farman* whose account has been recorded earlier, the Kharode-Bhor family, i.e., the Brahmin family of Mahesh Thakur of village Kharode and later Bhor, became the ruling family of Tirhut. Thereafter the author has given the name of the different rulers of the various dynasties.

The fifth and sixth chapters do not contain information of historical significance, except for its explanation of *panj panghat*



and *puddhat* of the *Soti* Brahmin, to which caste the *Maharajas* of Darbhanga belonged. However, in this chapter we get considerable information about the author's feelings while he was out of job.

The author also provides information about the city of Muzaffarpur which was the administrative head-quarter of the district of Tirhut. According to the census of 1891, the city had 8967 houses and a population of 49146 which included men and women of all religions, and castes and creeds. Ayodhya Prasad writes that the people of this place are not as healthy as those of Shahabad because the climate is humid. He also mentions the different buildings, including the *dharmshala* and its founder.

The writer has given valuable information about shrines and saints of the region; people visited them to get their blessings. One of them was Fakir Baba Raja Ram Nanak Sahi. The sage lived in Shubhankarpur village on the banks of river Bagmati near Darbhanga. He is said to have possessed certain miraculous powers. Some of the Muslim shrines referred to are Hazrat Sayyid Ali Abdal in Muzaffarpur, Hazrat Makhdum Shah Abd-al-Rahman Shattari in Seraiyaganj (Muzaffarpur), Hazrat Makhdum Shah Abul Fateh Hidayat-Allah of Hajipur. The miracle of Hazrat Makhdum Faiyaz Shattar have been recorded. It appears that Qadri and Shattari Sufi saints actively worked to spread their message.

Certain other specific informations are important. For example Darbhanga was detached from Muzaffarpur and made a separate district in 1874. In this year Muzaffarpur was linked to Calcutta and Delhi by rail track<sup>166</sup>. From the various references it appears that contact and trade relations with eastern Uttar Pradesh was brisk. In this region the Bengalis had become very assertive and held important positions<sup>167</sup>.

A significant aspect of Ayodhya Prasad's writing is that he calls upon his country-men to pay attention to trade and business, and not be dependent upon foreign goods. He states that if the foreigners can bring goods from far off countries to this land and earn wealth, the Indians must also be of enterprising nature and should go to foreign lands. He further calls upon the youth of the country to work hard and be honest. He believes that a honestly earned money gives happiness; and says that wealth is obedient to those who have wisdom and intelligence, to the fools it becomes a curse and a source of mental torture<sup>168</sup>.

Finally, Ayodhya Prasad speaks of his taking over the charge of office after enduring fourteen months of grief and trouble. He was appointed honorary editor of the Muzaffarpur Gazette issued twice a month by the British Indian Association of Scientific Society of Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

In the beginning, Ayodhya Prasad uses stiff Urdu phraseology and rhyming sentences, the latter feature makes the book quite attractive. The author has written in short sentences, pregnant with his feelings and observations, which are, however, at times highly ornamentative. Like many other writers of the time, the author has also interspersed his writing with doxological and Persian verses and Arabic sayings. They convey a specific contemporary Oriental writing ethos and serve as example of continuance of certain features of Indo-Persian writing tradition which was in vogue. For example the Arabic sayings<sup>169</sup> incorporated, emphasizes the mortality of the world and calls upon the people to remain grateful and satisfied with whatever God grants, and to shun greed for it brings insult. This reflects the general attitude of the Indians towards life.

### **Conclusion**

*Gulzar-i Bahar* or *Riyad-i Tirhut* (literally meaning gardens

of Tirhut) is a valuable specimen of early Urdu historiography in Bihar and is a fine example of local history. Obviously Ayodhya Prasad did not have at his disposal the standard Persian chronicles and even if he had it would not have been of much help to him taking into consideration the nature of the work undertaken by him. He, however, had a keen sense of a historian and made the best use of whatever historical tools he had in his hand. This involved his own observation and experience as well as use of Hindu religious scriptures. His position as a record-keeper at Darbhanga *Raj* provided an easy access to the estate records and genealogical tables.

The book throws light on peace and prosperity among the various classes of people who lived in Darbhanga. By and large the vast majority of urban people were literate and happy. Even shop-keepers and vendors were happy with their business. Big traders and businessmen were held in high esteem. Darbhanga was not only a centre of Sanskrit learning but also of Persian, Arabic and Urdu. The establishment of Bihar Scientific Society contributed appreciably to the spread of spirit of renaissance among the people of this area.

A striking feature of the book is that the author has paid attention to the various arts and crafts practised in the region. For example, the ivory art objects of this region were in great demand.

In the realm of faith, Nanak Shahi cult had a strong base in Mithila. The *Qadiriya* and *Shattariah* Sufi *Silsilas* had also gained ground during this period. The Muslim saints exercised strong influence upon the Hindus. The concern of the *Sufis* for the good of the people contributed to the strengthening of Hindu-Muslim cordial relations and bond of integrity. Lastly the book is a valuable source of information about some of the Brahmin families of Bihar.

## Nawwab Sikander Begum

*The Taj-al-Iqbal Tarikh-i-Riyasat-i Bhopal(1872-73)*

*Taj-al-Iqbal Tarikh-i-Riyasat-i Bhopal*<sup>170</sup> is perhaps the singular Urdu historical work of the nineteenth century written by a lady. The book was written in response to the wishes of Major Durand, British Political Agent, Bhopal state. Just like Babar, the Mughul emperor, who wrote about himself and his achievements in his book *Kitab Waqiat-i-Babar*, the Major wished that Sikander Begum too may write of herself and about the origins of the state of Bhopal.

The task of compiling the book was undertaken in 1852. Before it could be completed Nawwab Sikander Begum died. This hampered the writing process as the 'History Office' fell in disarray. At this stage Nawwab Shah Jahan Begum, the daughter of Nawwab Sikander, undertook the responsibilities of completing the book<sup>171</sup> in acquiescence to the wishes of her husband. Thus was compiled in Persian and Urdu, the history of Bhopal state in 1871 and published in 1872/1289 Hijri and was named *Taj-al-Iqbal Tarikh-i-Riyasat-i Bhopal*. Written in simple and straight forward manner it holds a valuable place among biographical-cum-historical works of the period. In reality, however, it appears that Nawwab Sayyid Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan Bahadur, the second husband of Nawwab Shah Jahan Begum, a learned scholar and reformer, was largely instrumental in the composition of the book.

*Tarikh-i-Bhopal* has been placed under the category of biography, although the title does not suggest so. The book abounds in description of personal life, activities and political achievements, description of tour and travels, some

administrative reforms and measures, and honour and titles bestowed upon the rulers of Bhopal from time to time by the British government.

### **Methodology**

*Tarikh-i-Bhopal* consists of three parts, each being divided into eight chapters. The chapters have generally been written in long unbroken narration. The authoress mentions that she intended to write the fourth part also. It is, however, not known whether it was written or not.

The first part begins with the political adventures of Muhammad Khan, the founder of Bhopal state. Thereafter, it briefly recounts the succeeding rulers of the state. Nawwab Yar Muhammad Khan, Nawwab Faiz Muhammad Khan, Nawwab Hayat Muhammad Khan, Nawwab Ghaus Muhammad Khan, Nawwab Nazir-al-Daulah Nazar Muhammad Khan, Nawwab Gauhar Begum and Nawwab Jahangir Muhammad Khan.

The second part largely deals with the tour and travels of Nawwab Sikander Begum, her voyage to Mecca to perform *Hajj* and the honours bestowed upon her by the British government.

The third part has information about the rule and administrative measures of Nawwab Shah Jahan Begum, covering a period from 1868 to 1871.

In the end there is a chart which gives information about the different *Nawwabs*, their name, date of birth, year of accession, year of death, and a sketchy account of their rule in few sentences.

During the course of writing the author has referred to the use of several chronicles, such as *Tarikh-i-Aina-i-Sikander* of Munshi Sikander, *Hayat-i-Afghani* (writers name not given, but



perhaps it is of Muhammad Hayat Khan), *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, *Tarikh-i-Hind*, *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi* and *Tarikh-i-Major William Huf*. Use of Persian and Arabic inscriptions, as well as Major Cunningham's studies of monuments of the region and of the archaeological findings made by him have also been used.

### Contents

The narration begins with the information that Dost Muhammad Khan, a *Pathan* of the Mirazi Khail ( میرازی خیل ) (the correct name being Mir Aziz Khail) tribe, who belonged to Terah ( تیراہ ), a place situated in Khyber Pass (Afghanistan), left his native land and settled down at Lohari Jalalabad. Here he entered the service of Jalal Khan, the administrator of Jalalabad. Thereafter, he, along with Jalal Khan, moved to Shahjahanbad (Dehli) and joined the Mughul imperial force, bound for Malwa province<sup>172</sup>.

On reaching Malwa, Dost Muhammad Khan joined the service of the Raja of Sitamau. But he soon left the *Raja* and went to Muhammad Faruq, the administrator of Bhilsa. Not satisfied with him he joined the service of a *Malwan* chief. The turning point in his career came when he entered the service of the mother of Thakur Anand Singh, a Solanki *Rajput*. The Solanki lady was so pleased with the services of Dost Muhammad Khan that she would address him as her son. When the lady died all her treasures that were in possession of Dost Muhammad Khan were retained by him and he did not give them to the heir of the lady. On the contrary he proceeded towards the town of Birsiyah which was administered by Taj Muhammad Khan, a Mughul noble of Delhi, and succeeded in getting the *ijarahdari* of the town.

This induced Dost Muhammad Khan to call his Afghan bretheren from Afghanistan and capture this area. Subsequently

both by valour and treachery Dost Muhammad Khan killed a number of *Rajput* chiefs of the area.<sup>173</sup> Jagdishpur came under his control and it was named as Islamnagar where a fort and a number of buildings were built. He next defeated Muhammad Faruq, the ruler of Bhilsa. This victory raised considerably the power and prestige of Dost Muhammad and it helped him to control a number of adjoining *parganas*<sup>174</sup>. Emboldened by these success Dost Muhammad<sup>175</sup> further extended his boundaries by annihilating a number of Rajput chiefs, pacified the Gond tribesmen by carrot and stick policy, and captured the important fort of Ganwar. Having gained such success, on Friday *zilhijja* 1140 *Hijri*/1727 A.D., Bhopal which was near Islamnagar, was selected as the site for construction of fort and seat of administration. In short, in a period of over thirty years Dost Muhammad Khan immensely increased his power and prestige. Dost Muhammad died in 1740 at the age of 65 or 66 years and was buried in the fort of Fatehgarh.

Writing about the etymology of Bhopal the authoress states that Raja Bhoj constructed a lake between two hills and built a fort behind it and named it Bhojpal which means a bridge in Hindi. Bhojpal in later times for the sake of convenience of pronunciation came to be known as Bhopal. It fell in ruins until it was re-established and developed by Dost Muhammad Khan<sup>176</sup>.

When Dost Muhammad Khan died, his son, Yar Muhammad Khan, was in the service of Nizam-al-Mulk, the Mughul governor of Deccan. The Nizam who was highly pleased with Yar Muhammad Khan conferred upon him the title of *Nawwab* and sent him to Bhopal. Sultan Muhammad Khan who in the mean time was raised on the seat of administration, was deposed but given a *jagir*. Yar Muhammad Khan seated himself on the throne but preferred to live at Islamnagar where he built a number of buildings. An important step taken by him was that

following the death of Aquil Khan, Biji Ram, belonging to *Gond Kawad*, was given robes and honour and made the *Diwan*<sup>177</sup> of Bhopal state. Yar Muhammad Khan continued the politics of territorial expansion. He defeated the Raja of Bundi, and forced the Marathas to withdraw from Borbanbatiyah. Yar Muhammad Khan died<sup>178</sup> in 1753 after ruling for thirteen years.

His successor Faiz Muhammad Khan was beset with internal rivalry and recurring threat of the Marathas. During his reign, after the death of Diwan Biji Ram, his son Ghasi Ram, was made the *Diwan*. The new *Diwan* appointed many Hindus on high offices. Among other things, there is a brief mention of the third battle of Panipat and the gains obtained by the Afghans<sup>179</sup>. It records that the defeat of the Marathas was considered as a divine help to the Muslims.

Under Nawwab Hayat Muhammad Khan political relations were established with the British. In 1777 British help was offered to the state of Bhopal whenever required. During this period, as well as under Nawwab Ghaus Muhammad Khan, the state of Bhopal faced frequent raids by the Marathas and *Pindaris*. The latter were, however, won over by grant of money. In later times Pindari chiefs such as Karim Khan Pindari and Namdar Khan Pindara extended help to the Bhopal forces<sup>180</sup>.

The Maratha attacks were more menacing. Two of their chiefs, Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghoji Bhonsle, had entered upon an understanding to divide Bhopal state among themselves<sup>181</sup>. The Marathas besieged Bhopal and cut-off all supplies to the city. Consequently the people faced starvation but the Bhopali forces defended the city bravely. The women showed great courage and pelted stones with such severity on the advancing Marathas who had broken the city gate that they were forced to retreat.

Under Nawwab Nazir-al-Daulah Nazar Muhammad Khan the Bhopal state entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British. As per agreement a British Political Agent was placed in Bhopal in 1817 and a British contingent was also stationed<sup>182</sup>.

The succeeding rulers do not deserve much attention, except Nawwab Gauhar Begum Qudsiyah. During her period intense court rivalry took place. Begum Qudsiyah, however, finally took to reclusion after grant of *jagir* by the British government. She was succeeded by Nawwab Jahangir Muhammad Khan(1837-1844). During his reign there was general prosperity and grain was cheap<sup>183</sup>. The *Nawwab* was a good horseman, hunter, swordsman and a man of poetic taste.

The second part is devoted to the reign of Nawwab Sikander Begum (1817-1868), the mother of Shah Jahan Begum. She was accorded *Nawwabship* in 1846. An important event during her reign was that Amir Muhammad Khan, the grandfather of Shah Jahan Begum, employed several *Rohilla Pathans*. Their dismissal was demanded by the British. But Amir Muhammad Khan and his associates Sher Muhammad Khan and Akbar Muhammad adopted a defiant attitude. Joseph Davy Cunningham, however, crushed the rebellion. A large number of Pathans were killed, and those arrested were placed in the fort of Asir<sup>184</sup>.

Under Sikander Begum, Bhopal was divided into three administrative division, each placed under a deputy termed as *nazim*. In order to achieve administrative efficiency each *mahal* was toured, land survey carried out and *zamindars* appointed for the collection of taxes. For reasons of tolerance and political expediency, several Hindus were appointed to important administrative posts - an important name being Lala Kishan Ram.

During the revolt of 1857 Bhopal State helped the British



government. Sikander Begum supervised the security arrangements of different *parganas* and provided help to the British in men and material. Fazil Muhammad Khan and Adil Muhammad Khan of Ambapani who turned mutinous were punished with confiscation of their *jagirs*. Saehur was saved from falling into the hands of mutineers.

Sikander Begum was called upon to meet the Governor-General at Jabalpur. Her services to the British empire were praised, and the *pargana* of Birsiyah was given to her with hereditary rights as *jagir*. On this occasion Munshi Bhawani Prasad, the *Vakil* of the Bhopal state was also granted life long pension of Rs. 100/- per month for his loyal services during the days of mutiny.

The account of Sikander Begum's visit to Allahabad in 1861 is of considerable significance because it was here that the Governor-General awarded her the title of 'Star of India'(KCST). On this occasion other Indian chiefs and *nawwabs* who were awarded with similar titles were Maharaja Jiyaji Rao Sindhia, Raja of Patiala, and *Nawwab* of Rampur<sup>185</sup>. On this occasion Begum of Bhopal and Maharaja of Gwalior were given salute by firing of nineteen canons, the Maharaja of Patiala with seventeen canons, and the Nawwab of Rampur with thirteen canons<sup>186</sup>. The lady was also presented with two medals: the first was of gold embedded with diamonds and bearing the statement that the English monarch is the light of the heavens, the second medal contained an engraved picture of Queen Victoria. Herein it has been discussed whether it is lawful or not to wear such a picture bearing necklace. The argument discussed is based upon reference to *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani-wa-Tahtawi*. It concludes with the opinion that Muslims should abstain from committing such actions which nearly amount to disbelief and polytheism<sup>187</sup>.

On way back from Allahabad Sikander Begum visited



Benares where she was received by Raja Ishri Prasad Narain Singh Bahadur of Ramnagar and Kashi. Writing about Benares, the lady remarks that the climate is not good. The Hindus, who consider disposing off the dead in the Ganges river as a religiously pious act, pollute it, and consequently, the use of Ganges water causes fever. From Benares she went to Jaunpur where special mention has been made about the bridge built by Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan. Travelling further she went to Faizabad from where she proceeded towards Lucknow. On the way she stopped at the grave of Sayyid Amir Ali Shahid to offer *fateha*<sup>188</sup>. About Lucknow the lady remarks that despite the city being pillaged and ruined during the days of mutiny, the palaces, market-places and garden were full of grandeur.

From Lucknow she went to Kanpur and Akbarabad, and then to Agra<sup>189</sup>. She praises the beauty of Taj Mahal and records that it contained 120 fountains. She also praises the temple of Muni Ram Seth and the skill of the artisans<sup>190</sup>. From Agra she went to Delhi and then to Jaipur. At Jaipur she was warmly received by the Maharaja of Jaipur and given guard of honour. In her honour there was display of fire-works and she was served with 124 kinds of dainty dishes. She then went to Ajmer and Nimich, and finally reached back Bhopal. In 1863 she again visited Akbarabad in order to meet Queen Victoria. She was given guard of honour with firing of canons and presented with robe of honour worth Rs. 17,000.

The account of the voyage to Mecca to perform *Hajj* is of special importance for it throws some light on the contemporary life of the Arabs. She made her first stop at Jeddah. Writing about the city she writes that houses were both single as well as multiple storeyed. Houses were generally cemented but roofs were thatched. The houses had in them separate kitchen, lavatory and bath-rooms. In this city there also lived Turks and Indians

who were engaged in trade and commerce. It has especially recorded that the city did not have natural spring or well of sweet water for drinking. Hence, outside the city big tanks were built where water was stored during rainy season. The rich dressed themselves neatly and ate rich diet.

When Sikander Begum arrived in Mecca she was warmly received by the Sheriff of Mecca, Sayyid Abd-Allah, and by the administrator of Mecca, Ahmad Pasha. They came out to the outskirts of the city with fifty horsemen to greet her. For two days she stayed as guest in the beautiful palace of the Sheriff.

Writing about the city of Mecca the lady begins with the description of its vegetation, climate, food, and performance of *Hajj*. The water of Zubaidah Khatun canal has been described as very sweet. Pomegranite, water-melon and some other fruits were brought from Tai'f. The Arabs, both men and women, have been described as strong and hardy. Barring few elite families (the Sheriff of Mecca being one of them) the writer observes that the Meccans did not speak chaste Arabic. This was plausibly because a large number of people belonged to India, Bukhara, Afghanistan and other places. This racial mixture effected the Arabic speech. During contemporary times in Arabia it was not the practice to keep salaried employees. Negroes, Gurjis (of Gurjistan near Iran) and Charkas (Circassians), both male and female, were openly sold and bought at the sweet-will of the Arabs. Interestingly, while preparing meat salt was not added. It was the practice of the Turks to keep grinded salt with them which they would sprinkle at the time of taking food<sup>191</sup>.

The third part bears information about the reign of Shah Jahan Begum from 1868 to 1871. Born in 1838 in the fort of Islamnagar, she was married to Nawwab Baqi Muhammad Khan Bahadur who died in 1867. She later entered into a second matrimonial alliance of her own choice with Sayyid Siddiq Hasan

Khan, a person who had exhibited his talent as a fine administrator during the rule of Sikander Begum and was also the supervisor of 'History Office' engaged in the writing of history of Bhopal state. His scholarship and attempts to bring about reforms among the Muslims are well-known<sup>192</sup>.

Shah Jahan Begum was an educated lady who had studied Persian, the Holy Quran, and also received lessons of administration. The lady has taken foremost interest in writing about the family lineage and educational qualifications and scholarship of her husband, Sayyid Siddiq Hasan Khan. Since Bhopal state was under the tutelage of British government, the information narrated generally relate to administrative measures, reforms, works of public utility, tour and travels, honour and titles bestowed upon Shah Jahan Begum and her husband, and scholars and eminent men of Bhopal.

Of the reform works, mention may be made of the lifting of taxes on grains, increase in the salary of the troops, opening of pickets, police stations and hospitals, building of *sarai's* and collectorate, planting of orchards and trees along road-side, etc. Special attention was paid to checkmate the activities of corrupt revenue officials such as *patels*, *jagirdars*, *mahajans* and *batahiyun*. In many areas where the *nambardar* officials had collected excessive revenue, it was returned back. Unauthorised felling of trees in the forest was stopped and inspectors were appointed to collect charges. Land survey was conducted in different *parganas*. Dam was built around the lake for storage of water during the rainy season and was named *Shahjahani*. A new settlement named Shahjahanbad was also established a few miles away from Bhopal. Tours were undertaken to tone up the administration. In some parts of the state the menace of tigers have been recorded. Hunters were especially called and were paid Rs. 20/- for shooting the wild beast.

Attention has been paid to the narration of different departments of the Bhopal state, the various grades of *jagirdars*, about the different schools, hospitals, libraries, schools of arts and craft, of works relating to embroidery embedded with silver and gold threads, making of shawls, and weaving of rugs and carpets by orphans<sup>193</sup>. For her bold and incessant efforts for reforms the Begum received several letters of praise from the British officials time and again<sup>194</sup>.

A significant aspect of the writing is that the author appears to be very particular in mentioning that the *Nawwabs/Begums* of Bhopal received special attention as compared to other Indian chiefs and *rais* in their meetings with the British Governor-General. As a reciprocal gesture the *Begums* pray for the perpetuity and longevity of British rule and call upon the Indians to remain obedient to the British government.

Thereafter we have information about the boundary and area of the state, its location, the various crops grown, rivers, orchards, jungles, wild beasts and birds, fruits, the various *parganas* and the towns within it, their population and houses, specific products, about caves and tunnels, temples, fairs, shrines of *Sufi* saints, etc. The author shows keen interest in recording some of the Persian and Arabic inscriptions which she must have seen herself or must have been made available to her<sup>195</sup>. Notably she refers to Major Cunningham's studies of monuments of the region and the archaeological findings made by him.

Writing about Muslims of Bhopal, it has been recorded that they were mostly *Pathans*, few *Sheikhs* and *Sayyids*, and about 100 families of the *Bohras*<sup>196</sup>. Of the *Pathans* she states that they were hitherto mostly engaged in the army and liked to become professional soldiers. They lived a simple life, were free from obsession of materialism, and would keep good horses and weapons<sup>197</sup>. The *Julahas* were associated with textile- industry.

Some other observations made by the lady during her visits to different places deserve attention. About Bombay she states that goods of all kinds were very expensive. *Palki*(litter) and *hagghi*(horse-cart) were common means of conveyance. She also describes about the general life of the people, about some important buildings, the light-tower and of the artifices kept in the Bombay museum<sup>198</sup>. She describes some of the mosques as centres of false belief and polytheistic activities. Writing about the *Parsi* colonies existing in Bombay, she states that they belonged to the *Ismailiyah* branch of *Shi'ism*. She also writes about *Bohra* community and mentions two books, *Risala-i-Umdat-al-Akhbar* of Maulawi Muhammad Abbas Rif'at and *Tarikh-i-Misr* or *Kitab-al-Muwaizul Ithar* of Taqi-al-Din Maqrizi, which give information about this faith.

Describing about Ahmedabad, the lady especially mentions of the house(*kothi*) of the famous businessman, Seth Jai Singh. In the fort of Ahmedabad there were *karkhanas* for prisoners where they were taught to make rugs, carpets and socks. *Kamkhwab*(a kind of fine cloth) was made here of a very fine quality and sent to different cities and towns<sup>199</sup>.

It has been stated that under Sikander Begum Bhopal became the centre of culture and learning. Some of the important figures mentioned are: Maulawi Ziya al-Din, Maulawi Nizam-al-Din, Hakim Saif al-Din, Sheikh Qadir Bakhsh, and ka'isthya Hindus. Hakim Shahzad Masih and Raja Khushwaqt Rai were renowned mathematicians. Other eminent personalities were Qazi Zayn-al-Abidin Arab Ansari (the *Qazi* of Bhopal), Mufti Sayyid Abd-Allah, Maulawi Abd-al-Qayyum, and Abdul Hayy<sup>200</sup>. The new learning was instrumental in dispelling false belief, ignorance, and un-Islamic practices among the Muslims. On the other hand it helped in the enforcement of Shari'at.

Finally, writing in praise of *Nawwabs* of Bhopal, Sayyid



Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan, writes that in comparison to the rulers of other Indian states, the *Nawwabs* of Bhopal do not lead a luxurious and indolent life or waste their time in useless poetry. Though ruled by women, Bhopal state has shown remarkable dexterity in governance and have sincerely worked for the welfare of the subjects.

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## Munshi Shiva Prasad

Munshi Shiva Prasad (Baboo Sheo Parshad) (1823-1895) or Raja Shiva Prashad (*Sitara-i-Hind*), was a distinguished writer and historian of the nineteenth century. A widely travelled man, he wrote admirably both in Urdu and Hindi. But writing in Urdu was his favourite passion for he considered this language as the most fashionable, and held the view that Hindi could be liked only by rustic people<sup>201</sup>.

A native of Benares (Varanasi) he worked hard to achieve distinction. From his *Aina-i-Tarikh Numa* and *Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb* we get some information about his family and life. He writes that one of his ancestor, Fateh Chand<sup>202</sup>, received the title of *Jagath Seth* (Banker of the world) from the Mughul emperor, Muhammad Shah (1719-1748). He also writes that Mahtab Rai Jagat Seth<sup>203</sup> was the cousin of Shiva Prashad's great grandfather. It appears that he is the same Mahtab Rai Jagat Seth, who, along with Mir Jafar Bakhshi and Diwan Rai Durlabh (Roy Durlabh) had conspired<sup>204</sup> with the British against Siraj-al-Daulah, the *Nawwab* of Bengal. Shiva Prashad further informs us that two sons of his grandfather, Raja Dal Chand, were killed during the massacre of Delhi ordered by Nadir Shah<sup>205</sup>.

From the Urdu sources examined not much is known about Shiva Prashad's early life, educational upbringing and activities, except that, as he himself writes in the *Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb*, that he was initially appointed as *Assistant* in the Benares commissionery. In 1832 he went to Azamgarh and worked under Sir Robert Montgomery. Azamgarh was then known as *Chakla Azamgarh*<sup>206</sup> and was under district Jaunpur. Thomas Carter was appointed 'Collector' with whom Shiva Prashad developed great

affinity.

It is not exactly known how long Shiva Prashad lived in Azamgarh. He, however, soon went to Shimla to work under William Edwards. When William Edwards decided to go back to England, Shiva Prashad resigned from his service at Shimla and came back to his house at Benares with the intention of going to England along with his English master. In the meantime Henry Carter offered the post of *Mir munshi* to Shiva Prashad. Initially, he refused because of the pangs of separation with William Edwards, but finally accepted the offer. As *Mir munshi* he came in close touch with Henry Carter and was a close witness to many of Carter's decisions and actions. Interestingly, Shiva Prashad writes that although he did not become a Christian and remained a true Hindu, yet he was highly impressed by the virtues of Christianity<sup>207</sup>. At the orders of Henry Carter he translated<sup>208</sup> a number of English works into Urdu, such as *Sandford Aur Merton*, *Dunalin Aur Qursina* and *Gulab Aur Chambeli*.

When the mutiny of 1857 broke out, Shiva Prashad was in Benares and was a witness to the horrors of mutiny. He helped the British in all possible way and states that because of Carter's goodwill nothing evil happened in Benares<sup>209</sup>. In 1858 Carter after getting pension went back to England where he died in November 1875.

By way of recognition to his numerous writings, many of which are translation of English works, and for his proven loyalty to the British, Shiva Prashad was made a fellow of the University of Calcutta, and Inspector, 2nd Circle, Department of Public Instruction, North Western Province and Awadh, and also bestowed with the title of C.S.I.(Companion of the Star of India) or *Sitara-i-Hind*.

Here an attempt has been made to examine some of the

available works of Shiva Prashad, namely *Aina-i-Tarikh Numa*, *Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb*, *Dil Bahlaw*, *Twarikh-i-Sandford Aur Merton*, *Nai' Haqa'iq-al-Maujudat* and *Shahadat-i-Qurani bar Qutub-i-Rabbani*.

### **The *Aina-i-Tarikh Numa*(1874)<sup>210</sup>**

Originally written in Hindi and bearing the title *Itihas Timirnashak*(3 vols) and published in 1864, its Urdu version was also prepared. Later an English edition entitled *History of Hindustan* also came out. The reason for publishing it in Urdu was because it was the most commonly spoken language and medium of expression throughout India, and also probably because of author's liking for this language.

The book was written for Indian schools at the behest of British officials. In the preface, the author states that hitherto histories written in vernacular during his days were full of errors, and even cautious and eminent British historians such as Elphinstone and Marshman committed mistakes. For example he points out that Elphinstone erroneously writes Firuz Tughlaq as the nephew of Muhammad Tughluq. Alexander Dow on the other hand commits the error of calling Firuz Tughlaq as the cousin of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Similarly Nasir-al-Din Mahmud has been described as the grandson of Iltutmish(when in reality he was the son of Iltutmish). Similarly he points out that Marshman incorrectly wrote Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur and Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur as Maratha generals. He also rejects Marshman's belief that Mughul emperor, Akbar, made direct settlement with the cultivators, excluding the middlemen<sup>211</sup>.

### **Methodology**

The book is in the form of running history. It has been written in three parts. The preface of the first part(published in

1864) has been written in English. Along with the numbering of pages, the *tark* system of pagination has also been used. A fair use of foot-notes has been made. Citation of sources have been largely made in the body of the text and some times even in the foot-notes. The author has also written many words in Hindi for the sake of proper pronunciation and understanding.

The first part presents an outline of the history of the Hindu and Muslim periods; in the second part the growth of British power in India has been given up to 1858; and in the third part an account consists of Indian life in ancient India along with a survey of Muslim rule in India. In the first part the author deals each ruler separately and the information provided chiefly relate to political events, although at times he briefly refers to agrarian measurements and other economic activities.

### *Contents*

The first part begins with the statement that the natives who inhabit India came from foreign lands. The author specifically remarks that the ancient Indians were not interested in writing history. On account of this reason the invasion of Alexander the Great does not find a place in the Indian writings<sup>212</sup>. Thereafter the author sketchily narrates the early mythological Indian heroes.

Shiva Prashad does not accept the Persian version that Alexander marched to Kannauj. He bases his argument on the ground that Greek accounts inform that Alexander did not advance beyond Sutlej. He states that Persian sources mention that the troops of Alexander refused to go beyond Sutlej because of break of monsoon. In this context Shiva Prashad believes that the ruler of Magadh, Mahanand of Nagbansi dynasty, who had a formidable force, must have desisted Alexander from marching into the heart land of the country<sup>213</sup>.



Writing about the Indian scenario at the time when prophet Muhammad(PBUH) was born in Arabia, he says in India Buddhism was widely prevalent, except at places such as Benares and Kannauj where the people believed in the Vedas. Shiva Prashad does not consider Buddhism as a new religion but more of a reformist movement started by the administrators of the country even before the preaching of Gautum Buddha<sup>214</sup>.

Some of the information provided by the author appear to be incorrect for they are not corroborated by other contemporary sources. For example, he writes that Muhammad bin Qasim after conquering Sindh, captured Gujarat and then marched towards Chittor where he was defeated by Bapa. Consequently, Muhammad bin Qasim had to return back. Bapa later on married the daughter of the ruler of Khambat, and after ousting the ruler of Chittor became the king. After some time he left his faith and became a Muslim and migrated to Khorasan<sup>215</sup>.

Later, in 814 *Hijri* Mamun-al-Rashid sent a large army to Chittor. He was challenged by Kohman, the son of the grandson of Bapa, who, after fighting twenty four battles with the forces of Mamun left India<sup>216</sup>.

Thereafter he briefly narrates the resurgence of Brahmins, and about NauSherwan Adil, the Persian ruler, who had attacked and killed the ruler of Gujarat. He further states that the daughter of the last Persian Aryan ruler Yazdgird had fled to India when the Arabs attacked Persia. She sought refuge in Udaipur and with her begins the pedigree of the Ranas of Udaipur<sup>217</sup>.

This is followed with the information that Anandpal, the ruler of Punjab, in alliance with Abul Fateh Lodi(the ruler of Multan), opposed the march of Mahmud Ghaznavi. He was, however, defeated. He also informs that Mahmud Ghaznavi had in his contingent 500 elephants<sup>218</sup>.

While referring to the battle between Ibrahim Lodi and Babar, Shiva Prashad writes that victory or defeat is in the hand of God. From this statement the author's idea of divine interference in human life can be inferred<sup>219</sup>.

Shiva Prashad praises the Afghan ruler Sher Shah, and Mughul emperor, Akbar. He, however, incorrectly writes that Abul Fazl was the *wazir* of Mughul emperor, Akbar. While writing about prince Salim's (Akbar's son) marriage with the daughter of Bhagwan Das, the author states that the marriage was performed according to the Hindu rites (i.e., by moving around the fire). On this occasion Akbar had distributed coins. On the other hand, Bhagwan Das gave one hundred elephants, a number of female slaves, silver, precious stones, and utensils of valuable metals. He also presented the *baratis* with Iraqi horses<sup>220</sup>. All these information provided by Shiva Prashad are certainly his own interpolation for they are not mentioned in other contemporary chronicles.

With respect to Mughul emperor, Jahangir, the author appreciates his sense of justice. He specifically notes that Jahangir had strictly ordered the marching troops not to enter the houses of commoners and peasants. He had also issued orders prohibiting amputation of nose and ears<sup>221</sup>.

Shiva Prashad praises Emperor Aurangzeb for his indefatigable nature, intelligence, bravery, and handling of government transaction. During the Deccan campaign he would suffer and bear more hardship than the newly recruited young soldiers. But he accuses him of being religiously narrow-minded, and as a result of which, he offended the Hindus.

Writing about the Marathas Shiva Prashad states that the Maratha leader, Bhau, had an intolerant attitude. He damaged the ceiling of *Diwan-i-Khas* and razed to the ground many mosques

and tombs<sup>222</sup>. He records that on the eve of conflict with Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Marathas had built up platoons on the pattern of Englishmen<sup>223</sup>. According to him Ahmad Shah Abdali was in full control of the situation and did not let the Indian Muslim chiefs interfere in his planning. He also records that the Marathas had offered peace to Ahmad Shah Abdali. Even some of the Indian chiefs were also in favour of peace but the *Rohilla* chief, *Najib-al-Daulah*, stood undeterred and wanted that Ahmad Shah Durrani should crush the strength of the Marathas<sup>224</sup>. During the course of the battle the canons fired by the Marathas failed to hit the target. He further informs that on the eve of the third battle of Panipat, some of the Maratha soldiers were dissatisfied owing to non-payment of salary<sup>225</sup>.

The author gives additional information of the Muslim rulers of India under the following heads: name, *nom de plume*, year of accession, nature of deaths, year of death, and brief note about the ruler. Lastly, there is a separate account of the significant happenings of different years in Christian era beginning from 530 A.D. to 1803 A.D.

Some of the observations of Shiva Prashad with regard to the Mughuls deserve attention. He opines that the seeds of decay and decline were sowed during the days of conquest of Deccan by Aurangzeb. In the Deccan the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda were able to keep the Marathas in control. But the liquidation of the Deccan states led to the growth of anarchical and rebellious conditions. The disbanded and unemployed soldiers of the Deccan states roamed freely and joined hands with the insurgent Marathas who started looting and plundering. The Rajputs who had hitherto served the Mughuls under Akbar with dedication now rose in revolt. Shiva Prashad believes that Aurangzeb during his life time did not allow breakdown of administration but he could foresee signs of decline<sup>226</sup>.

He further believes that the House of Timurids excelled in the art of militarism till the reign of Akbar. But from the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan stagnancy set in. The soldiers became ease-loving and the art of soldiery disappeared. Herein the author remarks that so long as people remain ambitious they achieve what they desire, but as soon as they become extravagant and pleasure seeking they become weak and they are overpowered by the newly ambitious class of people. This is how the Arabs defeated Iraninas, and the Tatars defeated the Chinese. He goes on to say that the *Firangis* (Europeans) have conquered the whole world. The striking feature about them is their quest of knowledge which is increasing by leaps and bound. They do not indulge in easeloving, and always remain concerned about improving their military prowess. By their knowledge and skill they have been able to invent guns and canons of such power that a single person can face hundreds of men<sup>227</sup>.

In this context Shiva Prashad draws the picture of the unwieldy Mughul army as described by the French traveller, Gemeli Careri. The Mughul army would march with its elephants and horses bedecked with beads and golden drapery, as also the princes and nobles, with their faces weary and melancholic. Their troops consisted of lads, servants, attendants, prostitutes and such other men. And come what may, the enemy may even enter the camp and attack them, but the hookah pipe was not to be left. The army officers were highly paid but performed no duty; the only punishment meted to them was the deduction of one day's salary. Such was the state of Aurangzeb's army.

The second part bears information about the early trading activities of the Europeans, the foundation of British East India Company and about its organization and charter, and also about the different categories of British traders.

Shiva Prashad describes the Anglo-French struggle in the

Deccan and the role of the Indian chiefs. He opines that had Dupliex been allowed to remain in India he would have reached great heights, but his countrymen let him down. He writes in fair detail how the British deceived Umichand/Amin Chand<sup>228</sup> and the latter on not getting his due share became a lunatic and died within a year and half. Also, Miran, the son of Mir Jafar, who had cut to pieces Siraj-al-Daulah, died of lightning fall<sup>229</sup>. Later Mir Qasim Ali Khan got arrested Mahtab Rai Jagath Seth along with his brother Swarup Chand and killed them by shooting arrows<sup>230</sup>. Assessing the personality of Siraj-al-Daulah, Shiva Prashad like some other contemporary writers, states that Siraj-al-Daulah was of haughty demeanour, of bad character, cruel, and hated the Englishmen; and since he had done no good to anybody he was without any friend. He has, however, not provided any examples of Siraj-al-Daulah's cruelty or acts of immorality.

