

VOLUME I

JULY 1966

NUMBER 2

JOURNAL OF RESEARCH

[HUMANITIES]

Edited by Siraj-ud-Din



UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB
LAHORE

EDITORIAL BOARD

Chief Editor

Siraj-ud-Din, Professor and Head of the Department of English Language and Literature, University of the Panjab.

Members

Muhammad Baqir, Principal and Head of the Department of Persian, Oriental College, University of the Panjab.

Sh. Imtiaz Ali, Principal, Law College, University of the Panjab.

Ala-ud-Din Siddiqui, Professor and Head of the Department of Islamic Studies, University of the Panjab.

Abdul Aziz Memon, Professor and Head of the Department of Arabic, Oriental College, University of the Panjab.

S. M. Akhtar, Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, University of the Panjab.

M. Afzal, Professor and Head of the Department of Public Administration, University of the Panjab.

Muhammad Rafi, Director, Institute of Education and Research, University of the Panjab.

Dilawar Husain, Head of the Department of Political Science, University of the Panjab.

Abdul Hamid, Head of the Department of History, University of the Panjab.

Riffat Rashid, Reader and Head of the Department of Social Work, University of the Panjab.

Marghub Siddiqi, Reader and Head of the Department of Journalism, University of the Panjab.

Anna Molka Ahmad, Reader and Head of the Department of Fine Arts, University of the Panjab.

Ebadat Brelvi, Reader and Head of the Department of Urdu, Oriental College, University of the Panjab.

Hassan Nawaz Gardezi, Reader and Head of the Department of Sociology, University of the Panjab.

C. A. Qadir, Head of the Department of Philosophy, University of the Panjab.

Muhammad Murtaza Khan, Acting Principal, Hailey College of Commerce, University of the Panjab.

Secretary

Iqbal Husain, Department of Literary History, University of the Panjab.

VOLUME I

JULY 1966

NUMBER 2

JOURNAL OF RESEARCH

[HUMANITIES]

Edited by Siraj-ud-Din



UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB
LAHORE

CONTENTS

I. فلسفہ اقبال کے نفسیاتی منابع	اشتیاق حسین قریشی	1
II. "OLD ABUSING OF GOD'S PATIENCE AND THE KING'S ENGLISH"	<i>Siraj-ud-Din</i>	35
III. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN DEVELOPING NATIONS	<i>Shaukat Ali</i>	53
IV. شخصی مرکزیت اور تعلیم (تحلیل سے ترکیب کی طرف)	عبدالقادر	69
V. AN ANALYSIS OF AURANGZEB'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS QUTB SHAH	<i>Yar Muhammad Khan</i>	87
VI. ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY UNDER THE SULTANATES OF THE DECCAN	<i>Iftikhar Ahmad Ghauri</i>	103
VII. TAXATION AND TENURE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE PUNJAB BETWEEN 1707 AND 1849	<i>Rafiq Ahmad</i>	131
VIII. 'ILM AL-HADITH AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HISTORIOGRAPHY	<i>Amanullah Khan</i>	163
IX. REFERENCE GROUPS	<i>Muhammad Fayyaz</i>	173

فلسفہ اقبال کے نفسیاتی منابع*

اشتیاق حسین قریشی

جناب صدر، خواتین و حضرات! میرے لیے یہ امر باعث فخر ہے کہ اس جامعہ میں یادگار اقبال کے خطبہ کے لیے مجھے یاد کیا گیا، کیوں کہ میں یہاں کچھ عرصے کے لیے شعبہ تاریخ کے صدر کی خدمات انجام دے چکا ہوں اور اس تعلق کی بنا پر اب بھی اپنے آپ کو اس قدیم درس گاہ سے وابستہ سمجھتا ہوں، اور جب کبھی مجھے یہاں سے کسی خدمت کی دعوت دی جاتی ہے تو میں نہ صرف اسے مسترد کرنے کی جسارت نہیں کر سکتا بلکہ اسے قبول کرنے میں دلی مسرت محسوس کرتا ہوں۔ اس کے علاوہ اپنی ہیچ مدانی کے باوجود علامہ اقبال کے فلسفہ کو سمجھنے کی کوشش میں شریک ہونا میرے لیے بذات خود ایک سعادت ہے، اس لیے کہ ہماری ملت کی تعمیر میں جن عوامل نے چوڑے کام کیا ہے وہی فلسفہ اقبال کی تشکیل میں کار فرما تھے۔ اور چوں کہ ہماری ملت کا استحکام اسی طرح ممکن ہے کہ ان عوامل کا نفوذ کم نہ ہونے پائے یہ ضروری ہے کہ ہمارے ذہنوں میں فلسفہ اقبال کا ادراک کمزور نہ پڑے، خصوصاً قوم کے باشعور طبقوں کی توجہ اس کی طرف متواتر مبذول کرائی جائے تا کہ ہماری ملت شعوری طور پر اسے اپنا نظریہ حیات بنائے رکھے۔ افسوس ہے کہ اپنے فہم کی کوتاہی کے باعث ہماری زندگی کے بہت سے شعبے فلسفہ اقبال اور خود اصول

* سلسلہ خطبات بیاد اقبال، پنجاب یونیورسٹی، لاہور کا خطبہ سالانہ (۱۹۶۶ع) جو بتاریخ ۱۹ مارچ ۱۹۶۶ع، بمقام سینٹ روم، زیر صدارت پروفیسر حمید احمد خان، وائس چانسلر، پنجاب یونیورسٹی، پڑھا گیا۔

CONTRIBUTORS

1. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, M.A. (Delhi), Ph.D. (Cantab.), Vice-Chancellor, University of Karachi.
2. Siraj-ud-Din, M.A. (Panjab), B.Litt. (Oxon), Professor and Head of the Department of English Language and Literature, University of the Panjab.
3. Shaukat Ali, M.A. (Panjab), M.P.A., Dr. P.A. (Southern California), Reader, Department of Public Administration, University of the Panjab.
4. Abdul Qadir, M.A. (Panjab), Head of the Department of Philosophy, University of the Panjab.
5. Yar Muhammad Khan, M.A. (Panjab), M.A., Ph.D. (London), Reader, Department of History, University of the Panjab.
6. Iftikhar Ahmad Ghauri, M.A. (Panjab), M.A., Ph.D. (London), Secretary, Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Panjab.
7. Rafiq Ahmad, M.A. (Panjab), B.A. Hons. (Manchester), D.Phil. (Oxon), Reader, Department of Economics, University of the Panjab.
8. Amanullah Khan, M.A. (Islamic Studies), M.A. (History) (Panjab), Lecturer, Department of Islamic Studies, University of the Panjab.
9. Muhammad Fayyaz, M.A. (Panjab), Ph.D. (Cornell), Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of the Panjab.

اس مادی عالم کون و مکان کا ایک عرض ہے وہ بھی محدود ہے اور لامتناہی اور غیر محدود وسعت اس کے اندر حاصل نہیں ہو سکتی۔ اگر مقاصد کی لامحدود بلندی مقصود ہے تو ملت کے لیے لازماً ہونا ضروری ہے، اور اگر ملت کا وجود وقت کی حدود سے آزاد ہو تو وہ مکان کی حدود میں قید نہیں ہو سکتی اس لیے کہ مکان کا لازمی عرض وقت ہے، اور چوں کہ ملت اس عرض میں نہیں سما سکتی یہ لابد ہے کہ وہ لامکان بھی ہو۔ اسی وجہ سے اقبال کا عقیدہ ہے کہ امت مسلمہ لامکان و لازمان ہے، مگر یہ لامکانیت اور لازمانیت بظاہر افراد کو حاصل نہیں ہو سکتی اس لیے کہ ان کی حیات محدود ہوتی ہے اور وہ اس مادی دنیا میں زندگی گزارتے ہیں۔ چوں کہ ملت افراد سے بنتی ہے اس کی لازمانیت و لامکانیت کا فرد کی زندگی کی محدودیت سے تضاد دور کرنا ضروری ہے۔ اگرچہ فرد کو مادی قیود سے آزادی حاصل نہیں ہو سکتی لیکن اس کی خودی یعنی انا میں ان قیود کے اثرات پر قابو پانے کی صلاحیت موجود ہے اور اس کی بلندی اور قوت سے فرد اپنی پرواز و ترقی کو لامحدود بنا سکتا ہے۔ انا کی اس ترقی کے لیے ضروری ہے کہ فرد کے تصورات و عقائد صحیح ہوں ورنہ غلط تصورات جھوٹے بتوں کی طرح اسے کبھی ترقی و فلاح کے راستے پر نہ چلنے دیں گے۔

لازمانیت کے حصول کے لیے ضروری ہے کہ ملت اور انا دونوں ایک مسلسل سعی اور جدوجہد میں مشغول رہیں، اس لیے کہ حیات حرکت اور موت کے خلاف پیکار ہی کا نام ہے۔ چنانچہ حق و باطل کی ازلی جنگ انسان کی زندگی کا عنصر ہے۔ اگر انسان کو یہ مرحلہ

اسلام کی روشنی سے فی الوقت خالی نظر آتے ہیں اور انہیں روشن کرنے کی ضرورت کا احساس بھی کمزور پڑتا جاتا ہے۔ چوں کہ ہماری ملت کی اساس کے لیے یہ تاریکی فال نیک نہیں ہے، اس لیے ان خطرات کی طرف جو پیدا ہو چلے ہیں ملت کی توجہ مبذول کرانے کے لیے ضروری ہے کہ جن افراد کو ان خطرات کا احساس ہے اور جو فلسفہ اقبال کی اہمیت سے واقف ہیں، وہ اپنی مساعی کی رفتار تیز تر کر دیں۔ اسی وجہ سے میں نے عرض کیا کہ اس مقصد کے حصول میں ادنیٰ شرکت بھی باعث سعادت ہے۔

ہر قوم کا وجود اس کے عقائد و تصورات پر قائم ہوتا ہے، اس لیے کہ افراد کو مقاصد کی ہم آہنگی ہی کسی تنظیم میں منسلک کرتی ہے۔ اگر یہ مقاصد دیر پا نہ ہوں تو افراد کا اتحاد بھی دیر پا نہیں ہو سکتا۔ جب مقاصد ایسے ہوتے ہیں جو قومی مساعی کے لازوال محرک بن سکیں تو وہ عقائد و تصورات میں منتقل ہو جاتے ہیں، اس لیے کہ قومیں وہی کرنا چاہتی ہیں جسے وہ مفید سمجھتی ہیں۔ منتہائے افادیت ایک طویل العرصہ لازوال منزل ہوتی ہے جس کی بنیاد فلسفہ زندگی پر قائم ہوتی ہے اور فلسفہ حیات، عقائد و تصورات ہی کا دوسرا نام ہے۔ ان عقائد و تصورات میں بلندی کے لیے یہ ضروری ہے کہ اس مدت کو زیادہ سے زیادہ طول دیا جائے جس میں ان کا وجود محرک بن سکتا ہے۔ ظاہر ہے کہ انتہائے طوالت اسی طرح حاصل ہوتی ہے کہ مدت غیر متناہی ہو یعنی مادی وقت کی حدود سے باہر ہو، اس لیے کہ موجودہ فلسفہ کی رو سے چوں کہ وقت

فلسفہ زندگی مرتب کرنے میں کوئی واقعہ غیر متعلق نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اس لیے خواہ کسی فلسفہ حیات کی نوعیت کچھ ہی کیوں نہ ہو، اگر کوئی واقعہ اس میں ضم نہیں ہو سکتا، تو وہ اس کی تنقیص کرتا ہے۔ فلسفی کو خبردار رہنا پڑتا ہے کہ وہ کسی مشاہدے کو نظر انداز نہ کرے اور اسے غیر متعلق نہ سمجھے۔ کسی جزوی ربط کے لیے، جس کا مقصد محدود ہو، بہت سے واقعات و مشاہدات غیر متعلق ہو سکتے ہیں، لیکن اگر مقصد حیات کا کلی تصور ہو تو پھر کوئی جزو غیر متعلق نہیں ہو سکتا۔ واقعات کی طرح وہ تمام جزوی معتقدات بھی جو فلسفی کے نزدیک صحیح ہوتے ہیں اس کے اساسی فلسفہ کی تشکیل میں مدد دیتے ہیں۔ نفسیاتی طور پر فلسفی کو پہلے جزوی عقائد کا ادراک ہوتا ہے اور اس کے بعد اس پر اساسی فلسفہ کے خد و خال واضح ہوتے ہیں۔

کسی ایسے مفکر کے لیے جو کسی دین کی حقیقت پر ایمان رکھتا ہو، خواہ یہ ایمان اس کے دل میں تعلیم، تربیت اور ماحول کی وساطت سے اترا ہو، یا اس کی جستجو اور کاوش سے حاصل ہوا ہو، یہ ناگزیر ہے کہ اس دین کی تعلیمات کا اس کے تصورات پر اثر ہو۔ یہ اثر کبھی غیر شعوری ہوتا ہے اور کبھی شعوری، مثلاً بعض فلسفی جو اپنے دین سے بغاوت کرتے ہیں پھر بھی اس کے بہت سے تصورات سے آزاد نہیں ہوتے۔ اس کی بہت سی مثالیں دی جا سکتی ہیں، اور اس کا سبب یہ ہوتا ہے کہ بعض دینی تصورات فضا میں ایسے پیوست ہو جاتے ہیں کہ اس میں سانس لینے والا غیر شعوری طور پر

دائماً پیش نہ ہوتا تو وہ ملائکہ یا شیاطین کے زمرہ میں داخل ہوتا کیوں کہ اول الذکر کو نیکی کے لیے سعی کی ضرورت نہیں ہے جس کا سبب یہ ہے کہ ان کی سرشت میں نیکی کے علاوہ کوئی عنصر موجود نہیں ہے اور شیاطین کو نیکی سے کوئی لگاؤ نہیں ہے۔ انسان کا درجہ ملائکہ اور شیاطین دونوں سے بلند اسی باعث ہے کہ وہ پیکار کی اہمیت رکھتا ہے اور اس کے ذریعہ سے علو درجات حاصل کرتا ہے۔ یہی سبب ہے کہ ازل سے چراغ مصطفوی، شرار بولہبی سے ستیزہ کار ہے۔

میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ اقبال کے فلسفہ کا یہ بنیادی تصور ہے جو میں نے مختصر طور پر ابھی آپ کے سامنے بیان کیا۔ اقبال کے دوسرے تصورات کتنے ہی اہم کیوں نہ ہوں اس بنیادی تصور کے شاخصانے اور فروع ہیں۔ ہر فلسفہ کا ایک مرکزی تصور ہوتا ہے۔ اس کے بغیر کسی فلسفہ میں ہم آہنگی پیدا نہیں ہو سکتی۔ اگر کوئی مرکزی تصور نہ ہو تو انسانی فکر کسی حالت میں بھی ایسا نظام خیال مرتب نہیں کر سکتی جو معنی خیز ہو، اس لیے کہ پھر مختلف خیالات پریشان اور غیر مرتب رہیں گے۔ اس کے مقابلے میں یہ بھی یاد رکھنا چاہیے کہ کوئی مرکزی یا اساسی تصورات یوں ہی دماغ میں نہیں آ جاتا۔ جب انسان کے مشاہدے میں بہت سے واقعات آتے ہیں تو وہ ان میں ربط پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کرتا ہے، اور جو واقعات مربوط نہ ہو سکیں وہ معنی خیز نہیں ہوتے، اس لیے کہ وہ واقعات کے درمیان تعلق کو سمجھنے میں مددگار نہیں ہوتے۔ ایسے ہی واقعات کو عرف عام میں غیر متعلق کہا جاتا ہے، مگر

مادی ادراکات سے مرکب ہے اور دین کا ادراک ان سے بالاتر اور انا یا خودی کی اس سعی کا نتیجہ ہے جس کے ذریعہ وہ لامکان و لازمان میں داخل ہونا چاہتا ہے۔

لیکن کیا یہ ادراک انسانی کوشش کا پابند ہے یا بے کوشش حاصل ہوتا ہے؟ اگر بے کوشش حاصل ہوتا ہے تو کہاں سے آتا ہے؟ روحانی منازل کے طے کرنے والے اپنی مساعی اور دوسروں کی رہنمائی سے اس ادراک کو قوی تو ضرور کر سکتے ہیں لیکن اس کا حصول پوری طرح ان کے قبضہ قدرت میں نہیں ہوتا۔ یہ ادراک ہمارے عقیدہ کے مطابق ابتداءً اللہ تعالیٰ نے ازل سے انسان کی روح کو ودیعت کیا ہے اور پھر انبیا کو بھیج کر اس کی تجدید کی ہے، اور ان کی تعلیم کے ذریعہ سے علی قدر سعی و صلاحیت افراد کے دل میں اسے تقویت پہنچائی ہے۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ساتھ جب افراد کے ذریعہ سے یہ ادراک معاشرے کے شعور و تحت الشعور میں داخل ہو جاتا ہے تو پھر اس معاشرے کے صغار و کبار کے دلوں میں گھر کر جاتا ہے اور اس کا بیشتر حصہ وہ قبول کر لیتے ہیں۔ اگر ان کا ذاتی وجدان اس طرف مائل ہوتا ہے تو وہ اپنی صلاحیت کے مطابق اسے عبادت و طاعت سے تقویت پہنچاتے ہیں۔ لیکن اسلام اس راز سے بے خبر نہیں ہے کہ اس ادراک کو معاشرہ میں زندہ رکھنے کے لیے تبلیغ رشد اور ہدایت کی ضرورت ہے۔ اسی لیے قرآن حکیم میں ارشاد ہے کہ مسلمانوں میں ایک جماعت کو اس کام میں سرگرم رہنا چاہیے۔ یہ خدمت اگر وقت کے تقاضوں کے مطابق انجام نہ پائے تو معاشرہ میں غیر اسلامی

انہیں جذب کر لیتا ہے۔ لادینی فلسفیوں کا تو ذکر ہی کیا، بعض ادیان کے بانی بھی اس کلیہ سے مستثنیٰ نہیں، مثلاً اس برعظیم میں جب مہابیر اور گوتم بدھ نے ادیان کی بنیاد رکھی تو جین اور بدھ دھرم دونوں کا بنیادی فلسفہ وہی رہا جو ہندوستان میں عرصے سے رائج تھا اور جسے بنیادی طور پر صحیح سمجھا جاتا تھا، یعنی کرم اور تناسخ کے معتقدات جو بدیہات کی طرح تسلیم کیے جاتے تھے۔ دین کے پابند فلسفی کبھی تو کلام کی گتھیوں میں پھنس کر رہ جاتے ہیں، کبھی اپنے دین کی تعبیر و تفسیر کی طرف متوجہ ہوتے ہیں، اور کبھی فلسفہ اور دین میں تطبیق کی کوشش کرتے ہیں، اور بعض اوقات یہ آخرالذکر کوشش علی الاعلان نہیں ہوتی بلکہ فلسفہ کو یوں بیان کیا جاتا ہے کہ اس سے دینی تصورات کو ان کا نام لیے بغیر تقویت حاصل ہو۔ اقبال ایک ایسے فلسفی ہیں جو اسلام کی حقانیت پر ایمان کلی رکھتے ہیں، اور ان کے تصورات ان کے دینی معتقدات سے نہ صرف ہم آہنگ ہیں بلکہ اقبال ان پر پوری طرح قائم ہیں۔ دین محض ایک فکری پیداوار نہیں ہے۔ دین خواہ عقل انسانی سے کتنا ہی مطابق کیوں نہ ہو، دین خواہ کسی فلسفہ کی بنیاد ہی کیوں نہ ہو پھر بھی اس کے سوتے عقل نہیں عقیدے میں پائے جاتے ہیں؛ اس کے چشمے ذہن نہیں قلب میں ابلتے ہیں؛ اس کی جڑیں افکار نہیں واردات میں ہوتی ہیں۔ دین کا تعلق وجدان سے ہے منطق و دلیل سے نہیں، لیکن اس کے معنی یہ نہیں ہیں کہ دین حقیقت نہیں ہے، بلکہ وہ اصل حقائق ہے، اس لیے کہ عقل فی الحقیقت

عقائد کی استواری لازمی ہوتی ہے جو اس معاشرہ کی اساس ہوں۔
مثال کے طور پر اہل برطانیہ کے لیے نظری طور پر یہ ممکن ہے کہ وہ مسیحیت کو چھوڑ دیں لیکن ان کی برطانویت قائم رہے۔ اگر ان میں اخلاقی انحطاط پیدا ہو، یا ان کے وہ اوصاف ختم ہوتے نظر آئیں جنہوں نے ان کی قومی عظمت کی تعمیر کی ہے، تو ان کے مصلح کے لیے یہ ضروری نہیں کہ وہ خود مسیحی ہی ہو، لیکن اس کا برطانوی ہونا ضروری ہے تا کہ وہ ان اقدار کی حمایت کر سکے جن کے ماتحت اس کے نزدیک برطانیہ نے ترقی کی تھی۔ مگر یہ بھی ممکن ہے کہ وہ ان اقدار کو فرسودہ اور دور از کار سمجھ کر پس پشت ڈال دے اور جدید اقدار کی حمایت کرے، اور پھر بھی وہ برطانیہ کی عظمت کو قائم رکھنے میں کامیاب ہو جائے۔ لیکن جو شخص خود کایسائے انگلستان کے وجود کو قائم رکھنا چاہے گا، اس کے لیے ضروری ہوگا کہ کایسا کے بنیادی عقائد پر ایمان رکھتا ہو اور ان کی حمایت کرے۔ اول الذکر شخص کو نفسیاتی طور پر برطانیہ اور برطانوی قوم سے محبت ہوگی اور دوسرے کو کایسائے انگلستان سے۔ یہ ضروری نہیں ہے کہ دونوں میں تضاد ہو، لیکن اگر تضاد ہو تو عقیدہ، رجحان اور مقصد کے اعتبار سے ہی ہوگا، اور اگر موخرالذکر یہ دیکھے گا کہ برطانیہ سے محبت کایسائے انگلستان سے محبت کے راستے میں مزاحم ہے تو وہ برطانیہ سے محبت کے خلاف سرگرم پیکار بھی ہو سکتا ہے۔
اقبال کے فلسفے کی بنیاد اسلام پر ایمان ہے۔ یہ ایمان اقبال کے ادراک حقیقت پر قائم ہے۔ اس کا کوئی منطقی سبب نہیں ہے۔

اثرات کا نفوذ ہو جاتا ہے یا اس کا دینی وجدان کمزور پڑ جاتا ہے اور وہ بے عقیدگی یا بے عملی یا فرار یا ان تینوں میں مبتلا ہو جاتا ہے۔ اس وقت خود اس کا وجود خطرے میں پڑ جاتا ہے، اور اگر وہ اس خطرے کا مقابلہ نہ کر سکے تو اپنی امتیازی خصوصیات کو کھو بیٹھتا ہے۔ ایسی حالت میں یا وہ منتشر ہو جاتا ہے اور اس کے افراد دوسرے گروہوں میں جذب ہو جاتے ہیں یا وہ دوسروں کا سیاسی، ذہنی اور روحانی طور پر محکوم ہو جاتا ہے اور اس میں یہ صلاحیت باقی نہیں رہتی کہ وہ اپنے انا کو قائم رکھ سکے۔ فی الحقیقت اس کا انا اس قدر کمزور ہو جاتا ہے کہ وہ اس کی حفاظت کو ضروری تصور ہی نہیں کرتا۔ ایسے خطرے کے مواقع پر اگر اس انحطاط پذیر معاشرے میں کچھ سکت باقی ہوتی ہے تو وہ ایسے مفکر پیدا کرتا ہے جو اس معاشرے کو خطرات سے آگاہ کر دیں اور اس کے انا کو دوبارہ مضبوط کریں تا کہ وہ خطرات کا مقابلہ کر سکے۔ اس کام میں یہ مفکر خود شعوری یا غیر شعوری طور پر ان عقائد و تصورات کو اپناتے ہیں جن کی مدد سے معاشرہ تعمیر ہوا تھا، یا جنہوں نے معاشرے کو تنازع للبقا میں کمک پہنچائی تھی۔ واقعہ یہ ہے کہ اگر وہ خود ان عقائد پر یقین راسخ نہ رکھتے ہوں تو ان کے دل میں معاشرے کو زندہ رکھنے کی صلاحیت ہی پیدا نہیں ہو سکتی۔ اگر وہ کسی نسلی یا جغرافیائی وحدت کو زندہ رکھنا چاہتے ہیں تو عقائد و مقاصد کی تبدیلی انہیں ناگوار نہیں ہوتی۔ لیکن اگر ان کا مقصود کسی ایسے معاشرے کا زندہ رکھنا ہے جو عقائد کی بنا پر قائم ہوا ہے تو ان کے لیے ان

عوام و خواص کے فکر پر بہت گہرا پڑتا ہے اور آہستہ آہستہ خیالات کا ایک ذخیرہ ساری قوم کے تحت الشعور میں داخل ہو جاتا ہے۔ یہ خیالات ساری قوم کی نفسیات کا جزو بن جاتے ہیں۔ ان کے ساتھ ہی، لازم و ملزوم کی طرح، قوم کے تاریخی تجربے بھی ہوتے ہیں جو اس کی نفسیات کا ایک جزو بن جاتے ہیں۔ اس لیے یہ تجزیہ کرنے کی ضرورت ہے کہ اس بر عظیم کے مسلمانوں کی نفسیات کی تعمیر میں کن تاریخی محرکات نے حصہ لیا ہے اور ان کے تحت الشعور و شعور کو کس سانچے میں ڈھالا ہے۔

جہاں تک مفکرین کا تعلق ہے میں ان کی تعلیمات کی طرف نہایت اختصار کے ساتھ اشارہ کرنے پر اکتفا کروں گا۔ اس کا سبب یہ ہے کہ ان میں سے ہر ایک کے تصورات مستقل تصانیف کی وسعت کے طالب ہیں اور ان کے متعلق کتابیں موجود بھی ہیں اور ابھی اس کی گنجائش ہے کہ اور کتابیں لکھی جائیں۔ اس اختصار کی ضرورت کے ماتحت افراد کی جگہ بعض گروہوں کی طرف ہی اشارہ ممکن ہوگا، مثلاً اس بر عظیم کی نفسیات پر صوفیہ کا بہت اثر پڑا ہے۔ ان خیالات کے علاوہ جو شطحیات کے ذیل میں آتے ہیں اور جن سے خود محتاط اور اہل دل صوفیہ بھی بیزار تھے بہت سے ایسے خیالات و تصورات ہیں جنہوں نے ہماری نفسیات کی تعمیر میں گراں قدر حصہ لیا ہے، مثلاً عشق الہی اور حب رسول، تزکیۂ نفس، فقر، ایثار اور سود و زیاں سے استغنا کی صفات کی تخلیق و تقویت میں صوفیہ کی تعلیمات کا وقیع حصہ ہے۔ یہ خیال بھی درست نہیں ہے کہ تمام صوفیہ کے مزاج میں

اقبال فلسفہ کے راستے سے اسلام تک نہیں پہنچے، اسلام کے راستے سے اپنے فلسفے تک پہنچے۔ اسی لیے یہ فلسفہ اپنی کمال معقولیت کے باوجود بنیادی طور پر وجدانی ہے۔ یہی سبب ہے کہ اس بالغ نظر مسلمان کے نزدیک، جس کی رگوں میں نسل ہا نسل کے برہمنوں کا خون گردش کرتا تھا اور جسے ذہن ہندی کی موشگافیوں کی صلاحیت عطا ہوئی تھی، عقل مجبور ہے، اور قلب حکمت صحیحہ کا مسکن۔ اقبال فرنگی فلسفیوں کے خیالات سے نہ صرف واقف تھے بلکہ وہ خود مغربی فلسفہ کے عالم تھے، مسلمان فلسفیوں کی بحثوں پر بھی انہیں قدرت کاملہ حاصل تھی، اور وہ ان تمام فلسفیانہ خیالات کو حسب ضرورت اور بعض حدود کے اندر رہ کر دلیل، تنقیح یا استدلال کے لیے استعمال بھی کرتے تھے۔ مگر ان کا تکیہ عقائد اسلام پر تھا اور ان ہی کی کسوٹی پر وہ تمام خیالات کو پرکھتے تھے۔ بالفاظ دیگر اقبال کے فلسفہ کا محور اسلام تھا اور یہ اسلام چوں کہ ان کو ایک مسلمان گھر میں پیدا ہونے کی وجہ سے ابتداءً غیر شعوری طور سے ملا تھا لہذا ان کی نفسیات کا بڑا جزو تھا۔

صرف یہ کہ دینا کافی نہیں ہے کہ ان کے خیالات و تصورات بنیادی طور پر اسلام پر قائم ہیں، اس لیے کہ یہ امر بھی نہایت اہم ہے کہ خود اسلام کے متعلق ان کے تصورات کا منبع کیا ہے۔ یہ تو ظاہر ہے کہ قرآن حکیم اور احادیث نبوی ہر ذی ہوش مسلمان کے دینی عقائد کا سرچشمہ ہیں، لیکن ان کے علاوہ مسلمان مفکرین، شعرا، مصنفین اور تاریخی اہمیت کی حامل شخصیتوں کا بھی اثر

تاریخ، عمرانیات اور معیشیات کی سرحدوں کو احیائے اسلام اور ملت کی سبیلوں سے لا ملایا اور حضرت مجدد الف ثانی کی طرح روحانی ادراک اور علوم کے درمیان فاصل دیواروں کو منہدم کیا۔ اگر کسی دل میں یہ شبہ باقی رہ جانے کا احتمال تھا کہ قرب الہی کی منازل صرف خانقاہ ہی میں طے ہو سکتی ہیں اور دنیا کے معاملات میں الجھنے سے روح عالم آب و گل میں گرفتار ہو کر رہ جاتی ہے تو سید احمد شہید نے ثابت کر دیا کہ روحانی ترقی کے لیے میدان جہاد چلنے کے حجرے سے کم نہیں ہے۔ اگر علما و مدرسین میں اس جذبہ کے پیدا ہونے کا امکان تھا کہ عالم و مدرس کو مدرسہ سے باہر کی دنیا سے کیا واسطہ اور علم کی خدمت دنیا سے دور ہی رہ کر ہو سکتی ہے، تو حضرت شاہ عبدالعزیز نے ثابت کر دیا کہ بظاہر گوشہ نشین علما و مدرسین بھی ایسی تحریکوں کی داغ بیل ڈال سکتے ہیں اور پھر انہیں پروان چڑھا سکتے ہیں جو بنگال کے کاشتکاروں کو سرحد کے پہاڑوں میں سرگرم کارزار کر دے۔ اگر غلامی کی ذلت و نکبت نے بعض دلوں کو مردہ کر دیا اور ملت کی عظمت کی داستان بھلا دی تو حالی کے مسدس نے خوابیدہ حسرتوں کو پھر بیدار کر دیا۔ غرض ہماری تاریخ کا کوئی عہد زیادہ عرصے کے لیے ایسے اہل کمال سے خالی نہیں رہا جنہوں نے ملت کے صحیح احساسات کو نشو و نما دی۔

ان افراد اور گروہوں کی کاوش کا یہ نتیجہ تھا کہ ہماری ملی تاریخ سربلندی و ناکامی، کامرانی و نکبت، رجا و قنوط، غرض ہر حال

فرار کا عنصر غالب تھا، اس لیے کہ مشرقی پاکستان میں صوفیہ نے تبلیغ کے ساتھ ساتھ جہاد بھی کیا اور ایسے اہل دل جو جہاد کی نعمت سے محروم نہیں ہونا چاہتے تھے، بہت سے تھے۔ شعرا میں ایسے لوگوں کا شمار ہوتا ہے جیسے حضرت امیر خسرو و حسن سجزی جو ایک طرف معرفت الہی میں سرشار تھے تو دوسری طرف شاعری میں بھی یکتائے زمانہ تھے۔ رومی اگرچہ اس برعظیم سے تعلق نہ رکھتے تھے، لیکن ان کی لافانی مثنوی مسجودوں اور خانقاہوں میں یکساں ضو فگن تھی۔ اسی طرح مولانا جامی کی تصانیف سے مدرسہ و خانقاہ میں یکساں استفادہ ہوتا تھا اور غالباً مجموعی طور پر یہ تمام اثرات ہماری نفسیات میں خاص خاص مفکرین کی تعلیمات سے زیادہ رچ گئے تھے، لیکن انفرادی طور پر جن دیدہ وروں کی تعلیمات نے معنی خیز تاثرات پیدا کیے ان کی خصوصی اہمیت کا ذکر بھی اشارۃً ناگزیر ہے۔ تاریخ کے طالب علموں کے علاوہ کم ایسے لوگ ہیں جو حضرت مجدد الف ثانی کے پیدا کیے ہوئے انقلاب کی عظمت و وسعت سے واقف ہوں۔ ترکی سے انڈونیشیا تک ان کی تعلیمات نے تصوف کو شریعت کا پابند کرنے میں ایسا کار نمایاں انجام دیا ہے کہ شطحیات کا ڈھونڈ ڈھونڈ کر خاتمہ کر دیا اور خانقاہوں کو درستیٰ اعتقاد اور شریعت کا پابند بنا دیا۔ ان ہی کے وجدان میں انا کے وجود اور اس کی اہمیت کا ادراک ہوا اور پھر وہ فلسفیانہ مباحث کا مرکز بنا اور وحدت وجودی اور وحدت شہودی کے متعلق دلائل و براہین سے مدرسوں اور خانقاہوں کی صحبتوں میں گرمی پیدا ہوئی۔ حضرت شاہ ولی اللہ نے

کا واحد ذریعہ تھے اور ان کے چلے جانے سے ریاست کی مالیات کو نقصان پہنچتا، لہذا ان کی حفاظت حکومتیں کرتی تھیں۔ پھر بھی مسلمان آبادیوں کو خطرے کا احساس ضرور رہتا تھا۔ اسلام کی اخوت کی تعلیم کے ماتحت تمام ذومسلم مسلمان جماعت میں شریک ہو جاتے تھے، اور ہر خطرے کے مقابلے میں متحد ہوتے تھے اور ہندو بھی عرب و غیر عرب میں تمیز نہیں کرتے تھے اور ساری مسلمان آبادی کو ایک ہی سمجھتے تھے۔ یہاں سے عرب و غیر عرب مسلمانوں کے درمیان تفریق مٹنے کا سلسلہ شروع ہوا، اس لیے کہ اگرچہ کچھ عرصہ تک کفو و غیر کفو اور انساب کی وجہ سے آپس کے امتیازات قائم رہے، لیکن جہاں تک غیر مسلم و مسلم کی تفریق تھی وہ ان معمولی امتیازات پر حاوی رہی۔ خوش حالی و اطمینان، یا خطرہ اور مصیبت میں یکساں شرکت کی وجہ سے جو ہم خیالی اور ہم آہنگی پیدا ہوئی، اس سے جہاں تک اجتماعی مفاد کا تعلق تھا ایک قومیت کی بنیاد پڑی اور اس قومیت کا انحصار کلمۃ اسلام پر تھا، عربیت پر نہ تھا۔ بہت عرصہ تک ان مسلمان آبادیوں میں تین گروہ پائے جاتے تھے — ایک وہ جو خالص عرب تھے، دوسرے وہ جو عرب باپوں اور ہندی ماؤں کی اولاد تھے اور تیسرے خالص ہندی نژاد مسلمان۔ ان تین گروہوں کے علاوہ بعض ایرانی النسل عناصر بھی تھے، مگر ان کی داخلی تنظیم، احکام شریعت کے سب پر یکساں نفاذ، اور ان سب کے قاضی اور امیر کے ماتحت ہونے نے ان کو ایک سیاسی، دینی اور معاشرتی وحدت میں منسلک کر دیا تھا اور خود ہندوؤں کی سیاسی اور

میں ایک سعی پیہم کی داستان ہے اور ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ فلسفۂ اقبال کی تفسیر ہے۔ اس کا سبب یہ ہے کہ ہماری نفسیات اس تاریخ کی پیداوار ہے اور فلسفۂ اقبال کے وجدانی و نفسیاتی منابع کی تلاش کے سلسلے میں اس طرف زیادہ توجہ ضروری ہے، مگر یہ مختصر مقالہ اس کا متحمل نہیں ہو سکتا کہ برعظیم ہند و پاکستان کے مسلمانوں کی تاریخ کے تمام وہ پہلو معرض بحث میں لائے جائیں جو ہماری قومی نفسیات کو بنانے میں ایک دوسرے کے معاون ہوئے ہیں اور صرف بعض اہم امور کی طرف اشارہ کرنے پر اکتفا کرنا ناگزیر ہے۔

ہماری ملت کی ابتدا بحر عرب اور خلیج بنگال کے ان ساحلی مقامات پر ہوئی جہاں بعثت رسول صلعم سے قبل عرب تاجر آباد تھے۔ ان عربوں کو بعض حقوق حاصل تھے جن میں سب سے زیادہ اہم اپنے طریقہ پر اپنے معبودوں کی پرستش اور اپنی قومی رسوم کی پابندی تھی۔ اسی لیے ان کے ایک سربراہ کو سرکاری حیثیت حاصل ہوتی تھی اور وہ اپنے تنازعات کا فیصلہ بھی اپنے طور پر ہی کر لیا کرتے تھے۔ جب غرب میں اسلام کی روشنی پھیلنی شروع ہوئی تو تھوڑے سے عرصے میں ہندوستان کے ساحلی مقامات کی عرب آبادیاں بھی مسلمان ہو گئیں۔ اب چوں کہ ان میں تبلیغ کا جذبہ بھی پیدا ہوا تو انہوں نے مقامی لوگوں کو مسلمان کرنا شروع کیا۔ دوسری طرف ہندو حکمرانوں کی طرف سے بھی اس کی مزاحمت نہیں ہوئی، لیکن مقامی آبادی کو بعض اوقات اپنے اہل قوم کا تبدیل مذہب پسند نہ آتا اور مسلمانوں پر زیادتی بھی کر بیٹھتے۔ مگر چوں کہ یہ عرب بیرونی ممالک سے تجارت

بھی حتمی رائے کا اظہار کر سکیں، لیکن ہندوؤں کی معاشرت اور مذہبی خیالات، نیز اسلام کے سیاسی و سماجی نظام و نظریات سے توقع اسی امر کی ہے کہ آبادی کی تقسیم عرب و غیر عرب کی جگہ مسلم و غیر مسلم کی تفریق پر قائم ہونے میں زیادہ عرصہ نہ لگا ہوگا۔ یہ کہ یہ خیال قرین حقیقت ہے اس سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ جب اسماعیلی مبلغین کی کوشش سے سندھ کی امارتیں اسماعیلیوں کے ہاتھ میں آ گئیں اور آہستہ آہستہ اسماعیلیت کو فروغ ہوا تو یہاں پر ہندی النسل اسماعیلی مسلمانوں کی حکومت قائم ہوئی اور بہت عرصے تک قائم رہی۔ سمرہ خاندان تین سو سال تک حکمران رہا اور آخری زمانے میں اس نے تسنن اختیار کیا۔ اس کے بعد سمرہ بھی ہندی النسل تھے، جس سے مسلمان معاشرے میں ہندی النسل طبقوں کے نفوذ کا پتہ چلتا ہے۔ سمرہ کے عربی النسل ہونے کی روایت کو میں تسلیم نہیں کرتا ہوں۔ اس کا مفصل ذکر میں نے اپنی تصنیف *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent* میں کیا ہے۔