Writing about Lord Clive, he writes that as soon as Clive reached Calcutta he was challenged by Siraj-al-Daulah who had advanced with 40,000 troops. In the ensuing struggle 120 British troops were killed and two of their canons captured, forcing Clive to retreat to the fort. But, on the other hand, Siraj-al-Daulah with the loss of 22 of his chiefs and six hundred sepoy killed, was so upset that he accepted peace whose terms were in favour of the British<sup>231</sup>. Obviously Siraj-al-Daulah had accepted these terms in order to gain time and get control over the situation.

Describing the political situation on the eve of the battle of Buxar, Shiva Prashad states that Raja Balwant Singh of Benares supported the British in the battle of Buxar(1784). He attributes this to be the cause of Shuja-al-Daulah's (*Nawwab* of Awadh) defeat. He provides the information that it was Balwant Singh who allowed the British force to join his rank and file at a position deputed to Balwant Singh by the *Nawwab*<sup>232</sup>. He also provides useful information about Raja Chait Singh's relation



with Warren Hastings, and how the latter ill-treated the former which finally led to Chait Singh's revolt. He writes that the *Diwan* of Chait Singh, Babu Ausan Singh, was not on good terms with Chait Singh. He had quarrelled with his master and had joined hands with Hastings. It was he who gave false information to Warren Hastings that Raja Chait Singh possessed money in crores. Shiva Prashad also writes that Raja Chait Singh was born not of a legal wife of Raja Balwant Singh<sup>233</sup>.

There are a number of other political information such as about Anglo- Mysore relations, Anglo-Maratha relations, Anglo-Nepalese relations, Anglo-Sikh relations, about the mutiny, etc. Of these, the information about Anglo-Sikh relations and conflicts deserve foremost attention. Shiva Prashad records that he was sent to the battle front by the British and was a witness to the Anglo-Sikh conflicts that erupted at different places, including the battle of Mukden. He does not specify the position he held or for what exact purpose he was sent to the battle-front, but the point of importance is that he was an eye-witness to some of the military engagements that took place<sup>234</sup>. He also writes the terms of the treaty between the two sides, the subsequent developments, the political settlements made among the different Sikh groups, the civil war and the intra-family feud that erupted after Ranjit Singh's death, the beheading of different Sikh chiefs by different contending chiefs, the plunder and torture inflicted by the warring Sikhs, etc<sup>235</sup>. A useful information provided is that four wives of Ranjit Singh performed *sati*. Queen Kundan, the daughter of Raja Sansarchandr Rajput of Kangra, placed the head of Ranjit Singh on her lap and sat on the *chita*(pyre). Of the other queens, two of them were of sixteen years of age and were very beautiful. They also sat on the *chita* along with 5 or 7 slave girls. Their faces showed no sign of horror or sorrow. Soon after when the *chita* was lighted and when everything had turned into ashes,

a patch of cloud appeared from which few drops of water fell.

Writing about Anglo-Burmese relations, it has been stated that the 47th platoon which included a number of Indian soldiers, was ordered to proceed to Rangoon. But the Indian soldiers on hearing that this required crossing the ocean (which would result in their religious ostracization) refused to abide by the orders. Thereupon, many Indian soldiers were blown-up by canons, some were hanged, many others imprisoned, and the remaining soldiers were dismissed from their services<sup>236</sup>.

The author gives a fair glimpse of the Anglo-Afghan relations, a special feature being that he gives the exact figures of losses of soldiers. Writing about Afghanistan he says that although Shah Shuja had been seated on the throne by the British he did not like the presence of the British in Afghanistan. The brewing unrest exploded into a revolt when an English officer abducted an Afghan girl. The concerned Afghan chief tried to approach the Superior British officer, but was turned out without being heard. Thereupon, the matter was reported to Amir Shah Shuja who emphatically exclaimed 'Can you people do nothing'. This sparked the latent discontent and hate for the British among the Afghans<sup>237</sup>.

Shiva Prashad's narration about the annexation of Awadh deserves special attention. He records that on the 7th February 1856, General Outram, Resident of Awadh, issued announcement of the annexation of Awadh with the East India Company's territories on ground of mismanagement. But a general belief prevailed among the people that charges of mismanagement was only a pretext, the British government actually intended to annex the province<sup>238</sup>. He further informs that all the property, including palaces of the Awadh ruler, were confiscated and auctioned, and the *Nawwab* was ordered to reside in Calcutta. For his maintenance the British government fixed a yearly pension of 16

lakh rupees. The mother and brother of the deposed *Nawwab* proceeded to England to plead before the British Queen against the annexation of their state. But nobody listened to their prayer<sup>239</sup>.

Shiva Prashad's account of the mutiny in Benares also deserves attention because he was a witness to the happening. He was then in Benares and had helped the British in all possible ways<sup>240</sup>. He considers the introduction of greased cartridge as the sole cause for the outbreak of the revolt. He opines that had the British come to know that it would offend the Hindus, they would have resorted to the use of butter instead of fat<sup>241</sup>.

Writing about the day to day developments that eventually resulted in the mutiny of Barrackpur, the author states that at one stage of time when the sepoy's were explained that cartridges contained wax, and fat of sheep, the sepoy's argued that this may be true but their fellow-men will not believe it<sup>242</sup>. They suggested that in order to allay the fears from their mind they be told of the technique of preparation so that they may themselves make it. In this manner they hoped to assure their fellow-soldiers that there is nothing objectionable in the use of cartridges. Accordingly General Harsey reported the matter to Deputy Adjutant General. After three days on the 28th of January the Governor-General acceded to the request of the soldiers and ordered that in other places also such as Ambala and Sialkot where Enfield rifle had been introduced the recommendation be adopted if the soldiers wished so. Shiva Prashad exclaims that had this order been immediately circulated and the soldiers explained in detail the revolt would not have taken place. But he goes on to say that God's will was something else. He intended to show that the British rule this country not with the help of the Indian army but with the help and mercy of God<sup>243</sup>.

On the whole Shiva Prashad takes an apologetic view and

opines that there was nothing wrong in the use of cartridges. He writes that the mutineers committed atrocities and destruction about which he is ashamed of writing. He further states that *zamindars*, as a class, who had so far been acclaiming British loyalty, did nothing to help the cause of British. He writes that in Uttar Pradesh, following the annexation of the Awadh state, the British government carried out *bandobast* with the former *zamindars*. This resulted in loss to the *talluqahdars*. Consequently, the disconted *talluqahdars* joined hands with the mutineers<sup>244</sup>. He raises the question that the hooligans looted for the sake of money, but what made the Hindu chiefs and *zamindars* irresponsible?

He answers his own question by saying that the Indian society consisting of the '*Lalas*', '*Banias*', '*Mahajans*', '*Munshi*', etc., were least concerned with warfare and the use of swords and guns. On the other hand, the warrior class of India such as the *Ksatriyas* had become ease loving and indolent. They were not bothered about the changes in the political field. Unlike the Europeans they lacked patriotism and did not have the spirit to fight for their rights against the government. He, in fact, makes fun of the Indian chiefs and princess who offered resistance to the British. Notwithstanding, Shiva Prashad makes it a point to emphasize that the superior canon power of the British was a factor that gave them military superiority and enabled them to overpower the mutineers.

Shiva Prashad's assessment about the British rule is quite noteworthy. He praises the British in eulogistic terms and states that the British regime is thousand times better than that of the French rule. He writes that in areas where the French ruled, loot, plunder, murder, and the destruction of the peasant was rampant. On the other hand, wherever the British came to power those areas witnessed peace and prosperity and progressed rapidly.



People who have knowledge of history know it better. He further emphasises that his praise about the British should not be considered as flattery<sup>245</sup>. He highlights the progressive elements of British rule and draws attention towards improvement of agriculture, spread of railways, introduction of telegraph, opening of hospitals, etc. He considers the Black Indians to be fortunate to have become the subjects of the English Queen.

Writing about the Muslims the author states that had the Muslims come to power after the mutiny, they would have pillaged the country and would have got the countryside ploughed by donkeys and pigs. But the author is silent about the atrocities committed by the British. It may be recalled that hundreds of Muslims were sewn up in pig-skin, smeared with pork-fat and were burnt alive. The Hindus were also defiled by cow's meat being forced down their throat. Cities and villages were burnt, men and women were shot dead or hanged from the branches of the trees and their corpses were left hanging so that they may rot. The Hindus were permitted to return to Delhi within a few months after the reoccupation of Delhi by the British, but the Muslims were not allowed to come back till 1859. The British troops were set free to plunder Delhi for three days. Twenty seven thousand Muslims were hanged which included many children. Women were humiliated and badly treated<sup>246</sup>.

In the third part of *Aina-i-Tarikh Numa* Shiva Prashad first devotes few pages in assessing the sources pertaining to ancient Indian history, and then describes the life of the early Hindus. He says that the early Hindus would worship the objects of nature and would offer sacrifices to God of those things which they would consume such as ox, cow, horse, sheep, goat, etc<sup>247</sup>. They would boil the flesh or roast it, and would drink *somlata*<sup>248</sup> (a kind of liquor or intoxicant prepared: Acid aselepics or Sorcostema Viminalis). During the days of Lord Ramchandra,



animals were hunted and their flesh dried and used for eating. When Raja Dasrath (father of Lord Ramchandra) died, cow and calf were sacrificed and the flesh distributed<sup>249</sup>. The author specifically mentions that when Bharat (brother of Lord Ramchandra) was invited for dining he was served with meat of deer, sheep, wild-pig, partridges and peacock. Shiva Prashad writes that the practice of drying meat/flesh existed in many parts of India even during his days. By making such references Shiva Prashad presumably wanted to impress upon the Indians that beef eating is not entirely unknown or strange to Indian society. This aspect has received considerable attention by modern Marxist historians.

In the beginning life was simple and people lived happily. There was no caste system. People were divided into *varna* on the basis of the profession they undertook. He holds the view that during the early stage there must have been only two *varns*, i.e., Black and White, for *varn* means literally colour. Children of a single parent would become *Brahmins*, *Kastriyas* and *Vaisyas* — depending upon the profession undertaken<sup>250</sup>. Women moved freely and would participate in drinking along with men. Liquor was sold freely in the market. The king would take 1/6th of the produce. If the land was unfertile he would demand 1/12th. In case of surplus gold, silver and animals, etc., he would take half the amount as his share<sup>251</sup>.

The author proceeds to narrate how the Aryans pushed the *Dasyu*, the original inhabitants of India, to far off southern region. The natives were known by different names such as monkeys, vulture, bear, *rakshas*, etc. He believes that Ravan might have belonged to *Asur* community of people who did not have any faith in the *Vedas* and he probably ruled over areas upto river Narmada<sup>252</sup>.

The subsequent political history has been written in a brief

and general manner. In some cases he tries to trace the origin of the rulers of different dynasties. For example he writes that Nanda kings were Jains<sup>253</sup>. Similarly he believes that *Saka* and *Hun* rulers were of *Tatar* race. He makes this observation on the ground that during the days of *Timur*(d. 1405) they were ranked among the Tatar group of people. In this context he quotes Herodotus(the Greek historian) who believed that the *Sakas* were born of a women whose body below the belly was that of a snake<sup>254</sup>.

Coming to the period of Shankaracharya and other *Acharyas*, Shiva Prashad writes that Shankaracharya brought all the people within the Brahmanical fold. Those who refused to enter the Brahmanical fold were forced to go out of India and their temples and *stupas* destroyed and burnt. On the remains of *stupas*, Shiva temples were constructed. In order to reconcile the Buddhists, Shankaracharya introduced many religious practices which could be accepted by the Buddhists. For example instead of sacrificing animals and human beings when *Jag/Yag* and *Hom* were performed, *ghee*, flour and milk were mixed together and moulded into animal shapes and offered during religious rites<sup>255</sup>.

Shiva Prashad's description about ancient Indian society merits attention, some of which were obviously written to serve as moral lesson to the Indians. For example, he records that during the days of Raja Ramchandra, *sati* was not practised. Writing about *sati* the author views that it was highly inhuman and only few women performed *sati* of their own will, and that too, when the Brahmins would evoke religious fervour and passion by reading such *Ashloks* as "See your husband is waiting for you; if you join him immediately he will go to heaven, else he will be pushed into hell. Naturally this would arouse the sympathy and passion of the women." Sometimes women were

even made to drink intoxicating substance in order to make them semi-unconscious. They were dragged into the burning pyre. Herein he accounts that Drupadi, the mythological lady, was forcibly carried along with her husband's body. When she tried to flee she was struck by the sword<sup>256</sup>. It must be remembered that this writing came after the abolition of *sati* by the British government and obviously seems to have been written in defence of the British measure.

He writes that during the days of *Mahabharat*, in general, three sisters could marry a single man, and even five brothers could marry a single woman. Captive women of the enemies were kept like married wives<sup>257</sup>. A king would have hundred of wives. He states that Hanuman saw Ravana sleeping among several wives, but Ramchandra had only one wife, and those people who keep a number of wives like Ravana make a hell of their lives. Likewise the *Puranas* bear the information that Lord Krishna married the greatest number of women. But after his death many were taken away by the *Bhils*, some burnt themselves on reaching Kurukshetra, while others fled away into the jungles<sup>258</sup>. Perhaps Shiva Prashad's intention of giving such information was to warn people of licentious life, and that they must follow a monogamous life.

Among other thing recorded is that the Aryans kept strict control over the *Shudras*. When the Aryans started keeping *Anarya* women, a new caste called *Shankar* (mixed) emerged.

Shiva Prashad emphasizes that he can give numerous evidences in support of his belief that most of the ancestors of Vedic faith, were Buddhists or Jains. Only in certain parts of India such as Kashi, Kannauj, Kurukshetra, Kashmir, etc. were regions where *Vedic* religion was in existence. It was after the preachings of Shankaracharya that many Jains and Buddhists converted to Vedic faith<sup>259</sup>.

Shiva Prashad draws similarity between the teachings of Buddha and Jesus Christ on the basis that like Buddha Christ also delivered the people from the dominance of the priestly class<sup>260</sup>.

Shiva Prashad notes that silk came to India from China, for in early Sanskrit its name has been mentioned as *Chanina Nashk*. Likewise *saton* (a kind of cloth) is a French word *zaton*. On the other hand *zayton* is also the name of a monkey in China<sup>261</sup>.

The Muslim account begins with evaluative remarks about Medieval chronicles. The political account narrated has, however, not been treated on dynastic or regnal pattern, but a general survey of the Muslim period has been given. Its striking feature is that it has been written on a pick and choose basis with the sole intention of maligning the Muslim rule in the most derogatory manner.

Muslim rulers have been divided into three kinds: the first category of rulers were those who invaded India like dacoits and in the name of *jihad* settled down in India for loot and plunder and to make the people slaves. To this category belong all the rulers from the time of Muhammad bin Qasim and Mahmud Ghaznavi to the Mughul emperor Babar and Humayun.

The second category of rulers were those who paid attention towards the administration of the country. To this class belonged rulers from Akbar to Aurangzeb.

The third category of rulers were those during whose period Muslim power and self declined and ruin set in.

In general he picks only those passages from Medieval chronicles which relate to loot and plunder, atrocities committed on the Hindus, destruction of temples, and examples of misrule. One of the account borrowed from the *Chach-Namah* runs as follows:

“When Bahmanabad was captured by Muhammad bin Qasim, sixteen thousand Hindus were killed and twenty thousand made captives. Of the captives, two were daughters of the slain Raja Inder. When brought before the Caliph of Baghdad the girls reported that they are not worth him because they have already been spoiled by Muhammad bin Qasim. Hearing this the Caliph flew into rage and ordered that Muhammad bin Qasim be brought before him stuffed in the skin of ox. His order was carried out. On seeing the dead body, the girls laughed and said to the Caliph that you ought to have verified the veracity of our statement. The fact is that he did not even touch us, but in this manner we have taken the revenge of our father. Upon this Caliph ordered the girls to be plastered in the walls<sup>262</sup>. Another historian Mir Muhammad Masum informs that the girls were tied to the tail of horses and were dragged in the lanes of Baghdad and were then thrown away in Dajala(Tigris) river”<sup>263</sup>.

Shiva Prashad considers Prithviraj Chauhan's eloping away the daughter of Jai Chand as an act of bravery<sup>264</sup>.

Muhammad bin Tughluq has been presented as a cruel monarch and many acts of his cruelty have been narrated. Another example cited is that when Amir Timur arrested the Raja of Jambo he forced him to become a Muslim and eat beef<sup>265</sup>.

Shiva Prashad accuses Akbar in harsh terms, and recounts a number of incidents by which he aims to detract Akbar's claims of being a benevolent ruler. However, he states that during the reign of Akbar, Hindus started learning Persian, as a result of which, they soon occupied the entire revenue department<sup>266</sup>.

Writing about the Taj Mahal, Shiva Prashad believes that the works of pietradura in it are the works of Italian artisans who were in the service of the Mughul emperor. Without going into the history of Taj Mahal he comments that it was built by gifts



obtained from Indian chiefs and kings. He does not praise Taj Mahal, but comments that several temples and buildings of Kannauj, Mathura and Bhilsa which were destroyed by the Muslim rulers far excelled in respect to art and architecture<sup>267</sup>. Here again he does not provide any evidence for his statement.

Shiva Prashad argues that the practice of female infanticide began during the days of Muslim rule so that women could save their honour. He uses unbecoming words (*Ullu, Goberganesh*) for the Hindus for having continued the practice even during the British rule, because according to the author, under their rule there was no danger to the life and honour of the Hindus<sup>268</sup>. It may be pointed that the practice of girl infanticide is still continuing among the Hindus in some form or the other.

There is yet another unconfirmed statement. The author writes that under the Muslim rule the *qazi* would pronounce judgement on the basis of *shari'at*. As a result the Hindus soon lost hope of getting justice. Consequently they started placing their grievances before the village community. This gave birth to the *panchayat* system in which those who refused to abide by its decision were ostracized from the *biradri* (community). He adds that it was only Akbar who appointed *pandits* instead of *qazis* for cases relating to the Hindus. And, because of this measure he had to incur the displeasure of the Muslims<sup>269</sup>. Be that as it may, whatever may have been the origin of *panchayat* system we may say that this institution of dispensing justice provided cheap and quick justice at the local level in both Hindu and Muslim settlements.

Shiva Prashad is also critical of the Marathas whom he describes as one who flee away after striking<sup>270</sup>. According to him their profession was loot and plunder. Till the beginning of the nineteenth century they would imprison men for the sake of ransom and women for the sake of lust, many of whom would die

in captivity. On the basis of Stoke's *History of Belgaum* he gives an example of cruelty and barbarity of the Marathas. A Maratha chief had his palace on the bank of a lake. He would make young and beautiful women stand in a row on the bank of the lake. He would then push one of them into the lake and then enjoy the sight of the drowning women<sup>271</sup>.

Shiva Prashad calls the Muslims as inhuman and barbaric, and attributes all the ills of India to the coming of the Muslims. They destroyed its culture, made the people corrupt, brought polygamy among the Hindus, taught the people the art of sycophancy and how to speak lies<sup>272</sup>. They kept not only India backward but also other countries such as Iran, Turan, Greece, Syria and Afghanistan.

He considers it a great mercy on the part of God to have sent the British to govern India. He emphasizes that the British liberated the country from the yoke of the Muslims. Unlike the Muslims who indulged in loot and plunder, the British brought peace and progress to the countryside, opened the door of trade and commerce with the entire world<sup>273</sup>, improved communication by cutting mountains and making roads, abolished practices such as sati and girl infanticide, etc<sup>274</sup>.

The author takes pride in telling that with the advent of the British the language and the whole life-style of the Indians started changing, and people drew closer to British mode of living. He praises the British that despite being victors and conquerors they made efforts to raise the conquered subjects to their own level and standard. Such magnanimity can be seen only among the British<sup>275</sup>. These sweeping remarks of Shiva Prashad can be questioned. To cite one example: Shad Azimabadi records in his *Tarikh-i-Subah-i-Bihar* that the salary of the British officials before the establishment of their power was not more than two or three hundred rupees, but after the establishment of

British rule it was enhanced to several thousand. On the other hand the salary of the Indian officials was reduced to a meagre amount. For example, before the coming of the British a *faujdar* would get five thousand rupees per month, and *naib diwan* would get more than seventy five thousand. But under Lord Cornwallis the salary was reduced to mere hundred rupees.

Shiva Prashad concludes with the remark that some foolish Indians (*gobarganesh* as he calls them) think that just like the Hindus and Muslims, who after having enjoyed power and position got destroyed, a day will come when the British shall also perish. This is a folly on their part. The decline of the British empire can only take place if the British themselves get beset with internal dissension and conflict. But this is against their wisdom, faith and paternal behaviour. Dissension and conflict is the fruit of only this country; it is not to be found in the cold countries of the Christians. These Englishmen will go on rising by leaps and bounds, and may God bring this to light for on their rise and prosperity depends India's progress and development. He repeatedly prays to God that may He grant enduring glory and power to the British<sup>276</sup>.

#### *Attitude towards sources*

Faced by absence of proper historical account in English, the author tried to base his work on original Persian chronicles. But this was also a formidable task because all the required Medieval Persian chronicles were not easily available in Benares.

Obviously, Shiva Prashad has based his work on Sir Henry Elliot's writings on Indian history<sup>277</sup>. He has, however, not named the book. While writing about the origins of *Shakas* and *Huns* he has quoted Herodotus<sup>278</sup> but does not give specific source of information. While writing about the surroundings of Patliputra (Patna) he has based his information as recorded by

Megasthenes<sup>279</sup> and by two Chinese travellers Fa Hien and Huien Tsang<sup>280</sup>. But here again he does not cite the title of their writings. At a place he also refers to Colonel Tod, but does not name his book. He does not comment on the veracity of the information provided by those sources and accepts the source of information as they are. He has generally made reference to the sources in the body of the text and sometimes uses such phrase as "it is written in history that"<sup>281</sup>.

Of the other indigenous sources he refers to the use of *Rajtarangini*, *Rajawali* and *Bikrambhoj*<sup>282</sup>. He, however, considers the information in them as inappropriate and does not consider it feasible to call as history.

The author has also used Hindu and Jain religious scriptures. The Hindu religious scriptures referred to are *Manu Smriti*, and Kalidas's *Raghubansh*<sup>283</sup>. He refers to the existence of an ancient library of the Jains at Jaisalmer(Patan) and Khambat and he gives the information that Bohillar discovered 1 lakh 50 thousand *pothis* of the Jains in the vicinity of Bombay<sup>284</sup>.

He also refers to the study of coins, temples, idols, inscriptions, and other related materials including the use of verbal information<sup>285</sup>.

With regard to a specific indigenous source, Shiva Prashad's observation about the role of *bhat* or oral narrators deserves attention. He states that in ancient India the Brahmins were assigned the task of keeping genealogical details of the kings and the battles waged by them. Such sort of duty was later on performed by *bhat* who are known to have performed this function till the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when a number of petty kingdoms existed.

According to the author *Bhat* is a corruption of *bhat*. *Bhat* were also known as *sauth*( ). They use to compose the



available information in the form of couplets and Sanskrit *Ashlok*<sup>286</sup>. In the nineteenth century they narrated the account in *chhanda* and *kabat* in *bhaka* (meaning Hindi).

The *bhat* took care to see that whatever he or his progeny may know and remember, others do not, for upon this depended his importance. Shiva Prashad, however, rightly comments that oral record does not have permanency. With the passage of time, in absence of royal patronage and various other reasons the *bhats* lost their importance.

Shiva Prashad also discusses some of the shortcomings and weaknesses of the institution of *bhat*. He believes, being attached to the court, the *bhat* would write in laudatory terms and would often make their own additions, and events which would tarnish the personality of the king were ignored. For example, if the king's father was not known then he was accredited as the son of God, etc<sup>287</sup>. The *pandits* when describing the might and power of a king gave an exaggerated account. For example, Jains describe Rashbah Dev Swami as of 500 *dhankah* (i.e., of 200 hands) and his age as 84,000,00 *purad* (i.e., 592704 years). Thus religious scriptures give accounts which are often quite fanciful and cannot be relied upon<sup>288</sup>, particularly the account of the *puranas*. Herein he views that Valmiki's *Ramayan* has not reached us in its original form<sup>289</sup>.

In this manner Shiva Prashad tries to evaluate and assess the worth of scriptural sources, and comments that books containing unreasonable account are not worth reading<sup>290</sup>. He claims that he wrote on the basis of facts and was not concerned with anybody's faith and belief. He believes that history and religious beliefs are two different fields of study, and the two should not be mixed up<sup>291</sup>. However, it is to be seen that in his writings Shiva Prashad does not follow his own commitment.



While writing about the Muslim period, he has made use of some of the standard Medieval Persian chronicles, Arabic and Awadhi sources: *Chach-Namah*, *Tarikh-i-Subuktigin*, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, *Taj-al-Ma'asir*, *Ma'asir-al-Umara*, *Tarikh-i-Alai*, *Tarikh-i-Yemini*, *Bisat-al-Ghanayn*, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, *Padmavat*, etc. He also makes reference to European travellers such as Fitch and Tavernier, and has occasionally mentioned both the name of the author as well as the title of the book. It is, however, difficult to establish if he had read all the books.

Commenting about Medieval sources, Shiva Prasad remarks that hundreds of works on Islamic rule are to be found but they do not furnish all the qualities of historiography. The same account is repeated in a number of books. The historians wrote either in the hope of favour, or due to fear. They concealed all the faults of the rulers, and presented only the bright aspect. Moreover, these historians wrote with the firm belief that history must revolve round the king. Shiva Prasad makes a sarcastic remark that who else was there other than the king — the subjects were Hindus, who, in the eyes of the Muslim rulers were not to be counted as human beings but were meant for loot, plunder and to be enslaved. Interestingly, even the Hindu writers of the period addressed their Hindu bretheren as *kafir* or infidels who were doomed to hell when killed in a battle, whereas the Muslim combatants would taste the bliss of martyrdom on being killed.<sup>292</sup> That such observations were made and said during the nineteenth century warrants attention. Notwithstanding, it may be pointed out that rhetorical expression of Medieval chronicles have been accepted on their face value, and no attempt has been made to understand the spirit of the age or whether they have been written in the right context. For example, if some of the contents of his writings are accepted in all its totality then no Hindu should have

survived by the time of Aurangzeb.

### *Language and Style*

Shiva Prashad has written in a simple and straight forward manner, shorn of all ornamentation. He wrote the preface in English in which he has praised Urdu language and also points out the difficulty in correcting Indian names written in Persian which he believes is even greater than that written in English. The author has made a fair use of Persian and Sanskrit verses, especially in the first part Sanskrit couplets/verses have been profusely used. During the course of narration he often gives the meaning of certain words<sup>293</sup>, and even tries to show similarity of the pronunciation of some Sanskrit and old Persian words<sup>294</sup>. He also records statement in Pali script and calls it old Devnagri script<sup>295</sup>. Like some other Hindu historians of the period he also uses Islamic terminologies.

### *The Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb<sup>296</sup> or Kuchh Hal Janab Henry Carter Saheb Bahadur Ka*

This biography of Henry Carter, a British official, written by Raja Shiva Prashad, was obviously written to please Henry Carter under whom Raja Shiva Prashad had served for several years. An added purpose was to win the good will of the British people in general. The biography is particularly important for all the information it provides about Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, and about Shiva Prashad and Henry Carter.

### *Contents*

The biography begins with the information that Henry Carter's father Henry Saint George Tucker came to India in 1786 at the age of fifteen. He joined the Bengal Civil Service and finally rose to become Accountant General. In 1815 Carter went

to England where he became a member of the Court of Directors.

Tucker's son Henry Carter was born in Calcutta in 1812. He went back to England in 1815 along with his father where he received his education. Before coming back to India he visited Scotland, France and other European countries.

The biography contains life and works of Carter during his stay at Azamgarh, Gorakhpur and Benares. In between we also come to know about Shiva Prashad's life and activities. He was initially appointed as Assistant in the Benares commissionery. In 1832 he went to Azamgarh and worked under Sir Robert Montgomery. Then in Azamgarh there were only five English men, including a doctor. There were no buildings or bungalow, except three buildings which served as the Collectorate. Shiva Prashad along with other Englishmen use to live in the adjacent rooms of these buildings. Azamgarh was then like an island(it even now almost holds the same position for *Tons* river surrounds the city on three sides). It was declared a city in 1833 and Carter was appointed Collector with whom Shiva Prashad developed great affinity. While serving at Azamgarh Henry Carter prepared a book '*Azamgarh Reader*' which was translated into Hindi by Shiva Prashad. Carter also opened a school in Mubarakpur, a town about twelve kilometers east of Azamgarh. Shiva Prashad was appointed Inspector and he worked sincerely for the uplift of this school.

Henry Carter prepared a Note Book which was very useful for legal decisions and was kept by judicial officers. He also attempted to write the history of India, but having recorded uptill Lord Clive and Umi Chand, he tore the written material. As the Collector of Azamgarh, Henry Carter built a number of roads in Azamgarh and also planted a mango orchard which became a place of visit and resting spot to the weary travellers.

Later Henry Carter was appointed Collector of Gorakhpur in 1844 where he undertook a number of works of public utility. Notably, he built a dam on the lake Ami river at Kaudi Ram. It is about three miles in length and popularly came to be known as Tucker Bandh, the name obviously being kept in memory of Carter's father Henry Saint George Tucker. From Gorakhpur to Badhalganj a metal road was constructed. In Gorakhpur he established a Christian village at Basharatpur. Also, a church, a school, a town hall, Panchayati Bagh, etc., were built by him<sup>297</sup>.

In 1851 he was appointed Collector of Allahabad, and in 1853 he was appointed Commissioner of Benares and Agent of Governor General. During his stay at Benares he successfully faced the mutiny in 1857. In 1858 Carter after retirement went back to England. He died in 1875.

Carter was an administrator with academic taste. At his behest Shiva Prashad translated and wrote a number of books such as *Twarikh-i-Sandford and Merton* or *Qissah Sandford Wa Merton, Dunalin Aur Qursina* (also known as *Gulab Aur Chambeli*), and *Bamaman Ranjan*<sup>298</sup>.

### *The Dil Bahlaw* (1860)<sup>299</sup>

It was written by Shiva Prashad at the behest of Lieutenant Governor of North West Province for the use of students of Western Province. An ulterior motive of the book was to praise the British rule.

*Dil Bahlaw* consists of information of general interest such as how to weigh gold, how to sharpen the weapons and join broken glasses, why mountainous regions are cold and plain land hot, how huge rocks were split into two or several parts by an easy method, purification of water, extension of agricultural lands, the title of the Burmese kings, etc.

Some of the information throw light on specific political episode and event and also on the thinking of the people. Significantly, the author gives reasons as to why the Indian chiefs were mostly illiterate. One of the reasons forwarded by Shiva Prashad is that the Indian chiefs feared that if they educate their sons they would try to usurp their father's estate. Herein he calls upon Indians to learn English and acquire modern knowledge, so that they may know about the structure and organs of the machinery of the British government and also as to how the Hindus and Muslims lost their power and glory. He calls for the education of Indian women, for only an educated woman can properly upbring her child. In short, the author emphasizes that without knowledge and education no progress is possible. His writings are meant to serve as lesson and also to awaken the Indians. Some of the information in respect to general science is quite interesting.

***The Twarikh-i-Sandford and Merton or Qissah Sandford Wa Merton*<sup>300</sup>**

This is a translated work of Shiva Prashad in which different European tales have been narrated in Urdu. It has no historical significance except that it provides moral lessons to the readers, especially to children and young men.

***The Shahada-i- Qurani bar Qutub-i-Rabbani(1873)*<sup>301</sup>**

This is another work of Shiva Prashad. The opening page bears the information that the book is a translation of an Arabic and English book. It is however, not known in which language it was first written, Arabic or English. The name of the writer has also not been mentioned. It has been simply stated that it was written by some *Ahl-i-Kitab* (i.e., people having Divine Book) and the translation into Urdu was done at his behest by Shiva Prashad. It would have been better had Shiva Prashad given the



name of the actual writer. He deliberately seems to have concealed the name.

The purpose of this work was to collect together the various references made about the Bible and Torah in the Holy Quran and to show that they have been cited with great respect in the Quran, and hence, the Muslims must seriously ponder over the meaning and follow the message it intends to convey<sup>302</sup>.

In the succeeding pages the author unfolds the real purpose of his writing — that is to convince the Muslims that they must repose complete faith in Bible and Torah, and also dispel their belief that these heavenly books suffer from large scale interpolation. A number of charges have also been levelled upon the *Ulama* for misinterpreting the religious scriptures of the Jews and Christians.

In fact, this writing appears to be a part of a wider religious environment of the period which was characterized by intense religious debate going on in the country between Islam and Christianity or between Islam and Hinduism, and some times disparaging remarks were made about Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In it Shiva Prashad has shrewdly turned some of the Quranic verses towards the Muslims which have been actually addressed to the *Ahl-i-Kitab*. This is of course a lengthy discussion and here mere attention has been drawn because it is beyond the purview of this work.

In the last chapter the purpose of Shiva Prashad is absolutely clear, when he calls upon the Muslim to accept Christianity.

All this leads us to the conclusion that whoever may have originally written this book or that Shiva Prashad might have himself written this book in order to please the British masters, it belongs to the category of missionary literature and was written

for the propagation of Christianity.

***The Nai Haqa'iq-al-Maujudat***<sup>303</sup>

This work of Shiva Prashad was written at the behest of Lieutenant Governor of North West Province and Chief Commissioner of Awadh. It was written for the people of Awadh in general, but more especially for the use of teachers and students of *makatib* and High Schools. The book appears to have been written in two or three parts, but to me only the first part was available. The book contains findings of the habits of different animals, fishes and birds, about the languages spoken in India, printing press, about clouds and its formation, preparation of manure, about the science of geometry, of rivers and seas, about the wind, the plants and the universe, about cultivation, etc. Strictly speaking this is not a book of history. It however, shows considerable interest of the Indians towards the study of new science.

***Conclusion***

Shiva Prashad was a progressive and forward looking Indian writer. Perhaps his early and continuous association with the English men fostered in him such an attitude. He may be placed among those few Hindus of early modern times who attempted to write Indian history. And, as a native historian he is among the first few historians to have paid attention to the study of sources and to point out the inherent weaknesses in them. He is among the earliest writers of modern times to use religious scriptures as historical sources, and to emphasize on the impartial aspect of historical writings although he himself could not adhere strictly to the opinion expressed by him.

By his various writings Shiva Prashad contributed in generating and strengthening 'historical sense' which was

supposedly lacking among the Hindus. However, unlike some other contemporary Hindu writers who made efforts to explore and trace the roots of pristine glory of ancient past, Shiva Prashad's writings do not subscribe to such views. On the contrary, he uses unbecoming words for the Indians and describes them as coward, and lazy men who were interested only in eating, drinking and making money. He does not attempt to probe into the factors which were responsible for this sordid state of affair. Had he made even a cursory glance on the aftermath that followed the 'Subsidiary Alliance' forced upon Indian rulers as well as the effects of 'Doctrine of Lapse', he would have got the answer.

As a historian and a person who was a witness to the changes in society, some of his remarks and observations deserve attention. For example, he says about the Indians that "notwithstanding their very strong antipathy to 'change', they have changed, and will change". And, secondly, "notwithstanding the many heroic actions ascribed to our ancient Hindu *Rajas* there was no such thing as an empire in existence; that the country was divided among numerous chiefs always fighting with each other for temporary superiority; that, notwithstanding the splendour attributed to Muhammadan 'dynasties, the country was sadly misgoverned, even during the reigns of the most powerful emperor; and that although the diamonds and pearls were weighed by 'maunds' in the royal treasuries, the people in general were very poor and utterly miserable"<sup>304</sup>.

A significant characteristic of his writing is that he praises the British in laudatory terms, prays for the perpetuity of British rule, and tries to portray the progressive aspects of British rule. The beneficial and civilising aspects of the British rule have also been highlighted by some other Indian historians such as Kalay Rae, Munshi Zaka-Allah and Shad Azimabadi, but they do not

make derogative remarks about their Indian brethren. They have not criticised its cultural ethos and do not display unabashed sycophancy and flattery as Shiva Prashad does. He seems to be a follower of the Utilitarians who propagated the idea that the coming of the British to India was a gift of God.

Shiva Prashad wrote with certain definite purpose: the first was to educate his countrymen with notions of scientific and progressive thought that had come in the wake of British paramountcy, and inculcate in them a scientific temperament; the second was to mould the attitude of the Indians in favour of British rule and to remind them that their prospect lay in supporting the policies of the British; and the third was to villify the Muslims and bring disrepute to them in order to please the British officials and win their favour. He joined hands with the British officials who were projecting themselves as deliverers of the Hindus from Muslim tyranny and oppression. He accepted uncritically the theory of 'Medieval Muslim tyranny' propounded by European writers.

It may be pointed that during his stay in Calcutta, Shiva Prashad came into contact with burgeoning Hindu Bengali *Baboos* popularly known as *bhadralok*. Here he appears to have been influenced by the generally condescending attitude of the Hindu *bhadralok* towards Islamic people and culture, particularly by the writings of such men as Bankim Chandra. It may be recalled that at a time when the British were projecting the Muslims, as tyrants and oppressive in the historical accounts, Bankim Chandra castigated them in his novels.

Some specific features of the period also requires attention. For example, pragmatic value of Western learning began to be admitted, and the undesirability of British rule was now being dismissed by the burgeoning Hindu *Baboos*. Any resistance to British policies, it was thought, would seriously jeopardise their

steady social ascendancy, which they believed they owed to the British rule. Hence in the name of preventing outbreak of social anarchy the Hindu *Baboos* supported the British regime. Shiva Prashad's writings admittedly subscribed to such growing tendency. He very well worked to influence the minds of the Hindus, much to the delight of the British administrators, that they were certainly well-off under the British rule.

It may further be borne in mind that in the 1870's there was a steady growth of feelings of Pan-Hinduism and Pan-Islamism, coupled with the growth of neo-nationalistic feelings. Indian political life had progressed from self-exploration to self-assertion. Though faced by British high-handedness, a direct protest against British policies and rule was considered inexpedient. On the other hand the Muslims were considered convenient whipping boys both for self-gratification as well as for promoting neo-nationalistic feelings. Often unbridled disparaging remarks were made against the Muslims and Islam with delight under the protective umbrella of the British.

The crux of such writing was to treat the Muslims as a distinct community, and force them to take an apologetic view. Shiva Prashad's writings certainly contributed to such objectives, and in consequence, it damaged the traditionally cordial Hindu-Muslim relationship and generated disharmony among them. He can be placed among those early writers who initiated tendentious writing in Indian history.

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## Munshi Debi Prasad

It is really surprising that a writer and historian such as Debi Prasad has so far remained virtually unnoticed by Indian scholars. In recent years perhaps the only attempt to study one of his works entitled *Khan-i Khanan Nama* has been made by Dr.M.H.A. Beg of Pakistan who has edited this book<sup>305</sup>. Author of more than sixty books Debi Prasad was a giant historian among all historians of the nineteenth century. Most of his writings are in Urdu, but about a dozen books are also in Hindi.

Since I have been able to locate and examine only a couple of books of Debi Prasad, the available information is too meagre to enable me to construct the full life history of Debi Prasad and his position as a historian. However, it is to be seen that he was well-versed in Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi, and English. His educational attainments enabled him to hold the respectable position of Deputy Inspector of Schools under the British government. He also served a few Indian Chiefs and *Nawwabs*. While serving the state of Marwar he held the post of *munsif*.

Here an attempt has been made to examine four of his books that were available to me. These are *Tarikh-i Rajparasti*, *Khan-i Khanan Namah*, *Intikhab-i Nadirah* and *Amir-Nama-i Urdu*.

### **The *Tarikh-i Raj Parasti*<sup>306</sup>**

This is an Urdu translation by Munshi Debi Prasad of a Sanskrit work of Ranchor Bhatt<sup>307</sup>. Ranchor Bhatt had written it at the orders of Rana Raj Singh. Later the Sanskrit narration was engraved on stone tablets in the niches of Raj Samundar pond in

*Samvat* 1732 by Kunwar Jai Singh. The Sanskrit narration deals with the achievements of the *Ranas* of Udaipur, Rajputana.

The Urdu version of *Tarikh-i Raj Parasti* as Munshi Debi Prasad writes, was completed<sup>308</sup> on 16th August 1871. As recorded in the book Major A.N. Brothers (political Agent) and Captain J.J.Blair (Assistant Agent of Governor General, Rajputana) once during a visit to the pond saw the engraved *Kursi Namah* (genealogical table). On enquiry they came to know that the table bore information about *Maharanas* of Udaipur. Thereupon, the Englishmen asked Jadu Rai, a *Brahmin* of Rajnagar to copy the contents of the tablets and send it to them. Accordingly the engraved Sanskrit inscriptions were copied and the task of translating it into English was under taken by Ram Karan, a renowned *Brahmin*. However, before the whole matter could be translated, the two British officers died. Consequently Jadu Rai did not send all the remaining copied materials. By this time inscription of only 16 niches had been copied, about the rest information is not known<sup>309</sup>.

What followed is that during a per chance meeting with Ram Karan, Munshi Debi Prasad in course of the talk said that there is no exclusive or complete running history of the *Ranas* of Udaipur in Persian or Hindi. Upon this Ram Karan showed Debi Prasad the Sanskrit matter that he had copied. Thereupon Debi Prasad asked Ram Karan to translate the Sanskrit contents into Hindi. This being done the Hindi contents were translated into Urdu<sup>310</sup>.

*Tarikh-i Raj Parasti* consists of sixteen sections or parts. Debi Prasad informs that the eleventh and twelfth sections which dealt with architectural information could not be translated into Urdu because it contained unfamiliar Sanskrit terms and verses which were unintelligible to the Sanskrit scholars. For all these reasons, and also because of hyperbolic expressions and

repetition of the same theme, a literal translation was attempted by Debi Prasad.

*Tarikh-i Raj Parasti* begins with the information about Rana Raj Singh and his ancestors. It records that Rana Raj Singh belonged to *Suraj Vanshi* family. Thereafter there is a genealogical table of *Suraj Vanshi* kings. It mentions that a scion of this family ruled Awadh and Deccan. Some of the rulers<sup>311</sup> who have received attention are Rana Raj Singh, Rana Amar Singh, Rana Sangram Singh, Rana Arsi Singh, Rana Hamir, Rana Bhim Singh, Rana Jawan Singh, Rana Sarwar Singh, Swarup Singh and Maharana Shambhu Singh. The book also contains information about Raj Samundar pond<sup>312</sup>.

An interesting information recorded is that the *Ranas* would marry their daughters to princes of Jaipur and Jodhpur. But when they started marrying their daughters to the Mughul House, the *Ranas* broke off their relation with the kings of Jaipur and Jodhpur. Consequently when their daughters would reach marriageable age they would marry them to respected Rajput families. But ironically some times girls numbering fifty or even more were married to a single boy<sup>313</sup>.

Writing about the enforcement of *jiziyah* in Mewar, it states that Rana Raj Singh initially refused to pay but ultimately had to bow down to military pressure which took the form of loot and plunder. The Rajputs retaliated by plundering and looting Gujarat and Malwa. They demolished many mosques, burned the sacred *Quran* and maltreated the *mullas* in various ways. All this led to great loss of Udaipur<sup>314</sup>.

Another piece of information is that prince Jahangir and Shah Jahan during their days of revolt had sought refuge and shelter under Rana Raj Singh<sup>315</sup>. It also mentions that it was a practice among the Rajput kings to suffix the word *das* instead of

*singh* to their children born of general woman in the *harem*. This was done to distinguish them from the rest<sup>316</sup>.

Finally, the author gives a list of the rulers of different states whose lineage goes back to the *Ranas* of Mewar, Nepal being one such state<sup>317</sup>.

It is, however, noteworthy to point out that some of the informations provided are incorrect. For example it has been recorded that Muhammad bin Qasim after conquering Gujarat moved towards Chittor. Bapa, a Rajput chief, defeated Muhammad bin Qasim and consequently the latter had to retreat. Thereafter Bapa went to the Muslim lands, married a Muslim lady and brought her to Chittor. On coming back he deposed the ruler of Chittor and became the king. Later on he left his religion and went to Khorasan. Debi Prasad disapproves these information, especially that of Muhammad bin Qasim's coming to Chittor and Bapa's going to Khorasan.

Debi Prasad remarks that the author of *Tarikh-i Raj Parasti* has written in a very brief manner which often makes it difficult to understand the real happening. Moreover, some of the narrations do not find reference in other contemporary chronicles. Accordingly Debi Prasad has often tried to fill up the gaps left by the writer of *Raj Parasti* and even attempts to enumerate many of the information ignored by the author at different places. Debi Prasad also points out some of the mistakes of the scribe and tries to correct the errors committed by the author<sup>318</sup>. In a way he has attempted to perform the task of an editor also.

During the course of compilation Debi Prasad has quoted Persian chronicles such as *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* of Ali Muhammad Khan, *Akbar Namah*, *Tarikh-i Farishta*, *Mirat-i Sikandari*, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* and *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirin*. He also informs that he has borrowed



information from Colonel Tod's *History of India*. Probably he had consulted the Urdu translation of these two books<sup>319</sup>. He considers Eliphinstone's book as more reliable which he believes and considers it to be an abridged account borrowed from reliable books. Herein he also comments that *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri* is not free from prejudices and bias<sup>320</sup>. At places he compares the information of *Ain-i Akbari* with that of Marshman's book.

A significant feature of Debi Prasad's writing is that he provides valuable critical foot-notes and tries to corroborate the information with English sources. At the end of the book he informs the readers that he has taken great pains in writing the book and had to undergo the arduous task of collating the dates given in Persian, Urdu and English books and supporting the translated work with marginal notes and explanation. Finally, he calls upon the readers to rectify the errors they may come across.

In short, *Tarikh-i Raj Parasti* is a valuable source in understanding the history of Rajputana. By this time Indian writers and historians were attempting to provide authentic information to the readers and even translated works were being supported by corroborating information, and doubtful narrations were being questioned and disapproved. From the study of this book we get information about two other books: the first is *Tarikh-i Bulandshahar* of Munshi Mangal Sen who was a Deputy Collector, and the second is *Tarikh-i Mewar* whose writer is the author himself.

***The Khan-i Khanan Namah*<sup>321</sup> (or biography of Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan son of Bairam Khan-i Khanan)**

This is another significant work of Munshi Debi Prasad which he wrote when he was serving the Jodhpur state. The author informs that the brief biography of Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan was first published in 1879 which was quickly sold out.



Thereupon on insistence by admirers and readers the work was revised with the help of some Persian and Hindi chronicles such as *Akbar Namah*, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, *Tuzuk-i Jahangir*, *Ma'asir-al Umara*, *Tazkira-i Husain*, *Tarikh-i Chaghta* and *Bans Bhasker*.

The biography has been divided into two parts: the first deals with Nawwab Bairam Khan-i Khanan, and the second deals with Nawwab Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan.

The author speaks of Bairam Khan's ancestral homeland, his education, and his joining of service under Humayun, the Mughul emperor. He remained loyal to his master amidst all odds and was with him during his days of exile. Impressed by his personality the Persian monarch bestowed upon him the title of *Khan* after seeing him playing *chaughan* (polo). As is well known Humayun recovered Kandahar with the help of Persians and thereafter marched towards India. Bairam Khan by his valour and intelligence won a number of battles, especial mention may be made of the battle of Machiwadah where a small number of Mughuls killed and drove away a large number of *Pathans*. Highly pleased, emperor Humayun granted him the title of *Yar-Wafadar* and *Farzand-i-Sadaqmand* and also gave him several *parganas* as jagir.

It was Bairam Khan who seated Akbar on the Mughul throne at Kalanaur. Akbar in return honoured Bairam Khan with the title of *Khan-i Khanan* and appointed him as the *vakil* of the empire, and while addressing him would call him *Baba*.

In 1557 emperor Akbar married Bairam Khan to Salimah Sultan (who was the grand daughter of Mughul emperor, Babar, from the maternal side and niece of emperor Humayun). She was a learned lady and had the *nom de plume* of *Makhfi*.

The incident which led to the fall of Bairam Khan from

imperial grace has been mentioned. Bairam Khan retaliated by showing dissentient attitude. He went on leave to perform *Hajj* but returned mid-way to punish those detractors in the Punjab who had spread the rumour that he had been turned out of the court. In the ensuing military conflict he suffered mixed fortunes and finally submitted to Akbar. The latter pardoned him, gave him considerable wealth and asked him to proceed to perform *Hajj*. On his way to Anhilpurpatan (in Gujarat) he was killed by a Afghan named Mubarak Khan whose father had been killed in the battle of Machiwada. It was with great difficulty that his wife, and son Mirza Khan, were brought to Ahmedabad. The body of Bairam Khan lay in dust. It was picked up by few *fakirs* who buried him near a tomb. It was later on carried to Delhi where he lies buried.

Bairam Khan was not only a warrior and general but also a poet of admirable merit who patronised other poets. On one occasion when he was wandering in misfortune he liked the rendering of a poet so much that he purchased it for one lakh rupees<sup>322</sup>. The author has quoted many poetical exchanges of Bairam Khan, and cites some of his poetical expressions from his *diwan* composed in Persian and Turki.

Lastly, the author sums up the personality of Bairam Khan in the words of the writer of *Ma'asir-al Umara* who praises Bairam Khan for his valour, bravery, far-sightedness and intelligence in reviving the fortunes of the Mughuls. However, as he grew in power and strength, backed by royal patronage, he became arrogant and developed haughtiness which ultimately led to his fall.

The second part deals with the life of Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan. The narration begins when Humayun was in exile in Persia and the Persian monarch advised him that if you regain Indian kingship you must follow two things: the first is that you

must establish matrimonial alliances with the Indian *rajās* and *zamindars*; and secondly, you must divert the attention of the Afghans from military adventure to trade and commerce. Accordingly, when Humayun recaptured Delhi he married one of the daughters of Jamal Khan Mewati and the second daughter was married to Bairam Khan.

When Bairam Khan was murdered in 1561 Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan was four years old. Muhammad Amin with great astuteness kept the child safe from enemies at Ahmedabad and after four months carried him to Agra and handed him over to emperor Akbar.

At Agra he was brought up with special care. On attaining youth he was given the title of Mirza Khan and was married to Akbar's foster sister. In this way he was closely related to the imperial family.

Debi Prasad has generally narrated the military campaign of Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan, his poetical wit and punch, robes and titles, honours bestowed upon him from time to time, and stray references of ranks and titles given to different chiefs and nobles for their services. There is a brief narration of the revolt and political ambitions of prince Khurram (later to become emperor Shah Jahan). The revolt divided the nobles and even the imperial house into rival factions and groups. Initially conditions were such that Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan was forced to side with prince Khurram. This resulted into his fall from imperial grace. Emperor Jahangir took a strong note of his behaviour and remarked that like his father disobedience and disloyalty runs in his blood. During the course of revolt many supporters of prince Khurram deserted him and joined prince Parvez. Even Abd-al Rahim wanted to free himself from prince Khurram as evident from one of his letters intercepted mid-way which was addressed to Mahabat Khan.

This generated distrust in the mind of Shah Jahan. At first he thought of placing Abd-al Rahim and his sons in the fort of Asir, but later decided against it and took him along with him. At this stage, under duress, Shah Jahan decided to seek pardon from the emperor and sent Rao Ratan Hada, a Rajput chief to speak on his behalf. But Mahabat Khan, the imperial commander, refused to admit Hada. He insisted that Abd-al Rahim be called for peace talk. Consequently, Abd-al Rahim was released from his captivity and was asked to intercede on behalf of Shah Jahan. But as soon as talks were to begin the imperial forces advanced towards prince Khurram. This frightened the forces of Shah Jahan and it disintegrated.

Shah Jahan marched towards the Deccan and from there reached Orissa. Thereafter marching across Bengal Shah Jahan reached Allahabad. But here he was again defeated by prince Parvez. Breaking all promises Abd-al Rahim joined prince Parvez, but was soon put under house-arrest. Meanwhile a tragic event that took place was that Shah Jahan called Darab Khan son of Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan to attend upon him. He, however, evaded the orders. Thereupon, the son of Darab Khan (i.e. grandson of Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan) who was with Shah Jahan, was killed. This forced Darab Khan to join Mahabat Khan. When this news reached Jahangir he ordered Mahabat Khan to send the head of that ungrateful creature. Obeying the imperial orders Mahabat Khan sent the severed head of Darab Khan.

Later events were to show that Mahabat Khan was awarded the title of Khan-i Khanan. As for Abd-al Rahim he was pardoned by Jahangir and his old bureaucratic position restored.

Finally, the author first expresses his personal opinion about Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan. He says it takes little time for a man's fortune to take a turn. This noble who once enjoyed

power and pelf, because of the rivalry between Jahangir and Shah Jahan, was caught in a fix and it resulted in his ignominious end.

Debi Prasad assesses the contribution of Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan on the basis of information provided in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* and *Ma'asir-al Umara*. He records that his three major contributions were conquest of Gujarat, victory in the Deccan where he overpowered the strong Deccan army of 70,000 troops by a force of 20,000, and his conquest of Sindh and Thatta. Even, one of his sons, Shah Nawaz, contributed to the territorial expansion of the Mughul empire.

Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan was an outstanding general, scholar and poet. He was well-versed in Arabic, Turki, Persian and Hindi. As is well-known that he translated *Waqi'at-i Babar* from Turki to Persian. The author of *Ma'asir-al Umara* writes that he could converse freely in many Indian languages. The author has especially noted that Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan could compose poems in Sanskrit and Hindi. This is corroborated by many Hindi books. His Hindi verses are more famous and frequently quoted by Hindi scholars in their assemblies<sup>323</sup>. As a military general he was a man of exceptional calibre.

At the same time he was of materialistic temperament, spiteful and self-centred. He would say that one should take revenge from an enemy in the garb of friendship. He spent almost thirty years in the Deccan. During this period all the princes and nobles who were sent to help him saw his leanings towards the Deccani Sultans. They described his behaviour as hostile. Abul Fazl termed his actions as open revolt<sup>324</sup>. He was of peevish nature and would keep his informers posted in market places, streets, collectorate and other places who would report to him in writing. He would read them all and then burn them. In short, Abd-al Rahim achieved great merit during the days of emperor Akbar, but during the days of Jahangir he was subject to



ignominy.

Debi Prasad is, however, no hero-worshipper. He mentions the strong and weak points of this eminent noble like a true historian. The assessment that he makes is based not upon his personal views but on historical facts. Like a curious historian he writes that he has heard that a book has been written about the life of Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan, but despite efforts he could not trace it. This obviously refers to *Ma'asir-i Rahimi* of Mulla Abd-al Baqi Nahavandi written during the life time of the noble. It may be pointed that Shibli Nomani wrote a brief article entitled *Ma'asir-i Rahimi Abd-al Rahim Khan-i Khanan* in 1907 on the basis of original manuscript that he discovered and had expressed hopes for its editing and printing. As is well known *Shams-al-'Ulama'* M. Hidayat Husain fulfilled this task.

#### **The *Intikhab-i Nadirah*<sup>325</sup>**

The book was written by Munshi Debi Prasad when he was serving as *munsif* in the Marwar state. It contains selected anecdotes, couplets, episodes, witty questions and answers, jokes, etc, which the readers will enjoy. It appears that Munshi Debi Prasad, apart from being a serious writer and historian, was also a person of wit and humour.

The various informations given exclusively deal about Islamic countries, scholars and saints. They have been selected from different historical books which have been mentioned as follows: *Tarikh-i-Mirat-al-Alam*, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, *Miftah-al-Tarikh*, *Tarikh-i-Rauzat al-Safa*, *Kitab-Muhammad Haidaryah*, *Tarikh-i-Qachariyah*, *Nasikh-al-Twarikh*, *Khazana-i Amirah*, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and *Tarikh-i Guzidah*.

However, the most significant information that *Intikhab-i Nadirah* provides is that Munshi Debi Prasad is the author of

fifty-six books, most of them being in Urdu and the rest in Hindi<sup>326</sup>. They are as follows:

*Tarikh-i-Tuzuk-i-Hind* (brief history from the time of *Mahabharat* to the establishment of British rule), *Nafais-al-Twarikh Wa Zikr-i-Hukama* (account of the past rulers of Greece, Egypt, Italy, Iran and India), *Asar-al-Shura-i-Hunud* (consists of account of more than seven hundred Hindu poets and their compositions), *Mizan-i-Adalat* (collection of some pronouncement of judgement made by ancient kings and emperors), *Nausherwan Namah* (biography of Persian emperor Nausherwan Adil), *Jugrafiya-wa-Twarikh-i Marwar*, *Nasihah Nama-i-Sardar Hardayal Singh*, *Tafrih-al-Talaba*, *Akbar Namah Urdu*, *Twarikh Akbar Badshah*, *Risalah Fuzala-i Hind*, *Sawanih Umri Raja Birbal*, *Sawanih Umri Rana Ratan Singh Aur Rana Vikramjit*, *Sawanih Umri Maharana Udai Singh*, *Sawanih Umri Maharana Partab Singh*, *Sawanih Umri Raja Prithviraj*, *Puranmal*, *Raj Singh*, *Askaran*, *Bhim Singh*, *Bhagwant Din and the Kachhwaha ruler*, *Sawanih Umri Rao Jitsi*, *Sawanih Umri Rao Kalyan Mal*, *Sawanih Umri Mashhur Raja Man Singh*, *Sawanih Umri Raja Karan Gujarati*, *Sawanih Umri Nawwab Amir Khan*, *Sawanih Umri Maharana Sankiji*, *Sawanih Umri Sher Shah Badshah*, *Sawanih Umri Khan-i-Khanan Namah*, *Twarikh-i Sarohi*, *Tarjuma-i-Raj Parasti*, *Shahjahan Namah* (in 3 vols.), *Iftikhar-al-Twarikh*, *Tuzuk Shahanshahi* (biography of Edward VII, emperor of England and India), *Tarjuma-i-Tarikh Farishta* (in 2 vols), *Irshad-al-Moluk* (translation of speech of Lord Landsdown and Lord Curzon), *Colon Saheb*, *Tarikh-i-Baghawat-i Hind Ba Muharba-i-Azim*.

#### **Books relating to Moral Ethics**

*Afsana-i Khusrau Wa Afroz*, *Tafrih-al Talaba*, *Guldasta-i Adab Ilm-i-Akhlaq 'o' Ma'ash*, *Lataif-i Hindi*, *Lataif-al-Zurafa*,

*Naqsha-i Marwar, Karnamah Naw-A'in.*

### **Miscellaneous Books**

*Tarikh Darbar Tajposhi*(1903), *Magribi Tibet*, *Tarikh-i-Raj Balrampur*, *Sahifa-i Zarrin* (in two parts) and *Zikr al-Sa'adatain*.

Some other books written for school-going children as recorded from *Talkhis-al-Hisab*(1878) are:

*Arzang-i Chin* (in prose, relating to study of calligraphy and things used for its writing)

*Nazm-i Parvin* (in poem, relating to rules of calligraphy, spellings, philology, etc)

*Miyar-al-Imla* (in prose, relating to rules of philology)

*Khulasat-al-Mantiq* (in prose about logic)

*Miyar-al-Balaghat*(in prose about Urdu rhetoricism)

*Muratib-al Ulum*(in prose translation of an English book relating to general knowledge).

*Sahar-i Samri* (poetry collection of poems)

*Risala-i Qafiyah* (poem)

*Swabit-i Ishq*(poem)

*Wasokhta-i-Sahar*(poetry)

*T'alim-al-Atfal* (prose) – A translation of an Hindi book for beginners

### **Hindi Books**

*Buhlol*, *Maharana Udai Singh*, *Maharana Partab Singh*, *Sawanih Umri Rao Maldeo*, *Ruthi Rani*, *Sawanih Umri Jaswant Singh*, *Mughal Bans*, *Sawanih Umri Sur Das*, *Raja Birbal Ka*

*Jivan Charitr*(in two parts), *Honhar Balak*(in three parts), *Hindi Kalam Wa Sawanih Umri*, *Bhagat Mal Manzum*, *Diwan Ba Hujjat*, *Tazmeen Be Baha*

### The Amir- Namah-Urdu<sup>327</sup>

*Amir Namah Urdu* bears an account of Amir-al-Daulah Amir-al-Mulk Nawwab Amir Khan Bahadur Shamsheer Jung, the founder of Tonk state.

The book consists of 104 pages and has been divided into three parts. The first part consists of six chapters, the second consists of 9 chapters, and the third consists of 5 chapters. The pages have been numbered and the *tark* system of pagination has also been used. The book has been written in simple Urdu and generally deals with the military campaigns of the Nawwab, and of the Marathas and British in and around Tonk.

The narration begins with the statement that the *Pathans* trace their lineage to *Bani Israel*. Thereafter it narrates how the rulers of Tonk helped the Maratha chief Gaekward to take *chauth*<sup>328</sup>. It records that the British Resident paid three years arrears of *chauth*<sup>329</sup>.

Among the military actions it refers to the activities of Pandit Lachhman Rao, *Jagirdar*, Madhpur, who was defeated by Amir Khan when he was in the service of Bhopal state<sup>330</sup>. It also mentions Nawwab's action against the Pindaris and the losses meted to the Pindaris<sup>331</sup>.

The author provides valuable information about the territorial extension of Jaswant Rao Holkar. He writes that at one stage the Maratha chief was captured by the Raja of Nagpur. But Jaswant Rao Holkar managed to escape and lived for some days in the village of Bhils<sup>332</sup>.

It records that Jaswant Rao Holkar and the Nawwab of Bhopal entered into a treaty alliance in 1800. Thereafter the two chiefs moved towards Ashtah and collected *jiziyah* and also carried out several joint campaigns.<sup>333</sup> It provides information about Maratha chief Sindhia's clashes with local *zamindars* and with the British. In the conflict Raghuji Bhosle stood aloof and did not come to the help of Sindhia<sup>334</sup>.

Another piece of information is about a Muslim shrine called *Murtuza Ali Ki Ziyarat*. It is situated about 3 *kos* from Sironj and the *ziyarat*(pilgrimage) performed by the Muslims relates to print of the palm which is said to be of the pious Caliph Hazrat Ali Murtuza. It records that the people of Sironj have great reverence for this palm print. But Nawwab Muhammad Ali Khan threw away this print and strictly forbade the people not to visit this place<sup>335</sup>.

More valuable is the information made by Debi Prasad about the thinking of the common people during contemporary times. He states that owing to frequent clashes and conflicts among the contending forces, commercial goods were plundered and country-side laid waste. According to him the fact is that both the contending sides were the enemies of the peasants. The destruction caused by them can be imagined. Faced by rampage people mourn. The country-men praise the by-gone days and recall that in olden days employment opportunities were plenty, and that production of crops was plentiful and prices were cheap<sup>336</sup>. He goes on to say that because of economic distress people were under great hardship. Traditional profession, skill and craft fast vanished away. The **money** of India was going away to foreign lands. The British government showed interest in educating the Indians in order to make them sober and cultured but made no attempt to impart technical education which would have enabled them to fulfill their needs. Had this been done their



property and money would have remained in the hands of the country-men. This would have obviated the distress of the Indians<sup>337</sup>.

Debi Prasad may be regarded as a prolific historian of India and the first great Indian biographer. His writings are characterized with clarity of expression. For example written in short paragraph and interspered with Persian and Urdu couplets and verses, *Khan-i Khanan-Namah* attracts the reader and lends a typical colour to historical writings which is in tune with the taste of the readers. No wonder for his large number of works he was popularly known as the 'Historian of Rajputana' during contemporary times<sup>338</sup>.

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## James Corcoran

### The *Tarikh-i-Chin*(*History of China*)(1848-1852)

*Tarikh-i-Chin*<sup>339</sup> is a significant work of James Corcoran. Nothing is known about the early life and education of James Corcoran, except that he was a British citizen in the service of East India Company. Evidently, James Corcoran learnt Urdu which was then the language of administration. He was appointed translator in the court of *Sadar Diwani Adalat*, Calcutta. Later he was transferred to Agra. It was during his official assignment that he undertook the writing of the *Tarikh-i-Chin*. The author claims the book to be a unique one, and emphatically warns that this work should not be acknowledged as a translated or adapted one<sup>340</sup>. He further claims that while undertaking this stupendous task he did not take help from any one<sup>341</sup>.

Printed in *Kanta Chap*(size 8"x11") in two volumes in November 1848 and January 1852 by Thomas Baptist, Calcutta, the first volume consists of 462 pages of which the last four pages contain an erratum and has a preface consisting of fourteen pages. The second volume consists of 716 pages. It begins with an introduction in Urdu, followed by a preface. This is followed by four pages of table of contents. At the end, there is a page of erratum. The second volume bears an introduction in English followed by an advertisement of the book, after which opinions about the first volume are printed (13 pages). This is supplemented by an index (44 pages) which in the beginning bears key to the pronunciation of Romanized Oriental words used in the book with reference to Urdu language along with reference to complex Chinese sound. The second volume notes the name of the publisher as Thacker & Spink.

### *Period and Purpose of Writing*

James Corcoran does not mention the year when he first began the writing of the *Tarikh-i-Chin*, but it appears that the work was undertaken soon after the Opium War (1839-1842). He writes that once in a deliberation of some learned scholars an idea seized his attention. It was that though the Indians considered China as a strange world worth knowing, yet they knew little about it in absence of any proper history of the country in any language of India, Iran or Arabia. This struck the author's attention and he made up his mind to produce a seminal work in Urdu on Chinese history which may carry his name in posterity and establish his reputation as a master of Urdu language. While the work aimed at acquainting the Indians with the China, another objective was to present it to the Chinese emperor<sup>342</sup>. An added motive of writing the book seems to have been to glorify and portray British strength and valour, its cultural and racial superiority, and win recognition as an accomplished historian<sup>343</sup>.

### *Concept of History*

James Corcoran at the very outset highlights the superiority and greatness of history over other subjects. According to him, history is a means of knowing and understanding people, civilization and nations. It provides lessons to mankind. A study of history may enable its reader to make analogies, understand better the situation prevailing around him, and help predict the future events. It also enables one to trace or locate those forces or currents which lie dormant but play an important role in shaping a society. To a lay man the brisk changes and conflict occurring in a society may appear trivial, but to a historian it will not appear so, for the world has not changed its path and course and that, the strife and conflict will

remain to the last day of the world<sup>344</sup>.

The study of history provides inexpressible satisfaction to a historian. He holds historians in high esteem because they remind people of the deeds which led to the prosperity or ruination of the past rulers. He goes on to say that to a naive or novice, history will appear a mere story, while to an elderly person it will serve as reminiscent of the past events. Similarly, the study of history will show that the fruits of evil deeds are reaped in this very world<sup>345</sup>.

James Corcoran maintains that to write history is an arduous task and the difficulty it entails can not be properly gauged or discerned by those who are ignorant of the skill of writing history. History according to Corcoran, in contrast to other branches of knowledge, has not received attention it deserves at the hands of Indians<sup>346</sup>. He also accuses the Central Asians for not having the habit of recording their thoughts, experience and knowledge with the result that their deeds are buried along with them when they are no more in the world. The British, according to Corcoran, exhibit a contrasting tendency in that they hold that knowledge should be meant for the benefit of all and its impartation to mankind is the noblest deed<sup>347</sup>.

James Corcoran puts in a caveat in order to clear that history and story are two different things; the two should not be mixed up, and the former should not be treated lightly<sup>348</sup>. He, however, takes a specific stance that history should be written of only that place or region which is inhabited and holds some importance. Similarly, when writing about barbarians one must record the patterns of settlement, their forsaking of barbaric habits, and how and when they settled down and took up agriculture<sup>349</sup>.

### *Attitude towards Sources*

James Corcoran does not explicitly mention about his visit to China, but it is certainly evident from various references made in the text that he had visited China and stayed there for sometime<sup>350</sup>. He says that he had interest in history from an early age, and while writing the book he consulted twenty eight historical accounts in different languages and travelogues of sailors and men<sup>351</sup>. He, however, makes no mention of his mastery over different languages nor does he give the list of books he consulted. Generally, he uses the phrase "according to some historian". But during the course of writing he refers to several writers and books from which he borrowed his material. For example, he quotes a historian of Fort William College, Raj Bali's the *Tarikh-i-Hindu*. He compares its version with the Burmese, Siamese and Sri Lankan sources with regard to the birth of Buddha and Buddhism<sup>352</sup>. At another place he says that he borrowed the tale from the history of Herodotus<sup>353</sup>. Except for these two references Corcoran does not mention any other source while writing the first volume. However, in this respect the second volume is more illuminating. Herein James Corcoran refers to the borrowing of information from the *Nigaristan*, the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, the *Zinat al-Tarikh* and Sanskrit book *Sathupuran*<sup>354</sup>. Similarly, he quotes the *Tarikh-i-Habib al-Siyar*, the *Tuzuk-i-Timuri*, the *Zubdat al-Tarikh* and the *Shah Namah*, but he does not mention the names of the authors. He also refers to historians and travellers such as Sharf al-Din Ali Yezdi and Tavernier respectively. Of the Chinese sources he refers to Azmaseen and Fu Zi, the two Chinese historians of the ancient period. He also quotes Nan pi Chou<sup>355</sup>.

The striking aspect of James Corcoran's attitude towards sources is that he claims to have recorded only those information



which he considered to be of some merit after collating and corroborating the account with that of other sources. He further says that care has been taken to narrate specially those facts and events about which the Persian and Arabic sources are silent. James Corcoran's methodology was that he read all the relevant books. The matters were then utilised according to the requirements<sup>356</sup>. Another characteristic feature is that some of the accounts have been mentioned despite their dubious authenticity and validity so as to leave room for further discussion and investigation<sup>357</sup>.

For the early existence on earth and settlement of human race, James Corcoran considers the account given in the *Torah* as reliable. Here he is at loggerheads with the Chinese historians who attribute the Great Flood<sup>358</sup>, the deluge to the reign of Yao, for, according to James Corcoran China was inhabited after the Great Flood. Similarly, while referring to the book entitled *Sho Kiank* of King Fu Si, James Corcoran considers it as an authentic source.<sup>359</sup> It was on the basis of the *Sho Kiank* that he wrote the account of Emperor Yao, Shin and Yen Ti<sup>360</sup>. Thus, James Corcoran while taking the sources for granted, depended upon qualities such as truth-speaking and caution. By and large, he does not seem to be critical of the sources. He appears to have made the best use of collation, corroboration and logic. However, since the sources have not been mentioned meticulously, it is difficult to ascertain as to what extent he borrowed materials and how far they affected his style, language and thought.

The *Tarikh-i-Chin* is a general history of China spanning from earliest times to the treaty of Nanking(1842), encompassing the geography, dependencies, and tributaries of China. While dealing with the political history it is regnal in pattern. Each aspect is dealt within separate chapters where different ideas or thought or events have been assigned different paragraphs. The

paragraphs are often extremely lengthy and they do not bear separate heading or title. With regard to the political history each paragraph opens with the accession of a ruler, his conflict with rivals, dethronement if any, and ends with the number of days a ruler ruled. While discussing the matter the chronological sequence has generally been adhered to. James Cocoran makes a fair use of dates but is not very meticulous about it.

A striking feature is the interpolation of verses and sayings, both in Persian as well as in Arabic, to heighten the effect and substantiate the narration<sup>361</sup>. This is particularly noticeable in the first volume. James Corcoran tries to maintain sequence of events to the extent of making them meaningful. Sometimes, however, he digresses, but ultimately, returns to the point under discussion<sup>362</sup>. There are repetitions, too, in the account<sup>363</sup>.

As the theme of narration is broken up repeatedly, we frequently come across phrase like, "as will be related with greater length later on", or, "as has been stated earlier", or "as shall be recorded in its proper place", or, "since the matter has been discussed earlier it is futile to discuss it again", etc<sup>364</sup>.

### Contents

There is hardly a subject or matter of general interest which has not found a place in *Tarikh-i-Chin*. The first volume is divided into sixteen chapters, of which, the first chapter deals with the geography of the country and the rest deal with the account of fifteen provinces of China<sup>365</sup>.

The narration of the provinces includes detailed description of its geo-political situation, extent of boundaries, important cities and towns in it, inhabitants, their raciality and physiognomy, mode of the Tatar and Chinese dwellings in different secluded areas, streets and by-lanes, occupations, flora

and fauna, gardens, tanks and lakes, rainfall, soil and its fertility, staple food, climate and vegetation, direction of the wind, minerals found, mode of irrigation, sources of revenue, means of communication, economic condition of the people, or any other peculiarity or significance of the place. For example, while describing about Pechin, James Corcoran describes about the thickness and height of the city wall<sup>366</sup>. At another place he describes about the abode and feeding habits of musk deer<sup>367</sup>, and how elephants were caught and trained.

Sometimes the author indulges in narrating subjects that are non-serious. For example James Corcoran narrates an account at length of a king's attempt to make his beloved smile<sup>368</sup>. At times he refers to extra-political phenomenon such as the occurrence of a disastrous earthquake. The author describes in detail how in the provinces of Fu-Kian, in particular in the town of Yen Piang, water was supplied by a device made of bamboo. In fact, information of such nature are abundant. He describes in detail about a strange tree that produced a fat like substance<sup>369</sup>, of about red tea used for medicinal purposes<sup>370</sup>, about a herb known as *Gin Sing*(*Jin Sang*) which restores youth and vitality<sup>371</sup>, how camphor is extracted<sup>372</sup>, about a special kind of stone which is used for making musical instruments<sup>373</sup>, about a tree whose root if cut and dipped in water turns into stone of that shape<sup>374</sup>, how the institution of eunuchs originated and flourished, etc. James Corcoran also discusses about Chinese coin of the Murshidabad mint. This sheds light on the monetary relation of the two countries<sup>375</sup>.

The first volume deals with Chinese polity, organization of the nobility and bureaucracy, their mode of selection<sup>376</sup>, their designation and the task assigned to them<sup>377</sup>. Similarly, the organization of the army finds a place. It also discusses dress and cosmetic materials, payment of salary, allowances, and other

related facilities accorded to the soldiers by the state. James Corcoran praises the selection system of the officers based upon merit and scholarship, and supports his view by proverbs and examples<sup>378</sup>. He records the powers of provincial governors and activities of the European priests.

The Chinese net-work of police and postal system also finds a place. James Corcoran compares the Chinese postal system with that of the European system<sup>379</sup>. The narration embodies account of marriage ceremonies and divorce, of keeping of wives and concubines<sup>380</sup>, of respect given to the parents, position of the eldest in the family, funeral and mourning rites<sup>381</sup>, and about coffin robbery. He compares the Chinese rituals with the Hindu customs. The laws of the country and the various mode of punishment to those who disobey state laws have also been given at length. In this context, he narrates a strange Chinese legislation according to which a person, howsoever old he may be, is regarded as a minor so long as his father is alive<sup>382</sup>.

The traits, behaviour and habits of the Chinese have been discussed. This includes committing suicide, which is quite common among the Chinese. But James Corcoran considers it as an act of cowardliness, and suggests means of stopping this evil.

Various religious beliefs have been recorded. It begins with the supernatural and mythological beginnings of the early religion in China. It traces the birth of Buddhism on the basis of Ceylonese and Siamese sources, and also refers to spread of Islam and Muslim settlements. He compares the Chinese Muslims with the Indian Muslims, especially with the Muslims of Bengal, and comments that like the Indian Muslims who have borrowed many local Hindu beliefs, the Chinese Muslims have also done so. Here, in the process of narration the author briefly mentions the social and religious practice of the Muslims of Bengal.

The origin of slavery in China and its comparison has been made with the system prevalent in ancient Rome and Greece. Similarly, the institution of *Khwaja-i-Sara* or eunuchs has been discussed. It also deals about holding of Census<sup>383</sup> and powers of the provincial governors<sup>384</sup>.

The *Tarikh-i-Chin* throws a flood of light on the social life. The Chinese society has been divided into seven groups and each group is dealt in respect to its social status and economic condition<sup>385</sup>.