ترکوں کی فتح کے بعد تو تاریخ کے خد و خال زیادہ روشن ہو جاتے ہیں۔ خصوصاً تیرھویں صدی عیسوی میں جب اس طویل و عریض برعظیم کا تمام شمالی حصہ مسلمانوں کے قبضے میں آ گیا تو تاریخ کا ایک جدید باب شروع ہوا۔ اس دور کے بلند اقبال و عالی ہمت مسلمانوں کے سامنے بظاہر ایسے مسائل تھے جو ان سے کم حوصلہ اور تدبیر رکھنے والے ہرگز حل نہ کر سکتے تھے۔ اٹک سے بنگالہ کی مشرقی حدود تک کے فاصلہ پر نظر ڈالیے۔ پہلے تو اس کی

سماجی حکمت عملی نے انہیں علیحدہ رکھا۔ ایک طرف تو ان کا آپس میں رشتہ مضبوط ہوتا چلا گیا اور دوسری طرف ان کی ہندوؤں سے مغائرت قائم رہی، یہاں تک کہ ان ہی وجوہ کی بنا پر وہ ہندو جو مشرف بہ اسلام ہوتے تھے اپنے ہم نسلوں سے علیحدہ ہو کر اسلامی معاشرے کے فرد بن جاتے تھے۔

اس برعظیم میں اسلامی معاشرہ کی بنا جن اصولوں پر پڑی تھی وہ بعد میں بھی قائم رہے۔ جب عربوں نے سندھ فتح کیا اور عرب شہر قائم کیے تو ان میں حسب دستور مساجد و مدارس کا انتظام کیا، قضاۃ کا تقرر کیا، اور اسلامی شریعت کے نفاذ اور اسلامی شعار کے قیام کے لیے جملہ تدابیر اختیار کیں۔ محمد بن قاسم کی فتوحات کے ساتھ ساتھ ہم جوق جوق بدھوں کے اسلام میں داخل ہونے کا ذکر پڑھتے ہیں۔ یہ ظاہر ہے کہ یہ انتظامات عرب و سندھی مسلمانوں کے لیے یکساں کیے گئے ہوں گے۔ اور یہ امر بھی قرین قیاس ہے کہ عرب شہروں میں بہت سے سندھی مسلمان ان سہولتوں کی وجہ سے کھینچ کر آ گئے ہوں گے اور ایسا بھی ہوا ہوگا کہ اگر کسی جگہ کثرت سے بدھ یا ہندو مسلمان ہوئے ہوں اور وہاں مسلمانوں کی معتدبہ آبادی ہو تو انہیں اسلام کی تعلیم اور شریعت سے وابستہ رکھنے کے لیے اسی قسم کے انتظام کیے گئے ہوں گے جو عرب شہروں میں کیے گئے تھے اور اس طرح اسلامی معاشرے کے متحد و منفرد ہونے کا سلسلہ شروع ہو گیا ہوگا۔ افسوس کہ ہمارے پاس اتنا مواد نہیں ہے کہ ہم عرب آبادیوں کی طرح ملی جلی آبادیوں کے متعلق

دیتے تھے اور پھر میدان میں آ کر اپنی جان بہت مہنگی بیچتے تھے۔ اس دور کی تاریخ کے اور بھی زرین پہلو ہیں جن کے ذکر کا یہاں موقعہ نہیں ہے، لیکن یہ ضروری ہے کہ بعض ان نفسیاتی خصوصیات کی طرف اشارہ کیا جائے جو اس دور کی پیداوار تھیں اور جو اب تک ہمارے تحت الشعور میں پورے استحکام کے ساتھ قائم ہیں۔

سب سے پہلے تو یہ قلت تعداد کا ہی معاملہ لیجیے۔ اس برعظیم کے مسلمان اپنا وجود اور استیلا کو قائم رکھنے کے لیے ہمیشہ اس کے خواہش مند رہے کہ دوسرے ممالک کے مسلمان ترک وطن کر کے ان میں شامل ہوں، اور اس طرح ان کی مشکلات و کامرانیوں میں ان کے شریک بنیں۔ چوں کہ انہیں اپنی تعداد بڑھانے کی ضرورت لاحق تھی، اور اس کے بغیر ان کے نفوذ و اثر میں ترقی ممکن نہیں تھی، لہذا وہ ہر باہر سے آنے والے مسلمان کو گلے سے لگاتے تھے اور ان کے سلاطین اس کی قابلیت کے اندازے سے اسے خدمات تفویض کرتے تھے۔ ان کے ہاں قابلیت ہی وہ کسوٹی تھی جس پر پورا اترنے کے بعد ترقی کی راہیں کھل جاتی تھیں، اور ایسا تو کوئی بھی نہیں ہوتا تھا جو بے کار رہے اور کسی نہ کسی خدمت پر مامور نہ کیا جائے۔ ہاں یہ دوسری بات ہے کہ وہ خود ہی اپنے لیے کوئی کام تلاش کر لے اور اس میں منہمک ہو جائے۔ اس پر بھی اس کی طبیعت کی افتاد اور اس کی رضامندی کے مطابق اسے پوری امداد دی جاتی تھی۔ ان آنے والوں میں اکثر افراد وسط ایشیا کے ہوتے تھے، لیکن دوسرے اسلامی ممالک سے بھی لوگ آتے تھے اور اس برعظیم میں آ کر اگر اپنے اصلی وطن کی یاد ان کے

وسعت ہی کمزور دلوں میں مایوسی پیدا کرنے کے لیے کافی ہے۔ آخر اس وسعت کو دیکھ کر ہی تو دنیا کے مشہور فاتح سکندر اعظم نے واپسی کا ارادہ کر لیا تھا۔ پھر اس علاقہ کے ان جغرافیائی حالات کا جائزہ لیجیے جو تیرھویں صدی عیسوی میں پائے جاتے تھے۔ موجودہ اتر پردیش، بہار اور بنگال میں ایسے گھنے جنگل تھے جہاں سے گزرنا دشوار تھا۔ برسات میں دریا ناقابل عبور ہو جاتے تھے اور بہت سے علاقوں میں سیلاب نقل و حرکت میں مزاحم ہوتے تھے۔ اول تو ان علاقوں کا فتح کرنا ہی ان قلیل التعداد افواج کے لیے جو حملہ آور ہوئیں آسان نہ تھا، پھر ان کو قبضہ میں رکھنا، وسائل آمد و رفت کو کھلا رکھنا، اور مقامی بغاوتوں کو فرو کرنا تو بظاہر ناممکن نظر آتا ہوگا۔ اس پر سونے پر سہاگہ یہ کہ ابھی سلطنت پوری طرح جمنے بھی نہ پائی تھی کہ غیر مسلم مغلوں کا ایک طوفان اٹھا جس نے تمام مشرقی بلاد اسلام پر خون و غارت کی آگ برسا دی۔ اس کا سو سال تک مقابلہ کرنا اور برعظیم میں داخل ہونے سے روکے رکھنا بظاہر ایک فوق العادہ کارنامہ معلوم ہوتا ہے، مگر اس کے ساتھ ساتھ فتوحات کا جاری رکھنا اور اقصائے جنوب ہند تک پرچم اسلام کو جا کر نصب کرنا تو اور بھی محیر العقول ہے اور یہ فتوحات، جہاں تک ہندوؤں کا تعلق ہے، کسی ایسی قوم کے خلاف نہیں ہوئیں جو وحشی ہوتی یا آداب حرب سے نابلد ہوتی یا جسے جان دینا نہ آتا ہوتا۔ اسی قوم کے تو افراد تھے جو مغلوب ہو کر اطاعت کرنے کی بجائے زعفرانی کپڑے پہن کر پہلے اپنی عورتوں کو جلا

وقت میرا ارادہ اس الم ناک داستان کو بیان کرنا نہیں ہے۔ صرف یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس وقت کے علما و فضلا اور اکابر میں جو بیچ نکلے اور جن کی قسمت مساعد تھی، ان میں سے اکثر و بیشتر دہلی آکر پناہ گزین ہوئے، حتیٰ کہ بلبن کے عہد میں بھی اس شہر میں محلے کے محلے ان مہاجرین کے نام سے آباد ہوئے اور ان کے دم سے علم و فن کے وہ چشمے ابلے جنہوں نے روحانی طور پر بھی دہلی کو عروس البلاد اور قبة الاسلام بنا دیا۔ مسلمان مؤرخین اور مصنفین نے دہلی کے حالات جو قلم بند کیے ہیں انہیں پڑھ کر معاً دل میں یہ حیرت پیدا ہوتی ہے کہ اتنے قلیل عرصے میں اس شہر نے علم و فن میں یہ ترقی کیوں کر حاصل کر لی، لیکن برنی کے وہ صفحات پڑھ کر جہاں اس نے ان مہاجرین کا ذکر کیا ہے، یہ حیرت دور ہو جاتی ہے۔ یہی تو وہ روشن ستارے تھے جن کی ضویشیوں سے اول اول یہ برعظیم منور ہوا۔ اس سے پہلے لاہور کو یہ شرف حاصل ہو چکا تھا کہ اسلامی علوم کی تاریخ میں اس کا نام سر بلند ہو۔ اس کا سبب غزنویوں کا ترک وطن کر کے اس شہر کو اپنا دارالسلطنت بنانا تھا اور سلطان محمود کی قائم کردہ روایات چوں کہ انحطاط کے دور میں بھی قائم رہیں لہذا لاہور بھی مشہور اسلامی شہروں کی فہرست میں داخل ہوا۔ بعد میں اور صوبائی حکمرانوں کے دارالسلطنت بھی علم و فضل کی خدمت کے لیے مشہور ہوئے۔ علوم منقول تو بین الاسلامی تھے ہی، اس لیے کہ قرآن و حدیث و فقہ کا تعلق کسی ایک ملک سے نہیں ہے، اور معقولات کا بھی یہی حال تھا، اس لیے کہ وہ مسلمانوں کی روایات کی

دل میں زندہ بھی رہتی تھی تو ایک تاریخی واقعہ کی حیثیت سے، ورنہ یہاں تو وہ صرف مسلمان ہی کہلاتے تھے اور صرف مسلمان ہی کی حیثیت سے ان کے حقوق و فرائض متعین ہوتے تھے۔ یہی حال ان جماعتوں اور افراد کا تھا جو اس برعظیم میں اسلام قبول کر کے مسلمانوں میں شامل ہو جاتے تھے۔ وہ بھی یہاں کے اسلامی معاشرے کا جزو بن کر اپنے پرانے تعلقات منقطع کر لیتے تھے اور دوسرے مسلمانوں کی ذمہ داریوں میں شریک ہو جاتے تھے، اور جو مواقع دوسرے مسلمانوں کو حاصل تھے وہ انہیں حاصل ہو جاتے تھے۔ اس لیے اس برعظیم میں مسلمانوں کی وحدت کا واحد عامل اسلام تھا، اور اسلام ہی سے ان جذبات کی تعمیر ہوتی تھی جو ان کے اجتماعی ادراک کی تہ میں کارفرما ہوتے تھے۔ اس میں ترکی و ایرانی، ہندی و عرب، کالے اور گورے کی تمیز نہ تھی بلکہ پوری قوم اخوت اسلام کی حلقہ بگوش تھی اور اجتماعی نفسیات کی بنیاد اس پر قائم تھی۔

مغول حملہ آوروں کی تباہ کاریوں کے سبب سلطنت دہلی کے باہر مسلمانوں کی لاتعداد بستیاں ویران ہوئیں۔ بغداد کی نالیوں میں خون بہنے اور دجلے کا پانی سرخ ہونے سے پہلے اور بھی شہروں اور قصبوں کی زمین سرخ ہو چکی تھی۔ مساجد، مدارس، کتب خانے، وسائل آب پاشی، مکان، بازار، کاروان سرائے، غرض تمدن و معیشت کے ذرائع کی تباہی کی داستان اگر دہرائی جائے، تو صدیاں گزرنے کے بعد بھی حساس آنکھیں خون کے آنسو روئیں۔ اس تباہی کے عواقب میں مسلمانوں کی علمی ترقی کے انسداد کا سانحہ بھی شامل ہے، مگر اس

تک پہنچ جائے، لیکن حقیقت میں جب ہمارے خیالی کوہ و دمن ہمارے تصورات کے چراغ لالہ سے روشن ہوتے ہیں تو ہمارے خوابوں کا مرغ چمن ہمیں نالوں پر اکسا دیتا ہے اور ہم بے قرار ہو جاتے ہیں۔ یہ سب کیوں ہوتا ہے؟ اس لیے نہیں کہ ہم اپنے ماحول سے بے خبر ہیں۔ اس ماحول کا تو ہمارے حواس پر آغوشِ مادر سے آغوشِ لحد تک برابر نقش بیٹھتا رہتا ہے۔ بلکہ اس باعث کہ گویا صدیوں تک ہمارے جسم اس خطہ میں رہے ہیں جسے برعظیم ہند و پاکستان کہا جاتا ہے لیکن ہمارے دماغ اور ہماری روحوں اس دنیا کی مکین رہی ہیں جہاں پہلے مسلمان آکر آباد ہوتے رہے اور جو اپنے خیالات و تصورات میں ہندی النسل مسلمانوں کو بھی شریک کرتے رہے۔ اس کا ایک اور نفسیاتی سبب بھی تھا جس کی طرف کسی قدر تفصیل کے ساتھ اشارہ ضروری ہے۔

آپ ابتدائے اسلام کی قلیل التعداد ساحلی مسلمان آبادیوں کو لیں یا فتوحات اسلام کے دور کو لیں، جب قلیل التعداد مسلمان انسانوں کے ایک انبوہ غفیر پر حکمران تھے، یا مسلمانوں کے انحطاط کے زمانہ کو لیں جب اس برعظیم کے اکثر حصہ میں وہ ایک اقلیت کی حیثیت رکھتے تھے۔ اپنے وجود کو قائم رکھنے کے لیے ضروری تھا کہ وہ اپنے دفاع میں چوکنے رہیں۔ ان کے لیے اکثریت کی طرف سے حملے یا بغاوت کا امکان محض تخیل نہ تھا بلکہ انہیں اس سے اکثر دوچار ہونا پڑتا تھا۔ اس عظیم خطہ ارض پر حکومت کرنے کے لیے یہ تھوڑی سی تعداد قلعہ بند قصبوں میں پھیلی ہوئی تھی اور ان قصبوں کے

حاصل تھیں، لیکن شاعری نے بھی اپنا وسط ایشیائی اور ایرانی مذاق نہ بدلا اور اس کا سب سے بڑا سبب یہی تھا کہ اس کی بنیاد باہر سے آنے والوں کے ہاتھوں رکھی گئی تھی اور چوں کہ آنے والوں کا یہ سلسلہ برابر جاری رہا، کبھی اس کی روایات میں فرق نہ آیا اور خیالات و انداز بیان میں وہ برابر مستولی رہی، یہاں تک کہ جب شعرا نے فارسی چھوڑ کر اردو اختیار کی تو انہوں نے صرف زبان ہی کے بدلنے پر اکتفا کیا اور خیالات و استعارات و تشبیہات یہاں تک کہ عروض و اصناف کو بھی بغیر ادنیٰ تبدیلی کے قائم رکھا۔ مراد یہ ہے کہ علوم و شاعری کے ذریعہ جن نفسیات کی تعمیر ہوئی، وہ اسلامی تھی مقامی نہ تھی۔ یہی سبب تو ہے کہ ہم اب تک شمشاد و صنوبر اور گل و بلبل کا ذکر کرتے ہیں، لیکن راوی اور چناب، گنگا اور جمنا کے کنارے پیدا ہونے والے درخت ہماری توجہ کا مرکز نہیں بنے۔ لالہ زار ہمیں یاد رہے، لیکن گیہوں اور دھان کے لہلہاتے کھیت ہمارے شاعرانہ جذبات کو ابھارنے میں کامیاب نہیں ہوئے۔ میدانوں میں رہنے کے باوجود کوہ و دمن کا تصور ہمارے دلوں سے مردہ نہیں ہوا۔ ایسے علاقوں میں آباد رہے جہاں موسم بہار کا وجود عدم سے کچھ زیادہ ممتاز نہیں ہے، برسات کی طرف شاید ہم اپنے ذوقِ مے خواری کے سبب ایک اچھٹی ہوئی نظر ڈال لیں، لیکن ہمارے قلب کی حرکت بہمن و دے کا عمل اُٹھنے کے بعد ہی تیز ہوتی ہے، حالانکہ ان کی چیرہ دستیایں ہمارے ماحول میں قابل التفات بھی نہیں ہوتیں۔ کوئل کی کو کو اور پیسے کی پی کہاں کبھی شاید ہمارے کانوں

ختم ہو جاتی ہے۔ چنانچہ جب تک خطرے کا احساس شدید رہا تو مسلمانوں میں واقعی خلفشار پیدا نہیں ہوا اور جب تسلط پوری طرح قائم ہو گیا اور بظاہر ایسا ہوا کہ خطرہ نہیں ہے مسلمانوں کی قوت منتشر ہو گئی اور سلطنت میں ضعف پیدا ہو گیا، لیکن خواہ یہ اتحاد موجود ہوتا یا خلفشار کو اپنی جگہ دیتا، دونوں حالات میں نظری طور پر اس اتحاد کی ضرورت ذہنوں میں مرتسم رہتی اور اس اتحاد کی ضرورت کے پس پردہ وہی خیال تھا کہ اقلیت کے وقار کو قائم رکھنے کے لیے حکومت کی ضرورت ہے اور حکومت کے لیے خطروں سے عہدہ برا ہونے کی، جو اتحاد اور مستعدی کے بغیر ناممکن تھا۔

یہ تو ایک سیاسی خطرہ تھا۔ اگرچہ اسلام مسلمانوں کے لیے غلامی کی زندگی کو پسند نہیں کرتا، حتیٰ کہ وہ اس کا تصور بھی نہیں کرتا کہ مسلمان غلام رہ کر زندہ رہ سکتے ہیں، تاہم قومیں اور اقلیتیں محکومی کی حالت میں بھی بسا اوقات زندہ رہ جاتی ہیں، اگرچہ ان کے ذہن اور کردار پر اس کا اثر سم قاتل سے کم نہیں ہوتا۔ وہ اپنے مادی وجود اور نفسیات کے بعض اجزا کو محفوظ کر لیتی ہیں۔ اس برعظیم میں مسلمانوں کو ایک اور خطرہ کا مقابلہ تھا جو نہ صرف محکومیت کی حالت میں ان کے وجود کو ختم کر سکتا تھا، بلکہ حاکمیت کے دور میں بھی اس کی طرف سے دفاع لازمی تھا۔ وہ خطرہ تھا اس علاقے کے فلسفہ، نظریہ حیات، طریقہ زندگی، معتقدات و افکار اور رسم و رواج کا تدریجی نفوذ، جو بالآخر مسلمانوں کو یہاں کی آبادی کے بحر ذخار میں غرق کر دیتا اور وہ اپنی انفرادیت، اپنی

مسلمانوں پر نہ صرف اپنے دفاع کا فرض عائد ہوتا تھا بلکہ وقت ضرورت دوسرے قصبوں اور آبادیوں کی امداد، بغاوت فرو کرنا، وسائل آمد و رفت کو کھلا رکھنا بھی ان کے فرائض میں داخل تھا۔ دوسری جگہ سے امداد آنے آنے دیر لگتی تھی۔ اصلی قوت دفاع ان ہی کو پیدا کرنی پڑتی تھی اور تسلط قائم ہونے سے پہلے تو اکثر ان آبادیوں کی جان پر بن جاتی تھی۔ اس وقت دفاع میں صرف مسلم و غیر مسلم کی تفریق ہوتی تھی اور خطرے کے وقت کوئی داخلی امتیاز قابل اعتنا نہ ہوتا تھا۔ اس طرح ماحول اور غیر مسلموں کی طرف سے خطرہ کا احساس ان کی سرشت میں داخل ہو گیا اور ان کی نفسیات کا بہت بڑا جزو بن گیا۔

قصبوں سے ہٹ کر خطرہ کا احساس ملی سطح پر بھی تھا۔ ہر اقلیت جب ایک بہت بڑی اکثریت پر حکمران ہوتی ہے تو اسے یہ اندیشہ رہتا ہے کہ بغاوت کے ذریعہ سے اس کا تختہ الٹا جا سکتا ہے، خصوصاً جب محکوم قوم ثقافت، علم، آداب حرب اور شجاعت سے خالی نہ ہو۔ اکبر کی ہندو نوازی اور عالم گیر کی اصول اسلام کی پابندی کا سیاسی سبب ایک ہی تھا کہ محکوم قوم اتنی بڑی اکثریت تھی۔ اکبر ان محکوموں کو حکومت میں دخیل اور طاقت میں شریک کرنا چاہتا تھا، اور عالم گیر کی یہ خواہش تھی کہ مسلمانوں کا جذبہ اسلام کمزور نہ پڑنے پائے تاکہ ان کی دفاعی قوت زائل نہ ہو جائے۔ یہ فکر خود قومی نفسیات پر اثر انداز ہوتی ہے اور حکمران قوم میں یگانگت پیدا کرتی ہے، خواہ یہ فکر شعوری ہو یا تحت الشعور میں۔ اور جب یہ فکر دماغوں سے جاتی رہتی ہے تو قومی یگانگت

شدت پر کوئی اثر نہیں پڑا۔ اسلام نے شرک کے مقابلے میں توحید، بت پرستی کے مقابلے میں افراد و اصنام کے مظہر ایزدی ہونے کا عدم احتمال، معاشرہ کے ذات پات اور اعلیٰ ادنیٰ میں تقسیم ہونے کی بجائے مساوات و اتحاد اور ایک ایسے فلسفہ کے مقابلہ میں جو تخیلات کی افراط سے کسی نظام کی پابندیاں بھول چکا تھا اسلامی شریعت کی منطق و تنظیم کو پیش کیا، اور ابتداءً ایسا معلوم ہوا کہ اس حربے کا ہندویت کے پاس کوئی دفاع نہیں ہے، لیکن بہت جلد ہندویت نے اپنا دفاع پیدا کر لیا اور اس نے یہ نظریہ پیش کیا کہ ادیان کا اختلاف بے معنی ہے، تمام راستے خدا کی طرف لے جاتے ہیں، ذاتی تزکیہ نفس اور خدا کی محبت اصل دین ہے، یہ ہر دین میں رہ کر حاصل ہو سکتے ہیں، ہندو اور مسلمان کی تفریق غیر اہم ہے، اور اگر اہمیت کسی چیز کو ہے تو وہ عشق الہی کو ہے۔ چونکہ بت پرستی، شرک اور عدم مساوات کے اعتراض پھر بھی کھٹکتے رہے، اس لیے بہت سے ہندو بزرگوں نے ان سے بھی انکار کیا اور کہا کہ توحید برحق ہے اور ذات پات کی تفریق غلط ہے، مگر اس کے ساتھ ساتھ انہوں نے اسلام میں جذب ہونا پسند نہ کیا بلکہ ان خیالات کی ترویج سے خود مسلمانوں میں ایسے افراد اور فرقے پیدا ہو گئے جو مسلمانوں کے جداگانہ وجود اور اسلام اور ہندویت میں تفریق کے قائل نہ رہے۔ اس گروہ میں اپنی سیاسی اہمیت کے سبب اکبر اور دارا شکوہ زیادہ مشہور ہیں، مگر اس قسم کے دوسرے افراد کی بھی کمی نہ تھی۔ اس مہلک فلسفے کے منطقی لواحق پر غور کیا جائے تو ظاہر

ثقافت، اپنا ایمان، اپنا دین اور اپنی روایات بالکل کھو بیٹھتے۔ یہ خطرہ ہندوؤں کے ساتھ رہنے میں اور بھی شدید تھا، اس لیے کہ ہندویت میں دوسری اقوام کو جذب کرنے کی بڑی قوت ہے اور تاریخ کی پوری پہنائی میں یہ قوت کار گر رہی ہے۔ اسلام کو جذب کرنے کی تو ہندویت نے بڑی کوشش کی۔ اگر مسلمانوں کی نفسیات کچھ اور ہوتی تو وہ کبھی کے جذب ہو چکے ہوتے اور شاید تاریخ کے اوراق میں ہی ان کا ذکر ملتا۔ شاید ایسا بھی نہ ہوتا، اس لیے کہ ہندوؤں کو تاریخ سے کبھی دلچسپی نہیں رہی ہے۔ ہندویت کا طریقہ کار یہ ہے کہ وہ پہلے تو معتقدات کو چھوڑ کر سماجی اثرات کام میں لاتی ہے۔ انسان کچھ بھی عقیدہ رکھے، لیکن اگر وہ ہندو معاشری نظام کو قبول کر لے تو آہستہ آہستہ اس میں پیوست ہو جاتا ہے اور چونکہ ہندویت کے بنیادی عقائد یعنی کرم، تناسخ وغیرہ ماحول میں رچے ہوئے ہیں، لہذا معتقدات بھی رفتہ رفتہ بدل جاتے ہیں۔ چنانچہ مسلمانوں سے پہلے کتنے ہی گروہ اس برعظیم میں داخل ہوئے اور یہاں کی آبادی کا ایسا جزو بن گئے کہ ان کا پتہ بھی نہیں چلتا۔ مسلمانوں کی سخت جانی کا ثبوت اس سے ملتا ہے کہ صدیوں میں مسلمانوں پر یہ وار کار گر نہ ہوا جس کا سبب ان کا ایمان، ان کی شریعت اور اپنے طریق زندگی پر ان کا فخر تھا۔ اس کے مقابلے میں انہوں نے جب تبلیغی حربے استعمال کیے تو ہندویت کو اپنے دفاع کی سوجھی اور اگرچہ یہ تمام جنگ بسا اوقات غیر شعوری سطح پر دونوں قوموں کی نفسیات کے تحت ہوئی، لیکن اس سے اس جنگ کی

خواہیدہ ہیں اور ہماری غیر شعوری مدافعت بھی بروئے کار نہیں آتی اور احساس کمتری نے ہم پر ایسا غلبہ پایا ہے کہ مغرب کے ساتھ انضمام کو ہم ترقی اور زندگی سے تعبیر کرتے ہیں۔ بہر حال یہ لاپرواہی ہم میں اس زمانے میں جس کا میں ذکر کر رہا ہوں نہیں پائی جاتی تھی اور خواہ حالات کیسے ہی ناسازگار رہے ہوں ہماری قوت دفاع مفلوج نہیں ہوئی تھی۔

چوں کہ ہمیں اپنا وجود برقرار رکھنا تھا لہذا قلت تعداد سے جو احساس ضعف پیدا ہوتا تھا، اسے دور کرنے کے لیے روحانی و نفسیاتی طاقت کے سوتے تلاش کرنے ناگزیر تھے۔ ہماری سب سے بڑی قوت تو ہمارے ایمان میں مرکوز تھی، اس لیے کہ اس کی بدولت ہمیں یہ یقین میسر تھا کہ ہمارا وجود لازوال ہے۔ ہمارے نزدیک جس قوم کے سینوں میں توحید کی امانت محفوظ تھی اس کا نام و نشان مٹانا آسان نہ تھا، اور چوں کہ ہم حق کے امین تھے اس لیے ہماری قوم اور ان اقوام میں جن کے سپرد یہ امانت نہ تھی ہمارے نزدیک زمین آسمان کا فرق تھا۔ مگر اس یقین محکم کے ساتھ ہم نے اور بھی وسائل اختیار کیے، خواہ یہ اس سبب سے حاصل کیے ہوں کہ ہماری ثقافت کی جڑیں اس برعظیم سے باہر اسلامی دنیا میں پیوست تھیں، یا اس وجہ سے کہ اس سے قلت تعداد کا نفسیاتی اندیشہ کچھ کمزور پڑ جاتا تھا یا پھر اس باعث کہ ہماری آنکھوں کے سامنے ہماری بڑھتی ہوئی طاقت کے قیام میں باہر سے آنے والے مسلمانوں کا بھی حصہ تھا اور جب تک اولوالعزمی قائم رہی ہم نے ان کی ضرورت

ہو جاتا ہے کہ اگر تمام ادیان برابر ہیں اور انسان کو ایک ہی منزل کی طرف لے جاتے ہیں، تو اسلام کا امتیاز ختم ہو جاتا ہے اور ہدایات و ضلالت کے تصورات ہی بدل جاتے ہیں اور اگر اسلام اور دیگر ادیان میں کوئی فرق نہ ہو تو امت مسلمہ کا وجود کلمۃ الحق کے لیے ضروری نہیں رہتا، اور اگر امت مسلمہ کے وجود کی ضرورت نہ ہو تو پھر اس برعظیم کے سواد اعظم میں اس کا جذب ہو جانا مسلمانوں کے لیے ناقابل قبول نہیں ہو سکتا۔ الغرض مسلمانوں کا بھی وہی حشر ہوتا جو اور آنے والوں کا ہوا ہے۔ یہ فلسفہ نہ تھا بلکہ ایک ایسا زہر تھا جو پہلے حواس کو معطل کر دے اور پھر سلسلہ حیات کو ختم کر دے۔ چوں کہ اس فلسفہ کو ویدانت اور تصوف کی سطحی یکسانیت کے سبب صوفیہ کی اصطلاح میں بیان کیا جاتا تھا اس لیے مسلمان اور بھی آسانی کے ساتھ اس کا ہدف بن سکتے تھے۔ اسی کا علاج کرنے کے لیے حضرت مجدد الف ثانی نے وحدت الوجود و وحدت الشہود کے نکات سمجھائے اور احیائے شریعت کی تحریک چلائی۔

ہندویت میں جذب ہو جانے اور اپنا وجود کھو بیٹھنے کا خطرہ، خواہ سیاسی بے چارگی کی وجہ سے ہوتا نظر آتا یا عقائد میں باطل تصورات کے نفوذ سے، یکساں تشویش کا باعث تھا، اور چوں کہ ملت اپنے وجود کو عزیز رکھتی تھی لہذا شعوری اور غیر شعوری طور پر اس کی حفاظت کو ضروری سمجھتی تھی۔ یہاں اس استعجاب کا اظہار اگرچہ موضوع سے ہٹا ہوا ہے، تاہم کایۃ بے محل نہیں ہے کہ جب مغرب سے ایسے ہی فساد کی یورش ہے تو ہماری تمام دفاعی قوتیں

مسلمانوں کی حمایت کا فرض انجام دے اور جب سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء میں ہم نے آخری مغل تاج دار کو انگریزوں کے مقابلے میں کھڑا کیا تو ”ایک شاہ مغرب“ کے نمودار ہونے کی پیش گوئی سے ہماری ہمت بندھی۔ اگر یہ بات تھی کہ ہم دنیائے اسلام کی افواج قاہرہ کے ہراول تھے تو پھر ہمارا اصلی وطن کہاں تھا؟ دنیائے اسلام کے قلب میں یا سامنے کے مورچوں پر؟ سپاہی مورچوں پر لڑتا ہے، لیکن روحانی و نفسیاتی طور پر وہ رہتا قلب وطن میں ہے، اسی لیے تو ہم فرغندہ کے ٹھنڈے چشموں، ایران و افغانستان کے پہاڑوں کی ٹھنڈی فضاؤں اور ان پر اگنے والے شمشاد و صنوبر اور لالہ و گل کے راگ گانے رہے۔ اس کا سبب یہ خیال ہی تھا کہ ہمارا وطن دنیائے اسلام ہے اور اس دیار میں ہم مسافر ہیں۔ یہ بات ہمارے تحت الشعور میں ہی نہ تھی، شعور میں بھی تھی۔ حضرت شاہ ولی اللہ ایک مقام پر رسم و رواج اور لباس کے سلسلہ میں کہتے ہیں کہ ہم تو اس دیار میں مسافر ہیں اور حالی کو جب ہماری حالت زار پر رونا آتا ہے تو بارگاہ رسول میں عرض کرتے ہیں کہ ان کا دین ”پردیس میں“ ”غریب الغریبا ہے“۔

اس احساس نے ہمارے اتحاد اسلام کے جذبے کو ہمیشہ قوت بخشی اور اس دنیا میں ہمیں اتحاد اسلام کا سب سے بڑا علم بردار بنایا۔ اسی سے چین و عرب و ہندوستان کے درمیان ہم نے تفریق نہ کی اور ساری دنیا کو ہم نے اپنا وطن سمجھا۔ غلامی کے زمانے میں یہ خیال ہمیں خاص طور پر ستاتا رہا کہ ہسپانیہ میں مسلمانوں کا

محسوس کی اور جب انحطاط نے اس اولوالعزمی کو کمزور کر دیا تو ہم ایرانی و تورانی، شیعہ و سنی اور ملکی و غیرملکی کے جھگڑوں میں پڑ گئے جس کی ہمیں قرار واقعی سزا بھی بھگتنی پڑی۔ لیکن اولوالعزمی کے زمانے میں جب ہماری دفاعی قوتیں بروئے کار تھیں، ہماری طاقت کے سرچشموں میں عالم اسلام کی طاقت اور امت مسلمہ کے وطن کی وسعت بھی تھی۔ روحانی طور پر ہم ایک بہت بڑی دنیا کا حصہ تھے۔ وہ بڑی دنیا ہماری پشت پر تھی۔ جب کبھی ہم کمزور پڑے تو اس دنیا نے پھر کوشش کر کے ہمیں سر بلند بنایا اور پہلے سے زیادہ طاقت بہم پہنچائی۔ عربوں کی حکومت جب سندھ میں ختم ہوئی تو ترک پنجاب پر قابض ہوئے۔ جب غزنوی کمزور پڑے تو غوریوں کی سرکردگی میں ایک نئی اور کہیں زیادہ وسیع سلطنت کی بنیاد پڑی۔ جب اس میں اضمحلال پیدا ہوا تو افغانوں نے اپنے پہاڑوں سے نکل کر زمام سلطنت اپنے ہاتھ میں لی۔ اور جب وہ آپس کے اختلافات سے ہماری قیادت کے قابل نہ رہے تو سلطنت مغلیہ نہایت طمطراق کے ساتھ قائم ہوئی۔ جب اس طرح اسلام اور مسلمانوں کے تفوق کو قائم رکھنے کے لیے باہر سے کمک پہنچتی رہی تو پھر یہ خیال کیا غلط تھا کہ ہم دراصل ایک بڑی امت کا ہراول ہیں جو برعظیم ہند و پاکستان کو اپنی گرفت سے نہ نکلنے دے گی، اور چوں کہ ہم اس کے سپاہی ہیں وہ ہمیں مغلوب نہ ہونے دے گی۔ یہی سبب تو ہے کہ جب ہم مجبور ہوئے تو ہمارے مفکر حضرت شاہ ولی اللہ دہلوی نے احمد شاہ ابدالی کو یہ دعوت دی کہ ہندوستان کے مظلوم

کے کسی موڑ پر قوم کی رہنمائی کی ہے اور قوم نے انہیں اپنا ترجمان یا رہبر تسلیم کیا ہے۔ لیکن اقبال کا درجہ ان میں سے کسی کو حاصل نہیں ہوا، اس لیے کہ اقبال قومی جذبات و محسوسات کے آئینہ دار ہیں۔ اقبال کے سینہ میں ان کا نہیں قوم کا دل دھڑکتا ہے۔ ان کے دماغ میں ان کے نہیں، قوم کے خیالات ہیں۔ ان کے افکار میں قوم کی ایک ہزار سے زیادہ سال کی تاریخ مضمر ہے۔ گویا قوم کی تمام امنگیں جمع ہو کر اقبال کے قالب میں ڈھل گئی ہیں۔ پاکستان کے لیے اقبال کی یہی اہمیت نہیں ہے کہ انہوں نے ایک مسلم سیاسی جماعت کے پلیٹ فارم سے سب سے پہلے مسلمانوں کے جداگانہ وطن کا تصور پیش کیا بلکہ اس سے زیادہ اہم یہ امر ہے کہ پاکستان جن قوتوں، نفسیات اور تقاضوں کے سبب سے وجود میں آیا ہے وہ اقبال کے تصورات میں مرکزی حیثیت رکھتے ہیں۔

یہ مقالہ طویل ہو گیا ہے۔ میں اتنی سمع خراشی کی معافی چاہتا ہوں اور آپ کا ممنون احسان ہوں کہ آپ نے اسے توجہ سے سنا۔

جو حشر ہوا، وہی اس برعظیم میں بھی نہ ہو۔ اس کے علاوہ خود غلامی کی ذلت ہمارے لیے تکلیف دہ تھی اور اگر کچھ سکون میسر آتا تھا تو اس تصور سے کہ دنیا کے بہت سے حصے ایسے تھے جہاں اسلام آزاد تھا اور مسلمان محکوم نہ تھے۔ لیکن جب روس نے وسط ایشیا پر قبضہ کر لیا، شمالی افریقہ کو برطانیہ، فرانس اور اطالیہ نے بانٹ لیا اور افغانستان، ایران و ترکی میں یورپ کا اقتدار بڑھتا گیا، تو ہمیں روحانی اذیت پہنچی، اس لیے کہ ہمیں نفسیاتی طور پر ان کا سہارا تھا اور اب یہ بھی بظاہر ہماری طرح غلامی کے شکنجے میں آ رہے تھے۔ ہمارا یہ اطمینان بھی رائیگان گیا کہ ہماری ملت کا اصل حصہ تو آزاد ہے۔ اگر ہمیں ذلت نصیب ہوئی ہے تو خیر، اسلامی دنیا کا بڑا حصہ خودداری کے ساتھ زندگی بسر کرتا ہے۔ اسی احساس نے وہ طوفان اٹھایا جو تحریک خلافت کے نام سے تاریخ میں مذکور ہے۔

آپ ان تمام نفسیاتی کیفیات کا جائزہ لیجیے اور ان کا اقبال کے فلسفے سے مقابلہ کیجیے۔ آپ کو اقبال کے تمام اساسی تصورات ان نفسیات میں ملیں گے۔ فلسفۂ اقبال کے اہم نفسیاتی منابع یہی ہیں۔ جو کچھ قوم کے دل میں تھا وہ اقبال کی زبان پر تھا۔ جب ہی تو یہ ہوا کہ اقبال کی تقریر کی لذت ہمارے دلوں میں سرائت کر گئی اور ہمیں ایسا محسوس ہوا کہ ان کا ہر لفظ ہمارے دل میں جاگزیں ہے، اس لیے کہ فی الواقعہ وہ جاگزیں تھا۔ دنیا میں بہت سے مفکر اور شاعر قومی مفکر اور قومی شاعر کہلاتے ہیں۔ انہوں نے تاریخ

**"OLD ABUSING OF GOD'S PATIENCE AND THE KING'S
ENGLISH"**

SIRAJ-UD-DIN

"I pray thee go to the casement and see if you can see my master Doctor Caius, coming; if he do, i' faith, and find anybody in the house, here will be an old abusing of God's patience and the King's English" (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I. Scene 4). Dr. Caius, the Frenchman in the play, and Evans the Welshman, "Gallia et Guallia", succeed pretty well in their efforts to murder the language. In *Love's Labour's Lost* Costard comments on the wonderful linguistic feats of Holofernes and Sir Nanthaniel, the pedantic school-master and preacher, and the fantastic Spaniard Armado: "They have been at a great feast of languages and stolen the Scraps" (Act V. Scene 1).