James Corcoran devotes forty six pages to the Chinese language. His description of the Chinese language with all its philological and etymological aspects speaks of Corcoran's mastery over Chinese language. Herein he mentions about other European writers like Father Gonclaves, Callery, and Dr. Ponceau who hitherto made a study of the Chinese language. He, however, comments on the limitation of their works.

The *Tarikh-i-Chin* abounds in description of Chinese men and women, their houses, gardens and orchards, their concept of beauty, and seclusion and non-seclusion of the women. It describes the Chinese love for artificial lakes and their astonishing display of fire works.

More important is the Chinese concept of the origin of the state<sup>386</sup>. The Chinese were well versed in various branches of knowledge like Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, Acquatics, Metallurgy, Silk-rearing and Music — and it was through them that knowledge of these sciences spread to other countries. James Corcoran holds the view that the Chinese knew about the circulation of blood long before Harvey of England spoke of it. He also says that the magnetic compass was developed by the Chinese. It was improved by the Arabs, and Roger Bacon's claim of inventing the compass is unfounded<sup>387</sup>. The great wall of



China, coupled with many ancient canals that exists today, remain as living testimony to the great engineering skill of the Chinese. James Corcoran is full of praise for the ancient Chinese who could arrive at perfect astronomical calculations.

The second volume begins with the discussion of classification of human race into three categories — *Reshdar*, *Bay-reshdar*, and *Maruli*. He treats the first category of men (in which he includes people of Iran, India, Kashmir, Arab, Afghanistan, Britain, etc) as the most superior and whom God has specially ordained<sup>388</sup>. James Corcoran then shows his awareness to cultural geography. However, his view that *Bay-Reshdar* class of men are ugly and inferior, is indicative of his racist feelings.

In the second volume, James Corcoran generally begins with the accession of king, crushing of opposition and recalcitrant nobles, revolts if any, the character of the king, conspiracies and dethronement, welfare activities, tolerance of the king with regard to other religions or sects, rivalry between different sects of people, wars between the Tatars and Mughuls — and ends up with the number of years, months and days a ruler ruled. At the end of a chapter, he does not make any formal assessment of the reign of any king or dynasty. However, individual events or acts of persons are frequently the subject of his remark. The remarks are succinct and crisp. They help us in understanding the author's judgement.

The second volume bears account of the earliest growth of civilised life, development of currency, weight and measures, rearing of silk, dress, use of bricks, medicine, musical instruments and other things under different ancient kings of China, with full details of their personal life<sup>389</sup>. It also describes how with the accession of emperor, Yu, the Chinese emperor became supreme in both temporal and ecclesiastical matters<sup>390</sup>.

The philosophical thoughts of King Fu Si have been discussed<sup>391</sup>.

The mythology attached with the birth of Chingiz Khan has been recounted, along with his success to power and his exploits. However, attempt has not been made to probe into the military organization of Chingiz Khan's army which led to his spectacular success, except for few desertation accounts of Chinese and Tatar chiefs in favour of Chingiz Khan. An interesting information is the description of the Tatars and their sub-groups.

The book sheds considerable light upon the activities of Lamas<sup>392</sup> and the Ismailis<sup>393</sup>. The capture of Burma by Kublai Khan and his intended attack on Bengal which did not materialize along with his futile expedition to Japan has been narrated. The book is useful for knowledge about Christian missionaries who worked in China such as Prester John, Francis Xavier, Priest Richi, etc. Among other things, the *Tarikh-i-Chin* deals with the seclusive attitude of the Chinese. This is followed by the description of European countries who gained trading rights in China by 1786.

The sixth chapter deals exclusively with the opening of restricted trade relations between China and Britain and the establishment of factories at Canton following successful display of power by the British. Here James Corcoran does not mention the year but simply says that it happened during the reign of Charles 1(1625-1649). However, the Chinese continued their policy of isolation in their relation with the British and endeavoured to regularise trade relations by the establishment of officials known as *Hang*. This proved irksome to the British and contributed to the straining of relations between the two. Subsequently, several representatives of East India Company were sent to China to break the stalemate. These officers were Lord Macartney, a former governor of Madras, and Lord Amherst. However, the deadlock continued because of the

Chinese insistence for the performance of kow-tow<sup>394</sup>.

The straining of relations culminated in skirmishes in 1839. James Corcoran describes in detail the British movements of troops and warships, and the fall of fortress towns of China such as Kiang Hi, Chuzan, Tikak, Wang Tang and Anang. The fall of these cities have been described in an effective and picturesque manner. It also narrates how the Chinese took resort to mass suicide in order to save their honour.

### *Treatment of History*

For James Corcoran history is not merely a narration of events and description of geo-political conditions but a serious study of the past events with the purpose of deriving lessons from it. History has generally been treated simply as events that occurred at the hands of different notable individuals. Events are generally described against a general political background. The regnal units are treated independent of others. James Corcoran does not appear to have shown any personal preference for any dynasty, although he praises some rulers. The description of each ruler is made in such a way that it forms the backdrop for the subsequent rulers under description.

A significant aspect of the *Tarikh-i-Chin* is that James Corcoran nowhere appears to relate Divine will with the historical events. The mythologies have been recorded, but they have nowhere been projected in a manner as shaping the process of historical change. He attributes the Chinese backwardness in metallurgy to the constraints imposed on the use of metal resources of the country and to the belief of the rulers that if the Chinese were allowed to use the mineral resources of the country, they would not pay attention towards trade, commerce and agriculture. He narrates convincingly why the Chinese were reluctant to have contact with the outside world. Similarly, the

causes put forward regarding the unwillingness of the British to annex the conquered Chinese territories to the British empire are meaningfully and convincingly demonstrated. However, in general, James Corcoran makes no serious and conscious attempt to probe new developments against the background of his general history, barring few cases.

### *Style*

The *Tarikh-i-Chin* is an outstanding work both in substance as well in style. It commands greater appreciation owing to the fact that it is the work of an English man. The language is pure literary Urdu which is akin to the contemporary taste and literary standard. James Corcoran has employed Urdu phrases and idioms with remarkable degree of effectiveness. This has made the narration fascinating. The language as a whole is blended with Persian and Arabic words. This is particularly seen in the initial stages of the work. However, often the sentences are terse and complex and the recurrence of the theme produces an effect of monotony and heaviness on the mind. The narration is frequently interspersed with verses and extracts in order to substantiate and reinforce his views. The verses and extracts do not in general hinder the flow of the narration, but are not very impressive at times. James Corcoran, unlike many Urdu historians, has not made use of chronogrammatic verses. However, the significant features is that he, analogous to Muslim historians, has made use of Islamic terminologies such as "*Alham-du-Lillah(Al-hamd wal Allah)*" and "*Finnar-wa al-Saqar(fi'l-nar wa al-saqar)*". Another important characteristic is that James Corcoran does not display unnecessary religious fanaticism and communal rancour, although on few occasions he has used unbecoming words for the Chinese<sup>395</sup>.



### **Conclusion**

It is surprising to note that such an unusual and important early published work in Urdu remained virtually unnoticed. The *Tarikh-i-Chin* is definitely more than a bare narrative of the rise and fall of a number of dynasties and personages. The work is in the nature of a politico-biographical history. Also, it combines in itself both dynastic as well as regnal arrangement. What makes it an important historical enterprise is that while on the one hand it highlights impacts of Indo-Persian chronicles, on the other hand, it also attempts to comprehend and incorporate notions of modern historical approaches such as the inclusion of social, economic, geographical, psychological and cultural aspects. James Corcoran obviously wrote the *Tarikh-i-Chin* to extol British success over the strange and curious land of China. In the process, he praises as well as detests the Chinese, and skilfully portrays the dominance of the British over the Chinese in various departments of life. In other words, so far as British imperialism and expansionism are concerned, James Corcoran has attempted to defend British action in China in a subtle way. He is, therefore, not free from partisanship so far as historiography is concerned.

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## Lachman Singh

### *The Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar*<sup>396</sup> or *Kayfiyyat-i-Bulandshahar*(1874)

This is a significant historical work of Lachman Singh. Lachman Singh was in the service of East India Company and held a responsible position in the Collectorate of Bulandshahar. The book was written in response to a British resolution dated 23 June 1868 which called for the writing of history of each district<sup>397</sup>. Carens Antony Daniel, the Collector of Bulandshahar, entrusted the task of collecting source-materials and the writing of different chapters and portions to different persons. Most of them, however, got transferred to other districts before they could begin their assigned work, except Lachman Singh. Consequently, Lachman Singh had to take up the task of others also in completing the work<sup>398</sup>. In this endeavour the author was helped by Maulawi Muhammad Bakhsh, Honorary Magistrate, to whom he expresses his gratitude. He was also helped by Mr. Turnbull, the Magistrate of the city.

At the outset the author informs that the book was initially written in English and later on translated into Urdu.

Perhaps the greatest significance of the book is the reference to the resolution of 23 June 1868 which laid specific guide-lines for writing the history of each district. It envisaged that the historical narration of each district was to be divided into three parts: the first was to deal with historical information, the second was to be illustrated with maps, and the third was to bear description of the geography of the district.

The resolution further gave direction that the first part should contain description of natural boundaries, the state of condition during previous *bandobast* as well as during the time of

*bandobast* of 1833, history of the area before and after the domination of the British government, the year of the fixation of boundaries, the changes that took place in the *diwani*, *faujdari* and treasury administration, the list of officers, judges, collectorate and magistrates, their date of posting as well as some of the special government instructions that were issued from time to time, detail information about each *parganah*, *tehsil*, *thana*, census report, yearly revenue yield (with deposits and assessment method); exemption of revenue, if so, what were the reasons for exemption and the year, about ownership of land and the cultivators and their age-long nature of land holding, about the inhabitants and their characteristics (including information about the gentry class and men of low-origin), about big cities and towns with their past historical background along with their revenue yield and population, about the need of construction of roads and ponds in various areas, the source of information while recording the past history, detail study of the reasons of unrest among certain individuals or communities which led to the mutiny of 1857 and means to redress their grievances, information about occurrence of famine and other natural calamities, opening of railways and the consequent changes it brought in the social, economic, and commercial life of the people, the inclination towards or against agricultural profession of the populace, their attitude towards other profession and trade, about the jungle products, number of *madrasas* and *maktabs* with the number of students attending them, maps of each *parganah* and *tehsil* with allocation of roads, canals, railway-lines, etc.

The resolution called for such detail information as recording different places and objects of worship and shrines, the number of devotees who visited these places, about market places and fairs, police station, and such other information as the quality of soil, temperature, height above sea level, depth at which water

is found, landscape, the Ganges which served as means of navigation, number of railway stations possessed by East Indian Railway and Awadh Rohilkhand Railway, the different roads that cut across each other, etc.

### *Attitude towards sources*

For the ancient Indian period, the author has used *Mahabharat* as a historical source and also uses the work of Colonel Cunningham. Coming to the medieval times he states that he has borrowed materials from Muslim historians, and comments that on certain aspects the information is one-sided<sup>399</sup>. At places he specifically quotes the Muslim historians. For example while narrating about Ghaznavids and Ghorides he quotes *Farishta*<sup>400</sup>. He also quotes Barni when writing about Muhammad bin Tughluq<sup>401</sup>.

With regard to the British period, the author informs that the English records of the district were burnt during the turbulent days of mutiny of 1857. However, since the area was attached to Aligarh district, the *amaldari* records till 1844 were available. In absence of written records from 1825 to 1857, the author had to rely upon verbal information<sup>402</sup>. He frequently quotes Colonel Tod without naming his book, and accepts the information as they are. Among other sources the author consulted was the report of the police department<sup>403</sup>.

We also get reference to some other books which were probably used by Lachman Singh. For example, he writes that Munshi Mangal Sen had written a book entitled *Tarikh-i-Baran*<sup>404</sup>. Another book about which reference has been made is *Ashraf Namah*<sup>405</sup> of Ashraf Ali Khan son of Dawinde Khan. The book was published in 1855.

### Methodology

*Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar* is a chapterised history and is akin to British Gazetteer writing. It begins with an index, followed by a preface and contents of resolution (No. 2799 dated 23 June 1868), and ends with a map of the district. Notably, the resolution instructs that native names be written in English alphabets also.

### Contents

Lachman Singh begins the historical narration with the coming of the Aryans and the clearing of jungles. This resulted into incessant conflict with the local tribes called *Nag*. During the course of narration the author often tries to establish the name of the old cities and how they acquired their names.

Writing about Bulandshahar Lachman Singh records that hitherto part of Bulandshahar was in *sarkar* Kol in Agra district and the remaining part was in *sarkar* Delhi<sup>406</sup>. Since the area lies in the *doab* and is accessible by river it has been the homeland of all important races. Moreover, since it has close proximity to Delhi it has always held a position of importance.

The position of Bulandshahar during various phases of political history has been recorded. Over all he describes the period prior to the coming of the British as characterized by inefficiency and misrule. The economic policies of Sultan Ala-al-Din Khalji<sup>407</sup> and Muhammad bin Tughluq have been criticized without trying to understand the real motive. Considerable attention has been paid to the fortunes of Bulandshahar after it came under the control of the British. He begins the narration with the description of the struggle of Duwinde Khan with the British, and highly praises the former whose valour continued to be sung by the local people on the occasion of marriage ceremony<sup>408</sup>.

In 1824 Bulandshahar was made a separate district after which several towns were annexed to Bulandshahar<sup>409</sup> and several administrative changes were made till 1859. Herein the famine of 1837-38 and the relief measures undertaken by the government<sup>410</sup> has been briefly recorded.

Of the mutiny of 1857 it records that the British forces stationed in the city were defeated. Thereupon a general belief prevailed among the citizens that Iran and Russia would invade. Significantly, three weeks before the mutiny broke out, the author was entrusted with magisterial powers by the British officer Mr. Turnbel, who had earlier helped him in the compilation of this book. This can be taken as an evidence that Lachman Singh was hitherto holding an important administrative position although it is difficult to ascertain as to exactly what position<sup>411</sup> he held.

*Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar* is a valuable source in assessing the role of the author in curbing the mutiny at the local level, and of the measures he took to prevent large scale disaster of the British. The author was both a witness as well as a participant in many military engagements and an independent executor of many administrative decisions during the turbulent days<sup>412</sup>. Notably, the persons who opposed the British were all Muslims. The author gives brief account of them<sup>413</sup>.

*Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar* is equally important for the information it contains about administrative measures and policies, agrarian structure, educational institutions, social stratification of the society, welfare programmes and works of public utility, etc.

Land has been studied under the following categories: *mazruah* (cultivated), *ghair Mazruah Qabil Zara'at* (uncultivated) and *ghair Mumkin-al- Zara'at* (waste land) with the record as to



how much land was under irrigation. From the *bandobast* records it is evident that the nature of *mahalat* in the district were as follows<sup>414</sup>:

<i>Zamindari</i>	- 1204	<i>Mahal</i>
<i>Pattidari Kamil</i>	- 42	do
<i>Pattidari Naqis</i>	- 242	do
<i>Bhaiyya Charah</i>	- 273	do

Since the area lay in the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*, it remained an important crop producing area. Apart from general crop, the area was also important for the production of cotton, indigo and *kusum*<sup>415</sup>. Items of import and export have also been recorded. For example, *jawar* and *bajrah* were exported to Rohilkhand. Cotton and oil-seeds were sent to Kanpur and Mirzapur. Indigo was sent to Calcutta. Cotton exported yearly to other parts of the country was estimated to be 50,000 *maund*. 20,000 *maund* was kept for local use<sup>416</sup>.

An important aspect which deserve attention is that before the enforcement of Permanent Settlement of 1793 it was widely discussed as to who was the owner of the land<sup>417</sup> — whether it was *Malik Mazara* (owner of the land) or *zamindar* or *hakim akhirash* (i.e. state or government) and further that in April 1788 it was established by the British government on the basis of Hindu *Shastras* and Muslim *Shariat* that the owner of the land was *zamindar* and *hakim*.

There is a chart of the *bandobast* carried out in different *parganas*, the officials who conducted it, and the year of enforcement, the terms of settlement with the *zamindars*, the appointment of different officials for the collection of revenue (including police force), and different mode of collection. It states that the *jama* was reduced in some villages, and in some

places it was increased.

A fairly detailed information is provided about income-tax, its collection, remission made, and its rate from time to time. For the sake of illustration the author gives a chart of revenue collected during the past twelve years (i.e., between 1861 to 1872). He even records revenue obtained from sale of stamps, revenue stamps, and stamps in the collectorate<sup>418</sup>. It records that the enforcement of 'permit' and 'duty' was also introduced, and that income tax was highly disliked by the people<sup>419</sup>.

Of the works of public utility and welfare, canals were cut from the Ganges, and each *parganah* was provided with a canal that gave a boost to production. Hitherto, there was production of only one crop, but with the opening of canals two yearly crops were grown which resulted in increase in revenue. *Ghats* were also built along these canals. And, since water in these canals came from the Ganges, the *ghats* served as places where the Hindus would assemble to perform worship<sup>420</sup>. Simultaneously, it mentions those areas which were effected by flood and the measures that were taken during occurrence of such a calamity. Cutting of canals resulted in making local climate more damp. The author views that greater addiction to opium resulted on account of the damp Indian climate.

Regarding educational institutions, it records that there were 187 *maktabs* in the district, out of which in 131 *maktabs* Persian was taught, and in 56 *maktabs* Hindi was taught. The number of students was 1813. Of them 587 were Muslims and 224 were Hindus<sup>421</sup>. There is a chart of different kinds of schools opened in the district, how the government met the cost of the teachers, inspector of schools, etc. Another chart shows the language spoken by different people which is normally Urdu or Hindi, or it has been described as Urdu-Hindi.

Among other things it furnishes information about the functioning of the police department. This department was governed by the law of 1804. In the big cities the police shouldered the responsibilities of administration. In the *tehsil* areas *tehsildar* was made responsible for law and order<sup>422</sup>. However, by the resolution of 1807 the *tehsildar* was exempted from police duties. In 1810 Superintendent of police was appointed and subsequently many steps were taken to improve law and order. On the basis of chart<sup>423</sup> (which shows hierarchy of police officials and numerical strength of the police force), the author remarks that compared to other districts robbery and theft were committed in greater number in this district<sup>424</sup>. The author also gives valuable information about working of hospitals.

A fair description is given about the origin of each race and caste of the populace, the different *gotr* of *Rajputs* and *Brahmins* of different areas. While discussing the *Rajputs*, Lachman Singh frequently quotes Colonel Tod. He also gives information about the Muslims, Sikhs, Sheikhs, Pathans, Sayyids, Mughuls and other different communities of the people who inhabited the district. The population of the district has been noted in terms of Hindus and Muslims under agriculturist and non-agriculturist head, and based upon census report<sup>425</sup> of 1847, 1853, 1865 and 1872. Of the agriculturists *Lodha*, *Jat* and *Jhoja* castes were considered hardy. Their women worked with the male in the field. It specifically notes that *Gujar* and *Mew* often resorted to robbery<sup>426</sup>.

By the use of chart the author has tried to provide various sort of information, such as degree of rainfall<sup>427</sup> from 1859 to 1874 of each month, and appeals made in the court<sup>428</sup>. Finally, in the end there is a map of the district Bulandshahar.

*Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar* is both a historical work as well as a valuable source of information about a district of Western Uttar

Pradesh. Such sort of writing cannot be described as entirely unknown to the Indians. As is well known Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* gave information some what on a similar pattern. The book provides sketchy past political history of the region as well as a host of information pertaining to British administration, economic policies, agrarian relation and structure, class composition of the people, their origin, outbreak of mutiny, profession of the people, etc. And, more significantly, it provides British guidelines for the growth of Indian historiography, which also reflects the attitude of the British who wanted to keep an eye on each aspect of Indian life and behaviour.

The book has been written in a fairly simple and straightforward manner. The use of charts and foot-notes gives creditability to the work and furnishes valuable statistical data upon which construction of socio-economic history can be done.

Nonetheless, written in response to the government order it was certainly intended to remove suspicion and misgivings of the Indians with regard to their attitude and behaviour towards the British. Perhaps, keeping in view such objectives the author considers it convenient to discredit the previous Muslim rule as inefficient and tyrannical. In order to please his British masters he proclaims them as very liberal and tolerant and that they adhere to a policy of non-interference in the religious affairs of the Indians. Accordingly, he calls upon his brethren to be loyal to the British.

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## Mufti Ghulam Sarwar

### The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*(1877)

The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*<sup>429</sup> of Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Qureshi is a unique book of its kind, the like of which is not to be seen in any other modern Indian language.

Ghulam Sarwar, son of Maulana Mufti Ghulam Muhammad Qureshi Lahori, belonged to one of the distinguished families of Lahore. Writing about himself, Ghulam Sarwar says that since the age of six he was in the service of Rai Bahadur Kanhayyalal, Executive Engineer, Lahore Division<sup>430</sup>. It is, however, not exactly known what position was held by Ghulam Sarwar under Kanhayyalal. Kanhayyalal, besides being an engineer, was a famous man with exceptional literary and poetical merit. Bearing the *nom de plume Hindi* the Persian works of Kanhayyalal are: *Gulzar-i-Hindi*, the *Yadgar-i-Hindi*, the *Bandagi Namah*, the *Zafar-i-Namah Ranjit Singh* or *Al-Maruf Ranjit Namah*. A literary work of his is known by the name of *Nigarin Namah Al-Maruf Hir Ranjha*. Among his popular Urdu works are the *Akhlaq-i-Hindi* and the *Munajat-i-Hindi*. His other works are the *Tarikh-i-Lahore*<sup>431</sup> and *Tarikh-i-Punjab*. According to the author the book entitled *Tarikh-i-Punjab* was in press at the time of publication of the *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*. Ghulam Sarwar must have certainly benefitted from the company of such a distinguished scholar.

The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* was written on the orders of the British government of the Punjab. In 1284 Hijri/1867 A.D. Deputy Commissioner of Lahore issued an order which called upon the elites of Lahore to write a history of the city of Lahore in Urdu<sup>432</sup>. Thereupon, a select group of people, especially Diwan Baijnath and Faqir Shamsuddin(Shams al-Din) entrusted this



task to Ghulam Sarwar, who readily undertook the work in the hope of getting favours from the British government<sup>433</sup>. Ghulam Sarwar was selected to write the book because he was a reputed person and had earned considerable fame by his several works, namely the *Guldasta-i-Karamat*, the *Khazinatul Asafiyah*, the *Ganj-i-Tarikh* and the *Kan-i-Tarikh*<sup>434</sup>. Another work of his which has come to light is *Baharistan-i-Tarikh Maruf bah Gulzar-i-Shahi*<sup>435</sup>.

### ***Organisation and Methodology***

The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, which bears a chronogrammatic title, has been divided into 5 parts and 25 chapters. In the first part towns and cities, the topography, along with the names of various chiefs and *jagirdars* who were the masters of the land between the Sutlej and the Jamuna, have been narrated.

The second part bears information about the land and people inhabiting the area on the right-hand side of the river Sutlej upto plains and hills of the Punjab. This has been divided into 8 chapters, the last two bearing information about the rivers and mountains of Peshawar and about the State of Bahawalpur.

The third part deals with the northern mountains and surrounding landscape of Hazara, Kashmir, Ladakh, Gilgit, Jammun and Kangra. This has been divided into 5 chapters.

The fourth part records about the different governors/rulers of the Punjab from the time of Mahmud Ghaznawi upto the rise of the Sikhs. This has been divided into 3 chapters.

Finally, the fifth part deals with the Kohistan and the plains of the Punjab. This has been divided into four chapters in which an account has been given of the holy places and shrines of the Hindus and Muslims, their races and castes, religion and beliefs

and also the products of the area as well as trade and business.

Along with the aforesaid pattern of narration, a study of the Punjab has also been made on the basis of its five natural divisions called the *doabs*. These are *Doab Bast Jalandhar*, *Doab Bari*, *Doab Chanab*, *Doab Chahaj*, and *Doab Sindh Sagar*. In the treatment of the *Doabs*, the author writes about their boundaries, climate condition, political history, rivers, population, agricultural yields, etc<sup>436</sup>.

Each subject matter has been dealt under bold headings, and the narration consists of long unbroken paragraphs. Events have been recorded in *Hijri*, *Christian*, and *Samvat Vikrami* era. The *tark* system of pagination has been used along with numbering of pages.

The book begins with a doxology interspersed with a quatrain (*ruba'i*) bearing the same theme. This is followed by a brief preface, which is supplemented by organisational information undertaken in the compilation of the book. At the end of the work there is a concluding note by the author in which he thanks God by whose grace he was able to complete the arduous task, and also makes a modest and humble appeal to the readers to rectify the errors. There are also chronogrammatic verses written in praise of the work by several persons<sup>437</sup>. Lastly, there is a note by the publisher wherein he praises the science of history for its contribution to the understanding of the past, and remarks that this kind of book has so far not been written<sup>438</sup>.

### ***Attitude towards Sources***

At the very outset Ghulam Sarwar says that sources of the book are the Persian and English accounts<sup>439</sup>. During the course of narration he quotes the *Qiran al-Sa'dain* and the *Khulasat al-Twarikh* to confirm and cross-examine the information about the

foundation of the city of Lahore<sup>440</sup> and of its name and its etymology, but does not name the authors. According to the author, the *Khulasat al-Twarikh* is the earliest historical work that throws light on the city of Lahore.

The author refers to *Tuhfat al-Waslain* of Ahmad Ranjani. He states that this book was written in 435 Hijri/1043-44 and deals with the *Ulama* and *mashaikh* of Lahore<sup>441</sup>.

At another place<sup>442</sup> the author quotes the *Tawarikh-i-Punjab* of Ghulam Muhi al-Din alias Buntay Shah. The author often uses the phrase 'English historians state'<sup>443</sup> and 'some scholars say'<sup>444</sup>. At another place the English historian Wood has been quoted<sup>445</sup>. Writing about Hazara district he refers to the *Tarikh-i-Hazarah*, but does not name the author<sup>446</sup>. While describing Kashmir he says that he has borrowed material from the *Tawarikh-i-A'zmi*, but without naming the author. He, however, comments that the book is authentic and deals with the advent of Islamic rule and about the various Muslim rulers<sup>447</sup>. While writing about Kashmir the author quotes *Abu al-Fazl*, *Abu al-Qasim Farishtah*, Eliphinstone and Lanepoole. He specially notes that information about the mountains and rivers were largely taken from different books written in English. Ghulam Sarwar has also utilised the Sikh source, *Janm Sakhi*. He, however, expresses the view that some of the information furnished in it are incorrect<sup>448</sup>. For example, according to the *Janm Sakhi*, Guru Nanak had discourses with Muhi-al-Din Abd al-Qadir Jilani. But he says that Abd al-Qadir Jilani was born about 500 years earlier. Ghulam Sarwar has thus attempted to verify some of the information which he has borrowed. He has, however, not been able to give the correct information. It may be mentioned that Abd al-Qadir Jilani died in 1166 A.D. and Guru Nanak was born in 1469 A.D.

From the author's concluding note, it is clear that Ghulam

Sarwar consulted different journals, and also collected information from record books prepared in the *bandobast* department<sup>449</sup>.

### *Contents*

According to the author the territorial area whose description<sup>450</sup> has been made acquired the name 'Punjab' during the reign of the Mughul emperor Akbar. The Mughul rule has generally been referred to as the *Sultanat-i-Chaghtai*.

The author begins with the description of the river Jamuna — its source, the various courses it undertakes before meeting the Ganges at Allahabad, its various tributaries, the various cities and towns situated on its bank, the several canals<sup>451</sup> cut from this river and their utility as means of transportation. More briefly, an account has been given of the Hansavati, the Ghagra, the Markanda and the Sursati rivers along with the Hindu mythologies attached with some of these rivers. The lakes of Gohna, Kotla, Najafgarh and Kirtarpur have also been mentioned with full details of their areas and the canals cut from these lakes.

Thereafter, there is the description of the areas across the Sutlej river, the number of commissioners under it, their area of control, and the population (of men, women, children, Hindus and Muslims) based upon the census reports of 1852 and 1863.

There is a very sketchy account of the different Muslim rulers who ruled Punjab from the time of Mahmud Ghaznawi. This is followed by narration of the states of Jhajjar, Dadri, Bahadurgarh, Farrukhnagar, state of George Thomas, Loharu, Maleerkotlah, Patiala, Nabha, Dujanah, Junaid, etc. Generally speaking, the information relates to the emergence of these states and other political developments that took place from time to time. The author is quite particular in narrating the role of these

rulers during the days of the War of Independence(1857). For example, the state of Jhajjar was confiscated by the British and given to those who had helped them. The author often mentions the income of these states and the efforts of several Sikh chiefs to extend the territorial boundaries of their states. He especially refers to the flourishing condition of the Patiala state<sup>452</sup>.

Ghulam Sarwar then describes cities and towns, forts and buildings, places of worship, and other notable things of the area between the Sutlej and the Jamuna. This includes the history of the district of Delhi, Hissar, Panipat, Ambala, and the states of Sarmor and Busahar. The information provided generally relates to the geographical location<sup>453</sup>, their height above sea-level, the height of some of the mountain peaks, climate and rainfall, how the city acquired its name and its political history, the different races of people who inhabit the area, their physical features, social customs<sup>454</sup>, the language spoken, streets and markets, flora and fauna, occupation of the people, crops grown, material products<sup>455</sup>, position of trade and business, canals and rivers, the various roads that ran in different directions, population of both the Hindus and Muslims and their places of worship(with specific information about the people; whether they were agriculturists or not), the *sufis* and saints who lived, their *Khanqahs*, temples and mosques, shrines that were destroyed by the Sikhs, forts and other buildings, fountains, canals, bridges, etc.

The aforesaid description is supplemented with many other numerous informations. For example, water in Haryana is often found deep-down at 120 feet. The men of Jubbal(a hill state) are tall and handsome, but women are shameless<sup>456</sup>. Similarly, women of Busahar practice polyandry and normally have five husbands<sup>457</sup>. The people of Sarmor state generally suffer from goitre. The people of Kannauj are strong, brave and handsome, but very notorious. Debauchery is very common here<sup>458</sup>. In parts



of the Punjab *sati* and human sacrifice were prevalent, and in some areas women were also sold and purchased<sup>459</sup>. The people of Dera Ismail Khan are cruel. Crime is very common and cases of abduction and kidnapping are very common<sup>460</sup>.

The author gives information about the different kinds of schools in the Punjab, the amount of money spent on education, and about the Directors and Inspectors of schools<sup>461</sup>. The administrative structure of the police department has also been described, wherein mention has been made of the money spent on different cadres of policemen along with their numerical strength, the technical education imparted to the prisoners<sup>462</sup>, and the number of jails. Valuable information has been provided about the extension of railways in various areas, electrification, and the telegraph system<sup>463</sup>.

Ghulam Sarwar has also written about the major rivers<sup>464</sup> and their tributaries, and the *nullahs* of the Punjab. The information provided relates to the mythologies attached with these rivers, sources of these rivers, the different commercial activities carried on these rivers, and various other information.

A separate chapter has been assigned to the cities, towns and villages. Some of the important cities which merit attention are Jalandhar, Kapurthala, Sarai Noor Mahal, Makeriyan, Werowal, Hariki, Amritsar, Lahore and Qasur. While writing about a city the author begins with the ancient name of the place, its founder, its political history, the various phases of ebb and flow that it underwent, its position as focus of trade and commerce, the various races and communities of people who inhabit the area, their profession and physiognomy, traits and habits, how the Hindus and Muslims viewed each other, etc.

There is reference to the distance of towns from other important cities, animal-husbandry, quality of rice grown, about

places considered holy by the Sikhs and where Guru Nanak had halted and preached, and also about the number of concrete and mud houses in each town.

We have information about eminent personalities of the towns such as administrators, *sufis*<sup>465</sup>, educationists, calligraphists<sup>466</sup> and poets. The various buildings constructed during the Mughul and British periods have also been mentioned.

The description about Jammu and Kashmir has received special attention. The author begins with the account of different cities, towns and villages, about the different passes of the Kashmir valley and the difficulties encountered in entering the valley, the flora and fauna, mountain peaks, the dress of the people, its various industries, etc. Almost in a similar fashion he provides brief notes about Tibbet, Laddakh, Gilgit and Kishtwar.

The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* is equally significant for the description of mountains and mountain ranges such as Koh Chamlah, Koh Banheir, Koh Sewath, Koh Arang Barang, Khyber, Konar, Koh Safaid, and many others. While describing them the author refers to the height of mountain peaks, their extent, and the valleys and rivers that lies in them. In some of these mountain ranges are found ancient cities and places of worship of the Hindus and the Greeks<sup>467</sup>. The author has taken special interest in describing some saints and shrines. For example, Abd al-Ghafur has been mentioned as a famous *sufi* whose disciples spread all over the regions of Swat<sup>468</sup>.

Ghulam Sarwar is very particular in depicting the atrocities, ravages and devastations committed by the Sikhs in the Punjab. For example, Ranjit Singh had ordered the removal of marble slabs from the tombs and shrines of the Muslims in Lahore, so that the building materials could be used for the construction of the Sikh temple in Amritsar. In Lahore, the tombs

of the Mughul emperor Jahangir, Asaf Khan (the *wazir* of Shah Jahan), Ali Mardan Khan, Nusrat Khan, Zib al-Nisa Begum, and many others were subject to loot and plunder. In all, about two thousand tombs in Lahore were destroyed, and their building materials used for the construction of Sikh Darbar Sahib<sup>469</sup>. Such large scale pillaging of Muslim buildings was carried out by troops of Ranjit Singh that for many years kilns had to be closed, and it was only after the advent of the British rule that they started functioning again. There may be some exaggeration in this statement but it can safely be said that slabs and bricks procured from devastation were sold for many years. Ranjit Singh himself constructed a fort called Ram Bagh and other buildings and gardens in which materials taken from Muslim buildings were used<sup>470</sup>.

The author acquaints us of the numerous mosques that were converted into Gurudwaras and temples. He informs us that Sikhs would not allow the construction of mosques in Hargovindpurah. Many names of places and mosques were also changed by Ranjit Singh. For example, Moti Masjid in the fort of Lahore was named as Moti Mandir, and Alipur as Akalgarh<sup>471</sup>. In Qasur the Sikhs did not allow the Muslims to call *azan* in loud voice, they would often attack the *taziyah* procession, and issued injunction that no Hindu or Sikh could be converted to the Islamic faith<sup>472</sup>. All these reflect the strained Sikh-Muslim relations and communal disharmony.

The atrocities of Ahmad Shah Abdali have also been recorded. For example, when the citizens of Amritsar came to know of Abdali's march, they fled away and the city was deserted. Ahmad Shah Abdali on reaching the city pillaged it and the buildings of the Sikh temples were stuffed with gun powder and blown up. The lake surrounding the temple was filled up with mud<sup>473</sup>.

Ghulam Sarwar makes it a point to record some of the popular love tales of the Punjab and the places to which they were associated<sup>474</sup>, and also mentions some of the places known for the beauty of women.

The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* is a valuable source for the understanding of contemporary agricultural and material prosperity of the Punjab. Before the coming of the British cotton cloth of Punjab was very popular and in common use. Printing and dyeing factories were spread all over the Punjab, especially in Amritsar. Blue *lungi* was liked for its durability and taken to the regions of Afghanistan and Khurasan. Multani cloth, especially *lungi*, was very famous and transported to Sindh via Bahawalpur. Punjab was also known for cotton clothes known as *Salari Zilach*.

Production of indigo was carried out extensively. The dye was used widely because blue colour was considered holy by the Sikhs. The people of Afghanistan also liked the use of blue colour. In Kangra white *dhoti* and *dupatta* of silk was very famous.

The *shawl* was regarded as the main product of the Punjab. But at the same time different towns were also famous for various other products. For example, the town of Sihiswan in the district of Ambala was noted for the manufacture of iron vessels and utensils. The state of Sarmor and Busahar were known for casting of iron, and tea plantation<sup>475</sup>. Sahiwal was famous for plantation of orchards<sup>476</sup>. Diska Kalan was famous for the manufacture of bronze utensils<sup>477</sup>. Pind Dadan Khan and Khushab were noted for the manufacture of silk *lungis*<sup>478</sup>.

Mention has also been made of the mining of salt from *Koh-i-Namak*, the Salt range. The author refers to the mineral ore from which metals such as iron, gold, saltpetre, sulphur, coal, etc.

were extracted<sup>479</sup>. Potash and alum factories were situated in great numbers. Mianwali Kachhi was famous for its iron ore. In the jungles of Sarmor State wild animals were found in plenty because the people of this place regarded killing of animals as a sinful act.

Singar was famous for good horses<sup>480</sup>. From Dera Ismail Khan the Lohani (Sindhi) traders carried their goods to West Asia and Central Asia<sup>481</sup>. The author even names the important Hindu and Muslim merchants of this place. Kala Bagh was another famous centre of trade where Hindu and Parachi Muslims were trading-class people. Koh Arang Barang was famous for the manufacture of *lungis*, bronze utensils, guns, swords and daggers. Gold was sieved from the sands of different rivers. Kashmir was known for the manufacture of paper, wool, *shawls*, dry fruits and saffron<sup>482</sup>.

Molasses was among the main products of the Punjab and was produced in Jallandhar, Sindsagar and Peshawar. Every year about 50 thousand *maunds* of jaggery was exported to Afghanistan and Khurasan. *Khand* was also produced in great quantity near the Sutlej river. Sweet-meats were made from it.

Salt mining was under the control of the state. Reference has been made about *Koh Namak* or the Salt range which the author believes to be an extension of Sulaiman mountain range. The author records the various kinds of salt mined and the amount of revenue the government received from this enterprise. Other significant products of this country were tobacco, tea, lime, and wood or timber<sup>483</sup>. The different kinds of wood(timber) used for furniture have been mentioned. Pindi Tahtyan was famous for saddlery, production of *ghee* and cotton yarn which was sent to far off places such as Kabul and Peshawar<sup>484</sup>.

The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* is valuable for the



information it provides about the various races and castes of people who inhabit the country of Punjab. In general, between Sutlej and Chenab lived Hindus who were *Khatri, Arora, Brahmin, Janaur* and *Hajjam*. From Chenab to the frontier regions, there was preponderance of Muslims, they being *Sayyid, Mughul, Pathan, Qureshi, Jat, Ara'in*, etc. Some other Muslim communities who lived in different parts of Punjab were the *Khojah, Dogar, Kambo* and *Sadho*.

Attention has been paid to the activities of the various Afghan tribes such as *Yusufzai* and *Barkazai* who inhabited the city of Leh. Other Afghan tribes who have received attention are *Ismail, Khayl, Haidar Khayl, Sanduzai, Padbah, Mard Khayl, Lagari, Ahmadzai, Atmazai, Hasan Khayl* and *Abu Khayl*. The information generally pertains to the internal conflicts of the various Afghan tribes and their changing settlements<sup>485</sup>. The people of North West Frontier have been described as rustic and quarrelsome.

There is a brief information regarding the Rajputs who migrated to Punjab and who lived in the town of Jhangseyal and other places and had accepted Islam<sup>486</sup>. Ghulam Sarwar also refers to the numerous *gotras* among the *Rajputs* and *Jats*<sup>487</sup> — among the former mention has been made of *Bhatti, Phulwan, Sahharyah, Tanwar, Minhas, Aiwan, Chauhan, Khokar, Janjua*; the latter includes *Kahelon, Gahman, Kurayi, Sahi, Malhi, Warak, Hundal, Jajjah wa Jahtol, Shab Gotri, kashib Gotri*, etc.

Other castes/sub-castes were *Chamiya, Goshian, Bhatti, Chattah*<sup>488</sup>, *Khakar, Karar, Kharal, Kahira* and *Phachchadahm* with special emphasis on their places of inhabitation. Some other castes/sub-castes of people briefly discussed are *Gujar, Ara'in, Bafandah, Bhatia, Bharopiya, Pakhiwarah, Te'ili, Tarkan, Lohar, Sansi, Kakizai, Lebanah, Masle, Mirasi, Kashmiri, Shaykh Dholai, Kanchan, Sonar, Paracha*, etc<sup>489</sup>.

Some Hindu sects<sup>490</sup> described are *Bishnavi, Jaikishni, Shaktak, Jogi, Goshain, Saradgi Panj, Sutheri, Dadu Panthi, Audasi, Gulab Dasiya, Alka Nami, Chaukdi, Ateet Goshain or Sanyasi, Shankaracharji, Adhut, Du daha Dahari*, etc.

Some religious sects that emerged in the nineteenth century and their attitude towards men of other religious faith have also been discussed. These being *Koka, Brahm Samaj* and *Nahang*. In the fold of Islam the emergence of *Wahhabi* sect, its principles and beliefs, and its conflict with the Sikhs have also received attention.<sup>491</sup>

The author has assigned a separate section (Part V) for the *sufis* and holy saints of both the Hindus and Muslims. In recording them the author also mentions different religious places, tombs, places of worship and shrines of the two communities<sup>492</sup>.

The second part deals with the rise of the Sikhs from the time of Guru Nanak, their conflict with the Mughuls, and finally their struggle against the British. The author opines that the first four Sikh Gurus were pious men with saintly qualities, but the later Gurus were men of temporal leanings<sup>493</sup>. The atrocities committed by Banda Bayragi<sup>494</sup> have also been mentioned.

The author records about the twelve Sikh *misl*s that grew in Punjab, mentioning the founder of each *misl*. The rise of *Sakarchakia misl*, and the consequent emergence of Ranjit Singh as a powerful ruler, has received considerable attention. Thereafter, activities of the successors of Ranjit Singh, namely Kharak Singh, Naunehal Singh, Sher Singh and Duleep Singh have been mentioned, with special attention to the warring Sikh chiefs.

While referring to the Anglo-Sikh wars, Ghulam Sarwar does not try to probe the causes of conflict, rather he seems to be

more interested in mentioning the places of battles and the name of the generals who led the Sikh army, and the number of canons used in the battles. Expressing his opinion the author remarks that the British conquest of the Punjab brought peace and order in the country of Punjab<sup>495</sup>.

Finally, the author deals with the revolt of 1857 that surged in various districts of the Punjab, how it was suppressed, and about the different Indian chiefs and rulers who were executed<sup>496</sup>.

### *Significance of the Work*

The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* is undoubtedly a valuable historical work. At a time when political history was drawing the main attention of the historians, a novel work of this nature opened a new dimension and broadened the conspectus of the Indian historical studies. Supported by brief political information, the importance of the work lies in the author's effort in tracing the geographical contours of the country of Punjab, its topography, natural resources and society. Within this general framework the author has painstakingly researched into the primary sources for uncovering various aspects of Punjab's economy and polity. These include precisely, its flora and fauna, irrigational means, industries and their products, trade and commerce, religion and beliefs, emergence of new religious thoughts, saints and shrines, habits and traits of the people, their behaviour and physiognomy, social norms, educational institution and working of the police department, etc.

Written in lucid and straightforward manner, it reflects some of the developments and trends of historical writing and treatment of history so far as the attitude towards sources, their utilisation and reference is concerned. However, this valuable Urdu source remained virtually unnoticed and has not been used by modern historians in their study of the history of the Punjab.

The repetitive and fairly descriptive details and occasionally sketchy narration in a set-pattern are likely to appear monotonous to some readers. But these limitations cannot detract from the abiding merit of the *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, which pioneered a new trend in the field of historiography, and shows how history and anthropology can fruitfully intersect with other kinds of discourses and advance in new directions.

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## Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Khan Bahadur

### *The Tarikh-i-Patialah* (1878)<sup>497</sup>

The author of this significant work is Khalifa Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Khan Bahadur, the Prime Minister of the state of Patialah. The book has been dedicated to the Maharaja of Patialah<sup>498</sup>.

According to the author the writing of the book was started in February 1876 and was completed on 29th October 1878. It was published the very same year. Being the Prime Minister, Sayyid Muhammad Hasan had no problem in procuring the required source material for the writing of the book. Learned as he was, the author was conscious of the importance of providing information about the sources of his writing. He states that the materials have largely been taken from the record office of Patialah state as well as based upon his own observation and knowledge. The author specifically makes it a point to state that he has borrowed the information from authentic books. He, however, does not name them, except that of Griffin's book *Punjab and Punjab Chiefs*. The author also explicitly says that he has not allowed his personal feelings and sentiments to creep in and has written authentic facts<sup>499</sup>.

Sayyid Muhammad Hasan gives a variety of historical information under different bold headings, numbering 174. Generally written in short paragraphs, the language is simple. It is free from stiff Persian or Arabic words and phraseology.

The narration begins with a doxological address as was customary during contemporary times. This is followed by an introduction in English and Urdu, the contents of which are the



same. The significant aspect of Sayyid Muhammad Hasan's writing is that he has made a fair use of foot-notes, some of which are fairly lengthy and informative<sup>500</sup>. They are very valuable for they give a variety of information, such as analysis of certain words and terms, about certain personalities, and brief history of different states such as Rampur, Maleerkotlah, Bhopal, Kapurthala, etc.

In the English introduction the author writes about the superiority of human being over other creatures and the progress made by mankind. He writes about the benefit of history and quotes Petrarch, the Italian philosopher, who flourished in the fourteenth century. He praises the progress made by the people of Europe in the discipline of history<sup>501</sup>.

The purpose of writing the work may be best expressed in the author's own words in English — "The progress made by the people of Europe in the art of history is beyond all praise. Though I possess neither their ability nor their knowledge to write the history of some large country or great kingdom, I am tempted to make an attempt in this excellent and noble direction of art with a view to do some good to my fellowmen. As my ancestors have been for generations subject to and in the service of the Patialah state, and as no detailed history has been written before, I think it proper to attempt a history for the benefit of the subjects of this state and my fellow-countrymen"<sup>502</sup>.

### *Contents*

Sayyid Muhammad Hasan begins with the geographical location of the Patialah state, about the origin of the *Maharaja* of Patialah, the race of caste to which he belonged, about the accession of different *maharajas*, their rule and activities, deaths, birth of royal children, battles with rivals, truce and peace terms, political stand during the time of the attack of Ahmad Shah

Durrani, about the activities of an European adventurer named George Thomas, the help provided by the British from time to time, habits and traits of the different *maharajas*, about famines, of important buildings, about the judicial functioning of the state, the revenue of the state, laws of the land, introduction of railway line, postal system, telegraph, opening of canals, role of the state of Patialah during the mutiny, etc.

The book provides information largely political in nature. But within this frame-work it gives a variety of information such as about noblemen, the activities and attitudes of the British, cities and towns, gardens (about the famous Pinjore garden), etc.

Some stray but valuable information about society and social laws can be gleaned. For example, it has been recorded that among the *Brahmins*, *Kshtriyas* and *Bias*, widow remarriage was not allowed. It was, however, permissible among other castes and the marriage negotiation was called *karlewah* or *chadar-dal lena*. This involved that if a women agreed to remarry, then the male person with whom she gave consent to marry would cover a *chadar* (sheet of cloth) on the head of the women in the presence of their fellow-men or an official. But Maharaja Narendra Singh, Raja Swarup Singh and others put an end to this practice in 1860 for the families of Patialah, Nabah and Junaid.<sup>503</sup>

The author is quite critical of the practice of *Badah* in which hundreds of persons would die. In Punjab there was the practice to distribute alms and charity on the occasion of the death of an old man or remarriage. On such occasion the poor people would gather in large numbers, and when the distribution would start it would often result in stampede<sup>504</sup>.

Another evil practice was that Brahmins would often commit suicide in groups to protect their interest. This practice was forbidden<sup>505</sup> by a law in *samvat* 1916 by Maharaja Narendra

Singh.

The author criticizes the natives for their conservative attitude, and calls upon the people to pay attention towards education so that they may learn from the British. He writes that the Muslims have once again awakened from the deep slumber into which they had fallen. They have started building institutions of knowledge and if they shake off this slothness and continue to work hard they will be able to recover their lost position<sup>506</sup>.

To sum up, the author's excellent knowledge of English can be gauged from the English introduction written in the book. The knowledge of English language evidently acquainted him with the writing trends in the West, especially of historical writings, as well as about Western writers and philosophers and the development taking place in those countries. The writer also seems to have acquired some elementary knowledge of Sanskrit. On the whole the writer appears to have had a fair knowledge of ancient and medieval Indian history. *Tarikh-i-Patialah* is not only a significant history of an Indian state of the nineteenth century but also a significant local history.

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## Sayyid Kamal-al-Din Haidar Hasan-al-Husain-al-Mashhadi

*The Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh* (1879)<sup>507</sup>

The author of this significant historical work is Sayyid Kamal-al-Din Haidar Hasan-al-Husain-al-Mashhadi. The very name suggests that the ancestors of Sayyid Kamal-al-Din Haidar came from Mashhad, the famous city of Iran. His immediate ancestors, however, settled at Lucknow.

Anwar Husain Akbarpuri<sup>508</sup> believes that Sayyid Kamal-al-Din Haidar was born in 1794. Quite early in his life he travelled to Iraq and other Arab lands. He was initially appointed *Ataliq* (tutor) to a boy of the family of the *Nawwabs* of Awadh. It was about this time that Hakim Mahdi Ali Khan laid the foundation of an English school at the orders of Nawwab Nasir-al-Din Haidar. It was in this school that Sayyid Kamal-al-Din Haidar learnt English, Mathematics, Philosophy and Medicine.

Having acquired knowledge of English he translated several English books into Urdu, the most famous of them being *Natural Philosophy* — a book dealing with astronomy, air and water. For this academic work the school awarded him five hundred rupees.

Soon after Sayyid Kamal-al-Din Haidar was appointed *Sarishta Munshi*. Ram Babu Saxena, however, believes that he was made *Mir munshi*. Later he became the advisor to Nawwab Amin-al-Daulah. It is said that the custom of *sabil* and *majalis* in *Imambarah* was started by him<sup>509</sup>.

*Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh* has been written in two volumes. From the chronogrammatic title of the book it is suggestive that initially the work was completed in 1847. The

book was, however, published several years after in 1879 by Munshi Nawal Kishore under the supervision of Maharaja Digvijay Singh (KCSI) of Balrampur and Tulsipur<sup>510</sup>. The second edition was published in 1896 and the third edition was published in 1907.

In the first volume events and episodes as well as account of the rulers of Awadh have been written under separate bold headings. The same pattern has been followed in the second volume and has been divided into five chapters. The significance of this volume, entitled *Qaisar-al-Twarikh*, is that it contains a vivid account of the mutiny and about Nawwab Wajid Ali Shah.

The book bears the information that copies of this book were also written in Persian and English. In rendering the matter into English, Chamberlain, the magistrate of Lucknow, and Mr. Potter contributed substantially. In 1878 Chamberlain went back to England where it was hoped that he would get the book published. It is, however, not known whether the book was published or not<sup>511</sup>. The Persian version is also not available.

### *Purpose of Writing*

The author states that when Sir Henry Elliot, the Chief Secretary to the Government, who had great interest in the collection of historical books, came to Lucknow, wished that the history of the kingdom of Awadh be written from the time of its foundation. It may be pointed out that a brief history of Awadh till the reign of Sadat Ali Khan had hitherto been written by Sayyid Ghulam Ali Naqvi in 1808. There were other books which provided information about Awadh. The author also acquired some knowledge of the by-gone days from persons who knew about the past. Above all, he himself was a witness to the political developments that took place since the posting of Colonel John Bailey, the British Resident at Lucknow.



After writing certain portions the author wished that his writing be examined by Colonel Wilkacus<sup>512</sup>. In acquiescence to his wishes several chapters were heard by Colonel Wilkacus and Dr. Aloys Sprenger. The examined portions were then sent to Henry Elliot. Meanwhile Wilkacus died. As a result Mr. Glunt and General Martin went through several chapters. It was then placed before Sleeman, Resident of Lucknow. He liked the work and sent letters of praise to Sayyid Kamal-al-Din Haidar<sup>513</sup>.

The book was eventually placed before Nawwab Wajid Ali Shah. He disliked portions of the book, and hence, dismissed Sayyid Kamal-al-Din from his service. Thereupon the author tried to seek audience in order to explain the portion which had caused offence to the *Nawwab*.

Following the suppression of the mutiny and the exile of the *Nawwab*, in June 1860, Kamal-al-Din Haidar, applied to the British government for publication of the book. Permission was granted in 1861 with the condition that certain portions viewed as objectionable and harmful to the interest of the British government be removed.

The author claims that he wrote the past events as they happened after proper investigation, and did not write with the purpose of pleasing anybody or with the avowed object of winning favour. This claim of the author can, however, be questioned. From the references already made, it is certain that he wrote under constraint and took care not to displease the English masters.

Kamal-al-Din Haidar categorises historians as of three kinds<sup>514</sup>: the first are those who are envious of others and write keeping in view the seamy aspect; the second are those who portray only the bright aspect. The latter do so out of fear of the ruler, and in consequence, try to justify even his ill-deeds. To the

third category belong historians who fearlessly write the truth.

### *Contents*

The first volume contains tables of the wives and generation of the kings of Awadh, an account of the pedigree of Nawwab Sadat Khan Burhan-al-Mulk and other *nawwabs* till Nawwab Amjad Ali Shah, brief life-history of each *nawwab*, pedigree of the *wazirs* and respectable nobles, grant of *wasiqa* to different persons, administrative measures, correspondences made with the British Governor-General of India, copy of the terms of treaty, revenue realisation and payment, punishment accorded to certain notable figures, court intrigues of the *nawwabs*, about the different British officials posted in Lucknow, important events related to the royal families, etc.

The second volume begins with the description of coronation of Wajid Ali Shah, the planetary position at the time of his coronation, information about the number of wives and children the *nawwab* had<sup>515</sup>, visit of the Governor-General to Lucknow, about several princes, grant of titles, the prosperity of Lucknow, about the various nobles and queens, about the *ra'is* and *ta'alluqahdars* of Awadh, description of the marriages of certain princes, death account of eminent persons, and many such other information.

Very valuable is the information provided regarding the economic distress caused to the Indians with the coming of the British. The author remarks that the advent of the British resulted in the destruction of Indian trade and commerce. The influx of foreign goods damaged Indian trade beyond measure. The decline in trade forced Indians to seek job opportunities elsewhere which was also fast dwindling. Traditional education and training lost their utility. Only the learning knowledge of English held importance<sup>516</sup>. The author does not approve seeking of job for he

holds the view that it makes a person sloth and useless. The author recalls that the once prosperous city of Lucknow which had a population of nearly ten lakhs was reduced to three lakhs. Thousands died, while a large number of the citizens left the city in search of livelihood and lived like wanderers. Being out of job and hapless many became addicted to opium and inculcated those ill-habits which paralyses human life and makes a person indolent. People started living in false imagination and took delight in false rumour mongering<sup>517</sup>.

The tragic Hanumangarhi incident which led to the martyrdom of Sayyid Amir Ali Shahid and several hundred Muslims has received considerable attention<sup>518</sup>.

The description of political developments on the eve of the annexation of the Awadh state to the East India Company's is very informative. It records that apprehension of annexation were expressed ever since General Outram came to Lucknow as the British Resident. The proposed annexation was termed as violation and breach of the earlier treaty arrived at between Awadh and the English East India Company. The *Nawwab* refused to sign the papers of annexation. The chief consort of the *Nawwab* called the action unjustified. She proposed to the British to make her sons Sikander Hashmat or Birjis Qadr as the successor of *Nawwab* Wajid Ali Shah. Meanwhile a meeting was called by the top officials of the state which unanimously supported the decision made by the *Nawwab*<sup>519</sup>. Taj-al-Din Husain Khan, Maulawi Ghulam Jilani, Mir Munshi Masih-al-Din Khan and many others were asked to go to Calcutta to discuss the annexation issue with the Governor-General of India and also make preparation to go to England to appeal before the Queen<sup>520</sup>.

The news of annexation caused fear and anxiety among the people of Lucknow. In order to suppress pre-emptive uprising the government issued a notification calling upon the people of

Awadh to maintain law and order, failing which persons found guilty were threatened with punishment and confiscation of property<sup>521</sup>.

The author describes the pathetic scene of the disbandment of the *Nawwab's* army, laying down of arms by the *Nawwab's* soldiers, and auction of goods and properties of the royal families. The treasures of the *Nawwab* were seized. Royal goods, horses, cattles, elephants, pigeons, etc., were auctioned so cheaply that it brought tears in the eyes of many. Most of the goods were bought by the auctioning British officers themselves.

The *Nawwab* who was ordered to go to Calcutta, while on way, first stopped at Benares. He stayed in the palace of *Raja* of Benares where a number of dignitaries came to pay their respect. The *Nawwab's* journey to Calcutta along with his retinue has been described vividly.

Meanwhile the *Nazim* of Sultanpur on coming to Lucknow was sentenced to jail, but released following guarantee taken by a *Mahajan*. Another dignitary Mir Mahdi Hasan Khan was imprisoned for four months. A number of royal members such as Mirza Rafi-us-Shan and Mirza Azim-us-Shan and prince Firdaus were ordered to report before the Chief commissioner dressed in simple leather boot, and not in their characteristic Indian shoes. In short, the *Nawwab* and his men were subjected to severe mental torture and all attempts were made to humiliate them<sup>522</sup>.

The book is an important source of information about the day to day developments of the revolt of 1857. It begins with the information that the range of the Enfield whose use sparked off the revolt, was 150 yards. It gives an eye-witness account of what befell the Europeans and their ladies, the action of the people at large, the suppression of the revolt by the British troops, atrocities and loot and plunder committed by the British army<sup>523</sup>,



and various other related information. It also records in fair detail about Queen Mother's futile visit to England in order to plead the annexation case before the Queen of England, the torments of fate, and her death in Paris while returning to India.

The book also provides a list of *zamindars* and *ta'aluqahdars* who came with specified number of troops. Herein, it throws some light on the planning of some of the Indian chiefs<sup>524</sup>. It gives valuable information about the leadership and action displayed by Rana Rao (the *Maratha* leader), about Ali Muhammad Khan (alias Nawwab Mammu Khan)<sup>525</sup>, Mir Wajid Ali, Amjad Ali Khan and that of Hisam-al-Daulah against the Englishmen; the valour shown by Nabi Bakhsh Khan, Hadi Hasan Khan, Tajammul Hasan Khan, Mir Muhammad Hasan Khan of Gorakhpur, Nawwab Khan Bahadur Khan of Barielly, and few others.

While recording about the counter-offensive launched by the British the author attributes the defeat of the Marathas to their inability to fight on plains. In Lucknow pitched battle was fought and the British were able to make their way only after great effort. Of the atrocities committed by the British it states that in Allahabad the greatest number of rebels were hanged. The banner of revolt was raised by a Maulawi who was joined by a large number of followers. Here seven thousand rebels were hanged and thousands fled away. In Kakori 22 men were hanged. The hanging of Munshi Rasul Bakhsh and Hafiz enraged the people. Englishmen would catch any Muslim they would come across irrespective of his being a rebel or not. The only guilt was that he was a Muslim, and hence, liable for killing. To many the outbreak offered an opportunity to settle old score.

The account of the revolt in Meerut and Delhi and the activities of the Muslim chiefs who participated has received special attention. It provides much information that are not to be



seen in English records. For example, it mentions that even prostitutes of the Meerut cantonment incited and provoked sepoys to revolt by abusing and spitting on their face<sup>526</sup>. In Delhi Maulawi Sarfaraz Ali of Jaunpur was among those who incited the people<sup>527</sup>. It records that Mughul emperor, Bahadur Shah, had sworn upon the Holy Quran, and had asked his subjects not to support the rebels. On the other hand, the rebels tried to run away with Bahadur Shah Zafar.

The book gives an eye-witness account of the horrors, terrors and atrocities committed by the British troops after their recapture of Delhi. Hundreds of women jumped into the Yamuna river and in the wells to save their honour. Those caught by the troops were molested, disrobed and dishonoured. The dead lay strewn all over the city.

When the English force came face to face with the Mughul emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, one of the British officer hit him on the thigh. Thereupon a negro slave of the Emperor floored the British officer. Upon this other English officers joined together and killed the slave<sup>528</sup>.

On the other hand the Mughul princes were informed that emperor was fine and had called them. As the princes proceeded to meet him, on the way they were asked to get down from the carriage. They were disrobed and were then again asked to sit on the carriage. Major Hudson then shot them dead. Their bodies were sent to the police station where it lay for three days after which it was buried<sup>529</sup>. The remaining princes who were in the Red Fort fought bravely and were killed.

Almost the entire population of the Delhi city was sent out from the Kashmiri Gate. Hundreds died of starvation and cold. Later the Hindus were allowed to come back. With regard to the Muslims most of them were arrested and hanged.

Sayyid Kamal-al-Din records that for seven days the British mercilessly slaughtered the Muslims. Some of the Muslims even offered to embrace Christianity if their life was spared. He opines that almost all the members of the Mughul dynasty were killed, even small children were not spared. In all about 27 thousand Muslims were hanged<sup>530</sup>.

Following his arrest, the Mughul emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, was given rupees five as his daily expense. On the 28th March the emperor along with eighteen other people were deported to Rangoon. It was also decided that a monthly amount of Rs. 600/- was to be paid to the Mughul emperor. It is quite doubtful whether the amount was promptly paid or not. The Burmese(the Rangoonians) treated the exiled emperor and his associates well, and they would often go out for stroll. The emperor died in 1862.

To conclude, the book is a valuable source of information not only of the political developments in Awadh and its relation with the British East India Company, but also what befell the Indians during the mutiny. Some of the facts and figures given in it are not to be found elsewhere.

The book has been written in a straightforward manner with long unbroken paragraphs. The narration at times is replete with highly ornamentative language and staff phraseology and interspersed with *masnavis* and Persian sayings. While writing about the mutiny the author has taken an apologetic view and addresses the mutineers with unbecoming word of *namak haram*.

## End Notes

1. A printed moth-eaten copy of *Futtuhgarh Namah* or *Twarikh Dila Farrukhabad* is available at Dar-al-Mussanifin (Shibli Academy), Azamgarh. It was published at *Matba Dehli Urdu Akhbar* by Muhammad Husain in August 1849. The publication work was supervised by Pandit Moti Lal. Imad Husain Munshi was the scribe.

2. It informs that Rai Kalay Rae, Extra Assistant, district Ambala and *ra'is* of Sultanpur Chalkanah, district Saharanpur, belonged to the *Agarwal* caste. *Kitab Sair-i-Punjab* was published by Matba Munshi Nawal Kishore, Patialah under the supervision of Sayyid Mahmud Ali.

The book consists of two parts: the first is written by Kalay Rae, and the second is written by his brother, Lala Tulsi Ram who was superintendent of *Bandobast*.

The first part was published in June 1872, and the second part was published in August 1872. The first part consists of 367 pages, and thereafter begins the second part which ends on page 580.

Kalay Rae begins with a doxology. He then expresses gratitude to his patron Mr. Edward Thorton, Commissioner of Jhelum, to whom he owed his position. The author also expresses gratitude to Henry Elliot, the historian, whom he held in high esteem and whose letter of praise written in the name of Kalay Rae has been incorporated.

The author states that although historical account of Punjab was written by two writers, Princep and Muree, yet still he felt the need of writing history of Punjab in a

simple manner so that the people in general would like it.

3. *Futtuhgarh Namah*, p.6. The name of the persons recorded are Muzaffar Ali of Chapra Mau, Lala Jit Ram of Khatael, Lala Harchand Rai of Saradhora(Meerut), and Lala Isri Prasad(*Kaisthya*) of Pahenali(Awadh).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
5. The different quality of soil that have been mentioned are *Batrahi*, *Paharah*, *Matyar*, *Pahudah* and *Dumath*. In western Uttar Pradesh the terms applied are *Kahadar*, *Bangar*, *Dakar*, *Bahudah*, *Rausli* and *Kalarshur*.
6. *Futtuhgarh Namah*, p. 65.
7. *Ibid.*, pp.66-81.
8. *Ibid.*, pp.82-87.
9. *Ibid.*, pp.57-79.
10. *Ibid.*, p 87.
11. Water was then found at the depth of 30 feet and tasted sweet.
12. *Futtuhgarh Namah*, pp.14-16.
13. Specially mentions about *betel* and *Kiyura*(of species of *Pandanus Odoratissimus*)orchards.
14. *Futtuhgarh Namah*, p. 10.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
17. *Ibid.*, pp.46-47.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
19. Some of the different castes of people who inhabited the

area were *Daundiya, Kahrawar, Saraf, Surkha, Baserya, Bakhuliwal, Audaliya, Baniyawal, Sawal Seri, Rai Radha, Siyah Pardhan*, etc (See p. 11).

20. Writing about the *Gotras* of the *Kashtris*(*Rajputs*), forty *gotras* have been listed. They are *Ujahna, Aliban, Bias, Bantelah, Bhatgor, Baghela, Bathgujar, Bamangaur, Panwar, Parihar, Pundir, Tikarwar, Jasawar, Sikarwar, Khinchi, Gahirwar, Nikum*, etc. Of the *Brahmins*, he mentions ten *gotras* of *Brahmins*. They being *Gaur, Kanujihyah, Sarsat, Maitil, Utkal, Ajachi, Sababaram, Shukl and Rawat*.
21. It has been mentioned that among the *Rastogi Vaishyas* a prevalent custom was that a girl once married could not go back to her father's house. Similarly, among the *Rohatgi Vaishyas* it was customary that the women would not allow their men to touch cooking utensils, and women would not eat food cooked by the men.
22. He refers to three kinds of peasants with occupancy rights:
- Marusi* - they were peasants who could not be removed from their occupancy right.
- Marusi Asami* - they were peasants who were in possession of land for the last 15 years.
- Asami Pahi* - their occupancy right over the land could be withdrawn by the *zamindar*.
23. *Futtuhgarh Namah*, p. 194.
24. Some of the inscriptions on the tombs have been recorded.
25. *Futtuhgarh Namah*, p. 43.



26. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
28. *Ibid.*, pp.34-39.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-92.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
39. For example لے جاتی تھے has been written as لے جاتے تھے  
 سمجھتی has been written as سمجھتے  
 اونکی has been written as انکی
40. A printed copy of *Khulasah-i-Twarikh-i-Hind* is available in the library of Nadwat-al-Ulama, Lucknow. It bears the information that it was published by Matba Masdar-al-Nawadir, Agra, in 1852. It consists of 103 pages.
41. *Khulasah-i-Twarikh-i-Hind*, p. 2.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

45. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Dilah Farrukhabad*(1859) is available in the library of Nadwat al-Ulama, Lucknow. It bears the information that it was printed by Government Press, Allahabad, 1859. It consists of 46 pages. Two thousand copies of the book were published, and each copy was priced eight *annas*. Notably, the first four pages of the book are missing in which probably a brief account was narrated of ancient Indian history.
46. *Tarikh-i-Dilah Farrukhabad*, pp. 5,31.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
52. For example اور has been written as اُور
53. A printed copy of *Gulshan-i-Punjab* or the *Tarikh-i-Punjab* is in possession of Dar-al-Mussanifin, Azamgarh, India. It was published in 1872 by Matba Faid of Munshi Nawalkishore, Lucknow, It does not bear the information as to how many copies were published and what was the price of the book. The book consists of 245 pages, of which 16 pages bear the index.
54. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, pp. 110,112. For example, after the battle of Budhawal(1846), when the Sikhs were strengthening and protecting their position by digging trenches and placing a canon on a wall, Pandit Debi Prasad contradicts the general belief that Sanier Baren, a Spanish and Moshio Moten, a French, were instrumental in the fortifications. He, however, asserts that they

certainly took part in the battle and were the commanders of their respective platoons.

55. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 112.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-114. At a place the note given is in Persian. See page 141.

57. *Ibid.*, p.115.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

59. According to Debi Prasad Sikh sources do not mention Guru Nanak having joined the Mughul service under Babar.

60. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 4.

61. It runs as follows: Guru Govind Singh took a vow to take revenge of his father's execution. He gathered *pandits* from the Deccan, Nepal, Kannauj and Kashi, and sought their advice on this matter. They unanimously advised him to perform *yag* and said that on completion of the *yag* a shining sword will appear in the sky. Following that, if the Guru stretches his hands then the sword will come into his hands by which he will be able to fulfill his wishes. Accordingly, the *yag* was performed and on completion of the *yag* the sword appeared in the sky. But Guru Govind Singh got frightened by the brightness of the sword, and he withdrew his stretched hands. Consequently, the sword disappeared. Upon this everybody regretted. See the *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 8.

62. Pandit Debi Prasad also refers to the attack of the Akalis on the Muslim procession of *Muharram*. Finally, a settlement was arrived at between the two communities, the terms of which have been noted. See the *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 24.

63. Punjab was divided into 12 *misls* before the advent of Ranjit Singh.
64. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 22. Ranjit Singh accused his mother of committing adultery. For details see Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of Punjab*, 1889, pp. 346-47. The point of difference between Debi Prasad and Latif is that the latter informs us that Ranjit Singh killed his mother by a sword. Significantly, both these writers have not specifically cited the source of their information. Khuswant Singh in his book *Ranjit Singh* considers this matricidal account as one of the many examples of character assassination to which Ranjit Singh has been subjected to by some historians. See *Ranjit Singh (Maharaja of the Punjab)*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, pp. 26-27.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 41. For details see Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 1889, pp. 344-45.
66. Ranjit Singh took the *Kohinoor* diamond almost forcibly from Shah Shuja, the fugitive Amir of Afghanistan. He treated him very badly, so much so, that he even refused to send food to Shah Shuja. Shah Shuja later on fled in disguise. See the *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, pp. 27-28.
67. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, pp. 40-41.
68. This is an erroneous statement. For a different and detailed view see Qeyamudding Ahmad, *The Wahhabi Movement in Inida*, Manohar Publisher and Distributors, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 55-56.
69. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 107.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-9.
71. Makes use of chart, showing losses on both sides.

72. Pandit Debi Prasad gives revenue yield of each area along with the names of each chief. See pp. 173-74.
73. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 165.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
79. Pandit Debi Prasad mentions about 18 Sikh sects and names the founder of each sect. See pp. 169-70. He further states that broadly speaking Sikhs are of two types: *Manji* and *Malwa*.
80. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 166.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 197. The correct name is Parson, the Superintendent of Police, Ambala. See Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *The Wahhabi Movement in India*, p. 201.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
89. It was originally prepared at the request of Sardar Bhagat Singh, District Superintendent of Port Blair Police. It was first printed in 1879, and again with some additions in



1880. A second edition by the author was published by Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow, in 1892. A copy of the *Tarikh-i-Ajib* is placed in the departmental library of History Department, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

90. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, pp. 155, 180-81.

91. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, p. 567.

92. This bears the following information: name of the area, area in miles, number of villages, population, revenue yield, and average population per square miles. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, pp. 212-213.

93. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 214.

94. In 1853 the Punjab was divided into 7 commissioneries. A chief commissioner was appointed who was supported by one judicial commissioner and one finance commissioner. See p. 185. Information about the commissioneries includes districts and *tehsils* under it, area in miles, and population. While informing about a district the following information has been provided: number of houses (*pucca* and *kuchha*), total number of men, women, young men, young women, children below twelve years, minors, and girls. See pp. 218-219. It also gives the population of important cities of the Punjab such as Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Dera Ismail Khan, etc., with number of shops, houses and population as in the year 1845.

95. There is a list of chiefs who died their natural death, and those who died during different battles. See pp. 177-78.

96. Title of Knight Companion *Sitara-i-Hind* was awarded to Hon'ble Donald Mac'wood, Raja Saheb Dayal Misr,

Sardar Nihal Singh. Companion *Sitara-i-Hind* was awarded to Arthur A. Robertson, Colonel Taylor, Major Mac'neal, Nawwab Faujdar Khan, and Raja of Kapurthala. Lord Dalhousie granted the title of *Nawwab* to *Shiekh* Imam-al-Din, the *Subedar* of Kashmir. See pp.153,197,200.

97. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 185.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175. There is a chart showing population figures of Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, and other communities, and finally the total population. Another chart shows cultivators, non-cultivators, and language spoken by the people. Notably, the people generally spoke Urdu. See pp. 220-21.
99. This pertained to prohibition of *sati*, justice towards their subjects, forbidding purchase and sale of slaves, and prevention of infanticide of girls.
100. The *Gulshan-i-Punjab*, pp. 224-229.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 8,144.
102. Munshi Nawal Kishore was born on 3rd January 1836 in his mother's house in village Ritarha in the district of Mathura. His father Jamuna Prasad, a Bhargav Brahmin, belonged to Sansi in the district of Aligarh. After studying the time honoured subjects, Arabic and Persian, Munshi Nawal Kishore was admitted to Agra College. Munshi Nawal Kishore started his career by serving in Matba Kohi-i-Noor, Lahore. But after the mutiny he started his own press. His patron, Colonel Abbott, provided him full support. He soon established his press in the palace of Raja Man Singh in the *mohalla* of Rakabganj. Later in 1870 the press was shifted to

Hazratganj. The press was instrumental in publishing a large number of books and preserving a large number of rare manuscripts which would have otherwise perished. He served the cause of Urdu in a way which no other Indian could do. It may be added that Munshi Nawal Kishore was also a distinguished journalist and the paper *Awadh Akhbar* started by him achieved great popularity.

103. A printed copy of *Twarikh-i-Nadir-al-Asar* (1863) is preserved at Raza Library, Rampur. The place of publication has been mentioned as *Matba Munshi Nawal Kishore*, Lucknow, 1863. The book consists of 174 pages and has an index of 3 pages.
104. *Twarikh-i-Nadir-al-Asar*, p. 124.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
106. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar* is placed in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University. Written by Munshi Ghulam Nabi, it was published by Sheikh Ahmad at Matba Faiz-i-Anmadi in July 1866. It consists of sixteen pages of index, followed by a preface consisting of six pages. The book has been divided into three chapters. Excluding the index, the book consists of three hundred twenty pages.
107. *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar*, pp. 2,5. It also appears that James Nismit had asked that history of each *tehsil* of Rohtak district be written.
108. *Ibid.*, p.8.
109. *Ibid.*, p.5.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
111. *Ibid.*, p.27.

112. *Ibid.*, p.33.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*, p.59.
115. These were Nawwab Ahmad Bakhsh Khan Ki Khirki, Nawwab Ghazi-al-Din Khan Ki Khirki, Nai Khirki, Shahganj Ki Khirki, Ajmeri Darwaza Ki Khirki, Sayyid Bhole Ki Khirki, Bulandbagh Ki Khirki, Farrash Khana Ki Khirki, Amir Khan Ki Khirki, Khalil Khan Ki Khirki, Bahadur Ali Khan Ki Khirki, Nagmad Ki Khirki, and Zinat-al-Masajid Ki Khirki.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 78,79,80-81.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
120. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 119,120-21,125-149.
122. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-175.
127. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-180.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
130. Some of the craftsmen mentioned are *Sitar*-mendors, Watch-makers, Sword-makers, Cage-makers, Polisher of

weapons and utensils, Carpet-makers, Rug-makers, Surgeons, Sculptors, Candle-makers, Kite-makers, Tent-makers, Book-binders, etc.

131. *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar*, pp. 198-201. The author notes eighteen such birds. Some of these were *Baz*(falcon), *Basha*, *Bashin*, *Shikara*, *Chargh*, *Charghila*, *Bahri*, *Tirmiti* (partridges).

132. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

133. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-216,217.

134. *Ibid.*, pp. 263-288.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

136. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-296. For example the following was the expenditure list sanctioned:

Hindus		
Caste	Estimated expenditure in Rupees to be made during marriage	Expenditure to be made in rituals after death in Rs.
Brahmin	300	150
Acharaj	100	50
Mahajan	400	300
Dussa Mahajan	1100	150
Rajput	100	100
Kaisth	1100	200
Dahosa	250	175
Kapdi	50	40
Dagot	50	25





139. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 314.

141. Two printed copies of *Gulzar-i Bahar* are available in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. The copy bearing H.L. No. 2212 was printed in 1868 by *Matba Chashm-i Nur*, Muzaffarpur, Bihar. It consists of 104 pages. This copy contains foreword in English written by Mahadeo Prasad, the younger brother of Ayodhya Prasad. The English foreword was printed by P.S.D'Rozario & Co., 8, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta, 1869.