In the year 1882 there was published in England a little book under the title *English As She is Spoke*, which contained selections from a certain gem of literature, originally published at Paris in 1862 as *O Novo Guia em Portuguez e Inglez* ("The New Guide to Portuguese and English"). Simultaneously Mark Twain republished in America a new edition of the complete work, with prefatory notes. The book had long been out of print, though known to book-collectors and frequently referred to in magazines. Its many and obvious merits were now for the first time made known to the public at large, which eagerly acknowledged them and clamorously sought to possess itself of the volume, to gloat over them at leisure. The unique character of the work consists in the fact that its author, who openly proclaimed himself as Joze de Fonseca, had manufactured it by securing a book of French dialogues, which, with the aid of a dictionary, he put word by word into English. Of that tongue he knew nothing, and, what is more astonishing, learned nothing, even during the progress of his labours. There resulted a farrago of mistakes, a jumble of English and Portuguese constructions, over which the beaming self-conceit of the author spreads, to borrow

from Carlyle, "like sunshine on the deep sea". Never was linguist in better humour with himself. In his very preface he began by comparing his book to its own great advantage with all its predecessors in the same line: "The *works* which we were conferring for this labour, find use us for nothing; but those what were publishing to Portugal, or out. They were almost all composed for some foreign, or for some national little acquainted in the spirit of both languages. It was resulting from that corelessness to rest these *works* fill of imperfections and anomalies of style; inspite of the infinite typographical faults which sometimes invert the sense of the periods. It increase us not to contain any of those *works* the figured pronunciation of the english words, nor the prosodical accent in the portuguese; indispensable object whom wish to speak the english and portuguese languages correctly." Consequently the author felt that "A choice of familiar dialogues, clean of gallicisms and despoiled phrases, it was missing yet to studious portuguese and brazilian youth; and also to persons of other nations that wish to know the portuguese language." And having set himself the task of filling this long-felt want, having avoided all the distressing faults and imperfections of his predecessors, he confidently anticipated the approbation of the public. "We expect them who the little book (for the care what we wrote him, and for her typographical correction) that may be worth the acceptance of the studious persons, and especially of the Youth at which we dedicate him particularly." To begin with the vocabulary, among the "Defects of the Body" are enumerated "a blind", "a lame", "a squint-eyed", and so on. The process here is intelligible, however. The professor of languages has simply followed the French idiom, and used nouns as adjectives. But such "Degrees of Kindred" as "gossip mistress", "the quarter-grandfather" and "quarter-grandmother", require elucidation, as also do such nice differentiations of meaning as are implied in the terms "a relation, an relation, a guardian, an guardian." We give up the first batch; in the second Senhor Fonseca possibly reads *a* as the masculine, *as* as the feminine, of the indefinite article. Under the head of "Eatings", one's appetite is scarcely stimulated by such a menu as "some wigs", "some marchpanes", "a little mine", "an amelet", even with such "seasonings" as "some pinions", "some verjuice" or "some

hog's lard", and washed down with such "Drinkings" as "some paltry wine". A devout Catholic would be shocked to find himself set down to a *maigre* diet of such "Fishes and Shellfishes" as "Hedgehog", "Snail", "Wolf", and "Torpedo".

Pass we on now to the Familiar Phrases. Almost at the outset we are met with the pertinent query, "Have you understand that he says?" and when, a line or two further down, we meet the mysterious direction, "Sing an area," we confess that we have not understand. A few more examples must suffice:

"At what purpose have say so?"

"That are the dishes whose you must be and to abstain."

"This girl have a beauty edge."

"It must never to laugh of the unhappies."

Probably not. The conversationalist is evidently one of the unhappies, for elsewhere we are told, "He laughs at my nose, he jest by me", and then follow in quick succession the alarming statements,

"He has spit in my coat."

"He has me take out my hairs."

"He does me some kicks."

"He has scratch the face with hers nails."

Then, thanks be to heaven, the tables are turned, and the very next entry informs us, "He burns one's self the brains," which is reassuring when you reflect that it is a literal rendition of "Il se brule la cervelle". Yet the slain knows not that he is slain. A little lower down the tale of bloodshed and sudden death is resumed:

"He was fighting in duel."

"They fight one's selfs again" (Ils se battent ensemble).

"He do want to fall" (Il manque de tomber).

"He was wanting to be killed."

Evidently he was. Is it to this truculent gentleman that a little lower down the advice is given:—

"Take attention to cut your self?"

One is glad to know that the conversationalist survives all these dangers.

In the "Familiar Dialogues" one accompanies him on "The walk". He is something of a poet, a lover of nature. "You hear the birds gurgling?" he asks, and then rapturously exclaims, "Which pleasure! Which charm! The field has to me a thousand charms". He visits his tailor and jauntily asks, "Will you do me a coat?" The tailor, not a bit taken aback, replies in the Socratic fashion, "What cloth will you do to?" That little matter is arranged. The tailor engages to bring the coat "the rather that be possible". But evidently he procrastinates. For when at last it is delivered the messenger is met with the stern rebuke, "You have me done to expect too," a bold version of "Vous m'avez fait trop attendre." The tailor makes excuse, "I did can't to come rather."

When the conversationalist goes "for to ride a horse", we detect in him the same carping spirit. "Here is a horse who have a bad looks. Don't you are ashamed to give me a jade like this? He is undshoed, he is with nails up." Nevertheless he mounts. And then trouble begins. "Never," screams the rider, "never I was seen a so bad beast; she will not nor to bring forward neither put back." The stableman, evidently agitated, begins a running fire of advice. "Strek him the bridle," he cries, "Hold him the reins sharters. Make to marsh him." "I have pricked him enouch. But I can't make him to marsh," replies the indignant client. "Go down, I shall make marsh," says the dealer scornfully, and the incensed equestrian rejoins, "Take care that he not give you a foot kicks." This brings to an inglorious end our conversationalist's attempt for to ride a horse.

The pupil, having by this time acquired a choice stock of phrases, with a select and well-weeded vocabulary, is next taught to practise the epistolary style after the best models. And who are these models? Madame of Sevigne and Madame of Maintenon. Next comes a fund of entertaining anecdotes, so ingeniously worded that they might readily be used to set the table on a roar. Physicians, as we all know, do not always follow their own prescriptions. On this head the learned compiler has a good story to tell, and he tells it in his own idiomatic way:

"A physician eighty years of age had enjoied of a health unalterable. Theirs friends did him of it compliments every days. Mister doctor, they

said to him, you are admirable man. What you make them for to bear you as well? I shall tell you it, gentlemen, he was answered them and I exhort you in same time at to follow my example. I live of the product of my ordering, without take any remedy who I command to my sick." When all are good it seems a work of supererogation to select. But space is limited, and we must confine ourselves to a few. "Two friends who from long they not were seen meet one's selves for hazard. 'How do is there?' told one of the two. 'No very well,' told the other, 'and I am married from that I saw thee.' 'Good news.' 'Not quit, because I had married with a bad woman.' 'So much worse.' 'Not so much great deal worse, because her dower was from two thousand lewis.' 'Well, that comfort.' 'Not absolutely, why I had emplored this sum for to buy some muttons which are all deads of the rot.' 'That is indeed very sorry.' 'Not so sorry, because the selling of hers hide have bring me above the price of the muttons.' 'So you are indemnified.' 'Not quit, because my house where I was disposed my money, finish to be consumed by the flames.' 'Oh, here is a great misfortune.' 'Not so great nor I either, because my wife and my house are burned together.'"

The whole concludes appropriately with a choice collection of "Idiotisms and proverbs." Again we can cull at random.

"The walls have hearsay."

"There is not any ruler without a exception."

"He is like the fish into the water."

"What come in to me for an ear yet out for another."

"It want to take the occasion for the hairs."

All of which, though possibly not so idiomatic as the originals which they pervert, are certainly more "idiotic".

But it is not Senhor Fonseca alone who has subjected the English language to rough treatment.

"Here they spike the English," an announcement that actually appeared in a Paris shop-window, might be taken as an appropriate motto for many strange and murderous ouslaughts on the English tongue. English was badly spiked by the barber in the Rue St. Honoré who made an attempt to attract foreign custom by the statement, "Hear to cut off hare, in English

fashion". M. Oliver, a French conjurer, was another desperate offender. In his programme he offered "to perform an infinity of Legerdemains", such as "the cut and burnt handkerchief who shall take up their primitive forms; the watch thrown et nailed against the wall by a pistol shot, the enchanted glass wine, the handsome Elsinä in her trunk, some low automatons who will dance upon a rope and shall do all the most difficult tricks," the whole to conclude with "a Phantasmagory disposed in a manner as not to frighten the ladies."

A certain M. Hercelle-Leruste put forth a highly mysterious circular. It aimed to describe the virtues of the "unparalleled bathing room, dressing-rooms and of showers-baths, united system Hercelle-Leruste". Despite the assistance of a rudimentary illustration of the improved bath-room, it is doubtful whether the full merits of the system will ever be comprehended from the circular. However, it is dimly apparent that the invention is in the nature of what is known as a geyser, or instantaneous water-heater, and that improved ventilation is a special feature. So much being premised, we can follow the sense, though withholding our approval from the literary form of the sentence providing "a foot-bath, sitting-bath, and anyone else bath, heating itself in a minute, without which smoke spread itself over room, thing which has never existed." Still intelligible, though still weak in accordance, is M. Hercelle-Leruste's explanation of how "persons having some bathing-rooms" may alter said rooms for the reception of his apparatus, even in the case of a person "residing in house which be not the property of her." "I will construct this room," the inventor continues, "to make remove when she will wish all the objects same the invisible pipes and reservoirs, all to make remove." One is tempted to ask, why this partiality for the feminine sex? Why, oh, why does not this benefactor of his kind offer his services also to the poor male householder residing in house which be not the property of him? Why may not he too enjoy a foot-bath, sitting-bath, or anyone else bath? But then we remember that *personne* in the chivalrous French tongue is feminine, and that the good Hercelle-Leruste, with nice grammatical discernment, is gallantly attempting to make the English pronominal adjective agree with its antecedent.

Many and curious are the personal advantages and the comforts that attach to a bath filled by this water-heater. For example, "we undress ones self a fresh without to be seen of some persons that are in this room", and we can "be served in this room eqally without be seen". Best of all, it is a sort of enchanted room, where everything comes of itself. "Being there for bath or something else, being undressed and having forgotten of linen or anyone else, you ask them without any inconvenience with a speaking-trumpet, these objects come to you, you take them and nobody seen you." Be there any sceptics? M. Hercelle-Leruste invites verification. "Gone at my residence,"—this is the engaging form in which he issues his invitation,— "there you will can see work it."

It seems to be inevitable that whenever a foreign word has a double meaning the foreigner seeking its English equivalent will stumble on the wrong alternative and thus produce delicious confusion. It is staggering at first to find an English advertisement in a French paper which reads, "Castel to praise presently," and you do not recover from your surprise until you remember that the French verb *louer* means either to praise or to let. The literal rendition of *Chateau* by "castel", and the substitution of presently for immediately, are minor errors that lend an artistic and fully-rounded completeness to the whole sentence. An English *Guide to Amsterdam*, published in Holland, claims to be prepared by an Englishman. Here is how this pseudo-Englishman handles his own language. He is speaking of the customs of the inhabitants on Sundays and Holidays: "They go to walk outside the four gates; after this walk they hasten to free public play gardens, where wine, thea, etc. is sold. Neither the nobility remains idle at these entertainments. Everyone invites his damsel, and joyously they enter play gardens of a little less brilliancy than the former. There at the crying sound of an instrument that rents the ear, accompanied by the delightful handle-organs and the rustic triangle, their devoirs are paid to Terpsichore. Everywhere a similitude of talents; the dancing out does not the music". In a hotel at the top of the Rigi the following announcement gives great satisfaction: "Misters the venerable voyagers are advertised that when the sun him rise a horn will be blown." That announcement sufficiently prepares the visitor for the following entry

in the wine list : "In this hotel the wines leave the traveller nothing to hope for". The style of the following is legal in its precision : "It is clearly understood that the combustion of every kind of wooden work which belongs to the entity of the shelter is strongly forbidden, so that if it happened to be caused damage of any kind from the part of the travellers or guides, the latter one will be made responsible. At this purpose every one is requested to notify those eventual damages made on the shelter huts and in the same time if it is possible". As Polonius says, "entity of the shelter" and "eventual damages" are good.

But the garden-spot of the world for exotic English was surely Nineteenth-century India. The Indians' natural love for exuberant rhetoric, conjoined with imperfect knowledge of the meaning of words, led to the most amazing results. A "Hindustani" gentleman addressed Lady Dufferin by letter as "Honoured Enormity".

One candidate during an examination was told to write an essay on the horse, which he did in the following brief item : "The horse is a very noble animal, but when irritated he ceases to do so". "Progress and Poverty" were thus outlined by another essayist : "The rich man welters on crimson velvet, while the poor man snorts on flint." It is a school-master from the Punjab who gives us this sample of epistolary English :

"Honoured Sir : I am most anxious to hear you are sick. I pray to God to see you soon at L—in a state of triumph. The climate is very good and proves unhealthy. No Deputy Commissioner complains ever for want of climate. If you also came here I think it will agree with your state. An information expectant or reversionary respecting your recovery state is expected, and I shall be thankful to you."

A very amusing petition was addressed to the English House of Commons by R. D. P. Romohandra Rae, manager of the Peshwa Charitable Institution at Nayeghat, Benares. It is too long to quote entire, but we can make room for the reasons which actuated him to appeal to their "lordships" of the House of Commons as follows :

"The applicant believes that no desire can originate within us if its fulfillment is not desired by Providence and to have further proof which can be

universally acknowledged is that the whole world when in its infancy would not have called for nourishment if the all-wise Contriver had not arranged for so palpable and nourishing a diet. The applicant would arrive to this conclusion that this intense desire of asking from the government what belongs to him must have arisen owing to its fulfillment being decided by the Almighty. The earth is called the mother of all things, not because she produces, but because she maintains and nurses what she produces. Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Empress of India, being termed as Queen Mother, would never like to act like Esop's earth, which would not nurse the plant of another ground, although never so much improved by reason that plant was not of its own production."

It was this same Most Gracious Majesty, the Empress of India whose death evoked the following vivid tribute in a dramatic couplet :

"Dust to dust and ashes to ashes,
Into the tomb the good Queen dashes."

A very pathetic and eloquent petition for increase in salary was penned by an applicant who very cogently asked "how on this exiguous salary he could be expected to make the two ends of his grandmother meet?"

"Here earth is quack—how there?" was the text of an anxious telegram during the historic Quetta earthquake. A notice posted in a Lahore hotel had a very truculent sound:

"Gentlemen who come in hotel not say anything about their meals they will be charged for, and if they should say beforehand that they are going out to breakfast or dinner, or if they say that they not have anything to eat, they will be charged, and if not so, they will be charged, or, unless they bring it to the notice of the manager, and should they want to say anything, they must order the manager for, and not anyone else, and unless they not bring it to the notice of the manager, they will be charged for the least things according to hotel rate, and no fuss will be allowed afterward about it. Monthly gentlemen will have to pay my fixed rate made with them at the time, and should they absent day in the month, they will not be allowed to deduct anything out of it, because I take from them less rate than my usual rate of monthly charges."

But the finest specimen of "Hindoo English"—unsurpassed and unsurpassable—is the memoir of Onoocool Chunder Mookerjee, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, which his nephew published in Calcutta shortly after the death of the biographee in 1871.

At the very start we scent the rich treat that is in store for us. Our hearts warm within us as we read that this admirable man, "by dint of wide energy and perseverance, erected a vantage ground above the common level of his countrymen,—nay, stood with the rare, barring few on the same level with him, and sat arrayed in majestic glory, viewing with un-paralleled and mute rapture his friends and admirers lifting up their hands with heart-felt glee and laudation for his success in life." His father died when Onoocool was very young, and "unfortunate blind bargains and speculations" by an elder brother soon reduced the family to so low an ebb that "it was threatened with Barmecide feasts." Thereupon "Onoocool Chunder was pressed by his mother to search for an employment. All love the womb that their first beings bred and Justice Mookerjee was not out of the pale of it. There cannot be a greater instance of self-denial than a mother endures during the whole existence of her offspring. Nothing in the world can make her facetious when her child is not so, and nothing in the world can make her lugubrious when her child is not so. Ergo, on the contrary, a mother is loved and respected in every age."

Ergo, on the contrary, the filial Onoocool determined to obey his mother. He was successful in finding employment. He was eventually admitted to the Bar. His power of arguing a question with "capacious, strong, and laudable ratiocination and eloquence" soon brought him in an income which he used "to extricate his family from the difficulties in which it had lately been enwrapped, and to restore happiness and sunshine to those sweet and well-loved faces on which he had not seen the soft and fascinating beams of a simper for many a grim-visaged year." It is pleasant to follow this brilliant career. In 1870 Onoocool Chunder accepted a seat in the Legislative Council of Bengal, his selection for this honour being characterised as "most judicious and tip-top". Within the year he resigned from the Council to accept a judgeship. "His elevation created a catholic ravishment throughout the

dominion under the benign and fostering sceptre of great Albion". But alas! he did not live long to enjoy his success. Eight months later, while delivering a judicial opinion, he felt a slight headache, "which gradually aggravated and became so uncontrollable that he felt like a toad under a harrow. All the well known doctors of Calcutta did what they could, with their puissance and knack of medical knowledge, but it proved after all as if to milk the ram! His wife and children had not the mournful consolation to hear his last words, he remained *sotto voce* for a few hours and then went to God at about 6 p.m." With one graphic stroke the biographer pictures the despair of the family: "The house presented a second Babel or a pretty kettle of fish". Nor was the mourning confined to the house. "All wept for him, and whole Bengal was in lachrymation—and more I shall say, that even the learned judges of the High Court heaved sighs and closed it on its Appellate and Original Sides."

Here is a pleasing description of the Judge's personal appearance: "When a boy he was filamentous; but gradually he became plump as a parturient. His dress was unaffected—he used to wear Dhotee and Chadur on all occasions except when going to court, office, or to see any European gentlemen, or attending any European party. And even on going to see a Nautch or something of the like I have never seen him fine as a carrot fresh scraped, but *esto perpetuum* in Pantaloon and in satin or broad-cloth Chapkan, with a Toopce well quadrate to the dress." He was a faithful Hindoo, and charitable withal, but judicious in his charities. "The Hon'ble Mookerjee did bleed freely, but he was not a leviathan on the ocean of liberality; the mode of assignment of his charities was to such men as we truly wish, and recommend, and exsusitate enthusiastically. He used to give monthly something to many relicts who had no hobbard-hoy even to support them and had no other source of sustenance left to them by their consort."

However, it is not in Indian English alone that we come across such colourful examples of extravagant statements, high-flown phrases and verbal pyrotechnics. Indeed, in spite of their phlegmatic temperament, the English have occasionally manifested a talent for copiousness of diction which dimly intimates what they might do if they once threw off the national *mauvaise*

bonie. It was a British barrister who, in the middle of an affecting appeal in court on a slander suit, treated his hearers to the following flight of genius: "Slander, gentlemen, like a boa-constrictor of gigantic size and immeasurable proportions, wraps the coil of its unwieldy body about its unfortunate victim, and, heedless of the shrieks of agony that come from the uttermost depths of its victim's soul—loud and verberating as the night-thunder that rolls in the heavens,—it finally breaks its unlucky neck upon the iron wheel of public opinion, forcing him first to desperation, then to madness, and finally crushing him in the hideous jaws of mortal death."

Here is a bit of gorgeous rhetoric which appeared in the *Irish Gazette* of 30 May 1784 *a propos* of the first appearance of Mrs. Sarah Siddons in Dublin:

"On Saturday, Mrs. Siddons, about whom all the world had been talking, exposed her beautiful, adamant, soft, and lovely person, for the first time, at Smock-Alley Theatre, in the bewitching, melting, and all-tearful character of 'Isabella'. From the repeated panegyrics in the impartial London newspapers, we were taught to expect the sight of a heavenly angel: but how were we supernaturally surprised into the most awful joy at beholding a mortal goddess! The house was crowded with hundreds more than it could hold,—with thousands of admiring spectators that went away without a sight. This extraordinary phenomenon of tragic excellence! this star of Melpomene! this comet of the stage! this sun of the firmament of the Muses! this moon of blank verse! this queen and princess of tears! this world of weeping clouds! this Juno of commanding aspects! this Proserpine of fire and earthquake! she was nature itself."

Perhaps it is because English is a language forced by circumstances upon the Irish that the species of mixed metaphor called a Bull is so prevalent on Irish soil; or perhaps they murder the Queen's English by way of revenging upon the English queen. "India, my boy," said an Irish officer to a friend on his arrival at Calcutta, "is the finest climate under the sun; but a lot of young fellows come out here, and they drink and they eat, and they drink and they die: and then they write home to their parents a pack of lies, and say it is the climate that has killed them." A number of other

Irish bulls hold a sort of hilarious wake over the subject of death: that of a Hibernian gentleman who told a friend studying for the priesthood, "I hope I may live to hear you preach my funeral sermon"; of a physician who said oracularly of a murdered man, "This person was so ill, that if he had not been murdered he would have died a half an hour before". A parallel to these ghastly jests may be found in the anecdote of James Smithson, founder of the Smithsonian Institution. He had five doctors, and they had been unable to discover his disease. Being told that his case was hopeless he called them around him and said, "My friends, I desire that you will make a post-mortem examination of me, and find out what ails me; for really I am dying to know what my disease is myself." An Irishman, having feet of different sizes, ordered his boots to be made accordingly. His directions were obeyed, but as he tried the smallest boot on his largest foot, he exclaimed petulantly, "Confound that fellow! I ordered him to make one larger than the other, and instead of that he has made one smaller than the other". But the greatest protagonist of all bull-perpetrators was Sir Boyle Roche who was elected member for Tralee in the Irish Parliament of 1775. One of his most famous *mots* was the imperious demand, "Why should we put ourselves out of the way to do anything for posterity? for what has posterity done for us?" Supposing, from the roar of laughter which greeted this question, that the House had misunderstood him, he explained that "by posterity he did not at all mean our ancestors, but those who were to come immediately after them." Upon hearing this explanation, "it was impossible", the chronicler assures us, "to do any serious business for half an hour."

A letter supposed to have been written by Sir Boyle Roche during the Irish rebellion of 1798 gives an amusing collection of his various blunders:

"Dear Sir,—Having now a little peace and quiet, I sit down to inform you of the hustle and confusion we are in from the blood-thirsty rebels, many of whom are now, thank God, killed and dispersed. We are in a pretty mess; can get nothing to eat and no wine to drink except whisky. When we sit down to dinner we are obliged to keep both hands armed. While I write this letter I have my sword in one hand and my pistol in the other.

I concluded from the beginning that this would be the end; and I am right, for it is not half over yet. At present there are such goings-on that everything is at a stand still. I should have answered your letter a fortnight ago, but I only received it this morning,—indeed, hardly a mail arrives safe without being robbed. Troops are now stationed round, which exactly squares with my ideas of security. Adieu; I have only time to add that I am yours in haste. B. R.

"P.S. If you do not receive this, of course it must have miscarried; therefore I beg you write and let me know."

Perhaps nowhere in all poetic literature, in the same limited space at least, can there be found such an extraordinary confusion of metaphors as in Longfellow's "Psalm of Life." To take only two of the verses as a sample:

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time;
Footprints that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again."

Even if one can conceive of life as a "solemn main" bordered by the "sands of time", how can the mariners on the main leave their footprints on the sands? And what possible comfort can footprints on the sands be to a shipwrecked brother who, despite his shipwreck, still keeps persistently sailing o'er life's main? The brother must have very sharp eyes if he could see footprints on the sand from his raft, for his ship is supposed to have been wrecked long ago. Perhaps Longfellow was thinking of the footstep which Robinson Crusoe found on the sand of his desert island. But Robinson was not sailing when he detected that isolated phenomenon; nor, when he saw it, did he "take heart again".

The examples so far cited are those in which the abuse of language is of an unconscious, or at most only a subconscious sort. But language

may sometimes be deliberately abused in the interest of satire or innocent fun. For example, a pretence at a literal understanding—or misunderstanding—is a favourite form of jesting. Charles Lamb's serious reply to a gushing mother who asked him, "And now, Mr. Lamb, how do you like children?" "B—b—boiled, madam," is a classic instance. Sheridan, reproving his promising son Tom on the irregular life he was leading, ended by saying, "My dear Tom, really it is time for you to take a wife". "With all my heart," replied the dutiful son; "whose wife shall I take?" Sidney Smith's jest when advised by his doctor to take a walk upon an empty stomach belongs to the same class: "Upon whose?" And very similar, too, is Leigh Hunt's. A lady at dessert asked if he would not venture on an orange. "Madam," he replied, "I should be happy to do so, but I am afraid I should tumble off." A council of ministers having met on some important questions, a noble man inquired of Talleyrand, "What has passed at the council?" "Three hours," was the answer. "I heard of an anecdote at Oxford," says W.H. Harrison in his *Reminiscences*, "of a proctor encountering on his rounds two undergraduates who were without their gowns, or out of bounds, or out of hours. He challenged one: 'Your name and college?' They were given. Turning to the other, 'And pray, sir! what might your name be?' 'Julius Caesar,' was the reply. 'What, sir, do you mean to say your name is Julius Caesar?' 'Sir, you did not ask me what it is, but what it might be.'"

A young barrister, intending to be very eloquent, observed, "Such principles as these, my lord, are written in the book of Nature". "What page, Sir?" said Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough; and the orator was silenced for that occasion at least.

A well-known chestnut is that of the Judge who threatened to fine a lawyer for contempt of Court. "I have expressed no contempt for the Court," said the lawyer; "on the contrary, I have carefully concealed it."

What a time there would be if the compliments and invitations of polite society were taken literally! Yet, Oscar Wilde once undertook to do this, in a spirit of reproof, however, and not of ingenuous faith. He used to spend his winters in Paris. One day he was invited to dine with a rich

business magnate who was also a musical amateur. As he was taking his leave, the master and mistress of the house said to their witty guest:

"We hope that we shall have you often to dine with us: your plate will always be ready."

"Always?" queried Oscar Wilde. "In the fashionable sense of the word, of course?"

"Not at all. We are not persons of such hollow politeness. Our home is yours. Come and dine with us as often as possible. We should be glad if it were every day."

"In earnest?"

"Certainly, we should be delighted."

"Ah, well, since you are so cordial I promise you I will do my best to be agreeable."

Next evening Oscar Wilde presented himself. "You see," said he, "I have taken your invitation literally. I have come to dine."

"Ah, it is very kind of you. It is very charming," said his hosts.

The dinner was very gay, and the English writer, on taking leave, received many compliments. The next day, as they were about to sit down to table, Oscar Wilde again appeared.

"Here I am, exact, punctual, and faithful to my promise. But it is singular," he continued, fixing a penetrating and quizzical look upon the faces of his hosts,—you appear surprised. Did you not expect me?"

"Oh, certainly, you give us much pleasure," said the hostess.

Oscar Wilde sat down in his happiest vein, and seemed quite unconscious that he had all the burden of the entertaining, and that practically the conversation was mere monologue.

On the fourth day, at dinner time precisely, the obstinate guest once more presented himself. This time coldness and constraint were very perceptible, and Oscar Wilde spoke of it.

The mistress of the house replied:

"It is only because we feared you would not fare well. We have so poor a dinner today."

"I thought you expected me; but it is of no consequence. I am not

dainty. I wish only the pleasure of your society." He seated himself with perfect composure, and ate heartily; then, turning to madame with a complimentary air, he said:

"What could you mean? This dinner is splendid. I could desire nothing better."

The next day—it was the fifth—Oscar Wilde arrived as usual. The porter met him at the door.

"Mr. X—is not at home. He dines out today."

"Ah, very well; but I forgot my great-coat yesterday. I must ask the butler for it." And, darting up the staircase, he knocked. The door was opened. Unexpected apparition. "Your porter is a simpleton!" said Oscar Wilde, gaily. "He pretended that you had gone out. I know that he was mistaken. But what long faces! What a sombre and melancholy air! Has anything happened? Tell me, that I may offer sympathies." All dinner-time the witty writer continued and redoubled his entreaties that the supposed misfortune might be confided to him. He complained of their reserve and indulged himself in all sorts of conjectures and questions.

"Have you lost money in speculations? Missed an inheritance? Have you been wounded in your fortune—in your ambition?"

Then, at the dessert, bursting into a fit of laughter:

"I know what is the matter, and what troubles you. It is your invitation, so cordially made and so literally accepted. I thought that I would make the trial, suspecting that you would not endure me long. Today you shut the door against me, and tomorrow, if I should return, you would throw me out of the window! I wish you good-evening!"

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN DEVELOPING NATIONS

SHAUKAT ALI

In political vocabulary government and administration are almost synonymous. Every politically organised society has to fashion some administrative machinery to realise the mission and purposes of government. Bureaucracy, although controversial, is the accepted term to connote policy-makers of higher echelons who form the backbone of any administrative structure. Their role, status and significance have been varying at different stages of the civilisational growth of mankind, but the existence of bureaucracy has always been indisputable. During the twentieth century the influence and ascendancy of civil servants has touched the highest watermark in every civilised society. From mercenaries and lackeys of princes and potentates, they have become custodians of real authority and harbingers of new horizons. Since their actions can make or mar the fortunes of governmental policies, both the governors and the governed look towards them with awe and respect. In fact sudden rise of bureaucracy to niche of prominence has created grave apprehensions in certain quarters. "Minions of Leviathan," "Slaves of the Lamp," "Masters of Red Tape," and "a set of pocket dictators" are some of the epithets used for them by their critics. There has been a luxuriant growth of literature of suspicion and protest against them. Lord Hewart's famous diatribe in *New Despotism* is too well known to need any comments. James Becks' *Our Wonderland of Bureaucracy*, and Sir Carleton Allens' *Bureaucracy Triumphant*, and *Law and Orders* are some of the other important books which consider the present rise of civil services as an outrage on democratic values.

Inflexible rigidity, obsessive legality, senseless self-importance, excessive consciousness of authority, slavish subservience to form and precedent, lack of feelings and sympathy towards citizens, self-installed arrogance and stiff-neckness have been enumerated as some of the glaring maladies of today's bureaucrat. Even if there is an element of truth in the point of view of the

critics, the fact remains that the present-day bureaucracy is integrated in the scheme of things prevailing in our times. The imbalance between politics and administration is entailed by democracy itself. Parliaments, other law-making bodies, and ministers during their fleeting and unpredictable existence cannot master the complexities of the modern State. They frame policies, create conducive climate of public opinion, hold the lever of authority in government, but for actual execution of policies trained and efficient bureaucracy is the only available instrument. Instead of decrying aimlessly it would be much better to find curative measures to the above-mentioned ills, which could eliminate the dangers of parliamentary democracy being transformed into "parliamentary bureaucracy."

With these cursory remarks about the importance and dynamic nature of public administration, we turn to the developing areas of the world to see how far and to what extent public administrator has been able to accomplish the goals of national life. Some believe that bureaucracy is a universal clan for which time and clime make no difference. It is, in their opinion, a sort of international administrative freemasonry with a defined code of ethics and behaviour. This is rather a crude oversimplification. Some common characteristics among various bureaucracies should not beguile us to believe that they are similar in all respects. Each administrative system has been carved out of a specific historical process, particular socio-economic conditions, and unique political experiences. In spite of these obvious differences in structures and composition, however, the bureaucracies in most of the Afro-Asian countries are similar in nature and dimensions to a considerable extent.

Most of them have unburdened the yoke of alien domination during the past nineteen years. This sudden change led to a yawning vacuum both in politics and administration. In many countries politics has remained jerky and there are many things still wanting towards administrative stability. The departure of colonial rulers has immensely changed the character of States in the two continents. Internal law and order and external defence were the primary aims of European powers in these colonies. Since independence, however, there has been vast expansion in the functions of the State.

Economic, educational and social uplift has become the crux of governmental planning, and heightened tempo in these fields has saturated the whole atmosphere with tension. In many cases national self-reliance has been over-taxed, and vital hopes which emerged with the dawn of independence have become dim and vague.

Moreover, people and ideas in developing countries are in a state of fermentation. They want to compensate themselves for the centuries of colonial stagnation by swift industrialisation. The late Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru's statement before a Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Lucknow in 1950 can be an index to Asian mind. He said, "We have suddenly arrived at a stage when we have to run. Walking is not enough... and in running we tumble and fall and we try to get up again. It is no good anybody telling us to walk slowly... It involves risks and dangers but there is no help and no choice for it, for there is a torment in minds."¹ These lines are illustrative of the fact that in the race for progress, emotions, hopes and expectations have outdistanced economic development and administrative experience.

The colonial powers, before their abdication, had established some sort of civil services in the lands they governed, but their status and structure varied from one colony to another. For instance, in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon to some extent also, the British Government had created an efficient, organised and highly trained civil service; and at the time of their departure they had recruited enough of native talent into Corps d'Elite, that with the exit of English officers there were sufficient Indian and Pakistani high-ranking officers to shoulder the mantle of responsibility. But in countries like Indonesia the picture was totally different. The Dutch did not allow the Indonesian to rise above subordinate positions, with the result that the new Republic of Indonesia had to start from the scratch. The conditions in African colonies were in no way better. For instance, in British colonies, it was in the thirties that unified colonial service was created. The Secretary of State for the Colonies was the custodian of authority, pertaining to appoint-

1. Richard L. Park, "Problems of Political Developments," *Nationalism and Progress in Free Asia*, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1956, p. 8.

ments, promotions, removal and general conditions. All the key posts were reserved for the members of unified service. These posts comprehended the wide range of administrative, legal, agricultural, veterinary, education, forestry, engineering, postal, customs, prisons, police, geological survey, and account services.

Because of the alleged backwardness, lack of education and competence and on top of it the deep-seated antipathy of white official hierarchy, the process of Africanisation was extremely slow. This lack of desire to train and educate the natives for positions of responsibility in administration is a tarnished chapter of European colonialism.

In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent as early as 1833 the Parliament of England declared, "no native of the said territories nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty's resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of these, be disqualified from holding any place, office or employment under the East India Company." But the pace of Indianisation was so slow that in 1902 out of the 1607 Indian Civil Servants only sixty were natives,² and it was after vehement protestation of another half a century that the number of the latter increased to 50 %. The conditions in other British colonies were even worst. In 1956 the Singapore Malayanisation Commission reported that only 401 of the 1048 Division I posts were held by Malayan officers, and of 153 superscale posts their share was only 15.³ Similarly, the Committee of the House of Representatives in Nigeria pointed out in 1959 that on the eve of country's independence "of 73 superscale posts in the administrative service, only 10 were held by Nigerians or other West Africans, while 63 were held by expatriate officers; that Nigerians held only 1 out of 16 posts of Permanent Secretary, 2 out of 20 posts of Deputy Permanent Secretary, and 6 out of 34 posts of Senior

2. Quoted by Sir John Strachy, *India: Its Administration and Progress*, London, Macmillan and Co., 1903, p. 77.

3. T. E. Smith, "The Effect of Recent Constitutional Changes on the Public Service in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore," *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXII, Autumn, 1959, p. 269.

Assistant Secretary."⁴

In its Final Report on the Nigerianisation of Public Service the Committee vehemently pointed out that "one of the fundamental rights and privileges of a self-governing country is that it must have control of its public services,"⁵ and that all policy-making posts should be Nigerianised at the most within five or ten years after independence.

The Sudan is another extreme example, where the colonial power had kept the sceptre of authority so firmly and thoroughly in white hands that the country on the dawn of independence was on the verge of administrative bankruptcy. After having enjoyed internal self-government since 1954, the country became independent on the 1st of January, 1956. The Sudanisation Committee had been working on the future of services for some time. It pointed out that there were 1762 higher grade posts of which 1609 were held by British and 153 by Egyptian officers. The Committee suggested a drastic step of nationalising or suppressing 734 posts (647 British and 87 Egyptian). The atmosphere was surcharged with so much hostility and the proceedings of the Committee had been so acrimonious that even before the Committee had finished its deliberations the number of the British officers dropped from 1200 to 200.⁶

A series of schemes were contrived both in the United Kingdom and the dependent territories to make continued service of oversea personnel after independence more attractive. A policy statement in *Colonial* No. 306 issued in 1954 embodied the principles and obligations which her Majesty's Government was prepared to accept towards oversea officers who had been recruited by the Secretary of State for Colonies. The White Paper defined the conditions as follows:

1. So long as they remain in their existing employment, the government of the territory concerned shall not alter their terms of service so as to make them less favourable than those on which the officers

4. Taylor Cole, "Bureaucracy in Transition: Independent Nigeria," *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXIII, Winter, 1960, p. 332.

5. Cited by Kenneth Younger, *The Public Service in the New States*, London, Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 34.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

are already serving.

2. The pensions and other benefits for which they or their dependants may be qualified under existing laws and regulations shall be similarly safeguarded.
3. They shall continue to be regarded by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as members of Her Majesty's Service and as such to be eligible for consideration for transfer or promotion to any posts which the Secretary of State may be requested to fill in other territories.
4. The Government by which they are employed will not unreasonably withhold consent to their accepting any such transfer or promotion and will preserve their existing pension rights on transfers.
5. They will be given adequate notice of any intention to terminate their employment in consequence of constitutional changes and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will endeavour to find them alternative employment should they so desire.
6. In the event of premature retirement resulting from constitutional changes they will receive compensation from the government of the territory concerned.⁷

In 1956 the British Government issued another Command Paper No. 9768 which established a Special List, enlistment on which provided further assurances of tenure, salary, pensions, and compensations. The chief features of the Special List scheme were as follows: (i) The officers of Special List would be designated as members of Overseas Civil Service and would be seconded to foreign government on behalf of Her Majesty's Government; (ii) their salaries and conditions of service were to be determined by the mutual agreement of Her Majesty's Government and the employing government; (iii) the employing government could not terminate the secondment (except on account of misconduct, ill-health or inefficiency) without a year's notice; (iv) the Special List officers were obligated to serve Her Majesty's Government up to the age of fifty-five in any post; (v) and, lastly, Her Majesty's Government was expected to provide a continuous service to such officers up to the age of fifty-five.⁸

The whole question, however, was enmeshed in such an intriguing situation that all these inducements proved futile. Many overseas officers generally

7. Cited by T. E. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-8.

8. Kenneth Younger, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

believed that with the dismantling of colonial edifice their job was finished. Trained and tutored in the glamorous school of colonialism, having basked under the undiminished glory of imperialism, prospects, under shaky and revolutionary regimes of new States seemed to them bleak and unreliable.

Difficulties were further multiplied by political and psychological reasons. If the colonial officers, for mental, monetary or domestic reasons, were not ready to serve the new States, the new rulers in several new countries were ten times more reluctant to retain them. To many of them presence of colonial officers after independence was an affront to their sovereignty. Almost all the liberation movements had fructified on the crest of militant nationalism, and the reputed saying of a Filipino politician that he preferred "to go to hell with a government of his own than to heaven under alien guidance,"⁹ is an index to the temper of most of the nationalist leaders. Since these officers were the "steel frame" of imperialism and bulwark against resurgent nationalism, their presence after independence would obviously be anomalous. In the case of personnel from United Kingdom, there was another pertinent reason also. The financial compensation for premature retirement for British officers serving in colonies were so lucrative and satisfying, and chances of immediate employment in Britain so hopeful during 1950 and 1960 that very few officers wanted to enter into contracts with the new governments.¹⁰ Kenneth Younger, elucidating the same point, has pointed out that:

the significant point here was that the lumpsum compensation was available not only to officers whose career was compulsorily terminated but to any officer who chose to give the normal notice of retirement. Since the compensation was liable to reach, at its most favourable point, as much as 8000, the temptation to make sure of this lump sum outweighed for most officers the assurance of future security.¹¹

A substantial share of responsibility for this dismal situation rests upon Great Britain. In the midst of rising distrust and discontent it continued to

9. Cited by Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 425.

10. Hugh Tinker, "New Lamps for the Old," *International Affairs*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, p. 489.