The second revised edition (H.L.No.2213) was published in 1892 by *Matba Mashriq-i Nur* (place of publication not mentioned, but obviously it must have been Muzaffarpur). The second edition does not contain the English foreword of Mahadeo Prasad. This copy is well-intact and neatly printed. It consists of 156 pages. In this copy the author informs that 500 copies were first published which were all distributed in a short time. But the demand for it continued, and hence it was republished. The significance of this edition is that it contains information about Ayodhya Prasad's lineage, his ancestral homeland and other family information which is not to be found in the first edition. The reference in the article is from this second edition.

Recently *Gulzar-i Bahar* or *Riayz-i Tirhut* has been edited by Hetukar Jha. The new print has been made as per the decision of Kameshwar Singh Kalyani Foundation, Darbhanga, in 1997, as a part of their programme to bring to light rare historical works. Herein the translation of Urdu text into Hindi has been made by Izhar-al-Imam. The editing and translation have been

done on the basis of a copy of *Gulzar-i Bahar* in possession of Shri Shadan Faruqui, Nurul Hasan Lane, Laheriyasarai, Darbhanga. It appears that Shri Shadan Faruqui is not aware of those copies of *Gulzar-i Bahar* placed in the Khuda Bakhsh Library. Had the printed copy of 1892 been used by the Maharajadhiraja Kameshwar Singh Kalyani Foundation, the 1997 Urdu edition would have been more neat and attractive.

142. *Gulzar-i Bahar*, p. 121.

143. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

144. *Ibid.*

145. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

147. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

148. On October 21, 1860, Maharaja Maheshwar Singh Bahadur, *Maharaja* of Darbhanga, died. On 23 October (Monday) 1860 the *Darbhangra Raj* was placed under a British General Manager. Later in February 1861 James Forlong was posted as the permanent Manager. For a difference of opinion regarding the death of the *Maharaja* see *Riayz-i Tirhut*, (Ed) Hetaukar Jha, published by Maharajadhiraja Kameshwar Singh Kalyani Foundation Niwas, Darbhanga (Bihar), 1997.

149. *Gulzar-i Bahar*, p. 11. The author also expresses the desire that his work be translated into English by his brother, Mahadeo Prasad. His brother, however, could not immediately attend to the task of translation because of his examination and other engagements. It is not known whether he translated the book in future times.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 21. Ram Bagh, Shyam Bagh and Dil-Khushkun Bagh were famous flower gardens with running streams, tanks and ponds, and beautiful chirping birds. These gardens would allure the people to leave their business for days together and spend their times in these gardens.

154. Being close to Nepal and Bhutan, elephants were found in great numbers.

155. Horses were brought from Arabia, Tajikistan and Turkey.

156. Goldsmiths would delicately prepare *pandan* (for holding betels), *atardan* (container of sweet-scented oil), *Gulabpash* (sprinkler of rose water), *Chandalier*, etc. The *Kumhar* class of Goldsmith were specially known for the preparation of jewelleries of delicate gold and silver and exquisite embroidery work (pp.32-33).

157. *Gulzar-i Bahar*, p. 35. *Dahi* (curd) was prepared with great care using dry- fruits and perfumes. He, however, rejects the version of the writer of *Khulasat-al-Twarikh* that *dahi* of Darbhanga would not get spoiled even for one year.

158. Maithil Brahmin gather over one lakh in village Saurath (*pargana* Hati). Bride-grooms of different age groups varying from ten to seventy years were married here. Those who ranked high in intra-caste hierarchy charged money from the lower ones. Ayodhya Prasad states that a number of people marry once or twice a year and earn a lot of money as dowry. He says that he knew many people who married twenty to twenty-two times.

Marriages were held in the months of *Agahan*(December-January), *Phagun* (March-April), *Baisakh*(May-June), *Jeth*(June-July) and *Asarh*(July-August).

159. *Joorshital*: In other district this festival is known as *Satnain*. On this day Brahmins were fed with *sattu* and offered gifts.
160. In these rivers on the full-moon day of *Kartik* and *Magh*, people would take bath. In river *Kamla* those people would take bath who were not blessed with a son, whereas in *Jewuch* river those persons would take a dip whose children did not survive. After taking bath their wishes got fulfilled.
161. *Gulzar-i Bahar*, p. 20.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
165. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
168. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-144.
169. *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 111. ('Azza-man-Qan'a-wa-zalla-man-Tam'a)
170. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Riyasat-i Bhopal* is in my possession. It consists of three separate parts bound into one volume. They bear the information that they were printed by *Matba Nizami*, Kanpur, in 1289 *Hijri* under the supervision of Ghufran Muhammad Abd-al Rahman bin Haji Muhammad Roshan Khan. There is also the seal of *Matba Nizami*.



The first part consists of forty-two pages, the second of fifty-four, and the third consists of one hundred eight pages. All the three parts are suffixed by a page of erratum.

In the end the publisher expresses his opinion in very laudatory and ornamentative Urdu, praising its content and style. Finally, there is a chronogrammatic verse rendered by *Munshi Gobind Prasad Fida*.

171. *Tarikh-i-Bhopal*(Part 1), pp. 2,3,102(Part 111).

172. *Tarikh-i-Bhopal*(Part 1), pp. 3,4.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

174. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

175. Dost Muhammad Khan had five brothers. They were Sher Muhammad Khan, Arif Muhammad Khan, Shah Muhammad Khan, Mir Ahmad Khan and Aquil Muhammad Khan. Of them, except Aquil Muhammad Khan, the rest died in various battles. Aquil Muhammad Khan who was the *diwan* of Bhopal died his natural death. Of the sons and daughters they were six and five respectively. The names<sup>9</sup> of the sons were Yar Muhammad Khan, Sultan Muhammad Khan, Sadar Muhammad Khan, Fadil Muhammad Khan, Wasil Muhammad Khan and Khan Bahadur Khan. See p.8.

176. *Tarikh-i-Bhopal*(Part 111), p. 93.

177. *Ibid.*(Part 1), p.8.

178. Yar Muhammad was buried at Islamnagar. He had five sons and two daughters. The sons were Faiz Muhammad Khan, Hayat Muhammad Khan, Saeed Muhammad Khan, Husain Muhammad Khan and Yasin Muhammad Khan.

179. It has been recorded that Afghan forces got 50,000 horses, 2 lakh oxes, 500 elephants, 20,000 camels, and a great number of men and women as captives. See p. 113.
180. *Tarikh-i-Bhopal*(Part II), pp. 22,26.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 33-35.
183. For example 80 *seer* of wheat was available for one rupee.
184. *Tarikh-i-Bhopal*(Part II), pp. 13,14.
185. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
186. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
187. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
188. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
189. It has been pointed out that the word 'Agra' is a Greek word which means fort.
190. *Tarikh-i-Bhopal*(Part II), pp. 31.
191. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
192. Born in Bareilly, Siddiq Hasan Khan, was educated at Delhi under Mufti Sadr-al-Din. During his stay in Bhopal, he came into contact with some Yemeni *Ulema* and studied the works of Imam Ahmad Ibn Hambal, Ibn-i-Taimiyah and Muhammad ibn Ali-al-Shaukani(d.1834). In 1869 he paid visit to Yemen and Mecca. These contacts acquainted him with the leading theologians of Islam, popularly known as the *Wahhabis*. He expressed his ideas in his works *Al-Maqalat-al-Fasihah fi'l Wasiyyah Wal Nasihah*, *Al-Taj-al-Mukallal*, *Na'il-al-Muramin Tafsir Ayat-al-Ahkam*. He wrote mostly in

Arabic. His writings were considered seditious by the British, and consequently, he was deprived of his royal status and put under house-arrest by the British until he died in 1890. For details see Syed Muhammad Aslam, *Muslim Response to the West: Muslim Historiography in India (1857- 1914)*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1988, pp. 75-77; and Saeedullah, *The Life and Works of Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan, Nawwab of Bhopal*, Lahore, 1973.

193. *Tarikh-i-Bhopal*(Part III), pp. 62,84.

194. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-22.

195. *Ibid.*(Part III), pp. 82-83.

196. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

197. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

198. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

201. Ramchand Tiwari, *Hindi Ka Gadh Sahitya*, Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi, 1968, p. 27; or see introduction of *Itihas Timirnashak*, Part 1.

202. *Ainah-i Tarikh Numa*(Part 1), Government Press, Allahabad, 1874, p. 112.

203. *Aina-i Tarikh Numa*(Part 11), p. 13.

204. *Ibid.*, Part 11, p. 13.

205. *Ibid.*, Part 11, p. 111.

206. See Raja Shiva Prashad, *Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb* or *Kuch Hal Janab Henry Carter Saheb Bahadur Ka*,

Munshi Nawal Kishore, February, 1879, p. 4.

207. *Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb*, pp. 10-11.

208. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

209. *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

210. a. *Ainah-i Tarikh Numa* (in three parts). A copy of Part I (consisting of 122 pages) and Part II (consisting of 136 pages) published by Government Press, Allahabad, 1874, is placed in Shibli Academy (Darul Mussanifin), Azamgarh. A copy of Part I published by Government Press, Allahabad, 1868, is placed in Khuda Bakhsh Library (hereafter abbreviated as KBL), Patna. It consists of 130 pages. Part III, published by Munshi Nawal Kishore, 1880, is placed in the KBL. It consists of 142 pages. A copy of Part I and Part II is also placed in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University. The catalogue of Saulat Library, Rampur, also bears the name of *Ainah-i Tarikh Numa* (all the three parts), but the books are missing.

b. *Dil Bahlaw* (Part I and III), Sudhakar Press, Agra, (1857, 1860). It is placed in KBL, Patna.

c. *Kuchh Bayan Apni Zaban Ka* (collection of lectures delivered in respect to native languages at Benares Institute), Allahabad, 1873. A copy of it (No. H.L.7635) is placed in KBL, Patna.

d. *Qissa Sandford Wa Merton*, Government Press, Allahabad, 1869, KBL, Patna. It was first published in 1860.

e. *Twarikh-i-Yunan*. This is a translation of an English work by Shiva Prashad and Wazir Ali. The work is related to Dehli College. A copy of it is placed in KBL,

H.L. No.7808, Patna.

f. Marshman's *Brief Survey of History*(Part II, from the Christian era to the age of Charlemagne). Translation done by Moonshee Shew Parshad and Mr. Steward of the Dehli College, Matba Dar-al-Islam, Hauz Qazi, Shahjahanbad, 1844. It appears that he was the same Shiva Prashad.

g. *Shahadat-i-Qurani* (translated work), 1860, KBL, Accession No.49625, Patna.

h. *Khulasat-al-Twarikh*(Part II), 1844, KBL, H.L. No. 2433-35, Patna.

i. *Tarikh-i-Henry Carter Saheb*, 1879, KBL, H.L. No. 2404-05, Patna.

j. *Jam Jahan Numa*(in four parts), KBL, H.L. No. 8804, 2198-2203, 10883, 2428-29, Accession No. 31856 & 27528.

k. *Chambeli Aur Gulab Ka Qissah*, 1910, KBL, Accession No.80863, Patna.

l. *Urdu Sarf Wa Nahw*, 1875, KBL, H.L. No. 1919, Accession No. 96910, Patna.

m. *Farsi Sarf Wa Nahw*, 1888, KBL, H.L. No. 1933, Patna.

n. *Nai Haqa'iq-al-Maujudat*, 1884, KBL, Desna-1283. A copy of it is also placed in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh. In Hindi it is entitled '*Vidya Ankur*'. The work is actually the translation of Chamber's work entitled *Rudiments of knowledge and Introduction to Science*, and was translated at the behest of hill schools.

o. *Mazamin Raja Shiva Prashad*, 1884, KBL, Accession



No.15662. This is a collection of Essays written by Shiva Prashad for entrance examination to Calcutta University. It consists of essays entitled *Shakuntala*, *Ara'ish-i Mahfil*, *Ganj Khubi*, *Tajganj Ke Rauze Ki Ta'rif*, *Roya-i Mirza*, *Khwab-i-Pareshan*, *Asim Ki Kahani*.

p. *Dun Nalan* (on virtues of Christianity or life of Methodist Christian)

q. *Sachchi Bahaduri Satya Suarya* (in Hindi). Written in praise of Tucker.

r. *Tarikh-i Kalisa*

s. *Harufit Hajji*

t. *Sikhkhon Ka Tulu' Wa Ghurub* (It is a translation of his Hindi work *Sikhkhon Ka Uday Aur Ast*, and is based on government records and standard books, 1852)

u. *Tarikh Pa Tabarish*(1845).

v. *Dastur-al-Amal Paimayish*(1855)

w. *Mirat-al-Ghafilin*(1856)

x. *Tarikh Chin-o-Japan*(1867). This is a translation of Lord Algin's mission to China accounted by L. Olifant.

y. *Bhugol Hastamalak*(in three parts). 1855. Sanskrit Press, Calcutta. Its Urdu version is known as *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* (1856). It relates to geography.

z. *Chota Bhugol*(1859) published by North West Province Education Department, Benares. In Urdu it is known as *Chota Jami-i-Jahan Numa* (1860). It is a concise account of the earlier *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*.

za. *Varnmala*(Hindi text book), 1857.

zb. *Hindi Vayakaran*, Medical Hall Press, 1857. Its Urdu

version is known as *Sarf Wa Nahw-i-Urdu*.

\* Other Hindi works are: *Swyan Bodh Urdu, Hindustan Ke Puraney Rajaon Ka Hal, Alsiyun Ka Kuza* ( ۱۳۹۰ ). *Gutka, Bama manranjan, Vidya Ankur, Raja Bhoj Ka Sapna, Manav Dharmas, Upnishad Saar, Yag Vashish Ke Kuchh Chune Huvay Shlok.*

Taken altogether Shiva Prashad wrote about three dozen books on matters of general interest, religious beliefs, learning of English language, personalities, etc.

211. *Ainah-i Tarikh Numa*(Part 1), Benares, 1864, f. i & ii

212. *Ibid.*, Part 1, p. 4.

213. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

214. *Ibid.*, p. 6(foot-note). I may add here the views expressed by Ayodhya Prashad in his *Riyaz-i Tirhut*(or *Gulzar-i Bahar*). He says that under Mahanand, the Nagvanshi kings, the whole of India was under the fold of Buddhism, except at few places in Kannauj and Benares there were pockets of Brahmanism.

215. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

216. *Ibid.*

217. For a correct account see Muhammad Nazim's '*The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*', MunSheram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1971(reprint).

218. This is not corroborated by any Medieval chronicle.

219. *Ainah-i Tarikh Numa*, Part I, p. 53.

220. *Ainah-i Tarikh Numa*, Part I, p. 70.

221. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

222. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
223. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
224. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
225. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
226. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
227. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
228. *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 15-16.
229. *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 18.
230. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
231. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
232. *Ibid.*, (Part II), p. 22.
233. *Ibid.*, (Part II), p. 25.
234. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
235. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-100.
236. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
237. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
238. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
239. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
240. *Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb*, Munshi Nawal Kishore, 1879, pp. 19-20.
241. *Ainah-i Tarikh Numa*, Part II, pp. 111,118.
242. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
243. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
244. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

245. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

246. Sayyid Kamal-al-Din Haidar, *Sawanih Hayat Salatin-i-Awadh*.

247. *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 21.

248. He mentions how Somlata was prepared.

249. *Aina-i Tarikh Numa*, Part 111, p. 44.

250. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

251. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

252. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

253. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

254. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

255. *Ibid.*, p. 90-91.

256. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

257. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

258. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

259. *Ibid.*, p. 115-116.

260. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

261. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

262. *Ibid.*, p. 98-99.

263. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

264. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

265. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

266. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

267. *Ibid.*, p. 134-35.

268. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
269. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
270. مرہٹوں = مارکرہٹ جانے والا
271. *Aina-i Tarikh Numa*, Part III, p. 137.
272. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
273. *Ibid.*, p. 140. He gives data of goods that were brought from and taken to foreign countries:
- |         |               |                                 |
|---------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| 1870-71 | approximately | 39 crore                        |
| 1868-69 | approx.       | 51 crore                        |
| 1870-77 | approx.       | 57½ crore carried outside India |
| 1864-65 | approx.       | 65 crore carried outside India  |
274. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
275. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
276. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
277. *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 4.
278. *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 84.
279. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
280. *Ibid.*, pp. 86,88.
281. *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 111.
282. *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 5.
283. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
284. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
285. *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 54.
286. *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 5.



287. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
288. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
289. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
290. *Ibid.*, p. 10-14.
291. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.
292. *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 96.
293. For example he writes that in Turkish language *Aihak* means a person whose smallest finger of the hand is broken; *Altamash* (Iltutmish) means army; *Bughra* means tiger (Part I, pp. 25,26,33). The meaning given by him are, however, incorrect.
294. *Aina-i Tarikh Numa*, Part III, p. 20.
295. *Ibid.*, pp. 63,76,77.
296. A printed copy of *Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb* is preserved in the KBL, Patna. The book consists of twenty four pages. The biography was published by Munshi Nawal Kishore in February 1879.
297. *Twarikh-i-Carter Saheb*, pp.5-8.
298. *Ibid.*, p. 15. It also appears that Shiva Prashad translated Marshman's *Brief Survey of History* (Part II). In this book the name has been written Moonshee Shew Pershad. This translated book was revised by Mr. Steward of Dehlic (Dehli) College in 1844. The book was printed by *Matba Dar-al-Islam*, Hauz Qazi, Shahjahanbad, under the supervision of Inayat Husain. It consists of 233 pages, excluding 3 pages of erratum.
299. *Dil Bahlaw* was published by Matba Sudhakar, Varanasi (Benares), in 1860. The printed copy in hand is the 2nd

edition. 5000 copies were printed and priced at 5 *annas* each. The book comprises of three parts, but only second and third parts were available to me. The second part consists of 88 pages, where as the third part consists of 64 pages. They bear no index.

300. A printed copy of *Twarikh-i-Sandford Aur Merton* is preserved at KBL, Patna. The cover page bears the seal of the library dated 1891. It was printed at Agra by Secundra Orphan Press in 1855 and consists of 344 pages. *Qissah-i-Sandford Wa Merton* was printed at Allahabad by Government Press in 1869 and consists of 70 pages. The last page bears the information that 5000 copies (of the 3rd edition) were printed and priced 4 *annas* per book. It also bears the information that Babu Shiva Prashad was munshi to Governor-General's Agent (i.e., to Henry Carter, Varanasi).
301. A printed copy of *Shahadat-i-Qurani bar Qutu-i-Rabbani* is preserved in the KBL, Patna. It was published by Allahabad Mission Press in 1873. The book consists of 242 pages.
302. *Shahadat-i-Qurani...*, p.1 (introduction)
303. A printed copy of *Nai Haqa'iq-al-Maujudat* (Part 1) is kept in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University. It was published by *Matba'* Munshi Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, February 1884. The book consists of 79 pages.
304. *Aina-i Tarikh Numa*, (Part 1), f. ii, iii.
305. See M.H.A. Beg (Ed), *Khan-i Khanan-Namah*, Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, University of Karachi, 1990.

306. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i Raj Parasti* is placed in the library of Amir-al-Daulah Government Public Library, Lucknow. It consists of 83 pages. It was printed by Matba' Munshi Nawal Kishore, Kanpur, in 1884.
307. Ranchor Bhatt was a Brahmin by caste.
308. *Tarikh-i Raj Parasti*, p. 79.
309. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
310. There appears to be some confusion as to whether the translation was made from English to Urdu, or from Hindi to Urdu. In this respect the introductory page provides the information that Debi Prasad translated the Sanskrit text into Urdu. On the other hand the publishers note indicates that Debi Prasad translated the English version into Urdu. The author(i.e. Debi Prasad) is silent in this regard.
311. *Tarikh-i Raj Parasti*, pp. 63-73.
312. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.
313. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.
314. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.
315. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
316. *Ibid.*, pp. 42(foot-note).
317. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-78.
318. *Ibid.*, pp. 27,28,30,31,34,36.
319. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.
320. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
321. A printed copy of *Khan-i Khanan-Namah* which bears the information that the book was published in 1898

under the supervision of Munshi Deep Narayn and published by ka'isth Sadar Sabha Hind Press, Lucknow, has been edited by M.H.A. Beg of Karachi, Pakistan. This edited and annotated book has been reprinted by Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, University of Karachi, Pakistan, in 1990.

322. M.H.A. Beg (Ed), *Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan*, Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, University of Karachi, Pakistan, 1990, p. 10.
323. *Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan*, pp. 49-51,54.
324. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
325. A printed copy of *Intikhab-i Nadirah* is placed in Khuda Bakhsh Library (Accession No. 3805). It bears the information that it was published by Matba Munshi Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, under the supervision of Babu Manohar Lal Bhargav, superintendent, in 1917. The book consists of 120 pages. The book in hand is the second revised edition.
326. Books in Urdu are 42 in number, and those in Hindi number 14. The information has been taken from the advertisement given about Debi Prasad's list of books in *Intikhab-i Nadirah* and *Amir-Namah-Urdu*.
327. A printed copy of *Amir-Namah-Urdu*(1891) is preserved in Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. The title page of the book was printed at Matba Rizvi, Delhi. The rest of the book was printed by Munshi Pitamber Prashad, in 1317 Hijri.
328. *Chauth* implied  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the income which the *Marathas* would take from the protected countries or territories whose rulers accepted the suzerainty of the *Marathas*.

329. *Amir-Namah-Urdu*, pp. 9-10.

330. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

331. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 68.

332. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

333. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

334. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

335. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

336. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

337. *Ibid.*, p. 20(foot-note)

338. *Karnama-Naw-Ain*, Munshi Nawal Kishore(Pb), 1878, p.70.

339. Copies of *Tarikh-i-Chin* are available at *Dar-al-Mussanifin*(Shibli Academy), Azamgarh; Hardayal Public Library, Delhi; Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; and else where.

340. James Corocoran, the *Tarikh-i-Chin*, Vol.I, p.8.

341. *Ibid.*, p. 8. This claim of James Corcoran is not true. Sayyid Altaf Husain Faryad, a great scholar, was instrumental in encouraging Corocoran to write the *Tarikh-i-Chin*. Sayyid Ali Muhammad Shad, a reputed poet and historian of Bihar, informs us that James Corocoran would hear daily for two hours lecture of Sayyid Shah Altaf Husain Faryad. He would then corroborate the information with the available written sources. Shad also informs us that both the volumes of the *Tarikh-i-Chin* were written in just about six or seven months. James Corocoran also wrote *Jawahir-i-Akhlaq* under the guidance of Altaf Husain Faryad. A printed



copy of this book, published by *Majlis-i-Adab*, Narsinghdas Garden, Club Road, Lahore, 1845, consisting of 68 pages, is preserved in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University. *Jawahir-i-Akhlaq* is a translation of the collection of the moral stories written by Aesopus or Aesop who is supposed to have lived in Greece between 620 to 560 B.C. The book was presented to Robert Calden Rotary, *Diwan-i-Sadr*, Calcutta. In respect to the views expressed by Shad, see *Hayat-i-Faryad* of Sayyid Ali Muhammad Shad, printed at the request of Maulawi Sayyid Husain Khan under the supervision of Masud Ali Nadwi, pp.1, 93, 187, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, 1927.

342. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

343. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

344. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-12.

345. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

346. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

347. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

348. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

349. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 547-548.

350. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 62, 266, 438.

351. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

352. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

353. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

354. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 121.

355. *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 105, 146.

356. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 8.
357. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
358. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 19.
359. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.
360. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
361. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 2, 10, 12, 37, 60, 74, 104, 105, 226, 246, 254; Vol. II, pp. 30, 48, 173, 209.
362. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 10, 11, 71, 72, 73, 74; Vol. II, p. 233.
363. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 223, 225, 244.
364. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 11, 14, 16, 80, 413, 414, 429; Vol. II, p. 178, 258.
365. James Corcoran says that some historians have divided China into sixteen provinces, while others into eighteen provinces (Vol. I, p. 15.)
366. James Corcoran, *Tarikh-i-Chin*, Vol. I, p. 6.
367. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-31.
368. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 57.
369. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 168.
370. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
371. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
372. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
373. *Ibid.*
374. *Ibid.*
375. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
376. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

377. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
378. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
379. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-217.
380. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
381. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
382. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
383. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
384. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
385. *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 310, 314.
386. *Ibid.*, p. 397.
387. *Ibid.*, pp. 400, 414, 421-424.
388. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 3.
389. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 10-22.
390. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
391. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-67.
392. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
393. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
394. *Ibid.*, pp. 422-442.
395. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 462.
396. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar* is placed in the library of History Department, Aligarh Muslim University. It consists of an index bearing sixteen pages, followed by a preface consisting of eight pages. This is followed by the main text of the book which consists of 424 pages. At the end there is a map of district

Bulandshahar. The book was published in 1874.

397. The government resolution was passed by Lieutenant Governor of North West Province. It may be added that earlier the Home Department had by letter dated 30 May 1867 and 31 March 1868 drawn the attention of the regional government in this direction. The resolution (No. 2799 dated 23 June 1868) is in fact a supplement to an earlier order passed in 1844 by Mr. Thomson. The resolution had laid guide-lines and superstructure upon which history of each district was to be written. The resolution contains information which suggests that writings of this nature and pattern had initially been undertaken in Central Province. See preface and page 17 of the *Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar*.

398. This was largely because there were no government offices before 1857. Bulandshahar city had no library. Moreover, the author being in service could spare little time for the task assigned to him. Notwithstanding, his government position certainly helped him to readily procure data and other information that were available here and there.

399. *Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar*, p. 8.

400. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

401. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

402. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

403. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

404. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

405. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

406. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

407. In expressing such views he towed the line of the British historians. As is well known similar thoughts were later expressed by K.S. Lai in his *History of the Khaljis*.
408. *Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar*, p. 42.
409. Gives a list of Collectors and Magistrates who administered this unit ever since it became a district (See pp. 92-97).
410. *Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar*, p. 45.
411. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.
412. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
413. *Ibid.*, p. 78-86.
414. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
415. Produce of crops has been given in terms of per acre with the help of a chart. See p. 5.
416. *Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar*, pp. 5-6.
417. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
418. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.
419. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
420. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
421. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
422. *Ibid.*, p. 155,399.
423. There is a separate chart wherein it records data of stolen goods, number of persons arrested, punishment given, nature of crime committed, etc. See p. 168.
424. *Tarikh-i-Bulandshahar*, p. 157.
425. *Ibid.*, p. 4.



426. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

427. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

428. *Ibid.*, p. 398.

429. A printed copy of the *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* is in possession of Dar-al-Mussanifin, Azamgarh. Another copy of it is preserved in the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University. It was published by Munshi Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, October 1877/1294 *Hijri*. It consists of 587 pages, excluding index of 18 pages. The opening page of the book placed at Dar-al-Mussanifin bears the seal of Al-Islah Library, dated 1899, Desna, Bihar. It also bears the name of the donor Ain-al Haque who has inscribed his name in Urdu. On page 298 the donor has also written his name in English. It thus appears that the book was brought to Dar-al Mussanifin either by Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi or by Sayyid Sabah-al-Din Abd-al-Rahman, both of whom belonged to Desna and served this institution as the Secretary.

430. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, p. 217.

431. A printed copy of the book is kept in the library of Nadwat al-Uluma, Lucknow. It was published by Matba Victoria Press, Lahore, 1884. In this book he writes in detail about the foundation of the city, its buildings, people, tombs, colonies, press, etc. He also mentions here and there the atrocities committed by the Sikhs and the destruction of Muslim tombs and buildings.

432. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, p. 584.

433. Soon after when the writing materials had been collected, the author, Ghulam Sarwar, developed an eye sore which troubled him for about four months. As a

result the assignment was taken away from him and handed over to Qazi Taj al-Din Lahori. However, in the meantime Ghulam Sarwar recouped, and since the writing materials were with him, he set upon to complete the task. Having started the work, instead of writing only about the city of Lahore, he decided to make the work more comprehensive, which eventually took the present form. Finally, after three years of painstaking effort the work was completed. See pp. 583-584.

434. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, p. 1.
435. A copy of this book published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1877, is placed in the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University. *Baharistan-i-Tarikh Maruf bah Gulzar-i-Shahi* is a concise history of India beginning from ancient times till 1858. It also bears account about Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the early Caliphs, about Umayyads and the Abbasids and other Islamic rulers in different parts of the world, the Saljuq Turks, the rulers of Delhi Sultanate, the Mongol chiefs, the Mughuls, foreign invasions, the various Muslim states of India (numbering 18), and finally about the English rulers of England and its early history from ninth century onwards.
436. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, pp. 184-86.
437. The persons are Rai Bahadur Kanhiyyahlal, Sayyid Ali Abd al Qadir Shams al Qadri, Sayyid Abd al-Rasul Khandesh Arandwale, Sayyid Ali Shah, Mufti Chiragh Din (alias Roshan Lahori), Mufti Ghulam Safdar (alias Fauqani Lahori), Mufti Ghulam Akbar (alias Laiq Lahori), and Mufti Muhammad Anwar (alias Danish Lahori).

438. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, pp. 586-7.

439. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

440. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

441. *Ibid.*

442. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

443. *Ibid.*, pp. 361, 402.

444. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

445. *Ibid.*, p. 370.

446. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

447. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

448. *Ibid.*, pp. 473-74.

449. *Ibid.*, pp. 583-84.

450. It may be mentioned that the description includes modern Kashmir and parts of the state of Pakistan.

451. Special mention may be made of *Firuz Shah Ki Nahar* which was built by Sultan Firuz Tughluq (1351-88). It was later repaired by Shah Jahan. During the British rule it was renovated by Lord Hastings. Two other important canals whose description has been made are *Ali Mardan Ki Nahar* and *Nahar Doab* which were built during the reign of emperor Shah Jahan. The author notes that *Ali Mardan Ki Nahar* fetched revenue worth Rs. 25 lakhs, but all the money was spent on its maintenance and nothing could be deposited in the state exchequer. On account of chaos created by the revolt of Safdar Jung in 1752, the canal had to be closed. Thereafter, Ahmad Shah Durrani paid attention towards its repair. Later on, Lord Hastings started renovation work which was completed in

1820. For details see pp. 6-8.

452. In Patiala roads were built in great numbers. *Sati*, and other social evils including wine drinking, were prohibited.

453. Often gives distance of the cities from Calcutta and other important places.

454. Such as about prevalence of the custom of *Sati*. It may be pointed out that in the contemporary Punjab, temples of *Kali* were spread all over the state where human sacrifice was performed.

455. For example, Sihiswan was famous for the manufacture of iron vessels. Mani Majra was known for indigo trade and the product was carried to such far off places as Khurasan. Also, gold was found in the sands of the river that flows here. Similarly, Bahmaniwalah was famous for earthen pots and Busahar was famous for tea. See pp. 70, 74, 92.

456. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, p 107.

457. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

458. *Ibid.*, p 127.

459. *Ibid.*, pp. 112.

460. *Ibid.*, p 346.

461. *Ibid.*, p 155.

462. *Ibid.*, pp 156-57.

463. *Ibid.*, p 34.

464. For example, the river Jhelum in olden times was known as the Badasta as recorded in the Persian chronicles of Kashmir. The Greeks called it Hydespes, and the Punjabis call it Jhelum. Another river the Sindah in ancient times

was known as Abaseen or Abasandah or Sindh. The people of the Punjab call it Atak and the British called it Indus. See pp. 173-75.

465. The *sufis* have received special attention. In mentioning them, the author describes the tombs of the *sufis*, their genealogical table, their original homeland, their spiritual mentor, their *urs* celebration, their number of followers, about the respect accorded to some of the living saints, etc.

466. The town of Sambadyal was famous for Persian calligraphists.

467. *The Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, p 363.

468. *Ibid.*, pp 363-64

469. *Ibid.*, p 199.

470. *Ibid.*, p 219.

471. *Ibid.*, p 82.

472. *Ibid.*, pp 228-29.

473. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

474. For example for the love of tales of Heer-Ranjha and Sohni Mahiwal, see p.329. For the love tale of Puran see page 257.

475. *The Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, pp. 111, 124-5.

476. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

477. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

478. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

479. *Ibid.*, pp 312-14.



480. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

481. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

482. *Pashminah* (a kind of woollen fabric) was initially produced only in Kashmir. When the Sikhs occupied Kashmir, many people fled away and gradually developed *pashminah* industry in Nurpur, Tiloknath, Amritsar, Ludhiana, and other parts of Punjab.

Ghulam Sarwar records that *pashminah shawls* were first produced during the reign of Raja Ranjan Dev. Later, it found greater patronage under the Mughuls from the time of emperor Akbar. When Kashmir came under the rule of the Sikh chief Ranjit Singh, Diwan Kripa Ram, the administrator of Kashmir, took keen interest in improving the quality of *shawl* and a particular variety of *shawl* was developed which came to be known as *Kripa Rani du Shale*. The author further describes in detail how *pashm* (wool) was produced. *Pashm* is actually hairs of goats who live in the snow clad mountains of Tibet, Ladakh, Lasiya, Yarq and other places bordering China. The hairs of these goats are called *pando* by the hill-people which grows to the extent of ten inches. *Pashm* of lesser quality came from Kabul and its adjoining areas.

Workers first remove the stiff hairs of *pando* and then wash it with lime or powdered rice. Thereafter, threads are made. Ghulam Sarwar writes about the different quality of *pashminah* threads and their prices. He also mentions the wages of the workers, the number of people who were engaged in this industry and number of shops in Kashmir which sold *pashminah shawls*.

483. Wood used for timber was sold at the rate of 7 *maunds* per rupee.

484. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, pp. 290-1.

485. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

486. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7, 259.

487. *Ibid.*, p. 547-555.

488. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

489. *Ibid.*, pp. 559-62.

490. *Ibid.*, pp. 563-66, 572.

491. Ghulam Sarwar brands the *Kuka* movement as a religious sect within the fold of Sikhism. Balak Singh, an *Arora* by caste, and a native of Hijron in the district of Rawalpindi, was the founder of this sect. His disciple, Ram Singh, a *tarkhan*(carpenter) by caste, and a native of Bahini in the district of Ludhiana, was instrumental in spreading the *Kuka* faith. Its followers would shout *Wah Guru*, and hence, came to be known as *Kuka*, for in Punjabi language *Kuka* means one who shouts or screams.

The *Kukas* wore white robes. Its followers were to observe certain injunctions. They were not allowed to eat flesh or chew tobacco, they were not allowed to drink wine or take alms, they were not allowed to worship cow and other Hindu deities, and were strictly instructed not to commit debauchery.

This sect became very strong and had about one lakh followers. Its member would demolish mosques and temples, and would punish those who would not follow them. Under fear, many Muslims converted to this faith. Miyan Singh, a *Kuka*, committed great atrocities. He was finally arrested and jailed by the British. Ram Singh was

also arrested and exiled to Andaman Nicobar island. See pp. 567-69.

492. The *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, pp. 522-46.

493. *Ibid.*, p. 473.

494. *Ibid.*, p. 479.

495. *Ibid.*, p. 496.

496. The different districts that rose in revolt were Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Amritsar, Lahore, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Shahpur, Gujarat, Leh, Khangarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Multan, Jhang, Gogerah, Peshawar, Hazarah and Kohat.

For further details see S. Moinul Haq's monumental work, *The Great Revolution of 1857*, Karachi, 1968, Ch. XII, XIII.

497. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Patialah* is preserved in Raza Library, Rampur. The book consists of 788 pages, followed by 6 pages of erratum. In the beginning there is an index of 20 pages, and a foreword in English written by the author himself in 8 pages. The book was published by *Safir-i-Hind Press*, Amritsar, 1878.

498. *Tarikh-i-Patialah*, pp. 781-85.

499. *Ibid.*, p. 786.

500. The frequent use of foot-notes induced the writer to provide a separate index list of foot-notes(pp. 21-26).

501. *Tarikh-i-Patialah*, p 7.

502. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

503. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

504. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-8.

505. *Ibid.*, p. 28(foot-note).

506. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

507. A printed copy of *Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh* is in my possession. It was published by Munshi Nawal Kishore. Lucknow, 1896. The first volume consists of 388 pages, excluding 7 pages of index. The second volume consists of 465 pages, excluding 9 pages of index. Of this volume the last five pages are missing.

508. Anwar Husain Akbarpuri, *Awadh Ka Tarikh Nigar*, Nishat Offset Press, Tanda, Faizabad, 1991, p. 150.

509. *Ibid.*, p. 150. On the occasion of *sabil* drinks were served.

510. This was because since it contained certain objectionable matter it incurred the wrath of Nawwab Wajid Ali Shah, as a result of which the book could not be published immediately from the *Sultani Press* of the *Nawwab*. See Anwar Husain Akbarpuri, p. 156.

511. *Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh*, Vol.I, p. 17.

512. Wilkacus was a learned person and was instrumental in having a number of works on science, literature and history translated into Urdu. His writing on science are nineteen in number. For the list see *Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh*, Part II, p. 42.

513. *Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

514. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

515. Nawwab Wajid Ali Shah had forty sons and thirty three daughters from over sixty women. Crown prince Mirza Birjis Qader was born of Nawwab Hazrat Mahal, Vol. II.

516. *Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh*, Vol. II, p. 51.
517. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 52.
518. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-128.
519. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-133.
520. *Ibid.*, p 152.
521. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-140.
522. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-189.
523. Provides a list of those dignitaries who were subject to loot and plunder. See pp. 298-299.
524. *Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh*, Vol. II, pp. 236-237.
525. Ali Muhammad Khan was exiled to Mandmain island near Calcutta.
526. *Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh*, p. 435.
527. *Ibid.*, p 445.
528. *Ibid.*, p 445.
529. *Ibid.*
530. *Ibid.*, p 454.

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## Other Historians

**Alim Ali***The Zabt al-Tawarikh(1854)*<sup>1</sup>

This book has been written by Alim Ali, a *Sarishtadar* in the office of Bhagalpur commissionery. According to the writer he completed the work with the help of Munshi Amir Ali, a *vakil*. The script was revised and improved by Maulawi Ghulam Isa Khan and Mirza Agha Muhammad. Both these persons held the post of *mist* or readers of manuscript in the commissioner's office.

The book has been divided into two parts, the first deals with ancient India and the second deals with medieval and modern India till 1849 — the year when Punjab was annexed to the British empire. In the first portion the writer deals about beliefs of the Hindus and mythological account of the *Kauravas* and *Pandavas*. He then narrates in detail about Raja Vikramajit and Raja Bhoj.