11. Kenneth Younger, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

preach its proconsuls the view that masses in colonies were contented, they wanted peace and justice, and that independence was the cry of a small group of self-installed and self-interested leaders. Even in the twilight of colonialism, when gusts of nationalism had beclouded the horizon there was no dearth of Englishmen who supported Lord Lloyds' (High Commissioner in Egypt, 1925-9) typically proconsular advice that:

law and order, internal peace and quietness, impartial justice, these remain the only gifts about the advantages of which little argument will be heard. And if this is true, then there is really only article of belief upon which we can confidently depend—that good administration is the first requirement to be fulfilled and that all other questions are subordinate to it.¹²

In India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon, through constitutional, educational, and administrative reforms, the British Government had prepared the people of these lands politically and educationally to shoulder the responsibilities of freedom.

But in African and some Far Eastern areas their policies suffered from two basic inabilities. Their nonchalance to the future of these territories was grievous. Till the beginning of the Second World War the concept of trusteeship governed their notions. After the War, under the impact of world opinion, or pressure of internal regeneration of the colonial people, Great Britain confronted the world with a *volte-face* and started undoing her imperial edifice in great haste. This alacrity will give the historian of future some moments of rumination, but today's student of world affairs can only say that this sudden disengagement created a considerable amount of confusion on both sides. In the life of oversea civil servants this was the most critical moment of their career.

Moreover, they did not expend sufficient efforts to educate the natives in African colonies to a level where they could be masters of their own destiny. The complexities of the modern State require that, besides personal qualities of honesty and integrity, an administrator must have a rich and enlightened educational background. For instance Tanganyika became independent on

12. Cited by Rupert Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

9th of December, 1961, but by mid-July of the same year nearly 20 % of her 1700 senior expatriate officers had given notices for compensation, while the standard and education in the country can be judged by the fact that in 1960 there were only 84 African school students qualified for training and education at the British universities.¹³

There is tremendous truth in the analysis of the Rt. Hon. Kenneth Younger that Britain is obligated by all canons of political ethics, long before it decided to give self-government to a colony, to educate native people and train locally recruited bureaucracy to an extent that transference of power did not lead to administrative vacuum.¹⁴ This does not mean that the independence should have been delayed till the emerging States had established a strong and competent administrative system, because to sacrifice nascent political hopes and aspirations at the altar of "administrative convenience" would be an outrage on the accepted values of nationalism. But it was incumbent upon the colonial powers to see that administrative progress kept pace with political and constitutional advancement.

Allegedly, if it was thought that, due to socio-cultural or linguistic difficulties and backwardness, the teeming multitudes of the colonial world could not be given the proper training or education in a short time, then the code of conduct, outlook and philosophy of the colonial civil servants should have been designed in a way that the new governments could retain them without many qualms and suspicions. Many civil servants, no doubt, kept "service before self" as their motto, but the general pattern of the services was imbued with absolute impersonality and social detachment. Their service conditions dictated political neutrality and an average serviceman was so tradition-bound and career-oriented that the whole administrative structure became "unitary, monolithic and quasimilitary."¹⁵ Hannah Arendt, while commenting on Cecil Rhodes in Africa and Cromer in Egypt, says :

13. Colin Leys, "Evolution in British Africa," *Current History*, Vol. XLI, No. 242, October 1961, p. 220.

14. Kenneth Younger, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

15. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, p. 362.

Aloofness became the new attitude of all members of the British services; it was a more dangerous form of governing than despotism and arbitrariness; it would not tolerate even that last link between the despot and his subjects, which is formed by bribery and gifts. The very integrity of the British Administration made despotic government more inhuman and inaccessible to its subjects than Asiatic rulers or reckless conquerors had ever been.¹⁶

This glaring flaw of arrogant aloofness, uncommon rationality and studied coldness towards the subjects people made the services extremely unpopular. Sublime interest of the Empire was the primary interest of these dedicated servants of the Crown. The historians of present-day Asian and African nationalism are almost unanimous in their opinion that during the later phases of imperialism the alien bureaucracy was totally denuded of that sterling humanism which is the core of the art of governing men. A cloistered and stiffnecked bureaucrat belies the purpose of his job. Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the philosopher-poet of India, in his poetic prose has touched on this point in the following words :

We have seen in our country some brands of tinned food advertised as entirely made and packed without being touched by hand. Their description applies to governing of India, which is as little touched by human hand as possible. The governors need not know our language, need not come into personal touch with us except as officials; they can aid or hinder our aspirations from a distance, they can lead us on a certain path of policy and then pull us back again with the manipulation of office red tape. But we who are governed are not a mere abstraction. We on our side are individuals with living sensibilities.¹⁷

These feelings of enlightened native intelligentsia can be replicated to any land where foreign flag was unfurled for some time. Thus it is not difficult to understand the antipathy of new rulers to traditional bureaucracy, and the bureaucrat's own desire to quit the scene of his cherished dreams as early as possible. With certain exceptions the dreams of majority of them were permanent regal glory of power and authority, and even a minor

16. Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York, Harcourt Bruce and Co., 1951, p. 212.

17. Sir Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism*, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1917, pp. 24-5.

constitutional advancement used to create perturbation in their ranks. They would fret and fume and many in sheer frustration used to seek premature retirement. The constitutional history of India and Pakistan can furnish a pertinent example. In 1919 the British Government enacted Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in the sub-continent. The reforms had only a very remote and befogged hint of responsible government and yet the members of Indian Civil Service lodged a vehement protest against it. They wrote anonymous letters, drafted strong petitions and ultimately seeing that the Home Government was determined to go ahead with reforms, about 350 senior officers left the service in 1920.¹⁸

Thus the logic of events and reason would support the new States to dispense with the services of the colonial officers and create public services of their own to grapple with dynamic forces which appeared with the birth of freedom. The task, however, is not an easy one, because overnight there was a radical change in the concept of State and government. The emancipated countries of Asia and Africa are restless to achieve national self-sufficiency, swift industrialisation and balanced economies. The ceaseless aspiration is to catch up with the West, to find high living standards for the people and to fulfil the obligations of a Welfare State. During the nineteenth century the rulers of these territories spent approximately nine-tenth of their income on armies and Civil List. Today's men in power are busy planning universal education, social welfare legislation, State-regulated means of communication, government-sponsored industries, wide and complicated framework of economic control, rapid industrialisation, formulation and execution of compact plans, obligations in international contracts and co-operation. All this entails an himalayan job in men and money. It creates many problems but the greatest of them is the problem of administrative reorganisation.

The former bureaucracies were primarily custodians of law and order. "Slavery to the Ring" was their motto, and rigidity, legality and worship of precedence were the guiding principles of their life. Obviously, such orthodoxies are not suited to the requirements of a Welfare State. Unfortunately, in spite of the reformatory zeal of new governments, the shop-soiled

18. Hugh Tinker, op. cit., p. 490.

contention that mechanical application of rules is a gateway to good government still persists. Office codes, and books of regulations in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Vietnam are the same as were being used by the colonialist. Even in India and Pakistan where leadership has been a little more enlightened and dynamic, the dusty shelves of officers are still stuffed with manuals which had been designed by their former masters. Mechanical application of rules is not compatible with basic social changes in new societies. The newly independent States have problems which did not exist for the colonial administrators; as such it is in the fitness of things to change and guide the inherited civil services so that they can comprehend new values and handle new jobs comfortably. The administrator during the colonial period was in a Hamlet's state of mind, "that he was damned if he did, and damned if he didn't: to undertake the reform of society was wantonly to impose alien idiosyncrasies on a rounded and living culture. Whereas to refrain was to protect the very backwardness which had justified intervention in the first place."¹⁹ The administrators of new States are not confronted with this dilemma any more. They know the hopes and aspirations of their people, they have an idea of the dynamism unleashed by freedom, no socio-cultural inhibitions block their way, needs and necessities of an emerging nation are writ large all around them. The only thing required is to keep their hand on the pulse of time, to be aware of the lightening developments, and work with a plastic and responsive outlook. They ought to be mentors and not masters.

The relationship between politics and administration is another problem of considerable significance among the developing countries. The issue in fact is universal. Bureaucracies in highly advanced democracies have not been able to resolve this enigmatic proposition. Are politics and administration complementary to each other? If so, then where and how they complement each other? During the past two decades, academicians in the field of public administration have been grappling with a host of whys and wherefores around these two questions. But in countries with long democratic tradition and political maturity, a manageable compromise has been arrived at. A delicate line of demarcation has been created which has

19. Rupert Emerson, op. cit., p. 40.

been sanctified by experience to an extent that chances of encroachment by politicians and administrators upon each other's domain are very remote. In developing countries, on the other hand, where representative institutions are in their infancy, political maturity and stability are yet a distant goal; there are many opportunities for suspicion and conflict among politicians and administrators. K. M. Panikkar says:

It is necessary to remember that in the West it is the parliamentary system that existed first and the civil services were created as instruments for carrying out the policies of parliament. The evolution *esprit de corps* in the new countries has been the reverse of this. The civil services were long established institutions with a strong *esprit de corps*, traditions of initiative and direct contact with the people, but with a non-democratic approach of paternalism, described appropriately in Indian slang as "Ma-Bapism" or being father and mother.²⁰

This indicates that the role of the civil servant in Africa and Asia has been totally different from the bureaucrats of America and some other European countries. In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent he was known as *bakim*, meaning judge, master, ruler, all combined in one. The word *bakim* is derived from the Arabic word *bukm* which means bridling, restraining, judging. In Islamic theological terminology it is one of the divine attributes of God also. So if the word *bakim* was used for a British Indian Civil Servant, it was an index to his paternalistic outlook and role. This custody of patronage, prestige and power has been challenged and the new political rulers have no desire to withstand two conflicting forms of authority.

No student of governmental affairs can be ignorant of the fact that politician's suspicion of the bureaucrat can adversely affect the work and efficiency of administration. It is an accepted thesis of the science of politics that in order to fulfil the mission of a Welfare State, administrators at higher echelons and politicians at the helm of affairs rub shoulders very closely. A spirit of mutual reliance, confidence and compromise can be the *modus operandi* between the two. A disgruntled and frustrated administration can block the way to economic and political advancement of a society. It is

20. *The Afro-Asian States and Their Problems*, New York, The John Day Co., 1959, pp. 34-5.

especially true today when the dominance of government in developing countries is almost unquestioned. Its spirit pervades in every walk of national life. In these countries private initiative and enterprise is limited; as such government is constrained to undertake works of social uplift and economic betterment. Thus there is nothing surprising about the fact that, within a short time, bureaucracies in these countries have nearly doubled themselves. It is not a manifestation of the so-called Parkinson's Law; it is only an index to increased activities of the government. In such circumstances a clash between a big government and a big bureaucracy can be suicidal. This is not particularly true of developing countries alone. Such a showdown can be ruinous to any State or government irrespective of the civilisation's progress. Students of history are aware that the clash between a stubborn politician and intransigent bureaucracy was one of the causes which sealed the destiny of the Weimar Republic.

In most of the developing countries the delicate but inescapable line separating the two vehicles of national progress is either missing or blurred. Development is bound to be retarded or even threatened when the bureaucrat makes an encroachment on the spheres of the representatives of the people, and situation gets more dangerous when politicians dig trenches on the legitimate jurisdictional competence of the bureaucrat. Politicians should realise that, without strong and reliable administrative machinery, even the most enlightened decisions will be false in consequence. Kenneth Younger is of the opinion that "each period of creative endeavour ends in frustration for want of governmental machinery to carry the burden, the new state's political stability and its capacity for democratic development may well be endangered."²¹ There has hardly been a government under the sun whose decisions have been accorded a perfect approval by the governed. If the administration is capacious, it can implement unwelcome decisions in a way that people feel the minimum pinch of it. But if the administration is corrupt and inefficient, even the most useful policies can be mangled during the course of execution.

Knowledge and experience of governmental affairs puts the bureaucrat

21. Kenneth Younger, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

in an advantageous position. To ignore his advice is a luxury which politicians cannot afford. Political bosses ought to know that supine and spineless bureaucracy forfeits creativity, and that without its dynamic operative force all their plans of industrialisation, schemes of rural and community development will be a heap of fragmentary idealism. Many a time bureaucratic delay, hesitation and red-tapism have strangled sublime pieces of legislation. Sir Winston Churchill has drawn a brilliant picture of the relationship between a political boss and his civilian subordinate:

No politician, however popular in the country or influential in Parliament, can afford to be indifferent to the opinion formed of him by civil servants through whom and by whom he works. Concealed from the public eye among the deeper recesses of White-hall, seeking no fame, clad with the special knowledge of life-long study, armed with the secrets of dozen cabinets, the slaves of the Lamp or of the Ring render faithful and obedient service to whomsoever holds the talisman. Whatever task he set, wise or foolish, virtuous or evil, as they are commanded, so they do. Yet their silent judgements of their masters and their projects do not pass unheeded.²²

The words which Mr. Churchill wrote in 1906 have assumed additional meanings and importance in the sixties of this century. The work of governments have multiplied to an extent which was unthinkable fifty years back. Law-making bodies all over the world are pressed so much with varied types of legislation that it is simply impossible for them to go into the minutest details. Under these circumstances they have naturally to confine their deliberation to skeleton outlines, while the administration is expected to fill in meaty details of rules. This is more so in developing countries where all issues of national importance are left to State initiative. If the bureaucracy is lethargic or careless in planning rules which have to pilot the policies, there can be innumerable sources of evasion by the public. Thus it is incumbent upon us to understand that in a progressive State law-making and rule-making bodies should be of the same calibre. They form the two indispensable wheels which can keep the government on even keel.

If politicians are expected to safeguard the inherent privilege of bureau-

22. Sir Winston S. Churchill, *Lord Randolph Churchill*, Vol. II, London, Macmillan and Company, 1906, p. 179.

cracy, the bureaucrats too have certain obligations to society. In many ex-colonial countries the old civil servants have gone, but they have left a legal and spiritual legacy which is not in harmony with the needs of a free country. Their predecessors in the jobs were not accustomed to political control. Their sole responsibility was to the Minister of Colonies or in the case of India and Pakistan to the Secretary of State for India, but now there are legislative assemblies imbued with resurgent nationalism watching their activities all the time. Any harassment of public can immediately be subject of a cut-motion or a question in a legislature. The days of sitting in the remote recesses of the secretariat, watchfully guarded from the public gaze, are numbered. At every step they are susceptible to face public pin-pricks and ministerial malefaction, and this requires a change of outlook and approach. It is not sufficient to be on good terms with the politician; they must possess unimpeachable moral and professional integrity. Their honesty should be unquestioned and "service before self" should be the torchlight of their actions. Above all they should work with a crusader's spirit against nepotism, the greatest of all bureaucratic vices. Nepotism, if kept within the circle of private life, is a great virtue, but when it is implanted in public career it becomes a corroding fallacy. Charity begins at home, is a coveted moral equipment. One must be considerate to dependants, friends and relatives, but not at the cost of State or society. It is a pertinent case of private virtue becoming a public sin.

The ideal portrayed above, however, is not easy to attain. It requires intensive efforts, vision and imagination of all concerned in this uphill task. To renovate the existing bureaucratic structure in a way that it becomes suitable to the changed circumstances is the primary job for administrative reform in developing countries. Change is an agonising process. It has to overcome several barriers of resistance. There is no difference, however, between old and new countries in this matter. An imperceptible apprehension or even horror of change runs in human blood, but relying upon man's ingenious and plastic character, one can hope that with careful manipulation of human resources and training skills administration can be what it is expected to be.

شخصی مرکزیت اور تعلیم (تحلیل سے ترکیب کی طرف)

عبدالقادر

کہا جاتا ہے کہ ملکہ وکٹوریہ کو اپنے خاوند پرنس البرٹ سے والہانہ محبت تھی۔ جب پرنس البرٹ کا انتقال ہوا تو انہوں نے اپنے منک کے چوٹی کے مورخ کو بلوایا اور اس سے استدعا کی کہ وہ پرنس البرٹ کی سوانح حیات لکھیے۔ چنانچہ یہ تاریخ کئی جلدوں میں لکھی گئی۔ مورخ نے کمال تجزیہ سے کام لیا۔ پرنس البرٹ کی ہر صفت کا علیحدہ علیحدہ ذکر کیا۔ اس کے کارناموں کے اسباب بیان کیے۔ قارئین کو سیاق و سباق سے مطلع کیا۔ غرضیکہ جیسے سائنسدان کسی پھول کو لے کر اس کے اجزا کاٹتا ہے اور ہر جزو کو خوردبین کے نیچے رکھ کر اس کا مطالعہ کرتا ہے، ویسے ہی پرنس البرٹ کی شخصیت کے نہایت ہی چھوٹے چھوٹے حصے کاٹ کر مطالعہ کیا گیا۔ ملکہ وکٹوریہ نے نہایت شوق سے اپنے پیارے خاوند کی سوانح حیات پڑھی۔ پڑھ چکنے کے بعد اس کی چیخ نکل گئی اور کہنے لگی کہ یہ سوانح حیات ٹھیک ہے، لیکن اس میں مجھے پرنس البرٹ نظر نہیں آتا۔ وہ کہاں ہے؟ مجھے تو اس کی ضرورت تھی۔

بعینہ یہی حال موجودہ سائنسی اور صنعتی تہذیب کا ہے۔ جب سے موجودہ سائنسی دور کا آغاز ہوتا ہے، اور یہ کچھ دور کی بات نہیں کیوں کہ سترھویں صدی سے اس کی ابتدا ہوتی ہے، تحلیل

(personality profile) کہا جاتا ہے۔ اس ڈھانچہ میں ہر صفت کا اپنا خط ہے جو یہ بتلاتا ہے کہ سو میں سے ہر صفت نے کتنے نمبر پائے۔ چوں کہ شخصیت میں مختلف صفات ہیں اس لیے اس ڈھانچہ میں کئی خط ہوں گے، جو ایک دوسرے سے الگ کھڑے ہوں گے۔ اگر یہ ڈھانچہ ہمارے دوست کا ہو تو ملکہ وکٹوریہ کی طرح ہماری بھی چیخ نکل پڑے گی۔ ہم بھی سراسیمگی کی حالت میں کہیں گے کہ جو ماہر نفسیات نے کہا ہے وہ سب ٹھیک ہے، لیکن للہ یہ تو بتائیے کہ اس میں میرا دوست کہاں ہے۔

اس سائنسی طریقہ کا ایک اور نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ جو چیزیں اس کی دسترس سے باہر تھیں انہیں فضول سمجھ کر نظر انداز کر دیا گیا۔ اس طریق کار کی جہاں خوبیاں ہیں وہاں خامیاں بھی ہیں۔ جس وصف کی تحلیل سائنسی طریقے سے نہ ہو سکے یا جس تحقیق کا نتیجہ ریاضیاتی فارمولوں میں ادا نہ ہو سکے اسے درخور اعتنا نہیں سمجھا جاتا۔ پرانے قصوں میں ایک قصہ لیلیٰ مجنوں کا بیان کیا جاتا ہے۔ کہا گیا ہے کہ مجنوں کو لیلیٰ سے مثالی پیار تھا، یہاں تک کہ وہ اس کے پیار میں سوکھ کر کانٹا ہو گیا۔ اب آپ کسی ماہر نفسیات کو کہیں کہ اپنی کسی پیمائش پر مجنوں کی محبت کا ریاضیاتی اندازہ لگائے۔ آپ دیکھیں گے کہ اس کا ہر ٹسٹ ناکام ہو جائے گا۔ مجنوں کی محبت کسی ریاضیاتی فارمولے میں مقید نہیں ہو سکتی۔ ایسے ہی زندگی کے بے شمار پہلو ہیں جو نہایت ہی اہم ہیں، لیکن ان کا اندازہ عمل تجزیہ سے ممکن نہیں اور نہ ہی ان

اور تجزیہ کو سائنسی منہاج کا اصل الاصول تسلیم کر لیا گیا ہے۔ مثال کے طور پر آپ طبیعات کو لیں۔ آپ دیکھیں گے کہ ہر مسئلہ کا حل تحلیل سے ہوتا ہے۔ فرض کریں کہ کوئی بھاری بھرکم ہاتھی پہاڑ کی چوٹی پر لا کھڑا کر دیا گیا ہے۔ آپ نے معلوم یہ کرنا ہے کہ اگر اسے زور سے ٹھوکر لگائی جائے تو یہ کتنے وقت میں پہاڑ کے پائیں پہنچ جائے گا۔ یہ سوال حل کرنے کے لیے آپ ہاتھی کی کمیت (mass) معلوم کریں گے۔ پھر اسراع (acceleration) کا پتہ لگائیں گے، راستے کی رکاوٹوں کا خیال رکھیں گے، رفتار (velocity) پیش نظر ہوگی، بعد میں کسی ریاضیاتی فارمولہ کے مدد سے آپ وقت معلوم کریں گے جو یہ کمیت اتنی اسراع، رفتار اور رکاوٹوں سے اس فاصلہ کو طے کرے گی۔ اس سارے عمل میں نہ تو ہاتھی کا ذکر آئے گا اور نہ ہی پہاڑ کا، کیوں کہ ماہر طبیعات نے ان دونوں کو اپنے مخصوص سائنسی انداز میں تحلیل کر دیا ہے۔ اس کے پیش نظر ہاتھی نہیں بلکہ کمیت ہے۔ ایسے ہی وہ پہاڑ کو نہیں دیکھتا بلکہ فاصلہ، اسراع، رفتار اور رکاوٹوں کو پیش نظر رکھتا ہے۔ ایک اور مثال آپ نفسیات سے لیں۔ فرض کیا کہ آپ سی۔ ایس۔ ایس کے امیدواروں کا جائزہ اس غرض سے لے رہے ہیں کہ ان کی شخصیت کا اندازہ لگ سکے۔ اس مطلب کے لیے انہیں مختلف آزمائشوں (tests) میں ڈالا جاتا ہے، ان کا حافظہ ٹسٹ کیا جاتا ہے، ذہانت کی پیمائش ہوتی ہے، ہیجانوں کا اندازہ ہوتا ہے، رویوں اور اخلاقی صفات کو ناپا جاتا ہے اور اس کے بعد منحني خط یعنی گراف بنتا ہے، جسے شخصیت کا ڈھانچہ

نژاد تھا اور وہ ہے جان ڈیوی۔ باقی تمام فلسفی تو انہوں نے ڈالر کے زور سے دوسرے ملکوں سے اغوا کر لیے ہیں۔ جان ڈیوی نے امریکی فلسفہ حیات کی جو نتائجیت (Pragmatism) کے نام سے موسوم ہے بنا ڈالی۔ ولیم جیمز بھی اسی فکر کا حامی تھا، لیکن ڈیوی نے اس کو خاص شکل دی اور امریکی زندگی کے ہر پہلو پر اسے منطبق کیا۔ ڈیوی کے طرز فکر کو عملیت (Instrumentalism) کہا جاتا ہے۔ یونانیوں کے نزدیک فلسفہ کا موضوع تلاش حق ہے۔ تھیلیز (Thales)، جس سے یونانی فلسفہ کی ابتدا ہوتی ہے، پہلا مفکر تھا جس نے کائنات پر غور و فکر کیا اور اس کی تہ تک پہنچنے کی کوشش کی۔ بعد میں یہ کوشش تیز تر ہو گئی۔ اسے منطق کا سہارا دیا گیا اور دلیل کے بل بوتے پر کھڑا کیا گیا۔ ہر فلسفی کی خواہش تھی کہ وہ مظاہر فطرت کو چیر کر ایسی اخروی حقیقت تک پہنچے جو لازوال اور سرمدی ہو۔ چنانچہ افلاطون، ارسطو، کانٹ، ہیگل، بریڈلے اور ایسے ہی ابن رشد، ابن باجہ، ابن طفیل جیسے فقید المثال مفکروں کا طرہ امتیاز رہا ہے کہ وہ مجاز کو چھوڑ کر حقیقت کے متلاشی رہے ہیں۔ ان مفکروں میں سے کوئی یہ دعویٰ نہیں کر سکتا کہ اس نے فلسفہ میں حرف آخر کہ دیا، لیکن جہاں تک ان کی نیت کا تعلق ہے وہ سبھی کے سبھی اس دھن میں گرفتار تھے کہ حقیقت کو پانے کے لیے ایسے وسائل استعمال کریں جو سائنسی طریق کار سے جدا ہوں۔ جدا ہونے کا یہ مطلب نہیں کہ وہ سائنسی طریق کے مخالف ہوں گے یا سائنسی طریق کو منسوخ کر دیں گے۔ ان کا

کی حقیقت کسی ریاضیاتی فارمولہ سے آشکار ہو سکتی ہے۔ ظاہر ہے کہ ایسے تمام پہلو نظر انداز ہو جائیں گے۔

جن لوگوں نے پاکستان بننے سے پہلے پرائمری کلاس پاس کی ہے انہیں یاد ہوگا کہ اردو کے قاعدے میں ایک لطیفہ مذکور تھا جسے ہر بچہ مزے سے پڑھتا اور دوسروں کو سناتا تھا۔ لطیفہ یہ تھا کہ ایک بے وقوف سڑک پر کچھ ڈھونڈ رہا تھا۔ لوگوں نے اس سے پوچھا کہ کیا ڈھونڈتے ہو؟ اس نے جواب دیا سوئی ڈھونڈ رہا ہوں۔ لوگوں نے کہا کہ سوئی تو تمہاری گھر گم ہوئی ہے یہاں کیوں ڈھونڈتے ہو؟ اس نے جواب میں کہا کہ گھر میں چراغ نہیں تھا، اس لیے سوئی یہاں ڈھونڈ رہا ہوں۔ یہی حال سائنسدانوں کا ہے۔ وہ سوئی تو ضرور ڈھونڈتے ہیں، لیکن اس جگہ جہاں ان کی تکنالوجی کا چراغ روشنی دے۔ جہاں اس چراغ کی روشنی نہیں پڑتی، وہ مقام ان کے لیے کوئی وجود نہیں رکھتا۔ یا یوں سمجھیے کہ سائنس کے لیے صرف وہی مسائل اہم ہیں جو اس کے طریق کار اور تکنالوجی کے قابو میں آ سکیں۔

امریکی طریقہ تعلیم جو ترقی یافتہ (progressive) نظام کے نام نامی سے منسوب ہے اور جس کا امام جان ڈیوی ہے، اسی سائنسی منہاج کی پیداوار ہے۔ جان ڈیوی کا شمار مغربی فلسفیوں کی قطار اول میں تو نہیں، لیکن امریکی فلسفیوں کی قطار اول میں ضرور ہے۔ یوں بھی اگر دیانت داری کی بات کی جائے تو امریکیوں نے پچھلے دو سو سال میں صرف ایک ہی فلسفی پیدا کیا ہے جو خالص امریکی

کے دروازے صرف حواس اور عقل تک محدود نہیں بلکہ دروازے اور بھی ہیں اور شاید یہ دروازے اس لحاظ سے بہتر ہیں کہ اخروی حقیقت تک لے جاتے ہیں۔

جان ڈیوی کا فلسفہ جسے تعلیم پر منطبق کیا گیا ہے اور جس کے گن ہر امریکن یونیورسٹی کا فارغ التحصیل طالب علم گاتا ہے اس فلسفہ سے بالکل مختلف ہے جو قدما سے ہم تک پہنچا ہے اور ان قدما میں ہمارے اسلامی مفکر بھی شامل ہیں۔ نفسیات اور حیاتیات کا سہارا لے کر جان ڈیوی اس نتیجہ پر پہنچا کہ سلسلہ ارتقا میں فکر کی تولید اس لیے ہوئی کہ وہ زندگی کے تقاضے پورے ہونے میں مدد دے۔ پس جو فکر زندگی کا ساتھ نہیں دیتا یا اس کے پھلنے پھولنے میں مدد نہیں دیتا وہ بے کار ہے اور اس کی تلاش بھی محض تضییع اوقات ہے۔ جان ڈیوی کہتا ہے کہ زندگی کے تقاضے ہی حق و باطل میں تمیز کرتے ہیں۔ بالفاظ دیگر کوئی چیز بذاتہ حق نہیں اور نہ ہی کوئی چیز بذاتہ باطل ہے۔ حق وہ ہے جو زندگی کو امداد دے اور باطل وہ ہے جو زندگی کی نفی کرے یا زندگی کو زک پہنچائے۔ اس فلسفہ کا نتیجہ یہ نکلا ہے کہ کسی ایسی حقیقت کا وجود نہیں سمجھا گیا جو اپنی ذات میں قائم و دائم ہو۔ حقیقت تو زندگی کے تقاضوں سے بنتی ہے۔ تقاضے بدلے اور حقیقت کی شکل میں تغیر آ گیا۔ یوں تو جان ڈیوی کا فلسفہ بڑے کام کی چیز ہے۔ اس نے حقیقت کا جو تصور پیش کیا وہ سراسر اثباتی علوم کی پیداوار ہے۔ لیکن میں صرف یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ فلسفہ ایشیائی طرز فکر سے

مطلب صرف یہ تھا کہ سائنسی طریق کار کی اپنی حدود ہیں۔ جہاں ان حدود کو توڑا گیا وہاں عقل ایسے مضمضوں میں پھنس جاتی ہے جو تضاد کا پیش خیمہ بنتے ہیں اور جن کی بدولت اخروی حقیقت تک پہنچنا محال ہو جاتا ہے۔ اس وسیلہ یا ذریعہ کو جس کی بدولت کوئی مفکر عقل کی آہنی دیواریں توڑ کر اخروی حقیقت سے ہم کنار ہوتا ہے، وجدان (Intuition) کا نام دیا جاتا ہے۔ چنانچہ اسلامی نظریہ علمیات (Epistemology) میں مشاہدات، حافظہ، تخیلات اور عقل کے علاوہ کشف، وحی اور الہام کو بھی ذریعہ علم گردانا گیا ہے۔ انگریزی زبان میں کشف، وحی اور الہام کے لیے علیحدہ علیحدہ الفاظ موجود نہیں۔ ان سب کے لیے صرف ایک ہی لفظ (Intuition) ہے، لیکن خواہ کشف ہو خواہ وحی خواہ الہام، ان سب کا منشا ایک ہے اور وہ یہ کہ کائنات کے کچھ حصے اس نوع کے ہیں کہ انہیں سمجھنے کے لیے عقل اور سائنس کی قیادت کو ٹھکرانا پڑتا ہے۔

چوں کہ ہر تہذیب کا انحصار دو عناصر پر موقوف ہے۔ اول اس کے نظام اخلاق پر اور دوم اس کے نظریہ حیات اور کائنات پر۔ لہذا اسلامی تعلیمات کا خاصہ رہا ہے کہ جہاں اس نے اخلاق اور کردار کی بلندی چاہی، وہاں یہ بھی کوشش کی کہ طلباء کے ذہن میں نظریہ حیات اور کائنات واضح اور بین شکل میں نقش ہو جائیں۔ یہ الگ بات ہے کہ جو وسائل ہمارے بزرگوں نے اختیار کیے وہ نہایت ہی سادہ اور بھونڈے ہوں، لیکن اس میں شک نہیں کہ ان لوگوں نے ثقافت یا کچر کے تقاضوں کے پیش نظر اس بات پر زور دیا کہ علم

ایک بیکار مشغلہ ہے۔

اوپر ذکر آچکا ہے کہ مروجہ علوم کی بنیاد تحلیل اور تجزیہ ہے۔ جان ڈیوی اس بنیاد کو صحیح مانتا ہے، لیکن اس طریقہ سے ہر علم دوسرے علوم سے الگ نظر آتا ہے کیوں کہ تحلیلی طریقہ کسی دو علوم کو اکٹھا نہیں کرتا بلکہ انہیں الگ کر دیتا ہے۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ تمام مغربی ممالک میں اس میلان کے خلاف آوازیں اٹھ رہی ہیں۔ پہلے پہل کوشش ہوئی کہ تمام طبعی علوم کو ایک سلسلے میں پرویا جائے۔ منطقی اثباتی اسے وحدت اثباتی علوم (Unity of Sciences) کے نام سے یاد کرتے ہیں۔ اب کوشش یہ ہو رہی ہے کہ طبعی اور غیر طبعی علوم کو یکجا کیا جائے، سائنس اور لٹریچر کے ڈانڈے جوڑے جائیں اور فلسفہ اور مذہب کا تضاد ختم کیا جائے۔ ایسے ہی مشرقی اور مغربی فلسفہ کو ایک صف میں کھڑا کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اس تحریک کا منشا ہے کہ جو نقصان تحلیلی طریقے سے ہوا اس کی تلافی ہو سکے اور تمام علوم کو اکٹھا کر کے مجموعی حیثیت سے زندگی اور کائنات کا اندازہ لگایا جا سکے۔ امام غزالی نے تو صدیوں پہلے کہہ دیا ہے کہ جتنا اوپر اڑیں گے اتنا بہتر نظارہ کریں گے۔ اوپر جانے سے جو نظارہ ہوتا ہے وہ تحلیلی نہیں بلکہ ترکیبی (synthetic) ہوتا ہے۔

ہمارے سکولوں، کالجوں اور یونیورسٹیوں میں تا حال ترکیبی مطالعہ کا رواج نہیں ہوا۔ ہماری ہر سائنس الگ ہے۔ ہمارے ہاں سائنس اور فلسفہ کا کوئی رابطہ نہیں۔ فلسفہ اور مذہب کو ایک دوسرے کا

مطابقت نہیں رکھتا اور یہی وجہ ہے کہ پاکستان میں انتشار کا موجب بنا ہوا ہے۔ نثائیت اور عملیات میں اس چیز کا خاص طور پر خیال رکھا جاتا ہے کہ سچائی کی تعریف ایسے کی جائے کہ وہ سائنسی منہاج کے مخالف نہ ہو۔ لہذا سچائی کا وہ پہلو جو وجدان سے سمجھ میں آسکتا ہے نظروں سے اوجھل ہو گیا۔ یہاں میں اس بحث میں الجھنا نہیں چاہتا کہ آیا وجدان فی الواقعہ ایک صحیح فلسفیانہ منہاج ہے؛ میں تو صرف حقائق کو اجاگر کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ میرا موقف صرف اتنا ہے کہ جس معاشرہ کے ہر فرد کی گھٹی میں یہ بات موجود ہو کہ عقل کے علاوہ اور راستے بھی ہیں جو اصلیت تک لے جاتے ہیں، ایسے معاشرہ میں اگر اس فلسفہ تعلیم کو رائج کر دیا جائے جو غیر عقلی راستوں کو بے بنیاد قرار دیتا ہو تو وہاں اگر انتشار، بد دلی اور بے یقینی نہ ہو تو کیا ہوگا؟

جان ڈیوی کے مطابق سچائی صرف قابل عمل (workable) ہونے کا نام ہے۔ پرس (Pierce) ایک اور امریکی ممتاز مفکر ”تصورات کو کیسے صاف اور غیر مبہم رکھا جاتا ہے“ کے ضمن میں رقم طراز ہے کہ تصورات کو پرکھنے کی کسوٹی صرف حسی تجربات ہیں اور جو تصور اس کسوٹی پر پورا نہیں اترتا وہ مبہم اور گدلا ہے۔ پس قابل عمل سے مراد یہ ہوئی کہ تصورات وہ ہی صحیح ہوں گے جو مروجہ علوم کے نظام میں کھپ سکیں اور ان کی ترقی میں مدد و معاون ہوں۔ لہذا سچائی کو اخروی حقیقت خیال کر کے اس کی تلاش میں نکلنا جان ڈیوی اور پرس کے مطابق

شخصی مرکزیت کسی خاص تحریک کا نام نہیں بلکہ ہر قسم کا فلسفی خواہ اس کا نظریہ کچھ ہی ہو اگر وہ انسان کو اساس بنا کر اپنے خیالات کی عمارت تعمیر کرتا ہے تو وہ شخصی مرکزی بن جاتا ہے؛ چنانچہ شخصی مرکزیتوں کو آپ وجودیوں (Existentialists) میں پائیں گے۔ تصوریوں (Idealists)، الہیین (Theologians) اور حقیقت پسندوں (Realists) میں بھی دیکھیں گے۔ غرضیکہ فلسفہ میں کوئی ایسا شعبہ نہیں جہاں شخصی مرکزی نہ ہوں۔ شخصی مرکزیت کسی مدرسہ فکر کا نام نہیں؛ یہ تو انسانی فکر کے ایک میلان کو ظاہر کرتا ہے۔

گو شخصی مرکزیت میں چند ایک ملحدوں کا شمار بھی ہے جیسے سائرے (Sartre) کا، لیکن اکثریت ان لوگوں کی ہے جو خدا پر ایمان رکھتے ہیں اور خدا کی ہستی کے ساتھ انسانوں کی شخصیت بھی قائم رکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اقبال کا شمار بھی انہیں لوگوں میں ہوگا، کیوں کہ جہاں وہ خدا کی ایغو کو برقرار رکھنا چاہتا ہے وہاں وہ اس امر کا بھی خواہاں ہے کہ انسانوں کی ایغو بھی ہر قسم کے دستبرد سے بچی رہے۔ جس مذہب میں انسانی ایغو بالآخر خدا کے ایغو میں مدغم ہو جائے ایسا مذہب اقبال کو پسند نہیں۔

میرا منشا یہاں پر اقبال اور شخصی مرکزیتوں میں متوازی خیالات ڈھونڈنا نہیں۔ بڑے آدمیوں کے خیالات میں کہیں نہ کہیں ہم آہنگی ضرور نظر آتی ہے، لیکن یہ ہم آہنگی اس امر پر دلالت نہیں کرتی کہ دونوں کے اساس فکر ایک جیسے تھے۔ اقبال میں شخصی

مد مقابل پیش کیا جاتا ہے۔ سائنس ہو یا فلسفہ اسے لٹریچر کا دشمن بتلایا جاتا ہے۔ نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ جہاں زندگی میں یکجہتی، یگانگت اور وحدت ہونی چاہیے وہاں تضاد، منافرت اور کثرت ہے۔ یونیورسٹیوں کے طالب علم اسی تضاد کے شکار ہیں۔ انہیں سائنس اور فلسفہ میں کوئی رشتہ نہیں ملتا۔ وہ سائنس اور لٹریچر کی مختلف راہیں دیکھتے ہیں اور مذہب اور فلسفہ کو ایک دوسرے کی ضد پاتے ہیں۔ یہ ثمر ہے جان ڈیوی کے طرز فکر کا۔ آج کل ضرورت اس امر کی ہے کہ علوم کے درمیان جو خلیج ہے اسے دور کر کے کائنات اور حیات کو بحیثیت مجموعی دیکھا جائے۔ یہ چیز تحلیلی تکنیک سے دستیاب نہیں ہو سکتی۔ اس کے لیے ترکیبی مطالعہ کی ضرورت ہے۔ لہذا میں ایک نئے فلسفہ کی طرف آتا ہوں جو یورپ اور امریکہ میں Personalism یعنی شخصی مرکزیت کے نام سے مشہور ہے۔ اس فلسفہ نے ابھی ابھی سر اٹھایا ہے۔

”سر اٹھانے“ سے میری مراد یہ ہرگز نہیں کہ اس تحریک کی جڑیں ماضی میں موجود نہیں۔ جیسے اور تحریکوں نے اپنا رشتہ ناطہ قدیم یونانی فلسفہ سے جوڑ لیا ہے، ویسے ہی شخصی مرکزیت نے افلاطون اور ارسطو بلکہ ان سے بھی قدیم حکما میں اپنا آغاز ڈھونڈ پایا ہے، اور یہ کچھ حیرت کی بات نہیں کیوں کہ جس فلسفی نے انسان کو بحیثیت مجموعی لیا اور تحلیل کی بجائے ترکیب کو اپنا آلہ کار بنایا وہ شخص مرکزی بن گیا اور ہر بڑا فلسفی اس خیال کا حامی اور مددگار رہا ہے۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ تاریخ فلسفہ میں

وہ ایسا جملہ کہتے ہیں جس کے معنی متعین نہیں ہو سکتے۔ یہاں پر مجھے منطقی اثباتیوں (Logical Positivists) سے پورا اتفاق ہے جو کلیات کی تحویل جزئیات میں کر دیتے ہیں اور انسانیت جیسے عام تصورات کے معنی زید، بکر جیسے جزئیات میں ڈھونڈتے ہیں۔

شخصی مرکزیت کی تحریک سے زید یا بکر کی اہمیت اجاگر ہوتی ہے اور انسانیت جیسے عام تصورات پس منظر میں جگہ لیتے ہیں۔ میرے نزدیک یہ خیال فلسفہٴ تعلیم میں ممتاز حیثیت رکھتا ہے۔ آپ کو یاد ہوگا کہ سقراط اپنے آپ کو ہمیشہ دایہ سے تشبیہ دیا کرتا تھا۔ وہ کہتا تھا کہ جیسے دایہ کا کام بچوں کی ولادت میں مدد دینا ہے ویسے ہی میرا کام بھی فکر کی ولادت میں مدد دینا ہے۔ اس تشبیہ کا مطلب یوں سمجھیے کہ جیسے بچہ ماں کے بطن سے پیدا ہوتا ہے اور دایہ صرف اس عمل کو آسان بناتی ہے، ویسے ہی خیالات طلباء کے ذہن سے پیدا ہونے چاہییں، اور استاد کا منصب صرف یہ ہے کہ اس عمل کو آسان بنائے۔ سقراط کے نزدیک استاد کا فرض یہ نہیں کہ وہ بچے کے ذہن میں اپنے خیالات ٹھونسے، کیوں کہ دایہ ماں کے پیٹ میں بچہ نہیں ٹھونسٹی۔ استاد کا کام یہ ہے کہ بچے کے ذہن میں جو خیالات دھندلے، غیر معین اور مبہم انداز میں پڑے ہیں انہیں نکلنے میں مدد دے۔ اس خیال کی تائید افلاطون کے مکالمات (Dialogues) میں ملتی ہے۔ افلاطون کی تصانیف کا نام ہی مکالمات ہے، جو اس حقیقت کو آشکارا کرتا ہے کہ راستی کی تلاش انفرادی طور پر ممکن نہیں بلکہ یہ تو ماحصل ہے مختلف افراد کے ذہنی

مرکزیت کے کچھ ابتدائی خیالات ضرور مل جائیں گے، لیکن جو فلسفہ ان خیالات کے بل بوتے پر پنپتا ہے اس کی نوعیت اپنی ہے اور وہ اقبال کے فلسفہ سے مختلف ہے۔ ہمارے ملک میں رواج ہو گیا ہے کہ جو نیا فکر دیکھتے ہیں اسے اقبال میں ڈھونڈنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں اور اپنی مطلب براری کے لیے اقبال کا کوئی شعر پڑھ دیتے ہیں۔

شخصی مرکزیت سمجھانے کے لیے میں Dostovsky کے ایک کیرکٹر کا یہ جملہ لیتا ہوں کہ میں بنی نوع انسان سے اس قدر محبت کرتا ہوں کہ زید، بکر اور خالد سے محبت نہیں کر سکتا۔ یہ جملہ ظاہر کرتا ہے کہ ایک شخص کو انسانیت سے یعنی انسانیت کے تجریدی تصور سے اس قدر محبت ہو سکتی ہے کہ وہ حقیقی انسان سے محبت کرنے کے قابل نہیں رہتا۔ یہ رویہ وہ شخص اختیار کرے گا جو سائنس کی تجریدیت میں ایمان رکھے اور تحلیل کو ہی عقلی منہاج سمجھے۔ لیکن جس شخص کا فلسفہ یہ نہ ہو، جو سائنس کے تحلیلی منہاج کو ناقص تصور کرے، اس کے لیے ممکن نہ ہوگا کہ وہ تجریدات (abstractions) میں گم رہے اور زید، بکر اور خالد سے محبت نہ کرے۔ شخصی مرکزیت میں تجریدات کو چھوڑ کر ٹھوس اشیا کی طرف آنا پڑتا ہے، یعنی آپ انسانیت جیسی مبہم اور فریب دہ تجرید کو چھوڑ کر حقیقی انسانوں کی طرف آتے ہیں۔ انسانیت سے پیار کا مطلب محض یہ ہے کہ آپ زید سے پیار کرتے ہیں یا بکر سے پیار کرتے ہیں یا خالد سے۔ جو لوگ یہ دعویٰ کریں کہ انسانیت سے پیار کرتے ہیں، لیکن وہ کسی خاص شخص سے پیار نہیں کرتے،

کر دیں اور اسے اجازت نہ دیں کہ وہ زندگی اپنے طریقے سے بسر کر سکے تو یہ زندگی دوزخ بن جاتی ہے۔ ساترے کے خیال میں ایسا معاشرہ جو فرد کو جکڑ کر رکھ دے اور اسے اپنی زندگی گزارنے نہ دے، دوزخ کہلانے کا مستحق ہے۔ اس نے اپنے ناول *The Exit* میں یہ خیال ایک قصہ کی صورت میں بیان کیا ہے۔ وہ کہتا ہے کہ چند لوگ جو زندگی میں ایک دوسرے کے جانی دشمن تھے فوت ہو جاتے ہیں اور مرنے کے بعد انہیں جہنم کی سزا ملتی ہے۔ ان سب کو ایک ایسے کمرے میں رکھا جاتا ہے جس کے چاروں طرف دروازے کھلے ہیں تا کہ اگر یہ بھاگنا چاہیں تو بھاگ سکیں، لیکن اگرچہ یہ لوگ اکٹھا نہیں رہنا چاہتے اور کمرے کے دروازے بھی کھلے ہیں یہ لوگ کمرہ نہیں چھوڑتے، کیوں کہ انہیں ڈر ہے کہ اگر وہ وہاں سے چلے گئے تو پتہ نہیں دوسرے ان کے متعلق کیا کہیں گے یا کیا سازش بنائیں گے۔ لہذا وہ حسد اور بغض، ڈر اور بے اعتمادی کی آگ میں سدا جلتے رہتے ہیں اور یہاں سے ان کا چھٹکارا ممکن نہیں۔ ایسا دوزخ ہمارے تعلیمی اداروں میں بھی موجود ہے۔ بجائے اس کے کہ تعلیمی درسگاہیں پیار اور محبت کا گہوارہ بنیں وہ حسد اور بغض کی جہنم بن جاتی ہیں۔

اس ضمن میں گیبریل مارسل کا نام خاص اہمیت رکھتا ہے۔ اس نے ایک نہایت ہی اچھوتا خیال پیش کیا ہے۔ وہ کہتا ہے کہ انسانوں سے برتاؤ کرتے وقت ہمارا نظریہ I-Thou کا ہونا چاہیے، نہ کہ I-It کا۔ I-Thou میں آپ کا رشتہ کسی دوسرے انسان سے پیار

تفاعل کا۔ افلاطون کے مکالمے سوال و جواب کے طرز پر چلتے ہیں۔ مختلف افراد کسی بحث میں مشغول ہو جاتے ہیں اور سقراط جو افلاطون کا نمائندہ ہے اس بحث کو کنٹرول کرتا ہے اور خاص خطوط پر چلاتا ہے۔ ان مکالموں میں سقراط کا رول محض دایہ کا ہے۔ وہ کوشش کرتا ہے کہ باہمی بحث و تمحیص سے سچائی نکل پڑے۔ آجکل کے Discussions، Seminars اور Tutorials مکالمے کی خاص صورتیں ہیں۔ ان کی تہ میں فلسفہ یہ ہے کہ زید اور بکر حقیقی اشیا ہیں اور انسانیت جیسے عام تصورات محض تجریدات۔

شخصی مرکزیت کو اور واضح کرنے کے لیے میں آپ کی توجہ ساترے کے اس جملہ کی طرف مبذول کرانا چاہتا ہوں کہ دوزخ نام ہے دوسرے اشخاص کا (Hell is other people)۔ آپ نے دوزخ کی مختلف تشریحات پڑھی ہوں گی۔ دوزخ کو آگ اور ایسی آگ سے تشبیہ دی جاتی ہے جو نہ کبھی بجھے اور نہ ہی جس کی تیزی کبھی کم ہو۔ لیکن آگ کئی قسم کی ہوتی ہے۔ ایک آگ تو وہ ہے جو لکڑیوں سے پیدا ہوتی ہے اور دوسری وہ جو دلوں میں پیدا ہوتی ہے اور زندگی کے درخت کو جلا دیتی ہے۔ بعض لوگ لکڑیوں والی آگ سے دوزخ کو بیان کریں گے اور بعض دلوں کی آگ سے، لیکن اس امر سے کوئی ذی عقل انکار نہیں کرے گا کہ لکڑیوں والی آگ کی آگ کے مقابلے میں نہایت ہی سست اور نرم ہے۔ جب ساترے کہتا ہے کہ دوزخ نام ہے دوسرے اشخاص کا، تو وہ آتش دل کا خیال کرتا ہے اور کہتا ہے کہ جب لوگ کسی کی زندگی میں مداخلت شروع

میں ملتے ہیں اور اگر ان مچھروں کو ختم کر دیا جائے تو اس کا نتیجہ ملیریا بخار کا خاتمہ ہوگا۔ طبعی اور معاشرتی علوم میں یا تو علت سے معلول کی طرف جاتے ہیں یا معلول سے علت کی طرف واپس آتے ہیں۔ لیکن کسی ماحول کو علت اور معلول کے واردوں میں تقسیم کر دینا یا لازمی اور غیر لازمی عناصر میں تحویل کر دینا محض تحلیل ہے؛ اس سے ماحول کی اصلیت کا پتہ نہیں چلتا۔ فرض کیا کوئی شخص موٹر چلا رہا ہے۔ آنا فانا ایک سائیکل والا راستے میں آن نکلتا ہے۔ اسے بچانے کی کوشش ہوتی ہے تو کہیں سے ایک بچہ سڑک کے پیچ آ دھمکتا ہے۔ موٹر والا دونوں کو بچاتے بچاتے بجلی کے کھمبے سے ٹکرا جاتا ہے۔ موٹر بھی تباہ ہو جاتی ہے اور خود چلانے والا بھی راہی ملک عدم ہو جاتا ہے۔ اس حادثہ میں جہاں تک علت و معلول کا سوال ہے ان کا پتہ لگانا کوئی چنداں مشکل نہیں۔ علت تو موٹر کی رفتار، سائیکل اور بچہ کا راستہ میں آ دھمکنا، بجلی کے کھمبے کا گڑا ہوا ہونا ہے اور معلول موٹر کی تباہی اور ڈرائیور کی ہلاکت ہے۔ لیکن اس تحلیلی جائزہ سے کسی کی تسلی نہیں ہوتی۔ جہاں تک حادثہ کی علت کا تعلق ہے، یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ موٹر تیز چل رہی تھی اور آنا فانا سائیکل اور بچہ کہیں سے نکل پڑے، لیکن سوال یہ ہے کہ یہ کیوں ایسا ہوا کہ سائیکل والا بھی کہیں سے نکل پڑا اور بچہ بھی کہیں سے آ گیا۔ کیا یہ ضروری تھا کہ یہ تینوں یعنی کار کی تیز رفتاری، سائیکل اور بچہ ایک ہی وقت میں آن موجود ہوں؟ اور ظاہر ہے جب تک یہ حوادث اکٹھے سرزد نہ ہوں یہ حادثہ نہیں

اور محبت کی بنا پر مساوات کا ہوگا۔ I-It میں دوسرا شخص بے جان شے کی حیثیت رکھے گا جس کا استعمال ذاتی مفاد کے لیے ہو سکتا ہے۔ مارسل کا خیال ہے کہ صنعتی دنیا میں ہر شخص دوسرے کو آلہ کار بنا کر اس سے فائدہ اٹھاتا ہے، جیسے لوگ خام اشیا سے یا اپنے گرد و نواح سے مستفید ہونے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں۔ اگر ہمارے روابط I-Thou کے اصول پر قائم ہو جائیں تو ہر فرد اپنی جگہ پر قابل عزت ہوگا، اس کے ساتھ سلوک بھی پیار اور محبت کی بنا پر ہوگا۔ اس طرح بین الاقوامی جھگڑے ختم ہو جائیں گے اور انسانی معاشرہ بہشت کا نمونہ بن جائے گا۔ ہماری درسگاہوں میں شاذ ہی کوئی درسگاہ ایسی ہوگی جہاں استاد اور طالب علم کا رشتہ I-Thou کا ہو؛ اکثر اوقات تو یہ رشتہ I-It کا ہوتا ہے۔

شخصی مرکزیت کے متعلق جو ذکر اوپر کیا گیا ہے وہ ایک لحاظ سے فروعی تھا۔ اصل بات تو اس کا طریق کار ہے جسے تحلیل ترکیبی کہا جاتا ہے۔ تحلیل ترکیبی (analytic-synoptic) سے ایسا منہاج مراد ہے جو پہلے تو تحلیل و تجزیہ سے کام لے، بعد میں مجموعی اور ترکیبی انداز سے واردوں یا ماحول کا جائزہ لے۔ اس سے فائدہ یہ ہوگا کہ ہر سائنس ایک حد تک تحلیل سے کام لے گی۔ بعد میں تحلیل شدہ اجزا کو مجموعی صورت میں دیکھے گی۔ مثال کے طور پر علت و معلول کے قانون کو لیجیے۔ اس کی بدولت ہمیں واردات کے اسباب ملتے ہیں۔ اگر اسباب دیے گئے ہوں تو مسبب بہ کا پتا چلتا ہے۔ اگر کہیں ملیریا پھیل جائے تو اس کے اسباب ہمیں مچھروں

ہو سکتا۔ اسی لیے ینگ (Jung) جو عہد جدید کا مشہور ترین ماہر نفسیات ہے کہتا ہے کہ اصول علت و معلول کے علاوہ ہمیں اصول ہم دوری (Law of Synchronicity) کو مدنظر رکھنا چاہیے جس کا منشا یہ ہے کہ واردوں کا ہم وقتی اجتماع اور ترکیب اتنی ہی ضروری ہے جتنا کہ ان کا تحلیلی پہلو۔

تحلیلی ترکیبی طریق کار سے علوم ایک پلیٹ فارم پر کھڑے کیے جا سکتے ہیں۔ ان کے مابین جو منافرت یا تناقض ہے اسے دور کیا جا سکتا ہے، اور اگر علوم کی ایک جہتی نصیب ہو جائے تو موجودہ تعلیم یافتہ انسانوں کے ذہنوں میں جو انتشار ہے اسے رفع کیا جا سکتا ہے، مذہب اور فلسفہ کا تضاد دور ہو جائے گا۔ ادب اور سائنس کے ڈانڈے مل جائیں گے، طبعی اور غیرطبعی علوم کا رشتہ استوار ہو جائے گا۔ غرضیکہ تحلیلی ترکیبی منہاج سے ہمیں کائناتی (Cosmic) نقطہ نگاہ نصیب ہوگا جو پر سکون اور متوازن زندگی کے لیے اشد ضروری ہے۔

AN ANALYSIS OF AURANGZEB'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS QUTB SHAH

YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN

Some writers have highly disapproved of the attitude of Aurangzeb towards Muslim States of the Deccan and have attributed his policy to his religious fervour. But a minute examination of the contemporary Persian and European sources shows that the behaviour of the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda towards the Mughal Emperor forced the latter to resort to the course he did.

It is generally believed that Akbar was a liberal and farsighted ruler while Alamgir was rigid and intolerant. In fact, in a country like India with a majority of Hindu population and divergent customs and religions, Akbar was an abnormal and Alamgir was a normal product of his time. It was Akbar who initiated the expansionist policy of bringing the South under the North. The policy was followed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Alamgir simply completed the work of his predecessors.

The treaty of 1636 between the Mughals and Golconda reduced Abdullah Qutb Shah to a vassal of the Mughals and he promised to pay an annual tribute of two lacs of *huns*. Due to the insubordination of Qutb Shah, the Mughals once again besieged Golconda in 1656. However, through the interference of Dara and Jahan Ara, members of the so-called "peace party" at the court, peace was concluded in March 1656 and Qutb Shah agreed to pay an indemnity of one krur of rupees and arrears of the annual tribute. Prince Aurangzeb left Aurangabad on 5 February 1658 for the North to contest the throne.

Abdullah Qutb Shah came to throne in 1626 at the age of twelve and ruled for forty-six years. He was a man of sensual habits and the administration of the State was first conducted by his mother Hayat Bakhsh Begum and, after her death, by Abdullah's eldest son-in-law Sayyid Ahmad. Under Abdullah Qutb Shah, Hyderabad had become the Indian Babylon, with its

20,000 public women, some of whom danced before the king in public on every Friday. The city had countless taverns close to these women's quarters, where 1200 large leather bottles of fermented palm-juice were consumed daily.¹ According to Bernier, "Confusion and misrule are the natural and unavoidable consequences of this state of things. The grandees totally disregarded the commands of the ruler."² Thus Golconda was hastening towards its destruction.

Alamgir's preoccupations in Northern India did not permit him to tackle the situation in the South till the rebellion of his son Akbar in 1681 posed a challenge to the stability of his empire. In order to meet this unexpected challenge Alamgir marched in 1683 towards Bijapur. It was during his stay in the South that Aurangzeb came to know of Qutb Shah's secret alliance with the enemies of the Mughals, i.e. the Marathas.

Before going into details of the political crisis in Golconda and its ultimate annexation to the Mughal Empire, we will first examine Golconda-Mughal relations from 1656 to 1686.

As a vassal of the Mughals, Qutb Shah should have obeyed imperial orders but, instead, he helped the enemies of Alamgir, the Marathas and the Adil Shahis. When Sivaji effected his escape in 1666 from Agra, Abdullah Qutb Shah helped the former with war material.

Abul Hasan ascended the Golconda throne in April 1672 after the death of Abdullah. His attitude towards the Mughals was equally hostile. When Sivaji was hard pressed by Khan Jahan Bahadur, the imperial commander, the Maratha chief went to Hyderabad in 1677 to exact a huge amount from Qutb Shah. Abul Hasan behaved like a humble vassal of Sivaji, placed a necklace of gems round his horse's neck and promised to pay him an annual subsidy of one lac of *buns*.³ Sivaji promised to regain all Qutb Shahi forts from Bijapur and to hand them over to Qutb Shah. Qutb Shah also made an offensive and defensive pact with Sivaji against the Mughals.

1. Tavernier, pp. 128-9; Jadunath Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 256.

2. Bernier, pp. 194-5.

3. Sarkar, p. 257.

With the help of Qutb Shahi army Sivaji captured several forts from Bijapur including Parnalla, Satara and Rajgad but none of these mighty forts was delivered to Qutb Shah except two or three smaller ones.⁴

The decadent state of administration of Golconda led to the Mughal invasion. Abul Hasan dismissed in 1674 his Amir-ul-Umara Sayyid Muzaffar, the person responsible for bringing him to the throne from premiership.⁵ Madanna was appointed as Mir Jumla with the title of Surya Parkash Rao. Madanna displaced Persians and Turks who had enjoyed the Qutb Shahi patronage for more than two hundred years and appointed his own relatives instead. Akanna, his elder brother, was appointed Mujamdar and commander-in-chief; Asanna, his cousin, was made governor of Warrangal. Yankanna, entitled Rustam Rao, was made Sar-lashkar. Not only the central government was dominated by the relatives of Madanna but also the province of Karnatak, which was governed by Lingappa and Yankanna, was equally in their grip. No sooner had Madanna established himself than he imprisoned his predecessor Sayyid Muzaffar and his son Sayyid Hashim. However, the captives managed their escape and joined the Mughal service.⁶

That the people of Golconda were being oppressed by Madanna's intolerable administration, is recorded both by *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* and *Maathir-i Alamgiri*. "It was reported to the Emperor in 1094/1684 that Madanna and Akanna have oppressed the Muslims. The forbidden is being practised and made legal. The Qutb Shahis, with the help of wretched Sambhaji, have captured some parts of the imperial Telingana."⁷ Alamgir became furious on the receipt of this news. He wrote to his *Hajib* at Golconda, "This faithless wretch [i.e. Abul Hasan] has given power in his State to an infidel and made Sayyids, Shaikhs and learned men subject to that man. He has permitted openly all kinds of vices. Day and night he is busy in committing shameful sins and fails to make a distinction between Islam and

4. Khafi Khan *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Bib. Indica Series; Vol. II, pp. 345, 349.

5. Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, Bib. Indica, p. 227; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 313.

6. Khafi Khan, p. 293.

7. Ibid., p. 293; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maathir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 627-39.

'kufr'. He has made himself accursed before God and man by helping the infidels and giving one lac of *hums* recently to the infidel Sambhaji."⁸

The help given by Qutb Shah to Sikandar Adil Shah during the siege of Bijapur by the imperialists in 1686 became one of the causes of the ultimate fall of Golconda. In 1684, Alamgir sent Princes Muazzam and Azam to reduce the Maratha territory. The Emperor instructed Adil Shah to render full support to the imperialists in crushing Sambhaji. Adil Shah was asked to supply a contingent of 5000 horse and a passage for imperial forces through Bijapur territory. Defying imperial orders, Adil Shah helped the Marathas secretly. Alamgir then ordered the annexation of Bijapur.⁹

During the siege of Bijapur in 1686, Abul Hasan wrote secret letters to his envoy Muhammad Jafar at the imperial camp at Sholapur. Muhammad Jafar was placed under vigilant surveillance and his mail was intercepted by the imperialists. The objectionable letters were first sent to the Emperor before these were passed on to the addressees.¹⁰ Once Abul Hasan wrote a boastful letter to Muhammad Jafar in which he overestimated his power. It reads: "We had been respectful to our opponent in the past. Finding that the enemy [i.e. Alamgir] has besieged Bijapur and exploited the poor condition of the orphan Sikandar, we do not respect him any more. The best solution of the problem would be that Sambhaji should assist the helpless Sikandar on one side and I should send Khalil Ullah Khan Palang-hamla on the other to advance with 40,000 soldiers. We should then see on which front and with whom the enemy shall meet. The Qutb Shahis, who are at present in contact with the Mughals at Chabutra-i Kotwali should not be disheartened as we shall manage soon to affect their freedom."¹¹

Ihtemam Khan presented the above letter to the Emperor who immediately ordered Prince Muhammad Muazzam, also known as Shah Alam, and Khan Jahan Bahadur to advance towards Golconda. The Emperor gave a special *khilat*, a jewelled dagger and twenty horses to Prince Muhammad Muazzam.

8. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 328.

9. Sarkar, pp. 246-7.

10. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, p. 260.

11. Ibid.

Despite the fact that the Mughals were busy in the siege of Bijapur, strong contingents were despatched to reinforce him.¹²

In order to avoid armed conflict, Shah Alam presented the following peace terms to Ibrahim Khan, the Qutb Shahi commander: return of imperial districts of Seram and Ramgir to the Mughals; payment of arrears of the annual tribute; dismissal of Madanna and Akanna; and a surety from Abul Hasan for better administration in Golconda. But the Deccani commander refused to surrender to imperial demands.¹³ A battle took place in the neighbourhood of Malkhed in which the Deccanis sustained heavy losses and fled towards Hyderabad. Shah Alam and Khan Jahan did not pursue the enemy and they were reprimanded by the Emperor for their lethargy.¹⁴

The disunity between the "foreigners" and the Deccanis at this critical time weakened the Qutb Shahi cause. The Deccanis accused Ibrahim Khan of poor generalship at Malkhed. The general became furious and left Hyderabad and went to the Mughal camp on 18 October 1685. The Mughals, who were always on the lookout for such an opportunity, welcomed Ibrahim Khan. The Emperor gave Ibrahim Khan the lofty title of Mahabat Khan and appointed him to the rank of 6000 zat and 4000 suwar. The Qutb Shahi general was not the only officer who deserted Qutb Shah; he was followed by more renegades. Dawud, Muhammad Tauqi, Sharif-ul-Mulk and Zain-ul-Abidin were next to join the Mughal service. Sharif-ul-Mulk was given the rank of 3000 zat and 300 suwar, while Dawud and Muhammad Tauqi were appointed to the rank of 2000 zat and 200 suwar each.¹⁵

The news of the desertion of the Qutb Shahi officers disheartened Qutb Shah, who left Hyderabad and fled to the Golconda fort. The Mughals occupied Hyderabad easily. The king's flight was so precipitate that all his valuable furniture, carpets, etc., were left behind to be indiscriminately looted. Hundreds of people perished during this catastrophe. Peace could only be restored through the efforts of Khan Jahan.¹⁶

12. Ibid., pp. 261-2.

13. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 296.

14. Ibid., pp. 296-7.

15. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, p. 260.

16. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 297.

Hard pressed by the besiegers, Abul Hasan sent petitions to the prince suing for peace. Shah Alam also wanted the credit for the submission of Abul Hasan. He, therefore, recommended to the Emperor to forgive Abul Hasan. Peace was thus concluded in May 1586 on the following terms: (i) payment by Abul Hasan of one karor twenty lacs of *buns*; (ii) dismissal of both Madanna and Akanna; (iii) surrender of Malkhed and Serum. Though Abul Hassan had agreed to the terms, he still hesitated to dismiss his Brahman wazirs. The problem was solved soon. Both the brothers were murdered by the slaves of Qutb Shah and their heads were sent to Alamgir.¹⁷

The news of Mughal success was conveyed to the Emperor through Mir Hashim. Shah Alam himself reached the imperial camp at Sholapur on 7 June 1686, where he was welcomed by the Emperor, and promoted to the exalted rank of 40,000 zat and 30,000 suwar.¹⁸ Nobles including Khan Jahan and Ibrahim Khan (entitled Mahabat Khan) were given *khilat* and valuable gifts.¹⁹

The peace proved to be temporary. Alamgir's hands were tied on account of the siege of Bijapur. He, therefore, wanted to gain some time to settle finally with Golconda. The period from April 1686 till the extinction of Golconda in September 1687 was an appropriate period for Abul Hasan to show his loyalty and sincerity to the Mughal Emperor but he was averse to the Mughal cause. He effected no change in his policy towards the imperialists. The gulf was widened further by the attitude of his nobles and generals. The extinction of the last Muslim State in the Deccan could have been postponed, if not avoided, for some time, had Abul Hasan fulfilled the peace terms and desisted from rendering any help to Sikandar and the Marathas.

Why was Abul Hasan bent upon a policy hostile to the Mughals? Firstly, it was due to his own personal failings. He was a debauch and left the administration to his nobles who kept their own selfish motives above the interest of the State. The rivalry between the "foreigners" and the

17. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, p. 272.

18. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 299; *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, p. 267.

19. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 299; *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, p. 267.

Deccanis weakened the Qutb Shahi cause. Abul Hasan was throughout his life an indolent ruler and almost an imbecile. He was more interested in women and music and was rightly called "Tana Shah".

Secondly, Qutb Shah had matrimonial alliance with the Adil Shahis. Thus Qutb Shah felt obliged to help the Adil Shahis who preferred to follow a policy of expediency for political reasons.

Thirdly, the Marathas overpowered the Qutb Shahis by diplomacy and led them to believe that they were better allies than any other power.

Fourthly, due to their geographical position and cultural affiliations, the Deccanis were closer to the Marathas than to the Mughals. The mercantile trade of the Deccanis was controlled by either the Portuguese or the Marathas. Life in Golconda was dominated more by the Southern Indian culture and Hindu influences than the Indo-Muslim civilisation of the Mughals of the North. Qutb Shah ignored the fact that both Adil Shah and the Marathas had been plundering Golconda's wealth and territory. The Marathas who claimed to be the chief patrons of the Qutb Shahis, in fact, rose at the expense of the Muslim States of the Deccan.

The attitude of the Qutb Shahi nobles and generals heightened the crisis. On the recommendation of Shah Alam, the Emperor sent some gifts to Qutb Shah through Mir Abdul Karim according to *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, and Mir Hashim according to Khafi Khan. When the royal party reached the suburbs of Hyderabad, it was attacked by Shaikh Nizam, the Qutb Shahi commander. The gifts were seized and many members of the imperial party were killed. Mir Abdul Karim was seriously injured and made captive. When Qutb Shah was apprised of the situation he apologised to the Emperor and sent back Mir Abdul Karim.²⁰

Many critics of Alamgir, including Sarkar, have ignored the cause of the final invasion of Golconda and dismissed it "as an unprovoked war between Muslims."²¹ But a minute study of the circumstances will show that it was Abul Hasan and not the religious bigotry of Alamgir that was responsible for the fall of Golconda kingdom.

20. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, pp. 268-9; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 315.

21. Sarkar, pp. 263-4.

Abul Hasan failed to fulfil the terms of the treaty of May 1686. He had promised to improve the administration but could not or would not. Muhammad Saqi, the author of *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, writes: "Islam and its followers were humiliated by the Hindus in Golconda. Sambhaji prevailed over Abul Hasan and the latter offers countless money as subsidy to the former. The Emperor repeatedly warned Abul Hasan not to assist Sambhaji but all warnings went in vain."²²

The other cause of the invasion was the non-payment of the arrears of the annual tribute. Abul Hasan promised to pay one crore twenty lakh rupees as arrears of "peshkesh" but he did not send more than one hundred elephants. He withheld the annual tribute of two lakhs of *buns*. Saadat Khan, the Mughal envoy, waited for many months to collect the "peshkesh" but failed to do so. Abul Hasan excused himself by saying that since he had no cash to pay the Mughals, Saadat Khan could enter the royal harem and remove jewels and ornaments from the persons of the royal ladies. But the treachery of Abul Hasan is proved by the fact that he sent one lakh *buns* to his Maratha ally in those days.²³

Alamgir was thus convinced that, unless he captured Golconda, it would be impossible for him to crush the Maratha power. Thus it is inaccurate to say that the Marathas kept the Deccan States alive for such a long time. The fact is that the Deccanis were responsible for keeping the Marathas in power all along. The Deccan States served as a buffer State between the Mughal Empire and the Maratha territory. Alamgir thus determined to remove that stumbling block from his way. He was eager to stretch his border closer to that of the Marathas to hammer a final blow on them, nearer from the theatre of war.

Even if Abul Hasan had acted like a shrewd politician at the last moment and taken himself to the Mughal camp, he could have saved his kingdom. But his days were numbered and he preferred to link himself to the bitterest enemies of the Mughals. When Alamgir was convinced that Qutb Shah

22. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, pp. 285-6, 308.

23. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 323-4, 328.

would not do as he wished, he left Sholapur for Golconda on 29 Muharram 1097 intending to conquer that kingdom.²⁴

Shah Alam was ordered to lead the advance guard and picked soldiers like Firoz Jang and Qilich Khan were sent to reinforce the invading army. On the advance of the Mughal army, Abul Hasan left Hyderabad hurriedly and took shelter in the fort of Golconda. The Emperor followed his advance guard and pitched his tents at a distance of one kos from Golconda fort, on 24 Rabi-ul-Awwal 1097/27 January 1687.²⁵

Both contemporary and modern writers have remarked on the strength and impregnability of the fortress of Golconda which was known as Mankal under Dev Rae. When the Bahmanids came into power they captured it. Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, a slave of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani and governor of Golconda, declared himself independent (1518), became the first Sultan of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, and made Golconda the capital of his kingdom.

The fort is situated on a hillock. It is an irregular rhombus, with a rough pentagon annexed to its north-eastern face. A strong crenellated wall of granite, over four miles in length and of great thickness, surrounds the fort, which is further defended by eighty-seven semi-circular bastions, each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid rocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton. The eight massive gates could have safely defied any artillery known to the seventeenth century. Outside is a deep ditch, fifty feet broad, with stone-retaining walls. But Golconda really consists of four distinct forts joined to each other and included in the same lines of circumvallation. The lowest of these is the outermost enclosure into which one enters by Fath Darwaza. It is a vast tract covered with mansions of the nobles, bazars, mosques, temples, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines and even cultivated fields. Here the population of Hyderabad used to live in time of war.

In the west is the Bala Hisar, standing on a bed of solid granite, its walls being formed by huge boulders with connecting curtains here and there and parapets that tower far overhead. This is the citadel of the citadel, the

24. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, pp. 286-7.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

kernal of the whole fort. At the north-eastern corner of the fort stands a mound commanding parts of Golconda, but it was enclosed by a wall and added to the fort under the name of the Naya Qila by Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah as a defensive structure after Alamgir's first invasion in 1656.²⁶

Abul Hasan overestimated his strength when he instructed his soldiers to capture the Emperor alive if possible and to present him with all marks of respect at the Golconda court. The commanders excused themselves for their intention of showing no mercy to Alamgir in case he was captured, on the plea that their hearts were burning with anger.²⁷

The Mughals drove away the Deccanis who had assembled in the dry ditch under the cover of heavy fire. The exchange of bullets continued. Qilich Khan, the imperial general, lost his life due to enemy's fire.²⁸ The imperial camp suffered from disunity. Firoz Jang and Saf Shikan Khan were jealous of each other. Even Saf Shikan Khan had to be imprisoned at one stage by the Emperor. However, when he was set free on 22 June 1687, after five months he was restored to his original appointment as Mir-i Atish.²⁹

The other factors responsible for the prolongation of the siege are mentioned below.

Heavy rains caused havoc in the imperial camp. *Maathir-i Alamgiri* says, "the land seemed like flooded rivers due to rains, and pestilence. All accesses to the imperial camp were closed and corn could not be supplied to the Mughal encampment. Hundreds of soldiers perished from pestilence. The death rate was so heavy that it was not possible to bury each corpse separately, that the dead were thrown into the river. The scarcity of food was so intense that people started eating their own fellow beings. When rains stopped after some months and roads became accessible for import of food and fodder, soldiers were relieved of the misery caused by rains and flood."³⁰

26. Ibid., pp. 300-1; Sarkar, pp. 260-1.

27. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 328.

28. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, pp. 288-91.

29. Ibid., pp. 290-1.

30. Ibid., pp. 291-2.

The indifferent attitude of Shah Alam during the course of siege marred Mughal success. Zahir-ud-Din Faruki makes a passing reference to his behaviour without discussing the reasons for the treacherous part played by the prince.³¹ Jadunath Sarkar has offered an apology for the conduct of the prince. He writes, "Prince Shah Alam was a soft pleasure-loving nature and constitutionally averse to strenuous exertion and heroic enterprise. He did not wish to see a brother sovereign like Abul Hasan utterly ruined. This generous impulse was mingled with a more sordid feeling: if he could induce Abul Hasan to sue for peace through his mediation, then he himself would be proclaimed in the official reports as the conqueror of Golconda. Abul Hasan's agents secretly visited Shah Alam with costly presents, begging him to use his influence with the Emperor to save Abul Hasan's throne and dynasty."³²

The author of *Maathir-i Alamgiri* does not explain the real motive of the prince's attitude. He simply records that rumours of Shah Alam's insincerity were in the air for many months, but the Emperor did not pay any heed to them. Shah Alam fell completely under the influence of Abul Hasan, particularly during the siege of Golconda. Nawab Firoz Jang Bahadur intercepted the communications passing between Shah Alam and Abul Hasan. He showed the Emperor some letters of Shah Alam's addressed to Abul Hasan. Other evidence also confirmed the duplicity of the prince. Alamgir acted promptly. Shah Alam and his three sons were arrested in the Emperor's "*Tasbih Khanah*."³³

What had prompted Shah Alam to adopt such a course of action, when his father had made up his mind to annex Golconda to the Mughal Empire? It seems that Shah Alam wanted to impress Abul Hasan with his sympathy towards him to avert hostilities. He wished to prolong the siege so that sheer exhaustion would compel the Mughals to come to terms with Abul Hasan without annexing his State. If he could succeed in his design, he could depend on Abul Hasan's support in any possible war of succession after the

31. Zahir-ud-Din Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 315-6.

32. Sarkar, p. 262.

33. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, pp. 293-4.

Emperor's death. Alamgir was sixty-nine. The sons of Alamgir had started preparing themselves for a bid for the throne.

Alamgir himself had taken a similar attitude towards the ruler of Bijapur in 1657 by relaxing the peace terms when he left the Deccan for the North to contest the Mughal throne. Before his march towards the North to contest the throne, Alamgir demanded a contingent of 10,000 horse from Bijapur but Adil Shah evaded the demand. It can be concluded that Shah Alam was also trying to follow the policy of his father, who would never allow his own son to play a double game with him.

The siege dragged on for more than eight months. The Mughal soldiers were exhausted but not the determination of the Emperor. Alamgir himself supervised the work of mining and digging of trenches. In order to prevent the entry of soldiers or supply of corn into the fort a wall of wood and earth was built around the fort.³⁴ When Qutb Shah felt sure of his fall, he requested the Emperor to pardon him. In view of his past misdeeds, his request was turned down.

While the imperialists were attempting to capture the fort by storm, they also continued secretly to induce the Qutb Shahi nobles to join the Mughal service and promised them high ranks in the imperial army. Shaikh Nizam, one of the besieged Qutb Shahi nobles, presented himself before Alamgir. The Emperor gave him the title of Muqarrab Khan and appointed him to the rank of 6000 zat and 5000 suwar. He was also rewarded with one lakh of rupees in cash, thirty Arab and Iraqi horses, two elephants, a special *khilat* and a jewelled dagger. The three sons of Shaikh Nizam, Malik Munawwar, Shaikh Lada and Shaikh Abdullah were also given high mansabs.³⁵

The besieged became disheartened when the imperial lines were pushed up to the fosse. Heavy guns were mounted on earthworks to keep back the defenders and an attempt was made to scale the walls by night. When the besieged lost all hope of success they started coming over to the imperialists. One of such Deccani commanders was Sarandaz Khan who managed to let

34. Ibid., p. 296.

35. Ibid., p. 297.

Bakhshi-ul-Mulk in the fort through the postern gate he was commanding. Bakhshi-ul-Mulk went to the private apartment of Abul Hasan and Ruhullah Khan arrested the last ruler of the Qutb Shahi dynasty.³⁶ The Emperor treated his royal prisoner with respect. Abul Hasan was granted an annual pension of 50,000 rupees and was lodged in the fortress of Daulatabad.³⁷ The fort fell on 24 Zilqad 1098/21 September 1687.³⁸ Mir Abdul Karim composed the following chronogram on the conquest of Golconda:³⁹

فتح قلعة گول کشته مبارک باد (۱۰۹۸)

Some modern writers have asserted that the conquest of Golconda was achieved through treachery.⁴⁰ If in modern times, the obtaining of the secrets of other States is regarded as an act of intelligence and the winning over of the enemy is labelled as diplomacy, why then should the same kind of act be taken as treachery in the case of Golconda? The Deccanis joined the Mughal service only when they lost all hope of success and their ranks were thinning.

Jadunath Sarkar, Lane-Poole⁴¹ and other modern writers have criticised Alamgir's Deccan policy. According to them, it was an expression of his religious bigotry. If anti-Shia feelings could have been the only reason, as is generally understood, then why did Alamgir give these States a free hand for a period of thirty years? Alamgir repeatedly demanded from both States their wholehearted co-operation against the common enemy, i.e. the Marathas. The reply which Alamgir gave to Sikandar Adil Shah on the eve of the conquest of Bijapur would be more apposite in explaining his Deccan policy. Sikandar requested the Emperor to spare the kingdom of a Muslim brother. Alamgir replied that he had no desire to conquer Bijapur. He had come to capture the Maratha chief whom Adil Shah had been protecting.

36. Ibid., p. 299.

37. Ibid., p. 307.

38. Ibid., pp. 299-300.

39. Ibid., p. 300.

40. Zahir-ud-Din Faruki, op. cit., p. 316; Sarkar, p. 268; Abdul Majid Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, p. 296.

41. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzeb*, pp. 169-87.