Of the medieval period, the account begins with the discussion of the word Adam and Eve and then refers to the frontier attacks of the Turks and the subsequent conquest of India by Subuktagin. Later it briefs that Muhammad Ghori attacked India eleven times and was twice defeated<sup>2</sup>. Thereafter, the different Sultans have been briefly discussed. He describes Sikandar Lodi as a very intolerant ruler. But some of his statements do not stand corroborated by the Persian chronicles of medieval times. In this context, he does not speak of Aurangzeb in similar terms. His information that Mughul emperor Humayun on being defeated by Sher Shah stationed himself at Kabul is

incorrect<sup>3</sup>. The writer takes delight in narrating many of the anecdotes as mentioned in the *Jahangir Namah*.

For the British period Alim Ali begins with the information that the British East India Company was started in 1600 with a capital of 7 lakh rupees. It soon established its factories at Dacca, Qasim Bazar, Hoogli, Raj Mahal and Patna. He describes Siraj-al-Daulah, the *nawwah* of Bengal, as ease loving. He failed to set his house in order because he was unable to distribute properly the administrative posts among his officials. The writer gives useful information about the beginning of Plassey war, events during the war, betrayal of chiefs, arrest and brutal execution of Siraj-al-Daulah and other chiefs. He accounts that in Plassey battle twenty English men, and fifty Indians were killed. Subsequently, the spread of British paramountcy has been briefly mentioned.

During the course of narration, Alim Ali does not cite the sources of information, except in one or two stray cases. He uses phrases such as 'Historians opine', 'Historians write', and 'Writer says so'. Although he does not cite the sources, it is certain that he was in possession of some standard Persian chronicles, for at a place<sup>4</sup> he refers to Ata Beg's *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, and *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*. He often mentions the exact date of coronation of many kings. When writing about the British period he mentions the date in Christian era. Often the writer speaks of non-political matters, too. For example on the basis of *Padmavat*<sup>5</sup> (of Malik Muhammad Jaisi, although he does not name the writer) he narrates at length the love story of Rai Ratan Sen and Padam. He also narrates the popular (although not corroborated by standard Persian chronicles) story of Humayun's illness and how Babar prayed for his life<sup>6</sup>. At a place he mentions that when Babar was at Kabul there were earth tremors for several days.

On the whole the writer gives a generalized account. There is no attempt towards study or efforts to relate events in terms of cause and effect. The writer is not a serious historian, and probably wrote as a past-time pleasure to please himself and a few others.

The language is simple and corresponds to the literary and orthographical standard of contemporary times in eastern India<sup>7</sup>. The early portion is interspersed with couplets here and there, and at one place there is also a quotation from the Holy Quran<sup>8</sup>.

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## Munshi Sudha Sukh Lal

### *The Tarikh-i-Hind(1856)*

This book was written at the behest of Lieutenant Governor of Western province. The writer, Munshi Sudha Sukh Lal, enjoyed the kind favour of Henry Stuart Reid, Director of Public Instructions, Western province. It was published by *Matba'' Nur-al-Absar* in 1856, but the place of publication has not been mentioned. The present copy is a part of the second edition. It has been recorded that 5000 copies were published. The price of each copy was 6 *annas*. The book consists of 112 pages.

The author has not made any serious attempt to write the historical account, and seems to suffer from bias. For example he writes that Mughul emperor, Aurangzeb, in order to cover his past deeds tried to convert the Hindus to Muslims by force. At best the book may be described as a history rapid-reader.

The book briefly accounts the history of India from the earliest times till the British conquest of Punjab. Significantly, often Hindi names have also been written in *Devnagri* script in the margin.

The book is based on Urdu source materials, especially those in possession of Priest Manjis, and also on the basis of certain selected English books which were translated into Urdu. The names of the English books or their authors have, however, not been given.

### *The Tarikh-i-Hind(1865)*<sup>9</sup>

This is another work of Munshi Sudha Sukh Lal which was written in obedience to the orders of Mr. Handford, Director of

Public Instructions, Awadh. The book was written on the basis of collection of English books and Urdu source materials provided by Priest Manjis, and Henry Stuart Reid, Director of Public Instructions of Western province. The book was written for students of *maktabs* and *madradas* of Awadh, and appears to be a revised edition of the author's earlier book bearing the same title and published in 1856.

The title of the book is chronogrammatic. It bears an index but has no foreword. The author has also not made use of footnotes. The book is divided into four chapters. The language is simple and written in a straightforward manner. At a place the author intersperses his narration with Persian verses<sup>10</sup>. The author has made reference to the use of some medieval Persian chronicles, such as *Tarikh-i Farishta*, *Akbar Namah* and *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*. While writing about ancient India the author makes use of *Mahabharat* and Manu's book. He also quotes *Rajtarangani* of Kalhan.

The first chapter describes the geography of the country. The author has divided the country into four zones — East, West, North and South. Thereafter, he briefly discusses their physical features. He estimates the population of the country at about 14 crores.

The second chapter deals with ancient history of India. He states that the early Hindus came from Egypt and records the settlement of the Hindus on the basis of Manu's book. He then mentions early mythological kings, about the coming of Alexander the Great, and about the *Mauryas* and *Sakas*. The author does not speak ill of the early invaders of Central Asia who came to India, but pointedly states that the Muslim invaders who came from the West started giving trouble and pain to the Indians<sup>11</sup>.



Sudha Sukh Lal holds the view that by the 8th century of the *Vikram era*, Buddhism disappeared from India. He believes that those who declared themselves as Buddhists were in reality Jains, and there is a lot of difference between Jains and Buddhists. When the Brahmins regained their strength they drove away the Buddhists<sup>12</sup>.

The third chapter is about the coming of Islam and Muslim kings. The author states that some of the early Muslim attacks on the Western borders were repulsed. Later on between 705 to 715 A.D. the Muslims not only captured Sindh but also reached up to the banks of Ganges<sup>13</sup>. The author is very critical of the Bahmani rulers of the South and of their intolerant religious policy. He gives exaggerated number of killings of the Hindus which are not supported by historical sources. He appears to have based his account on Farishta's writings which is not acceptable to many modern historians.

While writing about Babar Munshi Sudha Sukh Lal states that during Babar's battle with Ibrahim Shah Lodi, a large force of Ibrahim Lodi deserted their master and joined Babar. Like many other historians of the time the author also takes interest in depicting the fanciful story of Nur Jahan's poor parentage, their coming to India, Nur Jahan's marriage with Sher Afghan, the treacherous murder of Sher Afghan by Mughul emperor, Jahangir<sup>14</sup>, and the subsequent marriage of Nur Jahan with Jahangir.

The fourth chapter narrates the establishment of British East India Company, and the establishment of factories in Surat, Ahmedabad, Khambat and on the Coromandel coast. In 1640 the Raja of Madras(Chennai) gave them a tract of land where they built a fort (Fort St George). Thereafter he very briefly narrates the story of British conquest.

*Inter alia* the author records that *sati* practice was abolished during the reign of Lord Bentick. He records that Sir Charles Metcalfe gave liberty of expression to the Indian journalists.

Finally, the author gives the working system of the British, stating that administrators were of two types — *zwabit* and *'amal*. *Zwabit* were those who framed laws in England and were known as Court of Directors. He records that in appointing Governor the consent of the English monarch was necessary. Then there existed another office known as the Board of Control whose chief was also appointed by the monarch. All matters and correspondence between Governors and Board of Directors were conveyed to the chief of Board of Control<sup>15</sup>.

In the end he gives a chart indicating the years of accession of the Muslim kings.

Since *Tarikh-i-Hind* was written for school going students it obviously has its own limitation. The author's weakness is that he has not made efforts to verify the authenticity of certain statements and to corroborate it with other sources. He does not cite the source upon which he has made some wild comments. Munshi Sudha Sukh Lal has also not endeavoured to trace the cause and effect of any event.

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## Pandit Bhola Nath

*The Tarikh-i-Malcom<sup>16</sup> or History of the Ra'is of Malwa State (1857)*

This is the translation work of Pandit Bhola Nath who was in the service of Nawwab Muhammad Shaukat Jung. The book was originally written in English by Major General Sir John Malcom. Since the book was in English it was not intelligible to the common people, hence the Nawwab expressed the desire that it be translated into Urdu.

The book has a doxological beginning and the preface has been written in highly ornamentative Urdu, perhaps in order to impress the Nawwab. The language has been termed as *Rekhta*.

The book provides a sketchy political history of Malwa in seven chapters. The first chapter deals with the family of Maharaja Holkar, the second chapter deals with the major events related to the court of Maharaja Holkar and his mastery over Malwa, the third chapter describes the family of Maharaja Sindhia and other events associated with him, the fourth chapter deals with events related to Nawwab Amir Khan of Tonk, the fifth is about the Nawwab of Bhopal, the sixth about Panwar family of Dhar and Dewas, and the seventh chapter discusses the Rajput chiefs and *rajās*. This last chapter has nine sections in which the Rajput chiefs of Kotah, Dungarpur, Banswara, Pratabgarh, Rakhogarh, Ratlam and Jhabua have been described.

The book contains information about the strength of the forces at the command of Holkar, Sindhia, *Nawwab* of Bhopal, Raja of Kota, Raja of Banswara, Raja of Sitamau and Raja Kachipur. For example Maharaja Sindhia had the following number of forces in 1824.

Muslim Sawar	- 4605
Hindu Sawar	- 4866
Infantry Muslims	- 1400
Infantry Hindus	- 12300
Slaves	- 6435

Writing about *grasiya*(landlords), the author notes that most of the land was under their control; those who did not possess control over land would often take recourse to loot and plunder.

In short this book is a fine example of British officials interest in knowing about the regional history and also about the desire of the Indians to know the deeds of their forefathers.

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## Maulawi Karim-al-Din

### The *Waqi'at-i-Hind*(1863)

The *Waqi'at-i-Hind*<sup>17</sup> is the work of Maulawi Karim-al-Din. It was written at the behest of Captain Fowler, Director of Public Instructions, i.e., *Sarishta Ta'alim*, Punjab. This book was published several times<sup>18</sup>. In later times the final improved version was published under the title of *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*<sup>19</sup>.

The book has been divided into three parts. The first part deals from early times to 705 A.D. The second part deals with the advent of the Muslim rule to the coming of the British. And, the third part deals solely with the British rule.

According to the author the contents of the book were borrowed from a number of English books. The sources have, however, not been named. Thereafter, Master Ramchander (the famous mathematician and teacher of *madrasah* Dehli) and Maulawi Muhammad Ziya-al-Din (teacher at *madrasah Ta'lim-ul-Mu'allimin*) corroborated the information from Persian sources. In this respect only at one place the author has quoted *Siyar-al-Muta'akhkherin*<sup>20</sup>.

In the preface, after stating the geographical position of India and of its length and breadth, the author remarks that ancient India had no tradition of historical writings. Maulawi Karim-al-Din begins the narration with the mythological account as narrated in the *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat*. Thereafter, he accounts the *Takshak* rulers who came from *Tatar* lands. The Hindus called them as the sons of snakes. The name of its ruler was *Sheshnag* who conquered northern India and made Patliputra its capital. Significantly, he states that at one period of time India



became a province of Iran under Darab bin Bahman who reigned during the period of 518 B.C. and whose empire stretched from Greece to the banks of Indus. Thereafter, he mentions the attack of Alexander the Great, about the Nandas of Bihar, the resurgence of Brahminism under the *Agnikul* dynasty, the suppression of Buddhism, and the migration of the believers of this faith to the neighbouring countries. He further records that the *Brahmins* discarded the *Vedas* and preached a new faith. Of the *Agnikul* dynasty the *Parimara* (*Parmar* sect) became the most powerful. In the later times, to this family belonged Raja Vikramajit who greatly patronised Sanskrit<sup>21</sup>.

In the second part while narrating the conquest of Muhammad bin Qasim, Maulawi Karim-al-Din erroneously states that Muhammad bin Qasim defeated Raja Dahir who was the ruler of Gujarat. He also commits an error in stating that Caliph Mamun ibn Harun Rashid invaded India but was defeated by the *Rajputs*. Writing about Mahmud Ghaznawi Maulawi Karim-al-Din expresses the view that two divergent opinions exist about Mahmud Ghaznawi. Some believe that he was cruel, tyrant and a plunderer; while other's say that he was just and God-fearing. Be that as it may, under him Ghazni became a famous city.

Thereafter the rulers of Central Asia, the Samanids, the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids have been accounted under bold headings. The author generally gives account of accession, character of the ruler, and the battles fought by him. While writing about Ala- al-Din Khilji it has been simply stated that he fixed prices of commodities. The reign of Mughul emperor, Akbar, has been praised. About Nur Jahan, the author remarks that she unnecessarily interfered in the affairs of the state.

In respect to the British period the author starts with the coming of the Europeans and the establishment of East India Company. There is nothing significant about the narration, except

that he has toed the British historians in describing Nawwab Siraj-al-Daulah as cruel and ease-loving.

However, the information provided about Wajid Ali Shah, the *Nawwab* of Awadh, is significant. The author records that Wajid Ali Shah wept like a child when the British placed before him the paper of annexation of the state to the territories of East India Company. The Nawwab refused to sign and expressed his willingness to go to England to plead before Queen Victoria. To this he was informed that orders of the annexation was served after the approval of the Queen. But the Nawwab insisted on going to England. He went to Calcutta and selected a building of his own choice to live in. He sent his mother and son to plead before Queen Victoria. The Nawwab's mother died on the way without accomplishing anything and his son returned back empty hand<sup>22</sup>.

Maulawi Karim-al-Din does not make effort to know the causes of the mutiny of 1857. He simply states that the troops of the East rebelled against the Company's forces, and after killing many English officers gathered at Delhi.

To conclude, the book appears to have been written for the sake of general reading and for school-going students. It has been written in simple Urdu. The author has made no effort to describe the social, economic or cultural conditions. Also, no efforts have been made to analyse the events or to know the cause and effect. As it has already been mentioned, some of the statements are erroneous and questionable. The book does not merit serious attention but is valuable for it serves as an example of text-book writing.

## Rai Heyat Lal

### *The Tarikh-i-Sultanate-i-Inglishiyya-i-Hind(1866)*

This short work has been written by Rai Heyat Lal son of Rai Bishan Swarup. Heyat Lal was a *kaisth* by caste and a native of Agra. He was appointed *Munsif* in 1842 and later made *Sadr-us-Sudur* of Shahjahanpur.

The author was interested in the knowledge of history, and hence thought of writing a brief history. The book was published by *Matba'' Khursheed Hind*, Moradabad, under the supervision of Munshi Shyam Swarup.

*Tarikh-i-Sultanate-i-Inglishiyyah-i-Hind* consists of 83 pages along with 4 pages of index and an erratum. The whole book has been divided into 11 chapters. The author begins with a doxology, and then proceeds to write the geography of India, season, temperature, important trees and fruits, ancient religious scriptures, crafts, different religions and sects, the different *ragas*, the different districts in various regions, the Indian states, the type of the rulers(i.e., *Raja, Maharaja, Nawwab*), yearly income, area and location.

Thereafter it gives a list of British Governor Generals, their period of rule, about the coming of the Europeans, the establishment of British East India Company, the success of the British in various parts of India, treaties made with the different Indian rulers, and important events mentioned date-wise. It also gives valuable list of *Maharajas* and *Rajas* and *Nawwabs* who ruled India.

In respect to the developments following the annexation of

Awadh to the East India Company's territories, the author gives a very significant information that Wajid Ali Shah, the *Nawwab* of Awadh, on going to Calcutta stationed himself in the palace of Raja of Burdwan which was located in Matiaburj. The author lists the important events of the mutiny date-wise. Regarding the refusal to use greased cartridges which sparked off the revolt by the Indian sepoy's the author terms it as a stupid act.

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## Lala Harnath Sahay

### *The Twarikh-i-Hindustan(1876)*

This is the work of Lala Harnath Sahay who was an English teacher at Gadhi Harsar, in the district of Gurgaon. The book, consisting of just twenty pages, was written for the school-going students of Punjab. The book was published by Matba' Muhib Kishwar-i-Hind under the supervision of Sayyid Jamal-al-Din.

The author informs that the contents have been borrowed from English books, but does not name them. It provides a very brief or rather sketchy account of ancient and medieval rulers. They have been narrated under the following heads — title of the family, name of the king, his capital, and important battles and events. This methodology is quite similar to that of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's *Silsalat-al-Muluk*. The writer also briefly writes about Portuguese, Dutch, French, and the British — the last has obviously received more attention.

Regarding the mutiny(1857) Lala Harnath Sahay simply says that in 1857 mutiny occurred, but it was the will of God to have the continuance of British rule. Finally, he prays to God for the longevity of the British rule over India for reasons that it endeavours for the welfare of the people.

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## Bulaqi Das

### The *Ba Yadgar-i-Twarikh Jalsa-i-Shahanshahi*(1878)<sup>23</sup>

This is a work of Bulaqi Das son of Munshi Juggan Lal. A *kaisth* by caste he was a news-reporter and also the owner of *Akhbar Safir-i-Hind Wa Lytton Gazette*, Delhi. Published in 1878, *Ba Yadgar-i-Twarikh Jalsa-i-Shahanshahi* consists of 132 pages.

The author begins the historical account from the time of Raja Yudhister, then deals briefly about Rai Pithora, the Muslim rulers, the different native chiefs, the *nawwabs*, the contemporary rulers of Iran, Russia, Germany, France and other countries.

The author was an eye-witness to the *Darbar-i-Qaisari* organised on 1 January 1877 in Delhi to mark the coronation of Queen Victoria as the Empress of India<sup>24</sup>. The significance of the book is that it contains brief biographical account of 124 Indian chiefs, *nawwabs* and *rajas* who were granted such titles as *Farzand-i Khas Daulat-i-Inglishiyyah*, *Mushir-i-Qaisar-i-Hind*, *Knight Commander Tabqah-i-Sitara-i-Hind*, *Sipah Dar-al-Mulk*, *Maharaja Sawai*, and *Raja Bahadur*.

The author records titles and medals given to English and Indian officers. These being *Sitara-i-Hind*, *Rai Bahadur*, *Raja Bahadur*, *Raw Bahadur*, *Raw Saheb*, *Nawwab*, *Thakur*, *Thakur Rawat*, *Diwan*, *Khan Bahadur*, *Diwan Bahadur*, *Maharaja Bahadur*, *Shaikh-al-Mashaikh*, and *Ulama-wa-Fuzala*.<sup>25</sup>

The book is valuable for providing other specific informations. For example it records that the mosque of Daryaganj and Fatehpuri(Delhi) were handed over to the Muslims

for performance of prayer on this occasion. It may be recorded that these mosques were closed and Muslims were debarred from entering it since the outbreak of mutiny in 1857. During all these years the mosque of Fatehpuri was put in the possession of Raw Amraw Singh, a ra'is (grandee) of Delhi<sup>26</sup>. Although relaxation was made with regard to the performance of prayers, condition was at the same time laid that if too many Muslims would gather in the mosque then its information be given to the British officer.

On this occasion many prisoners, and especially mutineers made captive following the outbreak of the mutiny of 1857, were pardoned and released. The author has especially named a person Firuz Shah who was released. Another important piece of information is that the formation of Punjab University was declared. Finally, it reports that editors of Urdu newspapers jointly gave a vote of thanks to the Indian viceroy on the occasion.

### **The *Guldasta-i-Awadh***

The *Guldasta-i-Awadh*<sup>27</sup> is another work of Bulaqi Das. The author says that he was in possession of a rare manuscripts containing paintings of the *nawwabs* of Awadh, and which originally belonged to the royal library of the *nawwabs* of Awadh. The writer exclaims that on seeing the pictures of the *nawwabs* the grandeur of the rulers of Lucknow would appear before his eyes. This induced him to have the photographs of these *nawwabs* taken and also to briefly write about them with the hope that it would result in an excellent piece of work. This work was named *Guldasta-i-Awadh*.

Bulaqi Das traces the origins of Nawwab Sa'adat Khan Burhan-al-Mulk, the founder of the state of Awadh. Thereafter, he very briefly accounts the political condition and circumstances which contributed to the establishment of this state. This is

followed by separate history of the rulers of Awadh.

The account of Nawwab Wajid Ali Shah deserves special attention for it dispels some of the false notions that the *nawwab* was ease-loving and totally addicted to pleasure as spread by the British historians and other Indian writers. According to Bulaqi Das under this ruler the art of music and dancing reached its zenith. His interest in music was equally tempered by his religious temperament. The *nawwab* would punctually recite the Quran and perform the obligatory prayers without fail. The *nawwab* would not draw himself near to any other women, other than those wives who were wedded to him. The *nawwab* may have led a licentious life during his early youth but in later times he certainly appears to have lived a disciplined life<sup>28</sup>. And more significantly, despite having power and pelf, the *nawwab* did not display vanity or pride. He never abused even the most humble person. Above all, the *nawwab* was judicious. He would write orders and pronounce judgement by his own hands. He carried with him locked boxes in which the poor and oppressed were allowed to put their complaints. The *nawwab* also made serious effort to bring about reforms in the army and military administration

Bulaqi Das further records that following the annexation of the state of Awadh to the British East India Company, the *nawwab* was granted pension of Rs 1 lakh and was ordered to live in Calcutta. Accordingly the *nawwab* reached Calcutta<sup>29</sup> on 1st *Shawwal* 1856.

## Maulawi Muhammad Ghulam Imam Khan

### *The Tarikh-i-Rashid Khani Aur Tarikh-i-Khurshid Jahi(1880)*<sup>30</sup>

This significant work was written by Maulawi Muhammad Ghulam Imam Khan, a Afghan who was an eminent scholar of Persian and Arabic. The work was written at the orders of Nawwab Rashid-al-Din Khan.

This voluminous work requires a detail separate study but here only a brief introduction is given. *Tarikh-i-Rashid Khani* deals with early ancient history, about the Sultans of Delhi, the Mughuls and Asaf Jahi rulers of the Deccan. The focus is, however, mainly on the Deccan history.

The author does not refer to the sources used in the compilation of the work, but appears to have made use of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhherin*. It may be described as panegyric writing for the author has devoted 53 pages in praise of his patron and promoter, Khurshid Jah.

The significant features of the writing is that extensive versified narration is replete with Arabic verses, and throughout the book margin has been used for writing. The narration about Khurshid Jahi has been made exclusively in Persian but on the margin Urdu version has been simultaneously written.

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## Muhammad Hayat Khan

### *The Hayat-i-Afghani*<sup>31</sup> or *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*(1865)

*Hayat-i-Afghani* is the work of Muhammad Hayat Khan son of Muhammad Karam Khan, a native of Wah-i-Khas which is near Hasan Abdal in Rawalpindi district.

The author humbly says that he does not claim to be an accomplished writer. During his stay at district Banum as extra Assistant Commissioner, which forms the gateway to Afghanistan, he got the opportunity to see from close quarters the country of Afghanistan. Since no history of this famous country and its people was to be found, it dawned upon the author to write a brief history of this country from the earliest times, encompassing its geography, the various races and tribes who inhabit this country, their origin and genealogy, and of its customs and traditions.

The book has been written with the purpose that it may benefit the people. It has been named *Hayat-i-Afghani* so that the reader may easily come to know the name of the writer (Muhammad Hayat). The author calls upon the readers to forgive for the mistakes they come across, or for any stiff phraseology.

The book consists of three parts. The first part bears account of the geography, trading activities, and the general history of Afghanistan.

The second part consists of the account about the people belonging to proper Afghanistan as well as those of foreign origin. The narration includes detail information of the origin and genealogy of different races, tribes and groups of people of Afghanistan. The third part deals exclusively about district Banun.



At the very outset the writer informs that he has collected information both from written sources as well as from verbal information. He also studied coins and monuments belonging to ancient India and Greek empire. The oral information has been taken from aged persons who had heard from their forefathers. The writer was able to procure genealogical tables in Persian and Pashto from certain families.

The Persian sources in hand were translation of Torah and other religious scriptures. Of the Persian chronicles the author refers to *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, *Habib-al-Siyar*, *Tarikh-i-Alam*, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, *Tazkarat-al Abrar*, *Tarikh-i-Jadwaliyah*, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, *Tarikh-i-Hind*, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tazkarat-al-Mushahir*, *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, *Waqiat-i-Sikandar Azam*, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, and *Gulshan-al-Twarikh*. Muhammad Hayat Khan, however, does not name the writer of these Persian works<sup>32</sup>.

The English sources consulted have been referred to by the name of their authors, and the title of the books have not been given. They are Eliphinstone, Raverty's Grammar, Fryer, Alexander Burns, Mohan Lal (*History of India*), Sir Herbert Edward and Davies (Secretary, Government of Punjab). Other than these report on trading activities and selected reports of the frontier regions have also been used<sup>33</sup>.

The Pashto sources used are *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Afzal* alias *Murassah-Gulshan-i-Roh*, *Risala-i-Nasab*, and *Matar Nasab Namah*.

In general the author does not comment about the sources and accepts the information provided in them as they are.

### **Contents**

In the beginning it records that the country of Afghanistan

was called Balhik Dosh in ancient Hindu books. When it came under the occupation of the Persians it came to be known as Zabulistan and Kabulistan. After the conquest of this region by Alexander the Great, the Greeks called the country as Bacteriyah in their language which is actually a corruption of the word Bakhtar. When the area came under the occupation of the Muslims it acquired the name Khorasan (from Kabul and Kandahar to the western borders of Iran) and Roh.

During the reign of Akbar it was simply called *Subah Kabul*. After the rise to power by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1747, and Kandahar becoming the seat of power, the country came to be popularly known as Afghanistan, where as the western part continued to be known as Khorasan<sup>34</sup>.

After recording the various names of Afghanistan during its long drawn history, the author proceeds to deal with its geography and boundaries, the description of the different parts of Afghanistan, the account of different territories such as Peshawar, Kohat, Hazara, Derjat, Bunnu, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, etc., names and description of the important towns of Afghanistan, principal rivers and their sources, an account of the commerce of the country, its mineral and vegetable products, husbandary, articles of merchandise manufactured in the country, highways for caravans, details of mountain passes, about tribes whose profession is trade and business, means adopted to promote trade, foreign invasions, and the account of ancient kings. It also discusses such things as why are the Afghans called *Pahans*, settlement of the Afghans in India, habits and dress of different tribes such as *Zirak*, *Barakza*, *Alkaza*, *Iskaza*, *Achakza*, etc. Thereafter, it deals about the Ghornis, the Mughals and their rule over Afghanistan. Among other things it narrates the hospitality of the Afghans, revenge in case of theft and robbery, punishment meted for tarnishing the chastity of a

women, and details of many other punishments depending upon the nature of crime committed by men and women.

### *Significance*

The book appears to be the first comprehensive history of Afghanistan written in Urdu. The significance of the work is that it contains additional information which are not to be found in Persian sources, particularly of modern times. The writer has taken a lot of pains in bringing out this excellent work. He has written in a fairly simple and straightforward manner using short sentences. with stray use of foot-notes.

### *The Tarikh-i-Chin Wa Japan*

*Tarikh-i-Chin Wa Japan*(1867)<sup>35</sup> may be described as a historical account based upon the travelogue of Lord Elgin(1862-63), who, at one time served as the British ambassador to China and was also the British Viceroy to India. The work was edited by Lawrence Olifant, private secretary to Queen Victoria, for presentation to William Handford, Director of Public Instructions, Awadh. It was translated into Urdu by Mr. Frederick and Munshi Sheo Prasad.

The book consists of twenty chapters, along with an index and a preface. The preface appears to have been written by the members of the mission to China. They have especially expressed thanks to Jucil Lane and Dr. Sanders for the collection of sketches and pictures contained in the book. In the compilation of the work it makes mention of Thomas Meadow's book, *China and its Revolt*. At places it makes use of short foot-notes. Orthography is similar to some other writings of the period<sup>36</sup>.

The mission of Lord Elgin stayed in China for one year.

While the book consists of an account of the problems which Lord Elgin had to face in China, a number of information pertaining to Chinese life and society has been given on the basis of interview with Kui Liyang, Imperial Commissioner of China, who was brought to India on a ship from the town of Victoria in Honkong<sup>37</sup>. Mr. Albaster served as the translator between the two sides.

The travelogue bears such information as the Chinese reaction to the dress of English women, the eating habits of the Chinese official, his mode of worship, his views about Buddhism and Taoism, about some of the Chinese belief and practices, weather condition of different places they passed, about the Chinese houses, etc. For example, when the Chinese pray to God they face towards the west. To them east denotes life and the west denotes place of death. The Chinese do not eat flesh of sheep on grounds that the *Tatars* eat it; they also do not eat beef for reasons that Confucius wrote that hard working oxen should not be killed. Also, some Buddhists of Manchuria do not drink milk. Among other things it gives information about the Chinese food, of how eggs were preserved in the earth for about a year by the Chinese and about *paniya* cloth which is so famous in Manila<sup>38</sup>.

Significantly, it has information about the correspondence carried with the Imperial commissioner of China and the rigidity shown by him. This is followed by an account of skirmishes with the Chinese at various places in 1856. It records that the Chinese looked upon the British officials with hate and contempt. It at the same time states that the lower masses of the people welcomed the British and wished that they may rule over them<sup>39</sup>.

The book is quite valuable, for it contains some information of the condition of Calcutta during the days of mutiny (1857) and the anxiety that gripped the British. The



Englishmen were, however, surprised over the comparative tranquility that prevailed in Calcutta. They lived quite safely at Fort William with their usual dance and feast without fear. But the Irish troops stationed there who understood little English were always suspicious that the *Nawwab* of Awadh would try to escape in disguise<sup>40</sup>.

In fact, while on journey it was at Singapore that they got the news of revolt in India. Consequently, troops that were on way to China were at once sent back to India. On reaching Calcutta, news started pouring in that the mutineers intended to march to Calcutta from Bahrampur. It mentions that from Burdwan to Delhi the country was full of mutineers. The Indian sepoy's stationed at different places had either been disarmed or had turned mutineers, except the troops coming from China<sup>41</sup>. When the British troop landed in Calcutta (August 1857) it was the Islamic month of *Muharram*. As a result the English men were apprehensive of a sudden attack by the mutineers. Herein it has been recorded how preparations were made to defend the city of Calcutta. But *Muharram* passed off peacefully without any untoward incident.

The British army which came from Singapore quelled the mutiny in Calcutta, saved Dānapur and Arrah, and advanced to support General Havelock. After that it went back to China to settle conditions there<sup>42</sup>.

Lastly, we have a brief account of the British conflict with the Chinese at Canton and the terms of agreement arrived at between the two sides.



## End Notes

1. A copy of *Zabt al-Tawarikh* or *Tarikh-i-Hind: Tazkirah Ihtada-i-Sultanat-i-Hind* is in possession of Dar-al-Mussannifin (Shibli Academy), Azamgarh. It consists of 200 pages followed by four pages of erratum. Each page consists of 25 lines. The book was published by Muhammad Tabrez Pindavi, and the name of the press being Matba' Najmus Saa'dah stationed at Mahdi Bagh, Calcutta. The date of publication has been mentioned as Friday 24 June 1854/27 Ramdhan 1270 Hijri.
2. *Zabt al-Tawarikh*, p. 99.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
7. For example کات has been written as کٹ  
 ڈال has been written as ڈال  
 پیٹ has been written as پیٹ
8. *Zabt al-Tawarikh*, p. 90.
9. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Hind* is preserved in the library of Nadwat-al-Ulama, Lucknow. It was printed by Matba' Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1865. The book in hand is of the second edition. It consists of 114 pages.
10. *Tarikh-i-Hind*, p. 73-74.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

14. That the Mughul emperor, Jahangir, had a hand in the assassination of Sher Afghan, is contested by modern historians.
15. *Tarikh-i-Hind*, p. 111.
16. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Malcom*(1857) is preserved in the Saulat Public Library, Rampur. The title page bears the hand-written information that this particular copy was presented to Nawwab Shahab-al-Din Ahmad by his affectionate brother Khan Jahan Khan of Jawrah. It consists of 143 pages and was published by government press Gulshanabad alias Jaurah under the supervision of Nasr-Allah Beg, deputy *munshi*.
17. A printed copy of *Waqi'at-i-Hind* (1863) is in the library of *Nadwat-ul-Ulama*, Lucknow. The book was published by Government Press of *Sarishta Ta'lim*, at Anarkali in 1863. The place appears to be in Delhi. The book consists of 270 pages, followed by 2 pages bearing the names of the British Governor-Generals of India and their tenure, and lastly contains 6 pages of erratum at the end.
18. A printed copy of the fifth edition published in 1871 is in possession of Saulat Library, Rampur. This book was published after approval by William Hansford, Director of Public Instructions, Awadh. The publisher being Munshi Nawal Kishore. This book consists of 191 pages, followed by a page of list of different Governor-Generals indicating their tenure and significant remark if any. Significantly, Maulawi Karim-al-Din had by now become Deputy Inspector, Lahore Sector.
19. *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*(1872) was written at the behest of Mr. A.R. Browing, Director of Public Instructions, and

published in 1872 by Munshi Nawal Kishore, Lucknow. A copy of this book is preserved in Saulat Library, Rampur. The book was revised by Munshi Muhammad Husain, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Partabgarh, and by Abul Hasan, Literary Assistant, Director of Public Instructions, Awadh.

*Tarikh-i-Hindustan* consists of 255 pages and has been divided into three parts. Each part has been divided into several chapters.

As in the previous book Maulawi Karim-al-Din has studied the various Muslim and British rulers under separate headings, these being title, accession year, nature of death, year of death, and brief remark about the ruler.

Of special significance is the information provided about the causes of the mutiny of 1857. The author records that Indian sepoy frequently refused to obey orders or revolted for some reason or the other. They had grown so emboldened that they refused to cross the seas and invade Rangoon. Consequently, the British were forced to send Sikh troops. This was the first sign of revolt.

In this respect the author states that the order of Lord Canning went totally against the expectations of the Bengal sepoy. He records that the sepoy of Madras and Bombay were meant to serve in general and were supposed to go anywhere when asked for, but the Bengal Sepoy were meant to serve only in India. Contrary to the prevailing norms Lord Canning also put the Bengal sepoy under the General Service Act. This irked the sepoy and inflamed the brewing unrest. About this time the fakirs went on spreading all over India all sorts of

tales and rumour that the British intended to destroy the prevailing casteism among the Hindus (p. 222).

20. *Waqi'at-i-Hind*, p. 169.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

22. *Ibid.*, p 260.

23. A printed copy of *Ba Yadgar Twarikh-i-Jalsa Shahanshahi* is preserved in Saulat Public Libarary, Rampur. Another book of Bulaqi Das is *Tarikh-i Sairbin-i-Alam* which is also preserved in this library. It was published by Muir Press, Delhi. The book consists of brief sketchy account of different European countries and the photos of their rulers such as 'Abd-al-Hamid II of Turkey, Victor Emanuel of Italy, and Napoleon III of France. The photos are true pictures. The same contents have been rendered in Hindi and English. In English the speech is in Urdu but English alphabets have been used.

24. Another book of this kind is *Waqi'a-i-Darbar Khitab-i-Shahanshahi* of Sayyid Reyaz-al-Din of Meerut. This book was published in 1857 by *Matba'' Nizami*, Kanpur, whose owner was Muhammad Abd-al Rahman. This book, consisting of 84 pages also accounts the celebration made in the district of Muzaffarnagar in honour of Queen Victoria who was made the Empress of India.

25. *Ba Yadgar Twarikh-i-Jalsa Shahanshahi*, pp. 94-99.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

27. A printed copy(n.d.) published by Muir Press, Delhi is placed in Saulat Public Library, Rampur.

28. For details about nawwab Wajid Ali Shah see G.D.

Bhatnagar's *Awadh under Wajid Ali Shah*, Bhartiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1968.

29. *Guldasta-i-Awadh*, p. 37.
30. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Rashid Khani* is preserved in Raza Library, Rampur. It consists of 776 pages and is supplemented by 14 pages of index. It also bears 9 pages of erratum for Khurshid Jahi, and 10 pages of erratum for Khurshid Khani. The book was published by Mutta' 'Aliyah, 1880.
31. A printed copy of *Hayat-i-Afghani* is preserved in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University. The work was completed on 3rd January 1865. It is a fairly comprehensive work and consists of 694 pages. Since some of the pages in the beginning are missing it is not known when and where the book was published.
32. *Hayat-i-Afghani*, p. 2.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
35. A printed copy of *Tarikh-i-Chin Wa Japan* is preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University. It consists of 183 pages. It was published by Munshi Nawal Kishore at Matba' Awadh Akhbar, Lucknow, 1867.
36. For example جاپان has been written as جپان
37. The Chinese official was brought to Calcutta and he was housed in Fort William where he later died. His body was sent to China in a coffin and it lay unburied for a long time for the Chinese refused to accept it as a mark of protest.
38. *Tarikh-i-Chin Wa Japan*, p. 45.



39. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

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## Handling Of Sources And Historical Causation

The study and analysis of a writer's approach and attitude towards the sources of information is considered by many as a recent development. This statement can not be accepted in toto. Arab historians are known to have treated it as a stepping stone to the study and writing of history. The Arabs were the originators of *akhbariyun* or institution of narrators which was well in use prior to the spread of Islam in Arabia. The functioning of this institution was perfected by the introduction of *isnad* (report through unbroken chain of transmitters) by Arab *muhaddisin*. A corollary development was the growth of a branch of knowledge called *asma-al-rijal*. It means, literally, names of men; technically, checking veracity of narrators by recording briefly their bio-data showing whether they were men of integrity or not. Connected with this is the subject of *dirayat*. This involves the application of common sense and reason before accepting a narrator. In other words, it was held that the veracity of a statement should be in consonance with reason and intellect. Ibn Miskawaih (also Muskoyi), the physician-philosopher and historian of the 5th *Hijri* (421/1030) had clear perception that the essence of historical study lies in tracing of each small events that have bearings upon the other and which ultimately helps in determining the cause and effect of an event<sup>1</sup>. However, these features of Islamic historiography fell into disuse in later times due to various reasons, particularly because of the advent of Persian tradition of historiography which had some features of its own.