The moment he fell into his hands he would return to the North. But Adil Shah refused to help Alamgir.⁴²

After the treaties of 1636 and 1656-7, both Bijapur and Golconda had become tributary and subordinate States of the Mughals, their foreign policy was subject to Mughal control. No paramount power could tolerate for a moment that its vassal state should have direct or indirect contacts with a power hostile to it. It was, therefore, binding on these States to assist the Mughals against the Marathas. The Deccan States should have taken a firm stand if they had preferred to unfurl the flag of rebellion against the Mughals. Either they should have made a free and open alliance with the Marathas or they should have co-operated whole-heartedly with the Mughals against them. But they adopted a tortuous policy of half-heartedly siding with the Mughals and secretly helping the Marathas. They tried to deceive Alamgir but in fact they deceived themselves.⁴³ Sarkar, the great critic of Alamgir, admits that Sivaji could raise his power and extend his dominion only at the cost of the Deccan States. Alamgir warned Abul Hasan of his treacherous policy of helping Sambhaji but Abul Hasan paid no heed to imperial warnings. In fact the Maratha leaders never justified the confidence reposed in them. They derived immense benefits from the treaties which they concluded with Qutb Shah but they never fulfilled their obligations in relation to his kingdom.⁴⁴

Being the paramount ruler, Alamgir was justified in interfering in the internal matters of Golconda. He was within his rights in asking Abul Hasan to transfer the administration from Hindu hands to Muslim. The Muslims had suffered heavily under the administration of Madanna and Akanna.⁴⁵

Regarding the misrule of Abul Hasan, Sarkar remarks, "During the twelve years of Madanna's ministry, internal administration of the country was marked by the same disorder and tyranny as in the reign of Abdullah, and matters naturally declined from bad to worse and nothing was thought of

42. Faruki, pp. 344-5; Sarkar, p. 251.

43. Faruki, p. 346.

44. Sarkar, Vol. IV, p. 9; Siddiqui, p. 250.

45. Maulana Shibli, *Aurangzeb Par Ek Nazar*, pp. 7-16.

but peeling and squeezing the people."⁴⁶ At another place Sarkar adds, "Resigning his royal functions to his Wazir Madanna, Sultan Abul Hasan shut himself in his palace with a host of concubines and dancing girls."⁴⁷ Abul Hasan's character is further explained in *Maathir-ul-Umara*, when its author writes, "Abul Hasan was so much absorbed in debauchery that during his fifteen years' rule he never went beyond his capital and travelled only one kos between Hyderabad and Muhammad Nagar."⁴⁸

Alamgir never tolerated that the Sayyids and the Mashaikh should be treated with contempt in Golconda⁴⁹ and he should remain a silent overlooker of injustice in the State. He, therefore, was justified in dislodging a ruler like Abul Hasan and annexing his State.

If Alamgir had been prejudiced, as has been represented by some writers, he could never have treated Abul Hasan with kindness that he did.⁵⁰ The Emperor could have beheaded Abul Hasan for his misdeeds but his generosity spared his prisoner's life. "When Abul Hasan was presented before the Emperor, he was trembling," writes *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, "but in the end he praised Alamgir for his behaviour towards him."⁵¹ Abul Hasan recognised the consequences of his policy towards the Mughals and he seemed to have been satisfied with the state of affairs after the fall of Golconda. Khafi Khan records the statement of Abul Hasan to this effect, "Though born of royalty, I have been trained in youth in the school of poverty. I know how to take pleasure and pain with equal indifference. I am thankful to God who has made me a beggar, then a king and now a beggar again, but who never withdraws His gracious care from His slaves, but sends to each man his allotted share of food. I am glad that the kingdom is being entrusted to God-fearing ruler like Aurangzeb Alamgir."⁵²

46. Sarkar, p. 255.

47. Ibid., p. 256.

48. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, p. 309.

49. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 328.

50. *Maathir-i Alamgiri*, p. 309.

51. Ibid., p. 300.

52. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 362-4.

After the conquest of Golconda, the Mughal Emperor showed kindness to the family of the deposed king. Its male members were given high ranks in the Mughal army and daughters were given in marriage to Mughal nobles. Abdullah, the adopted son of Qutb Shah, was given a mansab of 4000 zat and 4000 suwar and his three daughters were married with ceremonial due to their noble birth. The eldest was married to Sikandar Adil Shah, the ex-king of Bijapur, the second to a Mughal noble Muhammad Umar and the third to Inayat Khan, son of Prime Minister Asad Khan.⁵³

After a stay of about two months, Alamgir left Hyderabad for Bijapur. The administration of the country was entrusted to able hands. Amanat Khan was appointed Diwan of the entire Deccan while Abdul Wahab was made Diwan-i Hyderabad. Amanat Khan wrote off the State demand on the poor cultivators. When the Emperor came to know of this, he approved of this benevolent act.⁵⁴ The administration and the general life was brought to normal.

53. Siddiqui, p. 289.

54. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 382.

ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY UNDER THE SULTANATES OF THE DECCAN¹

IFTIKHAR AHMAD GHURI

General Remarks.—During the early days of the conquest of the Deccan the Muslim rulers employed only Muslim cavalry, composed exclusively of Arab and Persian contingents. With the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom (1347), direct contact with the North ended and there was no hope of getting any large number of Muslim recruits from that direction. The supply of Muslim cavalry never matched the demand of the conquerors. 'Alau'd-Din Hasan Bahman Shah Bahmani, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom (1347—58), hit upon the plan of seducing the Afghan and Turk nobles from the allegiance of the Tughluq Empire and some of them did join him along with their troops.² These desertions were not enough, however, to meet the needs of the Deccani rulers. Even *Habshis* were employed to make up the deficiency, but in vain. That is why these Sultans also encouraged the immigration by sea of Muslims from Iran, Iraq and Turkestan particularly to fill in the higher ranks of the army. But again they did not have complete success. It was owing to these circumstances that the separation between the conqueror and the conquered, generally maintained by the Muslims of the North, broke down in the South. They were forced to employ Hindus in their main armies. The peculiar circumstance which favoured them was that with the extinction of the Yadava kingdom of Maharashtra in the fourteenth century, a large number of Hindu soldiers became unemployed; they gathered round their native leaders in small bands and hired out their services to the Muslim rulers. The warlike tribes, Beydars,

1. This paper deals essentially with the army organisation in the Deccani Sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda. The organisation of army in the neighbouring states of Ahmednagar, Bidar and Berar was virtually the same with just negligible differences.

2. *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Tr. J. Briggs, Bombay, 1831, Vol. I, p. 528.

Marathas and Rajputs, were the most conspicuous amongst the recruits. These bands of local Hindu troops were known as *Silabdar*, *Bargir*, *Ghora Raut* and *Naikwari*.

Sources of Recruitment

Silabdar and Bargir.—The *Silabdar* was a leader of mercenary troops who provided his own horse and rode with one or more attendants. The term seems to have originated with Muhammad Shah Bahmani (1358—74).³ If a soldier were too poor to purchase a horse, he could ride one belonging to a *Silabdar* or other native officer, and he was called a *Bargir*. Thus the *Bargir* was dependent for his weapons and accoutrements upon the *Silabdar*, who received the former's full pay from his employer, and paid him at a reduced rate after deducting the cost of the horse and the armour. In the event of defeat in the battlefield, the *Silabdar* was not compensated by the employer for the loss of his horses or other accoutrements, but success added to his reputation and following and undoubtedly improved his prospects; his reward generally came in the form of a *jagir*. He was always on the lookout for the best market for his commodity. The state policy was to patronise enterprising *Silabdars* by conferring *jagirs* on them. These states usually had their armies supplied by the *Silabdars*. The only known exception to this was that of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (1534—58) who introduced the practice of enlisting *Bargirs*, who were supplied with horses and other accoutrements by the state.⁴

It was in this way that several Marathas rose to eminence, the most conspicuous example being that of the Bhonslas,⁵ who were originally cultivators; a buried treasure in their field enabled them to buy arms and horses and they became the captains of the mercenaries. Shahji Bhonsla was their important product. The Mores of Jawli, the Savantas of Warsi, the Ghorpades of Mudhol, the Nimbalkars of Phaltan and Jadhavas of Sinkdhed are just a few examples.⁶

3. J. Briggs, *Rise of Muslim Power in India*, Bombay, 1829, Vol. II, p. 299.

4. J. G. Duff, *History of the Marathas*, London, 1878, Vol. I, p. 63.

5. Sir J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1919, Vol. IV, p. 19.

6. Surendranath Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 5.

The Maratha soldiers were found particularly useful in the hilly tracts, where the Muslim *Jagirdars* did not like to go personally and which they left to the exclusive charge of their Maratha deputies. These Marathas were thus afforded opportunities to become a hardy race of mountaineering soldiery. The Muslim cavalry was essentially meant for fighting in the open and not in the hilly areas and this function was handed over to the Marathas as a matter of necessity.

Ghora Raut.—Another type of professional soldier was the *Ghora Raut*. They were Maratha horsemen receiving their pay annually possibly in cash and were bound to appear for service whenever required by their employer. They provided their own horses, accoutrements and arms and maintained themselves.⁷ It seems that they were generally in the pay of the central government of Bijapur and not that of her *Jagirdars*, as the latter could not afford to maintain such a large number of troops merely as reserve forces. The Regent Kamal Khan Deccani, in order to know the full strength of his armies, once ordered a census to be taken of all the *Ghora Raut* forces.⁸ Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I again took the *Ghora Raut* into service,⁹ which had been stopped by his predecessor Isma'il 'Adil Khan.

Naikwaris.—The *Naikwaris* were another class of the martial races.¹⁰ They have also been called *Reddywars* or *Munewars*, as these were the different appellations for the local infantry militia. They looked to their profession alone as the means of their livelihood and were ready to serve any master who would pay them.¹¹ Neither national sentiment nor community of language, religion or kinship ever prevented them from fighting against one another under different masters. They even fought with malignant hate whenever individual disputes arose; the spirit of rivalry and bitterness fomented amongst them by the Bahmani rulers was continued by their successor states. In the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, some of them acquired domi-

7. J. Briggs, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 37 footnote.

8. *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 26.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

10. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatini's-Salatin*, Haidarabad, n.d., p. 125.

11. J. Briggs, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 399 footnote.

nating positions; thus Jagdev Rao Naikwari, a premier noble of Jamshid Qutbu'l-Mulk (1543—50), having failed to become the regent of Subhan Quli, made an unsuccessful attempt to depose him and replace him by Daulat Quli.¹² The *Naikwaris* commanding the fort of Golconda were amongst those who invited Ibrahim Quli from Vijayanagar to capture the kingdom from Subhan Quli. The official *Tarikh-i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi* has greatly praised them for their loyalty.¹³ Saru Rao Naikwari, in the reign of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah (1550—80), was the commander of the fort of Golconda—the most important fort of the kingdom.¹⁴ Under 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (1558—80), the *Naikwaris* had become so powerful that even he did not dare to punish them without first gathering sufficient forces to do so.¹⁵ His usual method of getting rid of a refractory chief was to kill him by treachery and not by fair means.

The above-mentioned classes of soldiers formed an integral part of the armies of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. They had to be employed as a matter of inescapable necessity; at first they were accepted as *Silabdar*s or *Bargirs*, but not as higher commanders, which posts were essentially meant for Muslims. Of course, they could be promoted to higher ranks on the display of acts of heroism and extreme loyalty to the state.

Process of Recruitment.—Bijapur and Golconda were generally military states and had been parcelled out into three parts—crown lands, *jagirs* and areas under Hindu tributary Rajas. It was generally their ruler's policy to multiply the number of *jagirs* conferred on the enterprising Muslims, particularly the new and distant conquests were given over as *jagirs*.¹⁶ The

12. *Tarikh-i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi*, BM MS Add 6542, f. 89a.

13. *Ibid.*, f. 91a.

14. *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, Vol. I, p. 137.

15. Rafi'u'd-Din Shirazi, *Tadhkiratu'l-Muluk*, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Persian Supplement, 189, ff. 85a-91b.

16. For example, in the Bijapur kingdom, the Afghans were granted *jagirs* in the Western parts, viz. round Miraj and Bankapur, the *Habshis* in the Eastern parts, Karnul district and a part of the Raichur Doab and Sayyids and Arabs (particularly Mullas of the Naviyat clan) in the Konkan. Sir J. N. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 130.

officers in charge of the crown lands and *Jagirdars* both needed forces to run the administration and, therefore, enlisted one class or the other of Hindu soldiers according to their needs. Unlike the Mughals, there seems to have been no *mansabdari* system, which could serve as a regular measure of an officer's worth while making appointments. It was purely a question of supply and demand. While enlisting a *Silabdar* into service, they had to bear in mind the candidate's reputation as a soldier and the number of retainers he commanded. The central government had no control over pay or promotion and the troops thus recruited owed their loyalty only to the recruiting officer—their paymaster—and not to the Shah. The famous institution of branding the horses and mustering the soldiers according to their descriptive rolls—a prominent feature of the *mansabdari* system—does not seem to be a characteristic of the Deccani armies.

These local forces were not only meant to maintain law and order in the sphere of jurisdiction of their owners, but were also often required to repel external aggression, because reinforcements from the central government were not likely to reach the officer concerned in the hour of need owing to the poor means of communication. The central government also did not possess a large army and had to depend for its existence upon the forces of the *Jagirdars*. In the long period of one hundred years extending over the three reigns of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk (1518—43), Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk (1543—50) and Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah (1550—80), the conception of a standing army in the pay of the central government is hardly traceable. This is also true of the 'Adil Shahs of Bijapur where, for almost the whole of the sixteenth century, they had no large standing armies of their own but were mostly depending upon their *Jagirdars*. It seems that after the Battle of Talikota (1565) an era of expansion and conquests dawned in these states and their rulers felt the necessity of having standing armies of their own, because dependence upon the *Jagirdars'* forces was felt to be dangerous. The entry of the Mughals into the Deccan in the early seventeenth century exposed them to the risk of extinction at their hands and they resolved to have armies of their own. Muhammad 'Adil Shah (1627—57) and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626—72), who were contemporaries, are credited with

this change. Thus throughout the seventeenth century, there were two kinds of armies in each kingdom, one belonging to the central government and the other to the *Jagirdars*. Both were well-equipped with arms and ammunition.¹⁷ It is reasonable to assume that the central government did not exercise any direct control on the *Jagirdars'* forces.

Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi has reproduced a *Dasturū'l-'amal* of the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah laying particular stress on branding the horses and recording the muster rolls of the soldiers; the *Jagirdars* who violated these practices were punished,¹⁸ though he gives no specific instances of punishment. It is self-evident that the armies of the Shah consisted of his own standing armies and those of the *Jagirdars*. Of course, it was easy to enforce these practices with rigidity upon his own troops, but it is difficult to believe that he could have imposed such unpopular measures on his *Jagirdars*, who were very powerful in their areas and could have easily flouted his authority if they chose to do so. That even Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the greatest of the 'Adil Shahs, could not afford their displeasure is borne out by a striking example.¹⁹ In 1644, three of his *Jagirdars*, Shahji Bhonsla, Sayyidi Farhan and Yaqut Khan, became estranged from him and he immediately deputed one of his confidants Abu'l-Hasan to pacify them.

The number of soldiers, needed for the maintenance of the *Jagirdar's* authority, was essentially his own concern, as in the event of any challenge to his position he was required to deal with the situation himself. It was also his duty to place all his forces at the disposal of the central government whenever required. For example, Hanumant Goundah, the *Desai* of the Simat of Kotal, was ordered in 1649 to render all assistance to the Havaladar of Bankapur, so that the refractory chiefs could be quickly crushed.²⁰ Hanumant Goundah was again ordered in 1654 to place all his troops at the

17. Nizamu'd-Dinu's-Sa'idu Shirazi, *Hadiqatu's-Salatin.*, ed. Sayyid Ali Bilgrami, Haidarabad, 1931, Vol. I, pp. 65, 94.

18. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, op. cit., p. 356.

19. Yusuf Husain (Ed.), *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, Haidarabad, 1950, p. 125, document 57, dated 25 June 1644.

20. *Sir Walter Elliot Collection*, IO MSS Eur. f. 50, *Farman* 21.

disposal of Malik Rihan, so that the rebel Charkal Kar might be crushed.²¹ Charkal Goundah was ordered in 1664 to place all his troops at the disposal of the central government for an expedition to be launched shortly by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II (1657-72).²²

Owing to the lack of relevant evidence, it is difficult to get a clear idea about the organisation of the Bijapuri forces, but it is reasonable to assume that the structure of her armies would not have been radically different from those of Golconda. Recently a document on this subject has fallen into our hands which displays a vivid picture of the Golconda armies. This has been published by Dr. Yusuf Husain,²³ but he has not been able to make up his mind whether the document concerns the kingdom of Bijapur or Golconda. Its careful perusal leads one to the conclusion that it belongs to Golconda for the following reasons:

This document is essentially a seventeenth-century production and, though written in chaste Persian, also contains several Deccani Urdu words, for example, *Kabadi* and *Pakhali*.²⁴ Deccani Urdu, though originally patronised by the 'Adil Shahs, reached its zenith under the Qutb Shahs. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612), Muhammad Qutb Shah (1612-26), and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-72) composed poetry in this language and popularised it in their kingdom. It is quite probable that they also employed Deccani Urdu in their official records. This impression is further strengthened when we compare this document—mainly a manual of administration for the army—with the contemporary *Dasturū'l-'amal* (reproduced by Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi) mentioned above. The latter, essentially a Bijapuri document, is purely Persian in vocabulary, whereas the former employs several Deccani Urdu words as well. Thus we believe that the document concerned Golconda and not Bijapur.

In order to remove any doubt about the correctness of his conclusion,

21. Ibid., *Farman* 24.

22. Ibid., *Farman* 39.

23. Yusuf Husain (Ed.), op. cit., pp. 229-37.

24. *Kabadi* is still a popular word of usage in Haidarabad these days. For *Kabadi* and *Pakhali*, see succeeding pages.

the present writer had also addressed a query to the Central Record Office, Haidarabad (previously known as *Daftar-i Diwani*, Haidarabad), where the document under reference was discovered. They have agreed with his judgment and also informed him that the document was found in the piles of papers all dealing exclusively with Golconda.²⁵

According to this document, the military organisation of Golconda consisted of four classes of commanders: *Panj-Hazari*, *Hazari*, *Jumladar* (i.e. the rank-holder of 100) and *Havaldar* (the rank-holder of 10):

Panj-Hazari:

Horsemen	Bargirs	Horses	Total pay per mensem
880	1050	1000	9404 Huns

Details of Expenditure on the Panj-Hazari Contingent:

Cost of feeding 1000 horses—3000 Huns or 3 Huns per horse p.m.

880 horsemen divided into 7 divisions in order of their pay:

1. Pay of *Khasa-i Panj-Hazari* Huns 250 p.m.
2. Pay of *Majmu'adar* Huns 83 p.m.
3. Pay of 4 *Mubarrars* @ 5 Huns each .. Huns 20 p.m.
4. Group of 16 cavalymen including their *Havaldar* whose pay was 12 Huns and that of the remaining 15 cavalymen 8 Huns each .. Huns 132 p.m.
5. 24 *Bargirs* of the *Khasa* @ 4 Huns each .. Huns 96 p.m.
6. 130 *Bargirs* of the *Havaldars* @ 4 Huns each .. Huns 520 p.m.
7. 704 cavalymen under the *Jumladar-i Hazari*, the details of each person's pay not clear, but the total amount paid to them was .. Huns 3298 p.m.

In this way, the above-mentioned seven divisions of 880 Horsemen received in all 4399 Huns per mensem and the maintenance of their 1000 horses cost 3000 Huns per mensem.

Expenditure on the Bargirs per month.—Out of 1050 *Bargirs*, 50 acted as

²⁵ Reply dated 30 November 1960 received from Syed Mohiud-Din, Superintendent, Research Section (Persian), Central Record Office, Iram Manzil, Khairatabad, Haidarabad—4 (India).

spies and received in all 80 Huns per mensem, and the remaining 1000 *Bargirs* received 1925 Huns in all per mensem. The document is silent on the role of these 1000 *Bargirs*, but a critical study of the rest of the commanders brings home to us the fact that the *Bargirs* of every commander were divided into five classes with their rates of remuneration as under:

For every two horses, one *Sa'is*²⁶ was appointed @ 1½ Huns p.m.

For every ten horses, one *Pakhali*²⁷ was appointed @ 2½ Huns p.m.

For every ten horses, one *Mish'alchi*²⁸ was appointed @ 2 Huns p.m.

For every five horses, one *Kabadi*²⁹ was appointed @ 3 Huns p.m.

For every ten horses, one *Bargir* was appointed @ 1½ Huns p.m.

When this rule is applied to the *Panj-Hazari* contingent (having 1000 horses), we find.

500	<i>Sa'ises</i> getting	750 Huns
100	<i>Pakhalis</i> gaining	250 Huns
100	<i>Mish'alchis</i> having	200 Huns
200	<i>Kabadis</i> earning	600 Huns
100	<i>Bargirs</i> making	125 Huns
1000		1925 Huns

The sum of 1925 Huns spent on 1000 *Bargirs* tallies with the figure given in the document and hence our supposition is correct.

It is interesting to find that there was a very little difference between a *Panj-Hazari* and a *Hazari*, the latter also commanded 880 horsemen, 1000 horses but 1000 *Bargirs*, i.e. only 50 *Bargirs* less than the *Panj-Hazari*. The total pay of his contingent was 9114 Huns or 290 Huns

²⁶ *Sa'is* means the groom. Even under the Mughals, one groom used to serve two horses. *A'in-i Akbari* (Persian text, ed. H. Blochmann), Calcutta, 1872, p. 144.

²⁷ *Pakhali* or *Bibishti* or water-carrier. It is interesting to compare the Golconda practice of having one *Pakhali* for every ten horses with that of the Mughals, where a stable of 40 horses used to have 3 *Pakhalis*; a stable of 30 horses had 2 *Pakhalis* and a stable of less than 30 horses only one *Pakhali*. *A'in-i Akbari*, op. cit., p. 144.

²⁸ It means a torch-bearer.

²⁹ *Kabadi* is the one whose profession is breeding horses and other animals or the one who conveys articles in horse-pennins. It was owing to these important duties that amongst the *Bargirs*, his pay was the highest.

less than the *Panj-Hazari*. The details how he spent the sum of 9114 *Huns* p.m. are as under :

Cost of feeding 1000 horses = 3000 *Huns* or 3 *Huns* per horse p.m.

880 Horsemen divided into 6 divisions in order of their pay :

1. Pay of <i>Khasa-i Hazari</i>	83½ <i>Huns</i>
2. Pay of <i>Majmu'adar</i>	41½ <i>Huns</i>
3. Pay of 3 <i>Muharrars</i> @ 5 <i>Huns</i> each	15 <i>Huns</i>
4. 16 <i>Havalgars</i> @ 8½ <i>Huns</i> each	132 <i>Huns</i>
5. 155 <i>Bargirs</i> of the <i>Havalgars</i> @ 4 <i>Huns</i> each	620 <i>Huns</i>
6. 704 cavalrymen received (the details not clear)	3298 ³⁰ <i>Huns</i>
Total ..	4189½ <i>Huns</i>

The 1000 *Bargirs* were divided into 500 *Sa'ises*, 100 *Pakhalis*, 100 *Mish'alchis*, 200 *Kabadis* and 100 *Bargirs* and received in all the monthly pay of 1925 *Huns*, that is, the same amount as was received by the 1000 *Bargirs* maintained by the *Panj-Hazari*.

A *Jumladar* or a commander of 100 commanded :

Horsemen	<i>Shagird Pesha</i>	Horses	Total pay p.m.
88	100	100	904½ <i>Huns</i>

Cost of feeding 100 horses = 300 *Huns* or 3 *Huns* per horse p.m.

Out of 88 horsemen, 16 *Khasas* received their pay as under :

Their leader commanding 4 horses received .. 25 *Huns* p.m.

Majmu'adar's pay 8½ *Huns* p.m.

Muharrar's Pay 5 *Huns* p.m.

The remaining 13 horsemen @ 4 *Huns* each .. 52 *Huns* p.m.

Total .. 90½ *Huns* p.m.

The remaining 72 horsemen were grouped under 8 *Havalgars*, who commanded 8 horsemen each :

30. There is a serious misprint on page 232, where this figure is given as 3289 *Huns*. A query from the Central Record Office, Haidarabad, has removed this ambiguity. They have informed the present writer that the original text of the manuscript (under discussion) clearly states 3298 *Huns* and not 3289 *Huns* as erroneously published in the *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*.

8 <i>Havalgar's</i> pay @ 8½ <i>Huns</i> each	66 <i>Huns</i> p.m.
64 Horsemen's pay @ 4 <i>Huns</i> each	256 <i>Huns</i> p.m.

Total .. 322 *Huns*

Out of 100 *Shagird Pesha*, 50 *Sa'is* at 1½ *Huns* each 75 *Huns* p.m.

10 *Pakhalis* @ 2½ *Huns* each 25 *Huns* p.m.

20 *Kabadis* at 3 *Huns* each 60 *Huns* p.m.

10 *Mish'alchis* @ 2 *Huns* each 20 *Huns* p.m.

10 *Shagird Pesha* @ 1½ *Huns* each 12½ *Huns* p.m.

Total : 100

Total .. 192½ *Huns*

A *Havalgar* (rank-holder of 10) commanded ..

Horsemen	<i>Shagird Pesha</i>	Horses	Total pay p.m.
9	10	10	89½ <i>Huns</i>

Cost of feeding 10 horses = 30 *Huns* or 3 *Huns* per horse p.m.

Havalgar's pay 8½ *Huns* p.m.

His 9 horsemen's pay @ 4 *Huns* each .. 36 *Huns* p.m.

The contingent of his *Shagird Pesha* consisted of ten persons as given below :

5 <i>Sa'is</i> getting	7½ <i>Huns</i> p.m.
1 <i>Pakhali</i> earning	2½ <i>Huns</i> p.m.
1 <i>Mish'alchi</i> having	2 <i>Huns</i> p.m.
2 <i>Kabadi</i> making	6 <i>Huns</i> p.m.
1 Miscellaneous gaining	1½ <i>Huns</i> p.m.

Total 10

Total 19½ *Huns*

The above-mentioned particulars lead to the following conclusions :

A horseman, whether serving under a *Havalgar*, *Jumladar*, *Hazari* or *Panj-Hazari*, always received 4 *Huns* per mensem. Amongst the *Shagird Pesha*, the *Kabadi* was the highest paid man getting 3 *Huns* per mensem, while the rest of the *Bargirs* received from 1½ *Huns* to 2 *Huns* per mensem. Three *Huns*—the cost of maintaining a horse—showed the importance of the animal.

Thevenot,³¹ the French traveller who visited Golconda in 1665-8, mentioned that a Persian or Turkish trooper's pay was 10 *Huns* per mensem, out of which he had to keep two horses and four or five servants. A Persian or Turkish foot-soldier was paid 5 *Huns* per mensem and he was required to keep two servants and carry a musket. A Hindu foot-soldier was paid 2 or 3 rupees a month and was required to carry only a lance or a pike. These assertions of Thevenot cannot be accepted at their face value, as most of his judgments were sweeping and superficial. It is difficult to believe that a Hindu foot-soldier's pay could have been as low as 2 or 3 rupees a month, i.e. about half a *Hum* only, when the document mentioned above gives it as two *Huns*. Thevenot's estimate of the Persians, however, corresponds fairly closely with the figures given in that record.

The Khasa Khail.—As a counterpoise to the mercenaries (*Silabdar*s, etc.) scattered throughout the kingdom, over whom the central government exercised no control, the state, in addition to its own armies, maintained the *Khasa Khail*—a body of household troopers, who had no one to look to for orders except their royal master. They were fed, clothed and fully maintained by the state. They were the only troops upon whom the Shah could place reliance and who would follow his fortunes loyally. They usually consisted of Turks, Mughals, Persians and very rarely of Deccanis. The watch and ward of the royal palace was a monopoly of this class of troopers and their officer in charge was the *Sar-i Pardeh*dar, who was sometimes also entrusted with delicate missions by the Shah. *Haji Lar*, the *Sar-i Pardeh*dar, was commanded to arrest the refractory chief Dev Nayak and his son³² Mirza Yusuf. The *Sar-i Pardeh*dar of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II (1657-72), during Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur in 1665, was directed to mix poison in the wells and fountains of the city and its suburbs and also to destroy its standing crops and gardens in order to cause serious harassment to the invaders.³³ Owing to paucity of material, it is not possible to determine the actual

31. Surendranath Sen (Ed.), *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949, p. 140.

32. Rafi 'u'd-Din Shirazi, op. cit., Persian Supplement 189, f. 90b.

33. Nusrati, *Ali Nama*, IO MS f. 111a.

number of *Khasa Khail*.

The *Khasa Khail* generally consisted of foreigners, but under the non-*Parde*si regents in Bijapur, their composition underwent a change. The Regent Kamal Khan Deccani, in order to consolidate his power, dismissed 2700 Mughals of the *Khasa Khail* retaining only 300, and it was the latter who were prominent in his demotion by Isma'il 'Adil Khan (1510-34).³⁴ Yusuf Turk—the assassin of Kamal Khan Deccani—was also a member of the *Khasa Khail*.³⁵ Isma'il 'Adil Khan, who owed his position to the unstinted support of the *Parde*si troopers of the *Khasa Khail*, had banned the recruitment of *Deccanis* and *Habshis* in this special corps; later, when his needs became pressing, he allowed Afghans and Rajputs to be enlisted in the *Khasa Khail* but not the *Deccanis* and the *Habshis*.³⁶ Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (1534-58), however, reversed this order.³⁷ He ordered that his *Khasa Khail* should consist essentially of the *Deccanis* and the *Habshis* and amongst the *Parde*sis only Sunnis, and not Shi'as, should be recruited as soldiers. 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (1558-80) selected the best 3000 amongst the Sayyids, Arabs and Persians for his *Khasa Khail*.³⁸ In the battles waged by the 'Adil Shahs from time to time, the *Khasa Khail* displayed utmost loyalty. Yusuf 'Adil Khan (1490-1510) recaptured Goa from the Portuguese with the help of his *Khasa Khail* of 2000 or 3000 troops consisting of both the *Parde*sis and the *Deccanis*.³⁹ The extreme loyalty of the *Khasa Khail* to Isma'il 'Adil Khan can be gauged from the fact that in 1520, in the course of military operations against Ramaraja, Isma'il 'Adil Khan in a state of drunkenness jumped into the river in a desperate bid against the foe, and the *Khasa Khail*, in order to save their

34. *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 26-30.

35. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubab*, ed. Sir Wolsley Haig, Calcutta, 1925, Vol. III, pp. 284-5.

36. *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 31.

37. Khafi Khan, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 305. Asad Khan Lari, who was commissioned to carry out this order, did not strictly obey it; of course, he retained only 400 out of 1000 *Khasa Khail* of foreigners, but did nothing against the Shi'a troopers.

38. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 327.

39. *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 21.

master, recklessly plunged themselves into the valley of death.⁴⁰ In extreme cases, the king used to send the *Khasa Khail* into the battlefield under his trusted commanders and this was regarded as a great favour to them. For example, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I directed Asad Khan Lari to conquer the Qutb Shahi fort of Kokani and favoured him with permission to lead the *Khasa Khail*.⁴¹ When efforts were being made to oust the Regent Ikhlas Khan Habshi, his rival Dilawar Khan Habshi earned the favour of the minor Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (1580—1627) and of his *Khasa Khail*, which greatly increased his powers and helped him to supersede Ikhlas Khan Habshi.⁴² When Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II later endeavoured to oust the Regent Dilawar Khan Habshi, it was again the unstinted devotion of the *Khasa Khail* that helped the former to achieve success.⁴³

In Golconda, however, the *Pardesi*s monopolised the *Khasa Khail* throughout. Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550—80) was so considerate to them that he would often invite many of them to dinner.⁴⁴ A bloody war of succession threatened on the accession of 'Adbullah Qutb Shah', but was averted through the steadfast loyalty of the *Khasa Khail*.⁴⁵ It was at the suggestion of Musa, the *Mahaldar*, a prominent member of the *Khasa Khail*, that Abu'l-Hasan was nominated as the ruler of Golconda.⁴⁶ In the declining days of the dynasty, the *Khasa Khail* became a predominant factor in state politics. The execution of Diwan Madanna and Akanna, the premier nobles of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah (1672—87), was carried out with their connivance.⁴⁷

The *Khasa Khail*, thus, was an important body of troopers maintained by the Deccani rulers and it was from amongst them that the higher officers were recruited. Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, both

40. Khafi Khan, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 291.

41. *Tarikh-i Ferishtah*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 55.

42. Ibid., p. 106.

43. Ibid., pp. 126-8.

44. Ibid., p. 333.

45. *Tarikh-i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi*, op. cit., ff. 205b-206a.

46. Khafi Khan, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 48.

47. Ibid., p. 419.

started their career in the *Khasa Khail*.⁴⁸ Khusrau Aqa Lari, another *Khasa Khail*, who played an important part in the overthrow of the Regent Kamal Khan Deccani, had the title of Asad Khan Lari conferred upon him and was made a big *Jagirdar*.⁴⁹

Size of the armies.—Owing to the lack of relevant data, it is not possible to estimate accurately the number of armies of these states. Scattered references, however, do help us to form an approximate idea of their strength, which was contributed by the *Jagirdars*, officers of the crown lands and the *Khasa Khail*.

Yusuf 'Adil Khan's army.—12,000 cavalry, 40,000 infantry and 37 elephants.⁵⁰ When he attacked Goa in 1510, he commanded an army of 60,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry.⁵¹

The Regent Kamal Khan Deccani's army numbered 20,000 *Deccani* and *Habshi* cavalry at the time when all plans for his assumption of kingship were ready.⁵²

Isma'il 'Adil Khan.—When he attacked Krishnadeva Ray at Raichur in 1520, he commanded 120,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry and 150 elephants.⁵³ His army also included some Portuguese soldiers.⁵⁴

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I.—30,000 cavalry, 230,000 infantry and 450 elephants.⁵⁵ When he attacked Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk in 1536, he commanded 100,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry.⁵⁶

'Ali 'Adil Shah I.—Cavalry 80,000 and infantry double that number.⁵⁷ When he attacked the Portuguese in 1570, his army numbered 100,000 armed

48. Ibid., pp. 271, 368.

49. Ibid., p. 288.

50. Zubairi, op. cit., p. 24.

51. *Asia Portuguesa*, Manuel de Faria Y Souza, Lisbon, 1666, Vol. I, p. 138.

52. *Tarikh-i Ferishtah*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 26.

53. *Asia Portuguesa*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 193.

54. Ibid.

55. Zubairi, op. cit., p. 67.

56. *Asia Portuguesa*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 317.

57. Zubairi, op. cit., p. 151.

men and innumerable followers; 35,000 horses, over 2140 elephants and 350 pieces of artillery.⁵⁸

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II.—Cavalry 50,000, infantry double that number and 955 elephants.⁵⁹

Muhammad 'Adil Shah.—Cavalry 80,000, infantry 200,000 and 530 elephants,⁶⁰ and according to another version 350,000 cavalry and innumerable infantry and 1500 elephants.⁶¹ The latter seems improbable.

'Ali 'Adil Shah II.—50,000 cavalry⁶² and nothing is known about the infantry.

Under the demoralised regimes of the Regents (1672–86), no figures about the size of their armies are available.

These figures show that there was a steady increase in the numbers in the army from reign to reign, as the Bijapur territories increased. The kingdom of Bijapur under Muhammad 'Adil Shah was the most extensive of all the 'Adil Shahis, and that is why there was a tremendous increase in his military establishment. These figures show the total number of troops maintained by the kings in their capital and also by their officers in the crown lands and *Jagirdars*. It is not possible to find out the quota of *Jagirdars*, officers of the crown lands and the *Khasa Khail*.

As far as the total strength of the Qutb Shahi forces is concerned, nothing is known about the earlier period. Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, who ruled Talingana for sixty years both as a *Tarafdar* and an independent ruler, had to fight enemies from within and without for almost the whole duration of his reign. Jamshid Quli encountered many hostile forces during five years out of seven of his rule and annihilated all of them. This would not have been possible without a large force. With the prosperous reigns of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580–1612), armies were no doubt organised on a new footing, but no hint as to their number

58. *Asia Portuguesa*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 490.

59. Zubairi, op. cit., p. 283.

60. Ibid., p. 346.

61. Ibid.

62. *Mackenzie Collection General*, IO MS Vol. 43, f. 356.

can be traced. Thevenot,⁶³ the French traveller, who visited Golconda in 1665–8, mentions 500,000 as the total strength of the Qutb Shahi forces—consisting of both the central armies and those of the *Jagirdars*. Out of this total, 40,000 horsemen, Persians, Mughals and Tartars, lived in the capital.⁶⁴ This is the only reference available to us about the military strength of Golconda, but it seems that our informant is erring on the side of over-estimation.

Weapons of War.—According to Barbosa,⁶⁵ the Deccan cavalry carried maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle with very long arrows, so that every cavalier possessed arms enough for two persons; and the infantry carried swords and daggers, bows and arrows, they were good archers and mostly Hindus. These instruments of warfare demanded little or no technical knowledge, but only individual skill.⁶⁶ Hand-to-hand fighting was the fashion of the times and, therefore, every able-bodied person was a potential soldier. With such weapons, no change in the methods of warfare could be expected. The large-scale employment of Marathas in the Bijapur armies, however, did bring in a new strategy of war, eluding and baffling the enemy as much as possible, cutting off supplies and night attacks, etc. In this way, warfare became more desultory and predatory, with the result that the country and the peasants suffered more than the armies. The armies of Golconda also behaved similarly.

Though there was no dearth of arms, the most difficult problem of supply was the acquisition of horses. The Deccan had no good breed of horses before the coming of the Muslims. The Rashtrakutas used to import their horses from Arabia.⁶⁷ At the time of Marco Polo, the kingdom of Thana

63. Surendranath Sen (Ed.), *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 140.

64. Ibid., p. 135.

65. M. L. Dames (Tr. & Ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt, London, 1918, Vol. I, pp. 180–1.

66. Ibid., p. 181.

67. A. S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, Poona, 1934, p. 249.

was importing its army horses from Arabia; the traffic in horses was so great in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that no ship came to India without horses in addition to other cargo.⁶⁸ Similarly, the Muslim rulers of the Deccan had to import horses from Arabia and Persia.⁶⁹ In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese became the masters of the Arabian Sea and their occupation of the port of Goa since 1510 was a constant source of humiliation to the 'Adil Shahi kings, and that is why their relations with the Portuguese were anything but cordial.⁷⁰ Cargoes of horses from the Arabian countries used to be landed at Goa and their supply could be denied to any Deccani power by the Portuguese. The relations of the Regent Kamal Khan Deccani with the Portuguese owing to the loss of Goa became very strained and he suffered an acute shortage of horses for his contingents on account of their denial to him by the Portuguese. These circumstances forced him to permit his subordinates, if they could not get good horses for their cavalry, to use even weak or small country-bred horses or ponies.⁷¹ It was from sheer expediency that every Deccani ruler, including 'Adil Shah himself, had to keep on good terms with the Portuguese in order to maintain his cavalry efficiently. The contemporary foreign travellers⁷² mention the very high prices of horses and P. M. Joshi,⁷³ on the basis of their figures and also

68. Henri Cordier (Ed.), *Travels of Marco Polo*, Sir Henry Yule's edition, London, 1926, Vol. II, p. 391.

69. *The Commentaries of the Great Affonso D'albuquerque*, tr. from Portuguese edition of 1774 with notes and introduction by Walter de Grey, Hakluyt, London, 1884, Vol. IV, p. 125.

70. P. M. Joshi, "Relations between the 'Adil Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa during the 16th Century," *Sir Denison Ross Presentation Volume*, Bombay, 1939, p. 161.

71. Khafi Khan, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 283.

72. A. C. Burnell and P. A. Thiele (Tr.), *The Voyage of John Huygen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, Hakluyt, London, 1885, Vol. I, p. 54; M.L. Dames (Tr. and Ed.), op. cit., Vol. I, p. 65; John Davies (Tr.), *The Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo into the East Indies*, 2nd edition, London, 1869, p. 8.

73. P. M. Joshi, op. cit., p. 163.

keeping in view the purchasing power of money in those days, has calculated that the price of a horse ranged from £100 to £200 at pre-war values and sometimes a specially good horse fetched an even higher price. The cavaliers regarded the horse as their most important accoutrement, as, in the event of its loss during battle, they were not compensated by the state in any way and, therefore, they had to think several times before charging.

Owing to the extreme importance of the horses, one can imagine that the states of Bijapur and Golconda must have maintained stables of horses under the supervision of very capable officers. The Mughals had established a separate department meant only for the care of the horses, but our sources are silent on the nature of such a department. This should not mean that it never existed, but it only means that our sources of information are very weak.

Artillery.—Artillery was an important arm; its very possession marked a distinction between the royal troops and those of the *Jagirdars*.

P. K. Gode's assertion⁷⁴ that artillery was introduced into the Deccan somewhere in the middle of the fifteenth century, does not seem to be correct for the following reasons.

He has based his conclusion upon a partial reading of *Matla'u's-Sa'dain*,⁷⁵ whose author visited the Vijayanagar court in 1443 and mentioned the use of pyrotechny at the *Mahanavami*⁷⁶ festival in that city. The earliest reference to the use of artillery in the Deccan is, however, found not in 1443 but in 1365, when Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani I (1368—75) installed a firearm factory at his capital.⁷⁷ In the next year, the Sultan besieged the fort of Adoni, a possession of the Vijayanagar kingdom, and cannon were used under the supervision of his *Faringi* employees.⁷⁸ Shahabu'd-Din Ahmad Bahmani I

74. P. K. Gode, "Use of Guns and Gunpowder in India from 1400 A.D. Onwards," *Sir Denison Ross Presentation Volume*, p. 121.

75. 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, *Matla'u's-Sa'dain*, ed. Muhammad Shafi', 2nd edition, Lahore, 1949, Vol. II, ii-iii, p. 819.

76. *Mahanavami*.—The last day of the nine days or nights dedicated to the worship of Durga in Aswin, the last day of the Durga Puja.

77. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article on *Barud*, Vol. I, Fasciculus 17, London, 1959.

78. *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 552.

has been credited with the introduction of new artillery techniques.⁷⁹ 'Ali bin 'Aziz-u'llah Tabatabai,⁸⁰ while narrating Mahmud Gawan's second campaign against Belgaum (1472), also described the wrecking of its ramparts with guns and the havoc wrought by them had greatly impressed him. Sultan Mahmud Baykara with the help of his Turkish gunners sank a large Portuguese ship at Diu.⁸¹

It seems that the Deccan had made more rapid strides in artillery than the North because of her more numerous contacts with the Turks and the Europeans—both recognised to be excellent artillerymen. Thus by the time the states of Bijapur and Golconda had come into existence, artillery was not a novelty. The Portuguese historian, Faria Y Souza, mentioned that Yusuf 'Adil Khan attacked Goa with heavy artillery in 1510⁸² and when in the same year, on the death of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, the Portuguese recaptured Goa, they found vast quantities of cannon and military stores therein.⁸³ The Turkish gunners were gladly employed by the rulers of the Deccan and they were generally known as *Aqa*—a title often found in contemporary inscriptions and works. Thus we read of Aqa Murad, the Turkish Governor of the fort of Parenda in 1549,⁸⁴ Muhammad Aqa, an officer of the fort of Yadgir in 1557,⁸⁵ another Muhammad Aqa, commander of the fort of Shahdrug in the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II⁸⁶ and Aqa Rizwan, commander of Parenda fort on behalf of Burhan Nizam Shah in 1632.⁸⁷ Henry Cousens has mentioned thirteen guns of Bijapur, the most conspicuous amongst them were *Malik-i Maidan*, *Kharak Bijli*, *Landa Qasab* and *Lamchari*.⁸⁸ The *Malik-i Maidan*

79. 'Abdu'l-Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhabu'l-Tawarikh*, ed. Maulvi Ahmad 'Ali, Bib. Ind., London, 1868, Vol. III, p. 68. The Sultan ruled from 1422 to 1436.

80. *Burban-i Ma'asir*, BM MS Add 9996, ff. 102b-103a.

81. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, Fasciculus 17, p. 1068, London, 1959.

82. *Asia Portuguesa*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 136-7, 138.

83. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 136-7. In 1920, when Raichur was invaded by Krishnadeva Raya, Isma'il 'Adil Khan defended it with his powerful artillery (*ibid.*, p. 195).

84. G. Yazdani, "Parenda, An Historical Fort," *Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1921-4, p. 19.

85. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1929-30, p. 3.

86. *Tarikh-i Firishta*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 101.

87. Zubairi, op. cit., p. 295.

88. *Notes on the Buildings and Other Antiquarian Remains*, pp. 51-5.

was made by Muhammad Hasan Rumi in 1549;⁸⁹ it was originally in the possession of the Nizam Shahs of Ahmednagar and was taken as a trophy of war in 1632 by Muhammad 'Adil Shah. This was the biggest and the heaviest of all the guns and probably it was employed to fire grapeshot upon soldiery at close quarters.

Artillery was at first mostly employed in the sieges and not in the field. In the historic Battle of Talikota (1565), it was utilised in the open by both sides. The Muslims utilised the famous *Malik-i Maidan* gun on that occasion⁹⁰ and employed Turkish gunners trained in the European wars.⁹¹ After this event, artillery came to be employed in the open. Khawas Khan Habshi inflicted a crushing defeat on Shivaji in an open battle with the help of his artillery.⁹² The guns of those days were, however, very heavy and cumbersome. Their main contribution must have been to terrify the soldiers and the animals on the opposite side by their great noise in the battlefield; the long intervals at which they could be fired and the small area of destruction brought about by their solid balls were serious drawbacks to their effectiveness. Owing to their huge volume, they could not move along difficult passes or cross the bridges thrown over the rivers and, particularly during the rainy season, they were nothing short of a liability.

Khafi Khan⁹³ refers to the air-guns of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II stating that in 1668 the latter's general Yaqut Khan fixed the air-guns on the trees at night and fired them in the direction of Danda Rajpuri, where the forces of Shivaji were stationed. It seems that these guns were a sort of light artillery. This description is very curious, but he is our only source to mention the mysterious air-guns and has left us in the dark about their structure, etc.

89. *Ibid.*, transcript No. 415, p. 86—an inscription on this gun. Its weight was 2645.7 pounds. During the siege of Bijapur in 1686, it was used against Aurangzeb's forces and its gunner was Ghulam Dass.

90. W. Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moguls*, London, 1903, p. 127; Henry Cousens, *Bijapur and Its Architectural Remains*, Bombay, 1916, p. 30.

91. V. Ramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1935, p. 129.

92. Zubairi, op. cit., p. 401.

93. *Muntakhabu'l-Lubab*, ed. Maulvi Kabiru'd-Din Ahmad, Calcutta, 1874, Vol. II, p. 226. The Persian words are توپ هوائی.

As for the guns of the kingdom of Golconda, our sources are silent, but this does not mean that she was without them. In the period when she became a tributary of the Mughals, we do hear of her *Top-i Haidari* and *Top-i Laila Majnun*. One must assume, however, that she did possess an efficient artillery, otherwise she could not have survived the ghastly struggles she had to face with her neighbours throughout her long history.

Elephants.—The elephants formed an effective part of the army as their size and number struck terror in the hearts of the enemy. They carried on their backs small citadels loaded with soldiers, well-armed and equipped with bows, arrows, arquebuses and other weapons. These animals were so well trained that they used to charge both the soldiers and their horses.⁹⁴ They were also utilised in smashing the door defences of the forts.⁹⁵ They were very useful while crossing the rivers, as they could withstand the velocity of the waves, and thus helped the armies to cross. They were also utilised for the sake of displaying the commander at a conspicuous place in the battlefield, so that his followers might be heartened by his presence, as his disappearance meant a signal for flight.

As already discussed in the preceding pages, the rulers of the Deccan possessed a large number of elephants and usually of the choicest quality. The price of an elephant was 1500 *Cruzados* according to Barbosa,⁹⁶ which amounted to £750, as estimated by M. L. Dames in 1918.⁹⁷

Under the Mughals, there was a separate department for the maintenance of the elephants and every elephant was served by servants ranging from two to five, *Mahawat*,⁹⁸ *Bho'i*⁹⁹ and several *Met'hs*.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, we can assume that the states of Bijapur and Golconda did maintain such a department for their large number of elephants, though we have no data on this subject.

94. M. L. Dames, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 118.

95. Sidney Toy, *The Strongholds of India*, London, 1957, p. 7.

96. M. L. Dames, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 118.

97. Ibid., p. 118, footnote 2.

98. He sits on the neck and directs its movements.

99. He sits behind upon the rump of the elephant and assists in battle and in quickening the speed of the animal; but he often performs the duties of the *Mahawat*.

100. They fetch fodder and assist in caparisoning the elephant.

Defects in the military system.—During the first hundred years' history of these states, none of them had a standing army.¹⁰¹ They had to depend upon their *Jagirdars*. Whenever any noble was put in command of the forces, he, before proceeding to the battlefield, would usually put forth some excuses or make excessive demands for men and money and only then could he be persuaded to start. There were also chances of his desertion to the enemy if he were offered a higher post, and many instances of such acts of disloyalty are on record. The most conspicuous example is that of 'Ainu'l-Mulk,¹⁰² the commander-in-chief of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, who was successfully seduced from allegiance by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I. Within a brief space of time, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I suspected 'Ainu'l-Mulk of treacherous conduct and thought of ruining him altogether. But 'Ainu'l-Mulk was more than a match for the Shah. He defeated his master's forces everywhere and was on the verge of extinguishing the 'Adil Shahi dynasty altogether, when the timely help of Ramaraja saved the situation.

The death of the commander was a signal for the flight of his followers, as that meant the loss of their paymaster and naturally the soldiers were more concerned with their pay than with the ultimate end of the battle. Though the soldiers were generally brave even to the point of recklessness, they were always reluctant to lose their horses, as that meant a big financial loss without hope of compensation from any quarter.

In a battle where the armies of the ruler consisted of the contingents of various *Jagirdars*, their mutual bickerings and personal jealousies constituted a serious menace. In 1578, 'Ali 'Adil Shah I deputed Murtaza Khan along with other six grantees including the *Naikwari* chiefs Jut Rao and Naik Rao to chastise the refractory *Naikwaris*.¹⁰³ Jut Rao and Naik Rao, during the course of operations, were found to be conniving with the rebels and indirectly impeding the progress of the royal troops with the result that the expedition, which might have ended in a few days, took a long time to come to a successful close.

101. But of course they possessed the small body of *Khasa Khail*.

102. *Tarikh-i Ferishtah*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 60-3.

103. Rafi'u'd-Din Shirazi, op. cit., P.S. 189, ff. 88b-90a.

These defects were, however, to some extent, remedied, when in the early seventeenth century the Deccani rulers began to have standing armies of their own and spent huge amounts of money on their maintenance. Of course, the armies of their *Jagirdars* also played a supplementary part whenever needed by the central government. But still some jealousy between these two kinds of armies was often felt. These defects, however, were common to the armies of all the contemporary rulers of India.

The *Umara* of these states, though often of dubious loyalty to their master, could not in general tolerate the idea of his total extinction at the hands of the Mughals. The disgruntled elements from the Mughal Empire, who had sought permanent residence in these states, were particularly loyal in this respect. The Suris and Lodis who, on the establishment of the Mughal Empire, had fled to the Deccan were offered higher positions in these states. These nobles at times did disobey their new masters, but whenever their adopted home was threatened by Mughal aggression, they invariably sank their differences and offered a front to the enemy. That is why Aurangzeb had to employ all the extensive resources of his Empire for the subjugation of these petty states in 1686 and 1687 respectively and he had learnt to his cost that the task was not at all an easy one.

APPENDIX. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM OF GOLCONDA AND THAT OF THE MUGHALS

As already mentioned above, a manual of administration for the army of Golconda was discovered by the *Sadr-i Diwani Daftar*, Haidarabad, in the piles of papers all concerning the reign of Shah Jahan. The Mughal Governor of the Deccan was required to maintain a record of the military affairs concerning the Deccani states and his information was based upon the information of the Mughal representative stationed in these states. There seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of such record which the Mughals kept for their own convenience. It is simply ridiculous to imagine that the Mughals would have forged this document to mislead the world and it is

equally unlikely that the document was forged to mislead the Mughals. From the information received from Haidarabad,¹ it appears to be a genuinely old manuscript written in a cream-coloured Indian hand-made paper of average size of 8 inches \times 4½ inches—yellowed and wormed on account of being so old. The strange discrepancies in the document at first glance arouse suspicion; but if the list had not been based on accurate information it is likely that the forger would have produced figures in proportion to the conventional numeration of the *mansabs* of the Golconda army instead of widely divergent ones. Therefore, we tentatively accept the authenticity of the figures given.

The comparison of the Mughal *mansabdari* system with that of Golconda presents interesting features. According to *A'in-i Akbari*,² Akbar created sixty-six *mansabs* (which is the same as the value of letters in the name of *Allah*), but the list of *mansabdars* actually supplied by its author mentioned only thirty-three *mansabs* really occupied by the various officers of the state. In Golconda state, however, there were only four *mansabs*, *Panj-Hazari*, *Yak-Hazari*, *Jumladar* and *Havaladar*, this difference was probably due to her smaller areas of jurisdiction and hence no necessity for having large number of officers.

A Mughal *Panj-Hazari* (commander of 5000) maintained³

Horses	Elephants	Camels	Mules	Carts
340	100	80	20	160

and his monthly pay was rupees 30,000. This pay was reduced to rupees 20,000 in the reign of Shah Jahan.⁴

The Golconda *Panj-Hazari* maintained

Horses	Horsemen	Bargirs
1000	880	1050

and his monthly pay was *Huns* 9404 or rupees 47,020.⁵ The number of carts, mules, elephants and camels required to be maintained by him is not

1. Already discussed.
2. Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami, *A'in-i Akbari*, ed. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1872, p. 179.
3. Ibid., Calcutta, 1873, Vol. I, p. 248.
4. Yusuf Husain (Ed.), *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, Haidarabad, 1950, p. 80.
5. One *Hun* was equal to five rupees. *Vide* *ibid.*, pp. 200-1.

stipulated anywhere, but it may be expected that he was certainly required to maintain them in reasonable numbers. Keeping in view the higher establishment of the Golconda *Panj-Hazari*, it is not surprising to note that he was paid a larger salary than his Mughal counterpart.

A Mughal *Yak-Hazari* (commander of 1000) maintained⁶

Horses	Elephants	Camels	Mules	Carts
104	31	21	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	42

and his monthly pay was rupees 8200, which was reduced to 4000 under Shah Jahan.⁷

The Golconda *Yak-Hazari* kept

Horses	Horsemen	Bargirs
1000	880	1000

and his monthly salary was *Huns* 9114 or rupees 45,570. Thus a Mughal *Yak-Hazari* was quite insignificant if compared with the Golconda *Yak-Hazari*.

The astonishing fact, however, is that there is only a petty difference of *Huns* 290 between the salaries of a *Panj-Hazari* and a *Yak-Hazari* of Golconda and only the difference of 50 *Bargirs* in their forces. At once the doubt overwhelms us that the scribe might have made a numerical mistake. But when we study the detailed expenditure of the *Yak-Hazari* contingent, all the petty items of expenditure when totalled amount to *Huns* 9114 and this sum of money tallies with the total given by the scribe. Therefore, our irresistible conclusion is that the scribe recorded the figures correctly as they were set before him. Nevertheless, this anomaly has to be explained. If the Mughals or other interested parties had concocted this document, they would not have been so foolish as to have left this flaw undetected. In view of this, we believe that the promotion from *Yak-Hazari* to *Panj-Hazari* was a mere title of honour and did not have any substantial difference in pay or strength as far as Golconda was concerned. The only other difference between the

6. *A'in-i Akbari*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 248. There is no clear explanation of the 1/5 mule owned by the *Yak-Hazari*. Blochmann thinks it to be mule colt, not yet serviceable.

7. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 80.

Panj-Hazari and the *Yak-Hazari* is in the number of their *Bargirs*, 1050 and 1000, respectively. The text states that of 1050 *Bargirs* of the *Panj-Hazari*, 50 were to be employed as spies or secret agents. Nothing is said about the *Yak-Hazari*. It thus seems probable that only the senior officer was allowed to maintain these, though no doubt the *Yak-Hazari* would often do so unofficially in certain circumstances.

There was no Mughal rank of 100 under Akbar,⁸ but the Mughal commander of 150 maintained 11 horses, 3 elephants, 2 camels and 6 carts; his monthly salary ranged from rupees 800 to 875. Under Shah Jahan, the commander of 150 received rupees 400 per mensem.⁹ The Golconda *Jumladar* equivalent to the Mughal *Yak-Sadi* was paid 904 $\frac{3}{4}$ *Huns* or 4523 $\frac{3}{4}$ rupees per mensem and had 88 horsemen, 100 horses and 100 *Bargirs*. Since he maintained a larger establishment than the Mughal commander of 150, his monthly pay was bound to be higher.

A Mughal *Dah Bashi* (rank-holder of 10) maintained only four horses and his monthly salary was rupees 100.¹⁰ Under Shah Jahan, there was no rank of 10, the minimum rank was that of 20 and a *Bisti* received rupees 80 per mensem.¹¹ The Golconda rank-holder of 10 usually called *Haval-dar* maintained 9 horsemen, 10 horses, 10 *Bargirs* and his monthly pay was 89 $\frac{3}{4}$ *Huns* or rupees 448 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The above figures lead to the following conclusions. The Golconda *mansabdar* maintained larger contingents and, therefore, his pay was higher than that of his Mughal counterpart. In the long run, he was probably not better off than the Mughal officer, as he had not only to spend a lot of money on his contingents, but also to stand the expenses of mules, carts and sometimes even elephants, for which the state paid him no extra money. On the other hand, the Mughal *mansabdar* was burdened with comparatively fewer responsibilities. Certain factors would no doubt add to the expenses of the Golconda *Panj-Hazari* as compared with those of his Mughal counterpart. It is well

8. *A'in-i Akbari*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 248.

9. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 80.

10. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 249.

11. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 84.

known that good horses were not bred in the Deccan, and their cost would be appreciably higher than in the North. Moreover, the Golconda *mansabdar* required a larger number of *Pakhalis* for his horses than the Mughal, as is clear from the figures given on the preceding pages. Thus the personal income of the two may have been roughly equal, or indeed it is possible that the Mughal *mansabdar* was actually better off. Probably this was the main factor responsible for the insignificant number of desertions from the Mughals to Golconda.

TAXATION AND TENURE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE PUNJAB¹ BETWEEN 1707 AND 1849

RAFIQ AHMAD

Much scholarly work has been done on the land systems which prevailed in the sub-continent during the Mughul and the British periods, but little attention has been paid to the far-reaching changes which these systems underwent in the prolonged post-Mughul anarchy. In the Punjab this anarchy covered, broadly speaking, the years between 1707 and 1849, and saw the emergence and disappearance one after another of five main power groups: the post-Aurangzib independent Mughul governors, the Durrani, the Sikh Confederates, Ranjit Singh, and the pre-annexation British administrators.² We possess little direct information on the land revenue arrangements made during this period. There is, however, no dearth of historical literature giving occasional flashes of what was happening to land institutions. Relying partly on these flashes and partly on the obvious implications of a situation full of anarchy, the present attempt seeks to draw a broad picture of the shape which land systems took under the impact of the said ruling groups.

Post-Aurangzib Mughul Administration

In the first half of the eighteenth century, at least till Zakriya Khan's death in 1745, the Mughul system seemed to have remained more or less unimpaired in most parts of the Punjab. Zakriya Khan was the last independent Mughul governor of the Punjab who kept the provincial administrative machinery in order even though the central Mughul authority had virtually collapsed. Although some signs of lawlessness appeared in the central and south-eastern districts of the province, he vigorously suppressed

1. The word *Punjab* is used in a broad sense in this study, covering all those areas which lie between the historical cities of Delhi and Peshawar.

2. For full details see the author's article, "Political and Economic Life of the Punjab between 1707 and 1849," *Journal of Research*, University of the Punjab, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1966.

them. Following the old Mughul practice, he gave *taccavi* loans to the agricultural classes to induce them to resume cultivation of land and repopulate villages devastated by the ravages of law-breakers, especially the Sikhs.³ He even tried to settle the latter as peaceful agriculturists by offering them remittance of land revenue and gave to their more sober members a *jagir* for the maintenance of law and order.⁴ He kept an efficient revenue staff in his employment,⁵ although in more disturbed tracts like Jullundur Doab he made local administrators as revenue farmers, presumably requiring them to pay a fixed sum for the villages entrusted to them on contract.⁶ This contract, however, did not appear to invest them with any permanent rights in land, as they were liable to be removed or imprisoned in case of their failure to remit the government revenues regularly.⁷

In the second half of the eighteenth century the Mughul revenue institutions collapsed because of the great turmoil resulting from the continuous struggle between the Marathas, the Durrani and the Sikhs for the possession of the Punjab. This collapse, however, did not imply that the Mughul institutions completely disappeared; they still served in one way or the other as the basis of revenue arrangements but in a very disorganised and distorted manner. There being no revenue administration as such, what actually happened was that whoever occupied any part of the province for whatever period he made his own temporary or summary arrangements for the exaction of revenue though probably keeping in view the old Mughul practice. Among those who, during this period, retained longest possession of various parts the most important were the Durrani and the Sikhs, hence we shall discuss their revenue arrangements in some detail. As for the Marathas their occupation of the province was very brief, and they experi-

3. S. M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, p. 193.

4. H. R. Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughul History of the Panjab*, pp. 53-5.

5. He also took measures to check the accounts of government officials (*ibid.*, p. 62).

6. One such person was Adina Beg Khan who later on rose to much prominence because of taking part in contemporary politics. See S. M. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

7. For example, even such an influential person as Adina Beg Khan was once put in confinement for default of payment of revenue. See *ibid.* and H. R. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-3.

enced great difficulty in exacting the revenue at least from the Sikh peasantry.⁸

The Durrani

Unlike the Mughuls the Durrani could not settle in the Punjab on a permanent basis and so no elaborate administrative machinery with separate land revenue department came into existence. The military commanders were made governors as well as revenue administrators of the territories under them.⁹ They were in fact entrusted with the same absolute power in their territories as was enjoyed by the Durrani sovereign in his whole kingdom. They, however, did not seem to have changed very much the boundaries of lower territorial units, especially districts and sub-districts of the Mughul times, though in the matter of upper units they partitioned the Punjab into as many divisions as convenient, each under a separate viceroy or governor who was subject only to the king.¹⁰ In actual practice their hold on the north-western and south-western districts, which were adjacent to Afghanistan, was much stronger than on the rest of the province. Hence in these districts, especially in Peshawar, we find the establishment of some sort of regular Durrani administration which, following the Mughul practice, brought some areas under its direct rule and left others in the occupation of such powerful tribes as the Khattaks and the Yusafzais.¹¹ The impact of the Durrani administration on the revenue demand in many parts of the Peshawar District was felt even as late as the 1850's and 1860's, as we shall presently see.

The Durrani did not establish direct contact with the actual cultivators, but almost everywhere seemed to have collected revenue mainly through influential and resourceful persons, whether local or outsider. Within the range of such persons could be included village headmen, chiefs of frontier tribes and new Pathan colonies in the plains, *jagirdars* (both old and newly created), petty native rulers known as *zamindars* since the Mughul period, local administrators and revenue collectors, freebooters and adventurers

8. K. Lal, *Tarikh-i Panjab* (an Urdu work), p. 81.

9. H. R. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-1.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Peshawar District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 127.

who had established themselves in some areas, and so on.¹² At the time of each harvest a sum of money arbitrarily fixed in the light of previous records was assigned to each village by the Durrani administrator (*na'im*) of the district and the concerned influential man had to collect it by any means in his power.¹³ In the areas under direct Durrani rule the villages were farmed mainly to leading men and retainers of the court.¹⁴ Thus for revenue purposes the Durrani portion of the Punjab came into the hands of revenue farmers and other influential persons some of whom from the very beginning obtained land on perpetual farm,¹⁵ while others gradually established themselves as superior landlords over original proprietors and tenants.¹⁶ Probably this explains why in the north-western and south-western districts where the Durrani influence was the strongest the British found real village communities almost absent and instead feudal tenures existing all around.

As for revenue rates under the Durrani, no special policy appeared to have been enforced from above. The actual rate fixed for any particular village seemed to depend upon such factors as the current records or notions of previous collections, the existing agrarian customs and conditions, the Durrani administrator's military strength, and above all the influence and

12. Ibid., p. 49; S. Ali, *The History of Bahawalpur*, pp. xxx, xxxi, 26, 30, 53, 70, 79, 200, 215 and 220. (This work, based on contemporary manuscripts, appeared one year before the annexation of the Punjab; it gives many instances of how the Durrani rulers farmed out their territories and even governorships to the highest bidders of revenue; the Nawab of Bahawalpur, being a tributary of the Durrani kings, followed their example and in addition gave *jagirs* on extensive scale in exchange for military service at the rate of fifty bighas per person, such *jagirdars* being known as *jagirdar-i-lashker*). See also H. R. Gupta, op. cit., pp. 209 and 282.

13. H. R. Gupta, op. cit., p. 282.

14. *Peshawar District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 128.

15. S. Ali, op. cit., pp. 37 and 53.

16. These revenue farmers actually exercised full authority as regards cultivation of land and distribution of water, especially in Peshawar and its neighbourhood, taking one-half of the probable outturn of grain from both proprietors (*daftaris*) and tenants (*hamsayas*) and even granting *inams* (allowances made out of land revenue) to leading families in exchange for services of various types. For details see *Peshawar District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 127-8.

power of resistance of proprietors and cultivators.¹⁷ From the available evidence it seems that generally these rates, however arbitrary they might have been, varied from one-third to one-seventh of the total produce, and were collected in kind as well as in cash, though probably the first mode of payment was more common.¹⁸ Besides these rates many other items were levied as a matter of course such as tributes and cesses,¹⁹ so strictly forbidden under the Mughuls.

Although, compared with the Mughul period, the above revenue rates did not seem to be very high, yet when we consider that, apart from the revenue the peasants had to pay all sorts of cesses to the newly-established, all-powerful superior landlords, it seems very unlikely that anything other than subsistence cultivation would have been practised. On the other hand, the widely reported arrears of revenue²⁰ and the changing fortune of the Durrani dynasty indicated that some returns from land must have been successfully concealed by the agricultural classes. It is indeed interesting that in some north-western districts, especially eight *parganahs* of Peshawar,

17. H. R. Gupta, op. cit., p. 282; *Multan District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 123.

This "contest between the administration and the peasants, the former endeavouring to discover and appropriate what the latter endeavoured to retain and conceal" was obviously a product of anarchy and not of the normal conditions as wrongfully assumed by W. H. Moreland in his *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 207.

18. *Peshawar District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 128; *Multan District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 123; *D. G. Khan District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 81; S. Ali, op. cit., p. 212.

In Multan there seemed to have been four modes of collecting revenue: (i) *Jinsi* (revenue actually received in kind by the government official); (ii) *Naqdi-jinsi* (revenue set aside in kind at the time of division of the produce, but instead of its being carried off by the government official the agriculturist was compelled to buy it at a price fixed by the government, which was usually above the market price); (iii) *Zabti* (revenue per acre for certain crops like sugarcane and indigo collected by annual measurement, clearly a twisted form of the Mughul *zabt* system); (iv) *Patai* or *karari* (lease for a plot of land usually a well, fixing its assessment at a lump sum varying from Rs. 12 to 20 of those times). For details see *Multan District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 123-4.

19. Ibid., pp. 124-5; *Shahpur District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 15-7; R. H. Gupta, op. cit., p. 282.

20. S. Ali, op. cit., pp. 85 and 212.

the average revenue demand under the Durrani (Rs. 599,090) was almost the same as under the British (Rs. 529,247) for a period of eighteen years (from 1854-5 to 1872-3).²¹ This equality of revenue demand does not necessarily mean that the burden of revenue on the agricultural classes was the same in both periods, but considering the fact that no change was reported to have occurred in the conditions of agriculture, one can safely assume that the farmers under the Durrani were probably not very much worse off than under at least early British rule.

The Sikh Confederates

Unlike the Durrani, the Sikhs very much belonged to the Punjab, and their hold on the territories they had acquired was comparatively longer and more stable than the Durrani. No Sikh kingdom had yet come into existence, but the roving Sikh bands had crystallised themselves into twelve main confederacies (*misls*) which, though constantly at loggerheads with each other, did maintain some order within their own limits, however rude and imperfect that order might have been. These confederacies divided among themselves the greater portion of the Punjab, especially its central and eastern districts,²² and within these divisions made almost similar revenue arrangements, which in some respects resembled those of the Durrani.

Following the Durrani example, the Sikh confederates also created superior landed interests but with this difference that, while the former did so by farming out their possessions to local chiefs and other influential persons, the latter divided the lands mainly among their own members. The usual pattern was that when a Sikh chief succeeded in occupying some area he immediately settled there, reserving a relatively larger portion for himself and distributing the rest among his subordinate chiefs and other followers according to the degree of their services or the number of horses commanded by them.²³ The existing owners and tenants thus became subordinate to their Sikh overlords.

21. *Peshawar District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 190-1.

22. N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 2 footnote.

23. H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, pp. 24-5; G. L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 2.

This Sikh overlordship gave rise to different types of tenures, some of which were short-lived, while others proved to be more permanent. Among such tenures the following were relatively more common: ²⁴ (i) *Pattidari* which referred to the *pattis* or shares held by each member of a particular confederacy, except its chief, in such a way that, although he enjoyed complete independence in the management of his lands, he could not sell them to strangers. He could, however, mortgage them in an emergency and at his death could settle by will which of his male relatives should possess them.²⁵ (ii) *Misldari* which covered lands granted as a free reward to petty chiefs or small lands without any condition whatsoever. The holders of such tenures, known as *Misldars*, were actually persons of no fixed allegiance, joining a confederacy without any condition of dependence and transforming themselves with their lands to another in case of dissatisfaction. (iii) *Jagirdari* under which lands were granted, as was done in the Mughul period, in exchange for specific services and were revocable at the will of the donor but, quite unlike the Mughul practice, they were given as a rule only to relatives and soldiers. (iv) *Tobadari* which included grants of land made to retainers who were completely subservient to their donors, and were liable to be forfeited if the latter felt displeased. (v) *Hathrakhdari* which was nothing more than a type of revenue farming practised primarily in the districts of Jhang and Multan. Under it the actual proprietor made over the proprietary share of the produce along with responsibility for revenue to some influential man whom the Sikh overlord treated with consideration.²⁶ (vi) *Inamdari* which was the name of the tenures usually held by headmen under the terms that they would manage the revenue for the govern-

24. Apart from these tenures some grants were also made for religious and charitable purposes (H. T. Prinsep, compiler, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, p. 36). Further, in some parts, especially in the Shahpur Kandi Tract of Gurdaspur District, the lands of old Rajput proprietors who had fled were taken possession of either by their former tenants or colonists from the surrounding villages. See *Gurdaspur District (Shahpur Kandi Tract) Settlement Report*, 1876, para. 60.

25. For this and the next three tenures see H. T. Prinsep, op. cit., pp. 33-6, and H. R. Gupta, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 24-6.

26. *Jhang District S.R.*, 1874-80, para. 83; *Multan District S.R.*, 1873-80, para. 75.

ment, conduct the affairs of the village community, and preserve peace and order and in exchange would be given *inams* or, what comes to the same thing, exemption of a plough or two of their cultivation from assessment or some allowance out of land revenue. The holders of these *inams* were called *chaudbris* or *inamdars* and the grants they held were usually made for life.²⁷

We saw above that the Durrani did not establish direct contact with the actual cultivators, but collected revenue mainly through revenue farmers and local chiefs. The position in the Sikh portion of the Punjab appeared to be different. Here the chiefs on the whole collected revenue directly from the persons in actual possession of land and in many cases actually made themselves very much a part of the whole village life, though always exerting absolute authority over their domains.²⁸ Probably this explains why, in spite of widespread anarchy, there still existed quite a large number of villages at least in the central and eastern Punjab where the Sikh hold was the strongest.²⁹ Within these villages the Sikhs as a rule did not interfere with the rights of existing proprietors and tenants so long as all taxes were paid and land was kept under cultivation.³⁰ In some cases they even seemed to have assisted the village community to preserve its fabric of rights.³¹ However, when they felt dissatisfied, they did not bother much about the rights of ownership, but undertook management of the concerned

27. *Gujrat District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 99; *Shahpur District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 55; Punjab Administrative Report (P.A.R.), 1849-51, para. 320.

28. *Ambala District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 60; *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, 188-4, p. 28; *Karnal District Gazetteer* 1883-4, p. 119; J. Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 126.

For an interesting account of how a Sikh chief lived in his domains see an article entitled "The Jhelunder Doab," *Calcutta Review*, Vol. X, July-December 1848, pp. 14-5. Also see N. K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, p. 145.

29. H. R. Gupta, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 152-3. An anonymous English traveller of the contemporary period has left a very favourable account of the Sikh villages and towns in an article entitled "Tour to Lahore," *Asiatic Annual Register*, Vol. XI, 1809, pp. 421-33.

30. P.A.R., 1849-51, para. 421; H. R. Gupta, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 141-2; G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 2.

31. *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 28.

land as if it had belonged to them.³² They adopted the same policy as regards new lands, especially those lying in the neighbourhood of villages which the village community owned in common; these lands could be acquired by anybody who could cultivate them, though probably because of the scarcity of cultivators old proprietary body did not raise much objection.³³ Thus in the dealings between the Sikh confederates and the village community the emphasis was more on the actual possessors and cultivators of land rather than on those who claimed to be owners, though normally because of revenue considerations the latter's rights were seldom interfered with.³⁴

As regards the revenue rates and the mode of their payment, the Sikh confederates, like the Durrani, did not follow any specific principles. In fact, each Sikh chief adopted whatever methods suited him best.³⁵ As a rule, however, the revenue demand may be said to have varied from two-fifths to one-third of the gross produce,³⁶ though in some parts it was one-half of the net produce after deducting expenses of cultivation.³⁷ In actual practice there was no such thing as an assessment and it was almost universal practice to collect the revenue in kind by actual division of the crop or by some rough appraisement (called *batai*, *baoli* or *kankut*, the terms very much in use in the Mughul period). Like the Durrani, fixed cash rates (*zabti*) were paid only for certain crops—sugarcane, cotton, tobacco, pepper, vegetables and fodder.³⁸ Any measurement needed was done by pacing, rough

32. Ibid. "It was the most common occurrence to mark off a slice out of a village on which to locate a favourite—entire disregard being had to right or possession" (*Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 213).

33. H. R. Gupta, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 141.

34. P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 421.

35. *Sialkot District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 93.

36. P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 223. This proportion prevailed in almost all Sikh confederacies as testified by various settlement reports and district gazetteers. For instance, see *District Gazetteers* (1883-4) of Karnal (pp. 212-3), Ambala (p. 60), Gujrat (pp. 99-100), and Sialkot (pp. 92-3).

37. *Sialkot District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 93. It is, however, not known as to how exactly this "net produce" was calculated.

38. Cash rates, however, could not have been very common because of the usual shortage of money in a period of anarchy.

lists were drawn up of the amount due or collected from each cultivator, though such lists seldom went beyond the person who prepared them, and as for keeping regular accounts of yearly collections no one ever seems to have thought of such a thing.³⁹

The overall burden of the Sikh taxes on both proprietors and tenants appeared to be very high because, apart from land revenue, various types of cesses and tributes which the Mughuls had discouraged so positively were collected in the same way as in the Durrani territory.⁴⁰ One notorious tribute was what was called *rakhi*, literally "protection money," usually received from the inhabitants of the subdued areas in exchange for a promise not to plunder them.⁴¹ Thus the Sikh chiefs gave the impression that they wanted to take all that they could extract from the village community.

To sum up, the land systems of the Punjab experienced the following main changes under the uncertain rule of the Durrani and the Sikh confederates: First, superior landed interests were imposed on the existing body of proprietors and tenants, consisting mainly of prominent local individuals and revenue farmers in the Durrani strongholds (western, north-western and south-western Punjab) and members of the Sikh community in the Sikh strongholds (eastern, north-eastern and south-eastern Punjab). The result was that complications were introduced into simple communal or owner-tenant relationships of the Mughul period. Second, old revenue administration having broken down what actually happened instead was that in every locality whosoever usurped power made his own temporary, summary arrangements for the collection of revenue. Although these arrangements had no regular pattern whatsoever, it appeared that generally the Durrani collected revenue indirectly through superior landholders and the Sikhs more or less directly from the villagers, because they themselves

39. *Jullundur District S. R.*, 1888, p. 151; *Sialkot District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 92.

40. To take one typical example, the village of Hursola in Karnal District was reported to have paid to the Sikh chiefs an overall revenue of Rs. 502/12/6 out of which Rs. 192/12/6 or nearly two-fifths accounted for cesses (*Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 212-3).

41. S. M. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

were paramount rulers as well as superior landholders.⁴² Perhaps this explains why, after the elimination of the Durrani and the Sikh powers from the Punjab, it was found that land tenures in most western districts were characterised by powerful landlords and dominant families and in most eastern districts by village communities.⁴³ Third, the *zabt* or "régulation system" of the Mughul period gave way to arbitrary crop divisions, by measurement or by appraisement, at rates varying from one-half to one-seventh of the total produce, paid mostly in kind. Last, in addition to land revenue, various types of cesses and tributes were regularly collected from the cultivators.

Ranjit Singh's Reign

With the rise of the nineteenth century the Punjab came into the hands of two powers, the Sikh monarchy and the British East India Company. The former held the greater portion and left a more direct impact on the existing land institutions, hence we shall discuss it first.

Ranjit Singh's kingdom which covered most of the Punjab at first did not seem to have any regular civil and military administration. It was only from 1820 onward that more attention was paid to the reorganisation of financial resources, especially the land revenue system, on a sounder and more regular basis.⁴⁴ We are, however, not concerned with the development of this system but with the outstanding features of its final shape which appeared to have persisted till the beginning of the British rule.

No elaborate governmental machinery grew up under Ranjit Singh. However, the fact that a long period of anarchy had been replaced by political stability enabled the Sikh ruler to restore and revive a workable system

42. The Sikhs also employed in many parts the agency of village headmen, but they never gave to them as much power as was enjoyed by superior landholders under the Durrani. Hence for most practical purposes the Sikhs can be said to have dealt directly with the village community.

43. In other words, the Durrani areas (i.e. most western districts) contained the rudiments of the *zamindari* system and the Sikh areas (i.e. most eastern districts) those of the *mahawari* and *ryotwari* systems of the British period.