During later times the Persian historians did not entirely lose sight of the tradition of Arab historiography. However, since

Persian polity and writing traditions were quite different from that of the Arabs. Indo-Persian historiography, with few exceptions, generally revolved around the king and the court life. The depiction of the life of the common people and their surroundings receded in the background. This had important bearing upon the historians approach, his collection and handling of sources. Persian chronicle writings, despite acquiring certain significant developments under Mughul Emperor Akbar, could not bring about radical change in thought and perception. By and large the writing tradition continued during later times. If compared with the writing trends of modern times, the Persian chronicle writing may appear to suffer from certain shortcomings. But its importance cannot be belittled for if compared with the European historical writings of contemporary times which chiefly paid attention to the activities of the Church, the Persian chronicles are much richer in purpose, contents and dimensions.

When historical writings in Urdu was initiated, Urdu historians had before them the traditions of Indo-Persian historiography. They also came to be acquainted with the new perceptions of European historians.

In the early Urdu historical works examined, such as *Qissah-Wa-Ahwal-i-Rohilla*, *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, *Tarikh-i-Sawanih-i-Dakkan*, *Tarikh-i-Seringapatam*, and *Kaifiyyat i-Isma-i-Rajgan-Wa-Badshahan-i-Dehli*, we do not find references to sources of information except *Tarikh-i-Sawanih-i-Dakkan*. The author of *Qissah-Wa-Ahwal-i-Rohilla*, Sayyid Rustam Ali Bijnori, is very sincere in admitting that he did not have any direct knowledge of the events he recorded; he wrote on the basis of the information collected by him. On the other hand, the author of *Tarikh-i-Sawanih-i-Dakkan*, Munim Khan Aurangabadi, made use of some standard Persian works such as *Akbar Namah*, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*,

*Ma'asir-al-Umara*, etc. It may be added that Munim Khan Aurangabadi was a famous historian of the reign of Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah. Since he was in the state service and had served at various places, he certainly had access to state records, too. His work is specially important for the topographical accounts, revenue yields, flora and fauna, missionary centres, and material culture.

Except for *Tarikh-i-Sawanih-i-Dakkan*, and to a lesser extent *Qissah-Wa-Ahwal-i-Rohilla*, the writers of early Urdu histories do not appear to have been very skilled writers and were not aware of the art and requirements of historical writings. None of the writers have given attention to the problem of historical causation.

Of the works of Fort William College, *Husn-i-Ikhtilat* and *Intikhab-i-Sultaniyah*, the former does not refer to the sources used. Notably, its writer Abul Qasim Sabzwari does not specifically trace the cause of Nawwab Siraj-al-Daulah's defeat, yet some of his weakness can be inferred from the description about his personality. For example, Siraj-al-Daulah has been described as inefficient, ease-loving, haughty and cruel. He does not attribute his failure to his inexperience, or to the conspiracy of the British, or to the growing political ambitions of the Indian merchant class in the politics of Bengal. Of an earlier event he records incorrectly that the invasion of Nadir Shah took place because he was invited.

*Intikhab-i-Sultaniyah* is a concise history of the foundation of Muslim rule in India till the reign of Shah Alam. For the Akbar and pre-Akbar period, Khalil Khan informs that he borrowed information from *Akbar Namah*. For the subsequent period he is silent about the source of his information. He has not made any attempt to examine the different versions of *Akbar Namah* or of the causes of events. These shortcomings can also be seen in *Araish-i-Mahfil*.

Of the two works of Fort William College, *Guldasta-i-Hind* and *Haidar Namah*, the former bears information from which it is evident that Sayyid Taj-al-Din made use of both Persian as well as English sources. At one or two places he refers to Ferishta. He also quotes a person Francis<sup>2</sup>. However, his weakness is that he has not specifically mentioned the writer or his composition, except about the writer in one or two cases. He normally uses the phrase "Historian say" and "It is written in history". But significantly, he traces the cause of the decline of the Samanid dynasty to the civil wars and to the political ambitions of the Samanid generals. He traces Razia Sultana's fall to the raising of Jamaluddin Yaqut, an Abyssinian to an eminent position<sup>3</sup>. He attributes the success of Timur in India to his military tactics. He states that Timur divided his troops in several divisions that attacked the enemy in successive actions<sup>4</sup>. Also, he opines that the Mughuls gained success over the *Pathans* and the *Rajputs* because of their artillery<sup>5</sup>. The *Haidar Namah* does not explicitly mention the cause of events, it can be inferred from the nature of narration. For example, the conflicts of Fateh Muhammad, the father of Haidar Ali, with local chiefs appears to have arisen because of their refusal to pay revenue or owe obedience to him. At one place Munshi Muzaffar, the author of *Haidar Namah*, opines that *Marathas* suffered reverses against Haidar Ali because they were beset with the threat of Afghan invasion.

The work which established Sayyid Ahmad Khan as a historian and antiquarian is his work *Asar-al-Sanadid*. It represents a great effort on his part of preserving historical data and also bears testimony to the author's appreciation of importance of data. However, it must be mentioned that some works of this type had already been undertaken at the instance of British officials. But Sayyid Ahmad Khan does not acknowledge



the earlier works he had consulted, not even about the help, if taken, in the preparation of the maps and sketches.

*Silsilat-ul-Muluk*, which is a very brief politico-biographical history, may be regarded as a supplement to his earlier work. It is in this work that he refers to the use of several standard historical works. Even the Persian versions of *Mahabharat* and *Bhagvad-gita* have been made use of. He has also utilised the *Torah*<sup>6</sup>. It thus appears that he has given importance to religious scriptures as historical sources. Another significant source which he has made use of is *Pothi Karak Sankhna*. In general, he has not examined the merit of the sources. The only exception being his comment upon the *Pothi* that if a sheet of it is found missing, then a historian is unable to give a full account of that family.

As far as his work *Sarkashi-i-Dilah Bijnaur* is concerned, Sayyid Ahmad Khan is silent about the sources. It is, however, evident that he had access to government records, and wrote on the basis of what he saw or heard. The work is thus based upon his personal observation. But the veracity of his account should not be doubted, for in the preface he emphasizes upon writing the truth. He does not specifically states the cause of revolt, but the immediate cause of unrest and its explosion in the form of revolt, can be safely conjectured.

*Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* makes use of English sources, but its main value lies in presenting Sayyid Ahmad Khan's own analysis of the contemporary social, political and economic conditions. It is a fine example of analysis of the cause of events under two heads: basic or underlying cause and immediate cause. Such a treatment of historical causation is not available in the works of any contemporary Urdu historian. By his arguments he has convincingly knocked down some of the false assumptions that are regarded by many as the causes of the revolt. The reason

advanced by him which prevented an outbreak of revolt in Punjab, are demonstrative of his comparative analysis of the contemporary situation. In assessing and analysing works on religious science (*Al-Khutbat-al-Ahmadiya*), he regarded 'reason' as a criterion in assessing the literary evidence. In doing so, he attempted to make Islamic thought compatible with scientific thinking of modern times.

Thus with Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Shiva Prasad we see the beginning of the use of religious scriptures as a source for historical studies, which in the days to come received wider application and more scientific treatment.

In discussing the revolt of 1857 historians have generally described the immediate incident that triggered the revolt. Except for Sir Sayyid no attempt has been made to understand the unrest among the Indians in the preceding years. Shiva Prasad has recorded some of the steps taken to prevent the expected disaster. He, however, does not discuss whether the outbreak was inevitable or not.

Muhammad Zaka-Allah has used both Persian as well as English sources and often lists them at the beginning of his works. The English sources include biographies, memoirs, diary, speeches, papers and magazines, and works on numismatics. He, however, does not meticulously quote the sources during the course of narration. In general, he has taken into account only those sources which he considered reliable and authentic. However, in *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, he is more progressive in his approach. In it he is more critical of the sources and often attempts to cross-examine the statements of the sources used. As a historian, Zaka-Allah is best seen in this work.

Zaka-Allah pleads that efforts should be made to place historical events in their true perspective, and the cause and

effect of events should be scrutinized and deeply probed. But despite such thinking, causes of events have not been specifically mentioned; one has to infer the possible reasons. He treats events independently. Attempt to study inter-relationship of the incidents have not been worked out.

In respect to Muslim historians of Medieval times, Zaka-Allah holds the view that although the conspectus of their information is not very broad, still they do not give false information. He views Abul Fazl and Abd-al Rahim Khan-i-Khanan as panegyrists. Likewise, he blames Khafi Khan for not being fair in his presentation of some events and actions of Aurangzeb. While making such comments Zaka-Allah does not specifically refer to the works of medieval historians.

Like Shibli, Zaka-Allah praises Europeans for their efforts towards Oriental studies. But at the same time he blames them for presenting Muslim chronicles in a distorted way. He opines that European writers often commit errors of judgement in the understanding of Asian languages. Of the several English historians, Zaka-Allah holds John Kaye as the most reliable historian. He, however, does not specify his opinion. With regard to Colonel Tod, Zaka-Allah is of the belief that he was sympathetic towards *Rajputs*, and hence, wrote a biased account in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. He dismisses some of the version of European travellers on the ground that they are not corroborated by other contemporary sources. He tries to emphasize the point that the state policies of Aurangzeb should not be given a religious colour. In this context, he raises a pertinent question that had Aurangzeb not enjoyed the confidence of his subjects, then how could he extend the Mughul empire to its maximum territorial extent. It may be pointed out that the territorial expansion was not a wild imagination. It was in conformity with the concept of acquisition of scientific or natural

frontiers.

Shibli Nomani was a well-read man who kept himself well informed about works of Islamic history in languages such as English, German and French. He himself was well versed in Arabic and Persian, and so, had no difficulty in tapping the sources in these languages. While writing *Huquq-al-Zimmin* and *Al-Jiziyah*, he has mainly based his work on Arabic sources. In his *Al-Mamun*, *Al-Faruq*, *Sirat-al-Nabi*, and other works he has often commented on the sources and even illustrated some of the intricacies in the study of the Arabic sources. They are not of direct concern to us here, but their study can give an insight about the thought-process of Shibli. For example, Shibli is in total conformity with the views held by Ibn Miskawiah in respect to 'cause and effect' as the pivot of history, in absence of which history loses its purpose. Shibli uses variety of sources — original works, adapted works, travelogues, etc., and is particular about citation of sources and gives informative foot-notes.

To Shibli, the reliability of the sources as well as their merits and demerits were of foremost importance. This is why he often comments upon the quality of the works, both in contents and style, and even tries to identify and investigate about many of the informations given. He avers to the view of a learned scholar who believes that it is not expedient to trouble oneself at the very outset about the honesty and trustworthiness of the narrator. On the contrary, it should be first ascertained whether the event itself lies within the pale of being possible to have taken place, for, if the event could not be possible, investigation into the personal character of the narrator is useless<sup>7</sup>. Z.H. Faruqi opines that this may be placed under *dirayat* methodology of examining the reliability of sources<sup>8</sup>. Shibli is of the opinion that set of small events and happenings leads to bigger events. The essence of historical sense is to find out and discuss these happenings and



pass judgement based upon them<sup>9</sup>. For the correctness and accuracy of any event narrated, Shibli believes that the system of *rijal*, which later fell into disuse, places the Arab historians far ahead of European historians<sup>10</sup>. He praises Ibn Khaldun who formulated laws of ratiocination and discusses them at length<sup>11</sup>.

Shibli stresses the point that history should include political, social, ethical and religious activities of human life, and this should be studied in the light of the principle of cause and effect<sup>12</sup>. He admits that medieval Islamic historical writings as well as Asiatic histories lack these features. They generally deal with court life and conquests and revolts. Perhaps, this was due to Asia being, from time immemorial, predominantly the land of absolute monarchies. However, at the same time he is not prepared to accept certain elements of European historical writings as entirely novel and radical. For example, he draws attention towards Ibn Miskawaih, the physician-cum-historian, who, as early as the eleventh century A.D., expressed disappointment and remarked that historical writing has moved away from its central purpose and does not help in understanding the cause of chain of events and, therefore, fails to explain the cause of major events. Shibli also draws attention towards the practice of commentary writing during the mid-medieval times. Commentary writing provided scope for critical and analytical writing. However, like many other branches of writing this also virtually faded away. Had it survived with all its vigour it would have probably ushered in a tendency towards critical and analytical writings. But the point of attention is that despite such thinking and observations, Shibli himself in many of his writings does not follow the rules and regulations that he so ardently lays down for a correct approach of history writing.

Shibli blames European historians for giving religious colour to even simple events and says that European writers fail



to disassociate individual personal actions of a ruler from his religious belief. He rightly believes that the personal belief and actions of a Muslim ruler should not be equated with Islam. He argues that European writers with a view to make an event consistent with their opinion are in the habit of relating the same in such a manner that the event is completely cast in the mould of their private judgement, and that nobody can distinguish it from the author's own conjectures and comments<sup>13</sup>.

An important aspect of Shibli's historical thinking is that he believes that historical developments should not be studied in isolation. Since history is related to other social sciences, a proper analysis of the historical events requires inter-disciplinary knowledge of other social sciences. This aspect, about which much importance is being attached now-a-days, was thus said much earlier by Shibli.

The *Tarikh-i-Chin*, which is in many ways an important historical work of the period, has many characteristic features. James Corcoran claims to have taken into account sources of various nature. But he does not give the list of books or tell anything about the nature of sources, except to the references of the accounts of travellers. During the course of narration he quotes several Persian sources but does not name the authors. The significant aspect is that he mentions about the Chinese historians and also their works. He also comments that *Shio Kiank* of King Fu Si is an authentic historical work.

Corcoran is clear in his attitude towards sources. He claims to have recorded only those accounts which he considered of some merit after collating and corroborating it with other sources. He thus maintains to have written after satisfying his reasoning and intellect. Thus Corcoran shows utmost care for recording the truth of event. However, it is difficult to ascertain as to what extent he borrowed substance and how far they affected his style.

language and thought.

Significantly, Corcoran nowhere appears to relate 'divine will' as cause of the historical events. He attributes the backwardness of the Chinese to the constraints imposed on the use of mineral sources of the country. He also attempts to trace the cause of the Chinese reluctance of maintaining contact with the outside world as well as about cautious forward policy of the British in China. He writes that the Chinese were always apprehensive of the British intentions in China, for they believed that under the pretext of trading rights the British would conquer China as they had earlier done in India. Corcoran mentions that four factors restrained the British from annexing China to the British empire. These were long distance of China, the desire not to rule directly for reasons of political expediency, the British were not interested in settling down in China, and the fear of intervention by other European powers<sup>14</sup>. It may be noted that earlier, the British adopted a similar policy with regard to their Indian possession. The British, after their success at Buxar(1764), did not outrightly annex parts of eastern India for similar reasons of political expediency. However, in general, Corcoran makes no serious attempt to trace the backdrop of any incident and the resultant developments.

In the ultimate analysis it may be pointed that Urdu historians are not oblivious of the sources of information. Although this consciousness is lacking among some early Urdu historians, probably because they did not have easy access to the sources, or because they were not skilled professional writers or historians(some of whom are known to have served at military camps as armymen or tutors of their English masters), their works cannot be ignored, taking into consideration the period and circumstances of their writings. Moreover, the English masters, under whose instruction, many of the works were written, were

themselves not very much concerned with serious historical study; they simply wanted to acquaint themselves with the past general history of the parts of the country over which they had acquired possession.

It may be noted that by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of Muslim reformers and some orientologists contributed to the study of *Quran*, *hadis*, and *sirat* in the light of modern thinking and reason. As a result historians of the subsequent period show greater effort towards examination of sources and investigation. None of the Urdu historians have attributed 'divine will' as a justification or explanation for any event, action or episode. The first scientific handling of sources, it may be said, began with Sayyid Ahmad Khan and reached a high point under Shibli. The latter added a new spirit and vigour into historical research and carried Urdu historiography a long step forward.

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## End Notes

1. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*. Vol. IV, "Tajarib-al-Umam-Ibn Miskawaih", Ma'arif Press, 1956, pp. 22-24.
  2. *Supra*.
  3. *Guldasta-i-Hind*, p. 32.
  4. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
  5. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
  6. It may be recalled that Sayyid Ahmad Khan during his stay at Ghazipur had acquired some knowledge of Hebrew language from a Jew of a neighbouring area and also from the famous Muslim scholar Inayat Chirayyakoti.
  7. *Al-Faruq, op.cit.*, p.18.
  8. Z.H. Faruqi, *op.cit.*, p. 237.
  9. *Al-Mamun*, Ma'arif Press, 1926, pp. 10-11.
  10. *Al-Faruq, op.cit.*, p. 17.
  11. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
  12. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
  13. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
  14. *Tarikh-i-Chin*, Vol. II, pp. 541-543.
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## Conclusion

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the dawn of the nineteenth century, Urdu had emerged as a new indigenous literary medium of expression, or language which was matured and forceful enough to produce works on history. This development concided with the introduction of European historiography in India<sup>1</sup> following the establishment of British rule. Thus, Urdu historiography grew up in a tradition of declining Indo-Persian historiography and emerging Western historiography.

With the spread of English language and literature and its variegated forms such as writings of novels, essays, plays, dramas, history, biographies, etc., there came in India ideas of liberal democracy, constitutional forms of government, historiography as a means of influencing state-craft, and a host of other ideas. All this was to profoundly influence Indian writers who were quick to adopt English models in their writings.

Specifically, two schools of Western thought, the Romantic and the Utilitarian, were influencing the historians not only in Europe but also those writing in India. English historiography with new ideological roots and better methodology, not only influenced Urdu historiography but also overshadowed it. This, however, does not diminish the importance of historical writings in Urdu. On the contrary, the language apart from being a subject of literary and philological interest in its evolutionary phenomenon, also forms an important chapter in the development of historiography of modern times. A significant aspect is that Urdu enjoys the unique position of being the first Indian language in modern times to initiate and produce voluminous



works on history.

The religio-political condition of India of the nineteenth century played an important part in moulding the nature of Urdu historiography. For example, the development of Western science and its social doctrines posed a new challenge to Islam and Hinduism. The activities of Christian missionaries as well as of the Arya Samajists and their venomous attack on Islam were equally menacing. Apart from this, the growth of British historiography in India with its sinister objectives of undermining Islam and Muslim achievements in a number of cases, determined certain characteristic developments of Urdu historiography. To many Muslim writers it was considered necessary to present Islam as a dynamic and progressive religion, and to show that it was in no way an obstacle to modern human progress as was being projected by the adversaries of Islam.

Politically, the Muslim strength having gradually worn off and direct combat with the British considered inexpedient, new modes of resistance were developed by men drenched in religious zeal and fervour. In the process it aimed to purge the ills of Muslim society at the grass-root level, and to rehabilitate puritanical Islam. Such thinking first found expression decades earlier in the religio-political thoughts of Shah Wali-Allah, and subsequently provided the necessary stimulus for the *Wahhabi* and *Faraizi* movements.

These Muslim reform movements of the mid-nineteenth century were essentially rejection of medieval Islam in India in favour of early Islam in Arabia<sup>2</sup>. "Back to the example of the Prophet", "Back to the early *Khilafat*" was the call of the Muslim revivalist movement. Shah Wali Allah had attempted to make the Indian Muslim conscious that they must remain in intimate contact with the Muslim world so that their ideals and objectives should remain intertwined with Islam<sup>3</sup>. As a result, historical

writings were conditioned by current political and psychological issues; it in turn conditioned political and social thinking, syllabus of Muslim educational institutions, and historical conspectus. It also fostered strong Muslim consciousness, led to the growth of Pan-Islamic feelings, and drew the attention of many Muslim writers and historians more towards Islamic history than towards pre-Islamic India or medieval India as an exclusive field of study. It awakened the Muslims to preserve their religio-cultural identity as well as to display the civilising effects of Islam. All these were to remain the key thought of Muslim historiography for a considerable period of time after the second quarter of the nineteenth century and imparted a distinct character of inner unity of historical writings. However, it will be wrong to contend that all Muslim writers in Urdu derived sustenance from the Islamic world or to the Muslim reform movements.

From the writings examined it appears that modern prose writing in Urdu had crystallized well before the establishment of intellectual and cultural centres at Fort St George College, Fort William College and Dehli College. The establishment of these colleges, however, gave a fillip to Urdu by providing a number of ready-made translated models, of various forms and contents of English history and literature. It at the same time re-enlivened the spirit of historical writings and enlightened the Indians with some of the significant historical works of the West. Later, it received further intellectual vigour and stimulus from the Aligarh Movement.

Urdu language has been variously termed as *Rekhta*, Hindi, Hindi-Urdu, Hindustani, and *Urdu-i-Mualla*. At times the language is highly Persianized and ornamentative, and is unable to free itself from Perso-Arabic words. Even prefaces written in Persian are to be found as is the case of the translated work *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. Some of the translated works such as

*Tarikh-i-Nadri* are highly Persianized. A number of writings show that such a tradition continued to exist as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They evince expressions that are often cumbersome with long drawn complicated sentences. This characteristic feature can be seen even in a late nineteenth century work, *Tarikh-i Ujjayniyah*<sup>4</sup>.

A remarkable feature of the writing is that local words and Urdu proverbs have been freely used. More significantly, very often sentences are rhymed in some of the early and mid-nineteenth century works. Couplets and verses of both Persian and Arabic languages have been appreciably used. A number of works though written in prose have charming poetic flavour. They often provide enchanting moments of respite from serious readings, and display the literary exuberance of Persian and Urdu languages. Obviously a number of works seem to subscribe to the medieval view that history should reflect a work of both science and art.

The historian's inclination to support their historical narration with rhyming sentences and poetic compositions, reflect the Perso-Arabic tradition of composition of historical literature. It may also be pointed out that the language, especially of the early phase, show that orthographical and etymological developments were still fluid. This certainly had important bearing upon the presentation of the subject matter.

In general, the historians have attempted to write in simple and straightforward manner. This is particularly noticeable with regard to the original works of history. Often the description are picturesque. With Shibli the language attained grace, beauty, vigour and lucidity unsurpassed. The contributors are mainly Hindus and Muslims, but Europeans also displayed their talent. The writings of the Anglo-Indians or Europeans definitely opened a new chapter in Indian historiography. It may be added

that some of the translators show awareness of the problems of translation. This may explain why some of the translated works are abridged or summarised version of the original Persian works.

The earliest known historical writings in Urdu that exist are *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* by an anonymous writer, *Qissah-Wa-Ahwal-i-Rohilla* of Sayyid Rustam Ali Bijnori, and *Tarikh-i-Swanih-i-Dakkan* of Munim Khan — all written around the late 70's of the eighteenth century. It paved the way for numerous historical writings by later scholars. The writings of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Kalay Rae were to set in many respects the pattern for subsequent writings. Here it may be mentioned that some of the writers whose works have been examined, particularly those who wrote at the instance of British individuals or under the auspices of government sponsored institutions, wrote mainly for providing background information to their masters or to influence public opinion in support of British policies and measures. A few others wrote independently of these specific considerations. Some others wrote in defence of what they considered as motivated criticism of Muslim rulers or institutions.

A significant aspect of the approach of Urdu historians is the emphasis on writing the truth. Unlike English historians, especially on their writings on Indian history, early Urdu historians have generally not made use of history to criticize or ridicule any particular community or religion or create suspicion and spread wrong notions among the minds of the people.

Another feature is that most of the works begin in the name of God, the traditional Muslim way of beginning a work, and also invariably contain doxology. They convey moral lessons to mankind and often contain *hikayat* of holy Quran. Even Hindu authors freely use characteristic Muslim expressions in the doxological portion of their books. In this respect, their expressions are in tune with those of the Muslims and exhibit full



respect to the prevalent Islamic literary and cultural ethos.

The titles of the early works are often chronogrammatic. The pagination of the manuscripts, like the Persian manuscripts, are based upon the *tark* system. The account of the early works are mostly in the form of running narration, although there are some examples of chapterized history. Often change over to another event or topic has been indicated by a big dash or by head-lines marked with red-ink. Chapterized history came into greater vogue much later. "Normally the authority is cited in the body of the text. Use of inverted commas to indicate quotation from other works is not common. There is no generally accepted system for abbreviating the often long titles of books and authors. European names offer the greatest difficulty for no system is followed in transliteration"<sup>5</sup>. Roman scripts are often written in brackets.

Early writers or historians were not particular about writing separate prefaces or introductions. The practice picked up gradually and found greater vogue in the writings of Maulawi Karim-al-Din, Sayyid Ahmad Khan and James Corcoran. Later, it became a necessary characteristic. Dates are referred in *Hijri* era, or both in *Hijri* as well as in Christian era. In a number of works there has been an appreciable use of maps, charts, lists, rates, etc. All these reflect the Western influence. For greater application and use of glossary, erratum and index, the works of Dehli College and *Tarikh-i-Chin* are valuable. Later, these features became an integral part of historical works in Urdu.

Since some of the early works are either translations, or abridged accounts of Persian or English works, it provided little scope for historians to give expressions to their thought on the science of history, except in few cases. One such historian is Mir Sher Ali Afsos. He draws attention to the importance of history as a source of secular knowledge and understanding. He writes



that while knowledge is necessary to know God, the study of History is important for it provides both ecclesiastical as well as temporal lessons. In absence of history mankind will go astray. Another writer Sheikh Ahmad Ali, the author of *Hamla-i-Haidari*, epitomizes history as the spring of all knowledge. Lewis Da Costa describes history as a mirror of the past human civilization and culture. Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed that knowledge of history can help mankind avert many crisis and prevent committing errors. James Corcoran also spoke of the greatness of history and its importance. Nawwab Shahjahan Begum states that "History is a Science which engages the attention and study of rulers of every age... is a key to understanding the revolutions of the world and the progress or decline of mankind". She further states that "the study of the past serves as a lesson and warning for the present generation, the events now passing will form for posterity a stock of examples and admonitions". A few writers have also attempted to classify historians. For example Kamal-al-Din Haidar categorises historians into three kinds and tries to emphasize the essence of historicism.

There is no paucity of historical writings in Urdu, rather there exists a variety of historical works, both Indian as well as non-Indian in content. They may be categorised as original works, translated works, biographical sketches and biographies, quasi-historical works, and travelogues. These may also be grouped as local, regional, history of cities and towns, and general history.

The early works were generally undertaken at the request of British officials or Indian chiefs, and were of the nature of adapted and translated works. But individual efforts to gain immortality are also not wanting. As can be seen writers belonged to different walks of life. Like the British

administrators, even Indian administrators participated in this venture. It is true that many historical works were undertaken at the behest of British officials with the purpose of providing materials to them, but, nevertheless, it also draws attention towards the historical instinct of the Indian writers, without which they would not have acceded to the wishes of British officials. It may also be asserted that writing under institutional guidance, the writers were naturally subject to certain constraints and were not in a position to take full liberty. The various district history and a number of text books written under specific guidelines may be described as government sponsored history.

The bulk of historians were not attached to any court. They were generally commoners who wrote due to different motivations. For example, although writing under the patronage of Englishmen, Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan have been greatly praised. Notably, the *Dakkani* Urdu historians show great interest in these two rulers. These writers, *munshis* as they were called, were in a way commissioned writers, many of whom belonged to prestigious families of Delhi, Faizabad, Lucknow, Azimabad (Patna) and other places, but had reached a pitiable condition owing to the decline and dismemberment of the Mughul empire and also because of the usurpation of regional kingdoms by the British. Woebegone, they were forced to leave their houses in search of livelihood and after long wandering had to content themselves with this profession. They no doubt show respect to their British benefactors but do not subscribe in any way to the glorification of British rule. It is to be seen that during the early period of the nineteenth century a couple of writers show ultimate loyalty to the Mughul emperor. But in later times this is not to be seen and writers have generally used eulogistic terms for the British rulers and their patrons.

The second half of the nineteenth century, however,

witnesses a change in the attitude of most of the Urdu historians, save Shibli Nomani and a few others. Their writings reflect the avowed objective of influencing Indian public opinion in favour of British policies. Men such as Shiva Prasad and Munshi Zaka Allah display unwarranted and unabashed sycophancy.

The different Urdu historical works, within the fold of political frame work give a variety of information, such as about rulers, genealogical table, local history, revenue details, mechanical and cultural developments, topography, wars, etc. These bear resemblance to Indo-Persian historiographical writings. Maulawi Karim-al-Din had emphasized the importance of writing of *tazkirahs* (biographical sketches) and stressed that it should be treated as a branch of history. He is also among the earliest Urdu historians to make use of preface and concluding remarks. Thus, the political-biographical approach which characterizes historical literature produced in Urdu, can also be regarded as a continuation of Indo-Persian historiography; notwithstanding, it received a new treatment and dimension as a result of the influence of European historiography. In consequence, later biographical writings became more refreshing, and of course, were written with the avowed aim of rejuvenating a crestfallen nation. They also perhaps show the acceptance of the determining role of individuals in history, and of the Indian soul yearning for the emergence of a hero who would liberate them from the yoke of British imperialism. In view of the numerous biographical writings, the second half of the nineteenth century may be called as the '*Age of Biographical Writings*'.

Like the Persian histories of medieval period, Urdu historical works do not pay exclusive attention to the study of society, administration, economic policies, cultural, social, ethical, moral and religious aspects, barring a few exceptions. Only the events of the life of the rulers are described, and even

these events described are nothing more than an account of conquests and civil wars.

Unlike most Persian chronicles, events and happenings are not, in general, ascribed to 'Divine Will' or supernatural cause. It may be noted that this aspect was more noticeable in works written during Turko-Afghan period; under the Mughuls it became less prominent; and, under the British period it becomes scarce. Historical causation has been explained in more or less personal terms. Despite such tendencies, attempt to know the cause of an event is also not totally absent. In this respect *Guldasta-i-Hind* serves as an example. Also, *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* stands as the most serious attempt to trace out the cause of an event.

Historians of the later generations advocated that history should not be circumscribed to mere narration of political events, but should embrace administrative set-up, socio-cultural and economic aspects. They believed that such a study is necessary for the understanding of any age. Some of the historians show keen interest in giving geographical description. In particular Shibli and Zaka Allah made pioneering efforts to broaden the conspectus of Urdu historiography.

Although the early historians do not speak on the philosophy of historiography, nevertheless, they are aware of the significance of history as a branch of study and its superiority over other subjects. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Munshi Zaka Allah and Shibli Nomani are very conscious about the treatment that this subject demands and express their views in very clear terms. Shibli and Zaka Allah both show full awareness of Islamic historiographical methodology. They have highlighted the views of some eminent Muslim medieval historians as also of some European writers on the science of history. Notably, what distinguishes Shibli from others is that he endeavoured to enlighten Indian historiography not only with the Oriental philosophy of history as already developed by the Arabs



but also provided a scientific temper to it. Zaka Allah and Shibli certainly benefited from Western historiographical methodology, but they also worked to highlight early Islamic historiographical characteristics and its superiority over certain areas of Western historiography. They contributed immensely to lift the Muslims from intellectual stagnation of the preceding years. Except for Shibli, and to lesser degree Zaka Allah, who can be ranked among the first few Indians to cross-examine some of the medieval sources and also European narratives, historians have not taken pains to evaluate the sources that they took into account in course of their writings. Medieval historians are taken as authorities and have not been questioned. Barring few examples, efforts of corroboration and collation have hardly been attempted. There was no serious effort towards unearthing the surface of events or making critical investigation. Even reputed historians such as Shibli have often tended to give a very generalised account. The historians have largely depended on literary evidence. Use of numismatic, archival sources, etc., are negligible.

Some of the early works do not mention the source of information and contain no foot-notes. These works are not comprehensive and serious works of history. This can be said of works in other languages also. Narrations are often disjointed and fragmentary. It will be almost a misnomer to term some of the early works as history if we compare them with some of the standard modern works. In fact, some of the writers were conscious of the limitation of their work, and do not use the word *tarikh* but rather apply the word *ahwal*, *qissah*, or *waqiat* for their accounts. Even some of the titles can be adjudged as inappropriate. For example *Shah Nama-i-Hind* bears no account of Indian kings, although the title suggests so.

In spite of these short-comings, historians are fairly impartial, independent and accurate. They adhere to chronology,



give a fair glimpse of the period, and often have the objective of giving advise and warnings. Above all, some of them have strong sense of accountability to God. Historians have, however, rarely attempted to act as judges. Shiva Prasad is perhaps the only historian who has passed judgement not only on a number of individual rulers and their policies but on the entire medieval period. Be that as it may, they were to contribute substantially to the evaluation and development of Urdu historiography. The conspectus and quality of the writings in Urdu developed gradually, which is quite understandable. For example, Sayyid Ahmad Khan was the first modern Indian historian to pay attention to the cultural and archaeological aspect of Indian history. In subsequent times it received further attention by Munshi Nawal Kishore, Shibli Nomani and Abd-al-Halim Sharar.

Urdu histories provide a host of information about medieval and modern Indian history. We have considerable information about the mutiny of 1857, society and life of the people in the nineteenth century, atrocities committed by the British, changing attitude and temperament taking place among the people in respect to British rule, economic dislocation and distress caused by the coming of the British, unemployment, etc. Quite a few references show the nostalgic memories of pre-British days when greater self-sufficiency prevailed and agrarian life was cheap. So much has been written of the revolt of 1857 that a separate study based exclusively on Urdu sources and writings can be undertaken. These sources speak volumes of Muslim sacrifices and untold miseries that they had to suffer for the cause of the country. They serve as lessons to those communal groups and writers of today who brand Muslims as foreign agents and who have contributed nothing to this country. Significantly, some of the information contained in Urdu sources are revealing and contradict the general opinion about the mutiny

professed by European writers, about Wajid Ali Shah, about Muslim approach towards English education, etc.

In other areas, too, there are a number of fresh information. For example, Debi Prasad provides interesting information about *chauth* and *jiziyah* collected in certain parts of India. In this context, it is surprising to note that Maratha and Afghan chiefs could join hands for the collection of these taxes in their respective areas. This piece of information is sufficient to review our opinion about *jiziyah* and why it could continue till the early years of the nineteenth century. It speaks volumes of how political leaders could throw off their religious cloak and enter into mutual political understanding for the sake of petty gains.

A noteworthy aspect of Urdu historiography is the general effort towards the recording of events in an unprejudiced and impartial manner. Perhaps, the only exception being the writings of Raja Shiva Prashad and a couple of others. Sayyid Ahmad Khan appears to be the first to have laid importance on the use of history for constructive and integrative purpose. He had realised the danger of unbalanced historical studies in a country like India which has a variegated social and political texture. He was a historian with a vision.

An important development is that by the mid-40's of the nineteenth century there began the attempt towards what may be called as state sponsored writing. The injunctions laid in the British resolution of 1844 which called upon the writers to follow the directions laid down is a clear pointer in this direction. As it has been seen that in a number of cases the Indian text-book writers had to write on the basis of selected materials supplied by the British. We also come across the practice of some sort of censorship or scrutiny as evident from *Sawanih Hayat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh* and a few other works. Notably, in 1844, Sir H.M. Elliot had proclaimed his intention of drawing out of the mass of

medieval chronicle literature all references "to forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres". He did so with the purpose of maligning Muslim rule in India.

Thus by the 60-70's of the nineteenth century there began the era of tendentious and spurious writing by a couple of writers. Tendentious writing whose earliest roots may be traced to the writings of Elliot and Dowson had by now succeeded in winning a number of Indian converts, the most famous of them being Shiva Prashad. With him began what can be described as the beginning of communal historiography in India which fulfilled the cherished aims of Elliot and Dowson. Shiva Prashad took full delight in spilling the communal venom and carried forward the theory of 'medieval Muslim tyranny' as propounded by the European writers. As is to be seen during the subsequent times a number of text-book historians presented history with a tinge of communalism.

Many Muslims responded by paying attention to large scale writing on Islamic history. This was done with twin purpose: first to denounce the unfounded allegations of the critics of Islam; and secondly, to create a sense of pride among the Indian Muslims of their past. In this respect Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Shibli Nomani and Munshi Zaka Allah hold a very distinguished position. They challenged the treatment of Muslim histories by British historians and of their presumptions that British rule stood out morally and intellectually superior to Muslim India. In this effort they endeavoured to display the progressive elements of Muslim rule; how far it was beneficial, and how far the Muslims were tolerant. A.B.M. Habibullah comments that Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Shibli Nomani endeavoured to present Islam as the new burgeoning, Muslims liked it<sup>6</sup>. They wrote to meet the cultural needs and aspirations of the Muslim middle class. It may be added that Indo-Islamic historiography of the nineteenth century,

written in atmosphere of changing thought and values, holds a distinct position, and if compared with the historiography of contemporary Islamic world, stands unique.

These historians, however, did not attempt to study history in terms of development of society and human progress or individual relations with the state. They did not pay attention to the various legislation passed by the British government and of its ulterior and exterior motives. The writings are specifically free of religious issues and conviction. The historians have not attempted to study new emerging ideologies such as Liberalism, Nationalism, Secularism and Marxism. They have also not dared to write the abuses of British rule in open terms. This was perhaps because they wrote under constraints.

Some historians express nostalgic feelings for the past but they do not endeavour to study why did the decline set in. They tend to show pre-colonial rule as a unique period of peaceful co-existence in which there was harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims and free cultural exchange. But it is also to be seen that the crisis of community, identity and hardening of attitude was taking place and attempts were being made to steal march ahead over the other. The Indian intelligentsia had come to realise that the West owed its success not only to their military superiority but also to their intellectual and cultural superiority. Indians who had visited Europe and England, on coming back to India, admitted their cultural and scientific backwardness. A number of writings show that the study and understanding of science was strongly felt.

In the final analysis it can be said that Urdu historiography provides newer information and scope for fresh intorspection of history writing and revived the rich tradition of Indian historiography. Some of the historians show erudite scholarship and were in no way inferior to their European counterparts.



## End Notes

1. For early trends in British historiography, see J.S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India*, Oxford University Press, 1970; and "*Characteristics of early British Historical Writing on Medieval India*", edited by Mohibbul Hasan. Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1968.
  2. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, p. 59.
  3. Beni Prasad, *Hindu-Muslim Unity*, p. 22.
  4. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, p. 191.
  5. A.B.M. Habibullah, "Historical Writings in Urdu: a Survey of Tendencies" in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, edited by C.H. Philips, London, 1961. p. 484.
  6. *Ibid.*, p. 484.
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