44. G. L. Chopra, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

of administration, mostly on the old Mughul pattern.⁴⁵ The greater part of the kingdom was held direct by himself, while the rest was left in the hands of *jagirdars* and revenue farmers. *Jagirdars* were mostly those people who had held their territories before the rise of Ranjit Singh and were now allowed to retain their possessions on the condition of furnishing contingents of horsemen in time of war; they included the old Sikh confederates, the Hindu rajahs of the north-eastern hill country and the Muslim chiefs of western districts.⁴⁶ Revenue farmers included men of wealth and influence who had distinguished themselves in the service of the Sikh ruler and so were appointed farmers of revenue as well as governors of different areas, especially distant frontier provinces.⁴⁷

The directly administered territories⁴⁸ were portioned out in large districts or provinces (*subahs*), each province being further divided into *parganas*, and each *pargana* into *taaluqas* (each *taaluqa*, according to one estimate, consisting of 50 to 100 *mauzas* or villages).⁴⁹ Each province was governed by a *nazim*⁵⁰ (administrator) who had under him a number of local officials known as *kardars*. There was usually one *kardar* over every *taaluqa*, though in case of large *taaluqas* the number of *kardars* could be more. They were further assisted by minor officials (*chaudhris*) over groups of

45. The territorial divisions of the Punjab, the names of officials, the terms and practices of revenue department and even the court language of the Mughuls were all reproduced in one form or the other under the Sikh rule. See G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 151.

46. H. K. Trevaskis, *The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 177.

47. Among these provincial governors probably the most able was Sawan Mal of Multan. For other governors see P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 23.

48. Known as *khalsa*, a term also used by the Mughuls in almost the same sense; however, it has another meaning denoting the collective denomination of the Sikh government and people (H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, p. 275, see under "khalisa").

49. G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 135. Reports differ as to the exact number of provinces under Ranjit Singh, varying from four to seven, but this is probably due to the continuous expansion of the Sikh kingdom. See G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 134, and N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 138-9.

50. Note that the Durrani administrator was also called the *nazim*.

villages (*tappas*).⁵¹ This pattern of administration, especially the office held by a *kardar*, seemed to have been adopted even by *jagirdars* and revenue farmers within their own territories, though such *kardars* were obviously responsible only to their masters and not to the Sikh monarch and his administrators.⁵²

The above simple administrative machinery was responsible for both civil and revenue matters. In actual fact, however, the most important official, particularly in the sphere of revenue and land administration, was the *kardar*.⁵³ The *nazim* no doubt occupied a much higher position, but his functions were largely of an appellate and general nature. The *kardar*, on the other hand, was very much like a modern civil servant who was always in close contact with the people and, by virtue of his functions, was the most important symbol of the Sikh local administration. He performed *inter alia* the duties of a revenue collector, a treasurer, a magistrate, and a judicial officer. He was thus a very powerful man in his locality and so could easily indulge in tyrannical activities. He was very much overburdened with duties of various types and this could mean inefficient administration. Many favourable and unfavourable accounts have been written of the methods of administration employed by the *kardars*.⁵⁴ It is difficult to form a general opinion but obviously much depended on the individual character and personality of local officials. All *kardars* did not enjoy the same status but widely differed in power and position according to their influence at the court and the extent of territory under their charge.⁵⁵ Further, the absolute power with which Ranjit Singh ruled from his headquarters at Lahore provided an important check on the activities of local officials of at least those areas which were not located very far from Lahore.⁵⁶ There is in fact some

51. G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 135; H. K. Trevaskis, op. cit., p. 177.

52. P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 24.

53. For details see G. L. Chopra, op. cit., pp. 135-41.

54. Ibid., pp. 136-7. See also J. D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 179; C. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, Vol. I, pp. 30, 37, 398, 404, 405 and 426.

55. P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 24.

56. Ibid.; G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 138; N. K. Sinha, op. cit., pp. 136-7.

evidence that, whereas many *kardars* oppressed the cultivators by exacting exorbitant sums of revenue, many others governed with a fair degree of efficiency and prosperity.⁵⁷

In the assessment and collection of revenue the *kardar* was further assisted, apart from the aforementioned *chaudhris*, by such subordinate officials as *muqaddams* (foremen), *patwaris* (village accountants and revenue assessors) and *qanungos* (hereditary registrars and record-keepers).⁵⁸ It will be remembered that these officials who, in both terminology and functions, were a part of the Mughul system were not heard of during the prolonged anarchy before the rise of Ranjit Singh, hence we owe their revival in the Punjab to his administration.⁵⁹

A perusal of contemporary literature and settlement and administrative reports shows that neither in the methods of assessment nor in the fixation of revenue rates did Ranjit Singh follow any consistent or uniform policy. On the other hand, the growth of civil and military expenditure owing to the expansion of his kingdom compelled him to take steps from time to time to stabilise the revenue from land which was the main source of royal income. To take the methods of assessment first,⁶⁰ in the beginning the system of *batai* or crop division was encouraged, according to which the share of

57. Chopra has discussed this question with particular reference to the circumstances of the times and has given a more sympathetic verdict (op. cit., pp. 136-41). Also see *Kangra District S.R.*, 1850-5, paras. 333-40.

Some Europeans were also appointed as *kardars* by the Sikh ruler. One such European of mixed descent was John Holmes who served as the *kardar* of Gujrat for two years. There is, however, nothing on record to show as to how he performed his duties in that capacity. See C. Grey, *European Adventurers of Northern India*, 1785 to 1849, pp. 169-70.

58. G. L. Chopra, op. cit. pp. 131-2; H. K. Trevasakis, op. cit., pp. 179-80.

59. To his administration must also go the credit for preparing once again statistical records of many villages (kept in offices called the *qazikhana*s) which served as a basis of revenue demand in both the Sikh and the early British periods and also provided helpful information in the settlement of village disputes. See G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 144; *Rawalpindi District S.R.*, 1864, para. 199; *P.A.R.*, 1849-51, para. 290; *Punjab Gazetteer*, 1908, Vol. I, p. 112.

60. Various District Gazetteers and Settlement Reports have recorded that the assessment methods outlined in this paragraph were practised side by side; however, it is very likely that they were not introduced at the same time but developed in various stages. See G. L. Chopra op. cit., pp. 126-8; *Sialkot District S.R.*, 1963, Vol. I, paras. 197-205; *Hoshiarpur District S.R.*, 1879-84, para. 141; *Jullundur District S.R.*, 1880-6, Ch. 7, Para. 2; *Guirat District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 99-100; *Lahore District Gazetteer*, 1893-4, p. 241.

the state was collected in kind and sold in the markets by the officials themselves. Later on, especially after 1824, the state encouraged another system known as *kankut*. Under this system the crop was not usually divided but its amount was appraised by an inspection of the crop, and it was common for the officials to compel the cultivators or the village money-lenders to purchase the government share sometimes at current market prices⁶¹ and sometimes at prices in excess of market rates.⁶² In other words, the proportion for the state was now collected in cash.⁶³ However, both the *batai* and the *kankut* systems suffered from one serious defect. The government could not estimate its income in advance but only at the time of

61. *Lahore District Gazetteer*, 1893-4, p. 241.

62. *Multan District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 124; *P. A. R.*, 1849-51, para. 233.

63. A typical picture of how this *kankut* or the Sikh cash assessment system worked in actual practice was drawn by A. Brandreth, an early British settlement officer who conducted the first regular settlement of Jhelum District between 1855 and 1864 (quoted in *Jhelum District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 136) in these words:

"In the Sikh time the cultivators usually paid by what was called the *bigha* rate [a *bigha* in this case being equal to half an acre]; the *kardars* and the appraisers of the crops would select a fair field and very fairly calculate the produce by the eye; a deduction of one-tenth would be made for the village servants and half the rest taken as the government share. The field would be then roughly measured by a man's paces or the area guessed; they can do this with unusual accuracy; the produce per *bigha* of this field was thus calculated as an average *bigha*; the *kardar* would afterwards visit each field of each owner, examine the standing crops, and assess it as equal to so many average *bighas*. It was here that the owners gained; they were, it is true, allowed nothing from their cultivators except where they were a very powerful body and had to be conciliated, but their headman accompanied the *kardar* and by assessing the cultivators highly induced the *kardar* to treat their own fields with considerable leniency. Of course a system like this gave enormous opportunities for fraud and favouritism.

"The number of *bighas* agreed upon was entered against each man, and as soon as the price of grain was fixed the value was calculated. And the village money-lender had to advance the whole or a large portion of the amount to the *kardar*. The *kardar* then aided him in collecting the corn from the tenants. When the villagers obtained a fixed contract they followed the same system, only modifying it by fixing the number of average *bighas* each man's land was equal to and then dividing the sum due by this number, and consequently when they came to make a permanent division they assessed the different sorts of soils as equal to so many *bighas* of the worst soil and divided the revenue accordingly."

The italicised sentence clearly shows that revenue was actually assessed on the produce and not on the land. Further, the basic features of this system were retained even in those villages which were farmed to the villagers themselves.

harvest. Probably because of this reason Ranjit Singh encouraged, towards the close of his reign, the already existing practice of farming out the revenues of large areas to the highest bidders, for periods varying from three to six years. In some cases the farms of the villages as a whole were sold to the villagers themselves primarily through their headmen.⁶⁴ It will be seen that, whereas in the case of the *batai* and the *kankut* systems, Ranjit Singh's aim appeared to be to eliminate all middlemen between the state and the cultivator⁶⁵ and thus to diminish the influence of local leaders, he allowed this aim to be very largely nullified by his practice of revenue farming (except where the villagers themselves were the lease-holders).

It should be observed that land revenue was generally assessed on the actual produce, but in the case of crops like sugarcane, cotton, indigo, vegetable, and tobacco which could not be conveniently divided it was assessed on the land with fixed cash acreage rates.⁶⁶

As regards the exact revenue rates charged in the Sikh kingdom, they never seemed to have been fixed at one uniform level. They varied from place to place according to such factors as soil fertility and conditions of cultivation, nature of crops, distance from control, and scarcity or less patient character of inhabitants. For example, the state demand on lands with good natural advantages was as high as one-half of the yearly gross produce.⁶⁷ In the case of less productive lands it varied from one-third to two-fifths, especially in the central districts.⁶⁸ In areas like Multan where population was comparatively scarce it generally varied from one-sixth to one-third.⁶⁹ Beyond the Indus, owing to the distance from control and the independent

64. This type of revenue farming is also mentioned by A. Brandreth in his description of the *kankut* system noted above.

65. However, where middlemen were too powerful to be ignored they were allowed a remission of from a quarter to a tenth of the land revenue in order to repay them for the cost of collection (H. K. Trevaskis, op. cit., p. 180).

66. P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 233.

67. Punjab Settlement Manual (P.S.M.), para. 38; Jhelum District S.R., 1874-80, para. 148.

68. P. S. M., para. 38; P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 233; Gujrat District S.R., 1865-8, para. 294.

69. Multan District Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 123.

character of the Pathans, it never exceeded one-third, usually averaged one-fifth to one-fourth, and sometimes fell even to one-eighth.⁷⁰ For crops which could not be conveniently divided fixed money rates on the basis of cultivated area were taken,⁷¹ though it is not clear as to how these rates were actually determined. Thus the only generalisation which one can make about the state share under Ranjit Singh is that it varied from one-half to one-eighth of the yearly gross produce except in the case of some crops on which fixed acreage rates were arbitrarily imposed.

Thus on the face of it the Sikh revenue system did not necessarily fall very heavily on the people.⁷² On the other hand, the government officials and the revenue farmers claimed a multitude of cesses (*abwabs*) in addition to the regular share of the produce,⁷³ their rates varying, according to one estimate, between 5 % and 15 % of the revenue.⁷⁴ Thus the overall burden of taxes on the peasantry must have been quite high.⁷⁵ Further,

70. P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 233.

71. Ibid. To take one example, these rates in the areas constituting the British district of Montgomery were Rs. 8 per acre for tobacco and Rs. 6 to 8 for the first year's cotton and half of that for the second year's crop from the same roots, and were called the *zabti* rates (Montgomery District S. R., 1868-73, p. 140).

72. Ranjit Singh's famous biographer, L. Griffin, has characterised his civil and revenue administration as "the simple process of squeezing out of the unhappy peasants every rupee that he could be made to disgorge" (Ranjit Singh, p. 144). This verdict, however, is too harsh and only partially right, for Griffin has overlooked the fact that the Sikh administration did not have any rigid pattern and was not oppressive everywhere. The account we have given above bears testimony to it.

73. P. S. M., para. 19; Multan District S. R., 1873-80, para. 80 (including footnote).

74. G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 131. As this writer has pointed out in his footnote on the same page, the modern practice of taxing a particular locality to satisfy local public needs does not seem to have existed at the time of Ranjit Singh, and no proof is available to the effect that the money obtained through cesses was even spent on objects of public interest. Most of these cesses were merely extortions made by locally powerful men for their own benefit, and were positively discouraged by early Mughul rulers. Ranjit Singh, however, took no steps to prohibit them.

75. Note a very simple example of this overall burden :

"Thus a man would be charged Rs. 6 for six kanals of cotton. The generous *kardar* remitted half as *inam* and then added Rs. 4-1-6 on account of extra cesses" (Montgomery District S. R., 1868-73, para. 141).

there is no lack of evidence to show that the Muslim peasants and in some cases even the Hindus were treated more harshly than the Sikh peasants,⁷⁶ this being a natural outcome of the fact that the Sikh state was essentially a religious state which had come into existence after a long and bitter struggle against the Mughuls and the Durrani.

The Sikh revenue system did not work with equal success everywhere. It was maintained fairly satisfactorily in the central districts because of the presence of Ranjit Singh and the refusal of the Sikh peasantry, which was a part of the ruling class, to submit to unreasonable exactions.⁷⁷ The same was true of Jullundur which was under Ranjit Singh's able and efficient governor, Misr Rup Lal.⁷⁸ In the north-western frontier districts, especially in Peshawar, the Sikh system was at its worst. Here the Sikh domination was always insecure because of the independent character of the Pathans and so the methods employed for the collection of taxes and tributes were extremely oppressive.⁷⁹

It was, however, in the south-western districts like Multan, Leiah, D. G. Khan, Khangarh and Jhang where the Sikh system was at its best.⁸⁰ Although these districts were comparatively desolate because of the lack of rain and the practice of cultivation along the banks of the rivers or by wells, they were fortunate in being ruled for over two decades (1821-44) by an exceptionally able and beneficent administrator, Sawan Mal.⁸¹ His administration seemed to have promoted agricultural development in various ways. For example, rewards were given for good cultivation; Hindu money-lenders

76. S. M. Latif, op. cit., p. 291; C. Massen, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 435; J.D. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 179; *Census of the Panjab*, 1881, para. 125; Lt.-Colonel Steinbach, *The Panjab*, p. 58.

77. *Census of the Panjab*, 1881, para. 125; J. D. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 179.

78. *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 57.

79. *Peshawar District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 59-62. One manifestation of this oppression was the high revenue demand in Peshawar District which was Rs. 997,244 as compared with Rs. 599,090 under the Durrani and Rs. 529,247 under the early British rule (ibid., pp. 190-1).

80. L. Griffin, op. cit., p. 150.

81. For details of his administration see *Multan District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 30-1; *D. I. Khan District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 38; P. S. M., para. 40.

were introduced to lend money⁸² and seed to the needy peasants; old canals were restored and new ones dug; and the sinking and repair of wells was encouraged by the grant of land on favourable leases. His revenue policy was also lenient and well suited to the geographical and agricultural conditions of the country under his rule. A man who constructed a number of wells and settled cultivators was exempted from the payment of revenue on the whole area irrigated by one well or a part of the area irrigated by each well. In fact, the share of the state was usually kept low in the case of new cultivation whether by canal or well, varying from one-eighth to one-third of the produce. On upland wells a fixed cash assessment was levied, while on wells in the riverain tracts leases for a fixed cash demand were sometimes given with specially low rates for indigo cultivation. In some places the demand varied according to the number of oxen employed on the well and was remitted when the well was deserted. For flooded lands the government share was always moderate. The measurements were made at the time of harvest and the rates were levied on ripened crops. In short, these enlightened methods enabled Sawan Mal to remit over two million rupees annually to the Lahore treasury besides accumulating some fortune for himself, while at the same time turning what was a desert into a rich, cultivated plain.

The role of village money-lenders in Ranjit Singh's revenue system deserves a few words. We do not find much trace of this class during the Muslim period probably because money-lending on the basis of interest is prohibited in Islam and also because the Mughul revenue system allowed the farmers to make payments in cash or in kind and in instalments if they could not pay at once, thereby leaving them without much necessity to borrow money from others. However, the Sikh revenue arrangements seemed to have given much encouragement to the growth of money-lending class in villages. We have seen above that in many parts of the Sikh kingdom land revenue was collected only in hard cash. However, generally the people could not be induced to continue cash payments for more than one

82. In some parts *taccavi* loans were also advanced to encourage cultivation (G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 136, footnote).

or two harvests. Hence in some parts like Jullundur District the system was to farm the villages from year to year to bankers who took in kind from the cultivators and paid in coin to the government treasury,⁸³ while in others like Jhelum District village money-lenders had to advance the whole or a large portion of land revenue to the *kardar* who then helped them in collecting the corn from the cultivators.⁸⁴ Thus the money-lending class, which mostly consisted of the Hindu Khatri, became an important factor in the operation of the Sikh cash assessments. But this was not the only function it fulfilled. The Khatri in fact assumed the role of village bankers, lending money to cultivators, whether proprietors or tenants, for both productive and unproductive purposes with the result that the people in some rural areas were reported to have found themselves always in debt to these Khatri.⁸⁵ This was the beginning of the rural indebtedness problem which continued to grow during the British period and eventually assumed such a monstrous proportion that the government had to move into action. The way in which the Khatri usually made their profits is explained in an extract from a settlement report reproduced below in footnote 86.

The question of rights in land under Ranjit Singh can be discussed here only in very broad terms. The reason is that there was much diversity of tenures in the Sikh kingdom and if we undertake to analyse it in detail it would take us outside the scope of the present study.

In broad outline Ranjit Singh's attitude towards land-ownership rights very much looked like a combination of the attitudes of his anarchist predecessors, the Sikh confederates and the Durrani. Like the former he

83. *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 56.

84. See above, footnote 63.

85. *Gujrat District S. R.*, 1865-8, para. 291.

86. "For interest on their debt the Khatri received all the produce of the land at a price current of his own which gave him at least two annas in the rupee profit; accounts were never closed by the agriculturist who always found himself on the wrong side; each new money loan started with an immediate addition of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest and was only satisfied with a further $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest every six months at harvest time" (*Gujrat District S. R.*, 1865-8, para. 291).

maintained the Sikh overlordship over all forms of old privileges and superiorities;⁸⁷ under this overlordship his administration recognised, in theory at any rate, the existence of proprietary right;⁸⁸ and without interfering with this right, as far as possible, collected land revenue directly from the actual occupant of the land whether he occupied it as overlord, as land-owner, as tenant, or in any other capacity.⁸⁹ This was as far as his administration could be said to have gone to adopt a uniform tenurial policy, if it could be called a policy, throughout his kingdom. But in actual practice, like the Durrani, each governor and to some extent each *kardar*, each revenue assignee and each revenue farmer had freedom to make his own arrangements.⁹⁰ This meant that whatever uniform or levelling effect the Sikh rule produced, its "process was carried to very different lengths in different places and in the same places in different times and the practical result was to increase the diversity of tenures that previously existed."⁹¹

Thus the actual effect of Ranjit Singh's rule on rights in land was different in different parts of the country. A general description of the more important tenures may be given here. (i) In many cases no party other than the actual cultivators claimed any proprietary title and paid land revenue direct to the government.⁹² In modern terminology this was the class of peasant-proprietors. (ii) If there was a separate proprietor, much depended upon whether he was an influential man or not and whether land revenue was taken in cash or in kind.⁹³ An influential person like a village headman could in any case assert his rights, probably more successfully if the collections were in cash, because in that case he could

87. G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 150.

88. *P. A. R.*, 1849-51, para. 30; *P. S. M.*, para. 107.

89. B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 336; *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. II, pp. 651 and 703.

Various settlement reports also verify this fact. See, for example, *Jullundur District S. R.*, 1880-6, p. 151.

90. *P. S. M.*, para. 114.

91. Ibid.

92. This was particularly true of Jullundur District (ibid., para. 108).

93. Ibid.

himself engage for the payment of revenue, and perhaps less successfully if they were in kind, because in such a case the government usually realised direct from the cultivator though allowing the proprietor to take some interest in the collections as well in the cultivation of his land. An un-influential proprietor, however, could at the most get a small share from the cultivator's grain heap after the government had taken its share. He was not expected to pay the revenue and if he lived away from the village he almost certainly became a nonentity. (iii) In some parts the lands belonging to hostile old ruling families or tribes were forcibly taken from them and redistributed among the industrious cultivators of lower castes.⁹⁴ This was particularly true of the Muslim Rajput families of the submontane areas or the martial Gakkhar tribes of the western Punjab, many of whom fell from their high position to that of mere tillers of the soil, and the new settlers claimed equality with them or united to ignore them altogether.⁹⁵ However, some of them, especially the Rajputs, did not forget their old rights and asserted them as soon as the British rule was established. (iv) In almost all areas *jagirs* or land revenue assignments were granted to a multitude of people including influential Sikh chiefs and local leaders, state officials, members of the regular troops, ladies and servants of the royal household, holy men, and religious institutions.⁹⁶ The services of village headmen (*muqaddams* and *chaudhris*), leading individuals (*maliks*), and families of local influence were secured by exemption from paying revenue on their own lands or by a definite share, usually a quarter (*chaharam*), of the land revenue of an estate.⁹⁷ They were entitled to the ruler's share of the produce and took it, as the state usually did, sometimes in kind and sometimes in cash.⁹⁸ They also interfered freely in the management of the lands included in their

94. Ibid., para. 41.

95. S. S. Thorburn, *Musalmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab*, pp. 11 and 26; B. H. Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. II, p. 675.

96. P. A. R., 1849-51, has classified these grants under three headings: service, personal and religious (para. 315).

97. P. S. M., paras. 38 and 115; *Rawalpindi District S. R.*, 1864, para. 329.

98. P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 234.

grants, specially as regards allotting the village waste, sinking wells, locating new cultivators, turning out existing cultivators if displeased, and planting gardens.⁹⁹ They even made grants within their estates to those whom they liked.¹⁰⁰ All these grants were of course held at the pleasure of the Sikh monarch and were by no means permanent.¹⁰¹ However, taking advantage of the anarchy which followed Ranjit Singh's death, many of these grantees further strengthened their hold on the land and even claimed proprietary status,¹⁰² thereby adding more confusion to the already complicated condition of landownership rights. Many of them were granted this status under the British administration, though usually they were not recognised proprietors of the whole assignment but only of the land actually in their possession.¹⁰³ (v) Lastly, communal tenures in the central and eastern districts and tribal tenures in the north-western frontier districts did not seem to have been very much interfered with. The mutual arrangement within these communities, whether based on tradition or fresh agreement, appeared to have remained very largely unchanged, though responsibility for payment of the revenue at least in communal tenures coincided with actual possession.¹⁰⁴ One important feature of communal tenures was that strangers were rigorously excluded from village communities, though transfers within the community itself by gift, bequest, mortgage or sale were not infrequent.¹⁰⁵ Further, the right of pre-emption was closely watched which meant that, if any of the proprietors within these communities wished to sell his rights, the other members of the same community had a preferential right to

99. P. S. M., para. 182.

100. H. K. Trevaskis, op. cit., p. 184.

101. Ibid.; N. K. Sinha, op. cit., pp. 136-7.

102. P. S. M., para. 182.

103. Ibid. For details as to what types of *jagirs* were resumed and what types confirmed see P. A. R., 1849-51, paras. 318-24.

104. P. S. M., para. 111. As for tribal tenures, although their internal development was not interfered with, many of the tribal chiefs and Hindu capitalists were made *jagirdars* or revenue farmers (ibid., paras. 156 and 162; *Peshawar District S. R.*, 1869-75, para. 402; N. K. Sinha, op. cit., p. 139).

105. P. S. M., para. 112.

purchase them at the same price as could be obtained from outsiders.¹⁰⁶ In some cases the village communities, while holding and managing the land as proprietors, were bound to pay a quit-rent to superior proprietors under whom they held,¹⁰⁷ such proprietors probably being the old state officials, influential local leaders, or adventurers who had established their superior position during the period of anarchy.

It was quite natural that this diversity of land tenures should give rise to various kinds of disputes concerning the alienation of landed property, the relative rights of proprietors and cultivators, the village boundary disputes between the chiefs and cultivators of contiguous and rival estates, etc. The settlement of these disputes rested very largely with the *panchayats* or the traditional arbitration councils consisting usually of five elders of a village.¹⁰⁸ Although their decisions could be revoked by the *kardars*, in actual practice this happened very rarely, because they worked quite efficiently and were extremely popular with the people¹⁰⁹ even at the time of the annexation.¹¹⁰ It must be remembered that these councils worked with equal success during the Mughul period, but when anarchy replaced order, they obviously lost much of their importance, to be once again revived as a result of peace restored by Ranjit Singh.

To sum up, Ranjit Singh's main contribution was that he started the process of rehabilitation of the Punjab land systems after a long period of political turmoil. This rehabilitation was based partly on the Mughul precedents and partly on the institutions left by the anarchy. Among the Mughul

106. P. A. R., 1872-3, Ch. 1, para. 30.

107. Ibid., para. 36.

108. For detailed information regarding the working of these *panchayats* see the following contemporary works: J. Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, pp. 127-8, and *A Memoir of Central India*, Vol. II, pp. 283-98; H. T. Prinsep, op. cit., Appendix by W. Murray, pp. 202-3; P. A. R., 1849-51, para. 28.

109. This popularity was reflected in the saying, *panch men parameshwar*, which meant "the decision of the *panchs* has the sanction of God" (G. L. Chopra, op. cit., p. 142, footnote).

110. In fact, the Council of Regency set up in the Punjab after the First Sikh War regarded the working of the *panchayats* so satisfactory that they entrusted to them the task of drawing up a code of customary laws as regards various social institutions (ibid.).

precedents he followed the following were the most important: (i) the division of the province into different administrative units, some under his direct administration and some under local chiefs; (ii) the assignment of the *jagirs* in return for specific services; (iii) the organisation of the revenue and civil department whose officials had more or less the same names and functions as under the Mughuls; (iv) the assessment of the revenue according to the *kankut* system in which the state share was estimated in kind but occasionally commuted for cash; (v) direct dealings with the cultivators; and (vi) the non-interference at least in theory with the owners of land, whether individuals or communities, so long as they paid the revenue and cultivated the land. Among the legacies of the anarchy which he perpetuated the following deserve attention: (i) the maintenance of the Sikh overlordship which levelled all other rights and privileges; (ii) the continuation of many other superior landed interests (even though they took the form of absentee landlords¹¹¹ if they were helpful to his rule or were too powerful to be easily ignored with the result that the tenurial relationships remained complicated or became even more confused; (iii) the engagement of men of influence and resources as revenue farmers who in many cases were Hindu money-lenders; (iv) the lack of any specific policy concerning maximum and minimum revenue demands which remained indefinite and seemed to have varied from place to place between one-half and one-eighth of the gross produce of land; and (v) the collection of cesses and tributes of various kinds in addition to land revenue.

Perhaps a rough idea of the agricultural and economic condition of the Sikh Punjab can best be formed by comparing it with that of the Mughul Punjab on the basis of the available revenue figures. The Mughul province of Lahore was reported to have yielded an annual revenue of about 22½ millions of rupees in 1720.¹¹² The Sikh revenue seemed to have varied from about 26¹¹³ to 32¹¹⁴ millions of rupees (or from about 12½ to 19 millions

111. For example, the Sikh *jagirdars* of D. I. Khan District were almost invariably non-residents (*D. I. Khan District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 38).

112. J. Sarkar, *The India of Aurangzeb Compared with the India of Akbar*, pp. lxii-lxiii.

113. According to W. Murray's estimate (H. T. Prinsep, op. cit., p. 184).

114. According to J. D. Cunningham's estimate (op. cit., Appendix XXII, p. 424).

of rupees if we take only land revenue, excluding *jagirs* of all kinds)¹¹⁵ between 1834 and 1844. Strictly speaking, these figures are not comparable, because the Sikh kingdom covered a much bigger area than the Mughul province of Lahore and included the territories south of the Sutlej and north of the Indus and also the state of Kashmir. Further, even the accuracy of these figures may be doubtful. Nevertheless, their very incomparability suggests that, although the Sikh and the Mughul Punjab differed in size, their revenues did not differ in the same proportion. In other words, such was the great havoc which the anarchy of the eighteenth century played with the Punjab that even Ranjit Singh's long rule could not make it as productive in terms of the state revenue as it was under the Mughuls.

Pre-Annexation British Administration

Before 1849 the British held mainly the cis-Sutlej territories. They, however, did not establish any regular government, because the purpose was only to protect these territories from outside attack. Internally most areas were left in the hands of local chiefs, while only a small territory was kept under direct administration.

As for the native territory the existing rulers, especially the old Sikh confederates, were maintained in their possessions, and where no other claimant could be found estates were made over to some deserving soldier or neighbouring chief by the grant of full powers of administration or of an assignment or farm of land revenue.¹¹⁶ This very much looked like the Durrani practice though with this difference that the arrangements under the British were probably more stable than under the former. The local chiefs on the whole did nothing to improve the existing revenue arrangements which continued to follow almost the same confused patterns as prevailed under

115. Raja Deena Nath, Chancellor of the Lahore Exchequer, estimated the Sikh land revenue at about Rs. 13½ million in 1847 (*P. A. R.*, 1849-51, para. 236).

116. Of the last type were the chiefs of Pataudi, Dujana, Loharu and some other areas in the south-east Punjab (C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. I, p. 10). See also L. H. Griffin and others, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Vol. I, 1940 edn., pp. 12, 55, 56 and 78.

the Durrani and the Sikh confederates in the previous century. The only notable changes seemed to have been two: (i) Before the grant of protection by the British the position of local chiefs was somewhat uncertain; they could be deprived of their possessions by any stronger power. With the grant of protection, however, they came to be accepted officially as the sole owners of their territories free of all tribute to the British, subject only to the condition of assisting the British army in times of need. (ii) Finding themselves free from external troubles, some protected chiefs, notably the ruler of Patiala, undertook irregular colonisation of deserted or neglected areas in the south-east, especially in the district of Hissar.¹¹⁷ Lands were granted to voluntarily associated bodies of colonists who agreed to pay some share of the gross produce in kind, being small at first but subject to increase later, while their leading members or headmen were given some revenue-free land as well. However, after a few years grain payments and revenue-free lands were replaced by fixed cash assessments and cash allowances, respectively. As for the division of land among the colonists it was divided by lot in accordance with the ancestral shares of the different castes or families who had founded the villages, or on the basis of any other system of shares on which they might have agreed. Some land was, however, held in common for grazing purposes or for cultivation by non-proprietary tenants.¹¹⁸ Although the colonisation thus undertaken did not cover much areas, it very clearly indicated that colonists and new settlers were introducing their own tenurial institutions in areas not familiar with them previously.

The areas which the British kept under their direct administration were comparatively few. In the beginning they were confined to the immediate vicinity of Delhi. But as from time to time various estates were resumed

117. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 15; *Punjab Gazetteer*, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 220 and 231.

118. The pattern of colonisation described above has been mainly taken from *Ferozepur District S. R.*, 1855, paras. 212-7. See also *Ferozepur District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 55-6; B. H. Baden Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, pp. 323-4 and 341-2; *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. II, pp. 615-6 and 689-92.

because of either mismanagement or death without lineal heirs of the original grantees, they were extended to include tracts which were the beginnings of the subsequent districts of Delhi, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal and Hissar. The revenue assessments which the British made in these areas were generally of a very summary type.¹¹⁹ They were based on the existing arrangements and, though made only for short periods, were very severe and inelastic, hence large balances were frequently reported as remaining uncollected. This heaviness of assessment led to an important development. The proprietors were forced to seek for tenants,¹²⁰ to help both in paying the revenue and in founding new villages dependent on the old ones. Such tenants paid no formal rent¹²¹ and were subsequently recognised as entitled to special consideration and were officially recorded as occupancy tenants in land which they had occupied for a period varying from twelve to twenty years.¹²² In some parts, especially in Hissar, the burden of assessment was so heavy that, when pressed for payment, they moved off into the neighbouring native states whence most of them had originally come.¹²³ However, these summary settlements were replaced by regular settlements in the decade preceding the annexation,¹²⁴ the latter being comparatively less heavy because of being based on the "aggregate to detail" method recommended by such revenue experts as Bird and Thomason.

As for rights in land it seems that the British administration as a rule did not interfere with the existing landed interests. However, in the beginning they granted lands to local influential persons for both revenue collection and general administration (like the Durrani), but later on, finding this arrangement unsatisfactory, brought these lands under their direct rule and

119. *Punjab Gazetteer*, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 238, 257, 272, 288 and 310.

120. *P. S. M.*, para. 200; B.H. Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. II, pp. 703-4.

121. *P. S. M.*, para. 35.

122. *Ibid.*, para. 200.

123. For example, the demand of the first settlement in Hissar (1815-25) was so high that it exceeded by 20% the revenue fixed in 1890 for the same villages. See *Punjab Gazetteer*, 1908, Vol. I, p. 238.

124. See footnote 119, above.

recognised the above grantees as full proprietors in accordance with the general policy adopted in the rest of British India.¹²⁵

Summary

From the foregoing sketch we can draw some broad conclusions about the main features of the land systems which prevailed in the Punjab towards the close of the period under study.

Taking the revenue administration first, the country as a whole was divided into somewhat irregular provinces, districts¹²⁶ and sub-districts, which were directly or indirectly under the jurisdiction of a workable land revenue department set up mostly on the old Mughul pattern. This department, however, did not have any elaborate organisation and appeared to be concerned more with the regular collection of revenue than with the methods of assessment and the incidence of taxation on agricultural classes. Government officials, revenue farmers, *jagirdars*, and local chiefs managed affairs without any specific policy directives from above, but theoretically all were under the absolute control of the central Sikh government and occasionally had to account for their administration and furnish detailed information about the agricultural conditions of the areas under their charge.¹²⁷ In fact, as we noted earlier, statistical record offices called the *qazikhana*s were set up in different parts of the country. One important result as well as the proof of the existence of a workable Sikh revenue administration was that when the British occupied the Punjab they had little difficulty in conducting their own temporary (or summary) settlements, because the Sikh revenue records gave them a good idea of the existing demands and so helped them to make their own temporary arrangements.¹²⁸

As regards the method of assessment the most common practice seemed to be to fix the state share of the crop, whatever its proportion, by measurement or appraisal and then to commute it for cash either at current

125. B. H. Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. I, p. 43 (footnote 1); *Land Revenue in British India*, p. 125.

126. The number of districts in the Sikh Punjab in 1847 was reported to be 59 (*P. A. R.*, 1849-51, para. 236).

127. G. L. Chopra, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 and 220.

128. *P. S. M.*, para. 42.

market prices or at prices arbitrarily fixed by the collectors which were in some cases higher than the market rates. This system of cash payments appeared to work quite satisfactorily, because there was enough money in circulation and also because the money-lending classes were present in almost all parts of the province. On the other hand, basically it was a system of crop division and mere cash payments could not help the peasants to know in advance (i.e. before the crop was ready) as to how much revenue they would have to pay to the government. As compared to the fixed cash assessments of the British period or of the Mughul period under the "regulation system," the Sikh system might be called a system of unfixed cash assessments. In the contemporary language it was known as the *kankut*, a term which had actually survived from the Mughul times though with somewhat changed meaning.¹²⁹

Although this method of unfixed cash assessments was more or less uniformly followed throughout the province, there was no such uniformity in the land revenue rates which varied from place to place between one-half and one-eighth of the gross produce of the land, presumably depending upon such factors as the strength of the local governing party, the power of resistance of those being governed, and the local agricultural conditions. Side by side with the land revenue a number of cesses were also regularly collected.

Probably the most burdensome legacy inherited by the Punjab was the great diversity of land tenures which itself was the product of the post-Mughul anarchy. On the surface there seemed to be only two levelling factors, the Sikh lordship over all forms of old privileges and ownerships and the right of the state to deal directly with the actual cultivators, by-passing all other interests if land revenue was not paid or cultivation was not maintained. In actual practice these factors contributed more to confusion than to uniformity, because their operation amounted to a forcible change of the existing arrangements without any principle. Beneath the

129. In the case of the Mughul *kankut* system cash payments were not compulsory and whenever the state share of the crop was commuted for cash it was done so only at the market prices.

surface, however, there appeared to be an unending variety of land interests which, apart from peasant-proprietors, included village communities, tribes, local chiefs, revenue farmers, money lenders, revenue-free assignees, superior owners, inferior owners, occupancy tenants, ordinary tenants, etc. Among these some were apparently traditional like village and tribal tenures, but it looked doubtful if, after passing through the anarchy of the type experienced in the Punjab, they could have retained all of their traditional characteristics.¹³⁰ The foregoing tenures taken as a whole were neatly classified and legalised under the British revenue settlements, but the process took several decades of painful scrutiny and even then no real simplification took place.

It was thus clear that over the greater part of the Punjab the simple communal or owner-tenant relationships of the Mughul period did not exist at the time of the annexation. If any generalisation could be made at all it was that the freedom enjoyed by a land-owner or a land-holder was limited by (a) the right of the state to a share of the produce, (b) the rights of the village community or near agnates, (c) the rights of the superimposed landed interests, and (d) the rights of the occupancy tenants wherever they existed. Theoretically, a land-owner could, subject to these restrictions, manage his land and dispose of its produce as he liked. Practically, however, this seemed almost impossible because the restrictions were far too many to allow him a free hand in the exercise of his rights of ownership.

130. Considered from this angle the codes of customary law compiled in the British period cannot be regarded as based entirely on the ancient traditional practices.

'ILM AL-HADITH AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HISTORIOGRAPHY

AMANULLAH KHAN

The Holy Qur'an, ever since its revelation, has served as the basic source of inspiration and guidance for the Muslims of all times. It very clearly enjoins the believers to show obedience to Allah and to Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Obedience to the Prophet is second only to the obedience to Allah. There are a number of verses in the Holy Qur'an in this connection, e.g.

”من يطع الرسول فقد اطاع الله“¹

[Whosoever obeys the Messenger, he indeed obeys Allah.]

”قل ان كنتم تحبون الله فاتبعوني يحببكم الله“²

[Say : if you love Allah, follow me, Allah will love you.]

The Muslims are further enjoined to accept the Prophet as the perfect Exemplar. The Holy Qur'an says :

”لقد كان لكم فى رسول الله اسوة حسنة“³

[Verily in the Apostle of God ye have a good example.]

Under the influence of such Quranic injunctions and in obedience to such clear instructions of the Prophet as ”بلغوا عني ولو آية“⁴ [Circulate from me though (it be) a sentence], the followers of Islam set out to collect and preserve the traditions of the Prophet—his sayings, actions and silent approvals. They were, however, warned to proceed with great caution. The Prophet said :

”بلغوا عني ولو آية - - - ومن كذب على متعمداً فليتبوء مقعده من النار“⁵
(رواه البخارى)

1. Al-Qur'an, iv. 80.

2. Ibid., iii. 30.

3. Ibid., xxxiii. 21.

4. Khatib Tabrizi, *Misbkat al-Masabih*.

5. Ibid.

[Circulate from me though (it be) a sentence . . . And whosoever fabricates falsehood against me intentionally, let him seek his abode in fire.]

Every believer had to take the conduct of the Prophet as a model for himself in all the affairs of life. Consequently, great endeavour was made to preserve every piece of information regarding his conduct with perfect exactitude. How careful and strict were the four Orthodox Caliphs of Islam in the acceptance of tradition is a matter very well known to scholars of Muslim learning. In spite of this strict attitude the quest for collecting the prophetic words or reports of the Prophet's deeds went on increasing, and the devotees of Islam preserved the prophetic wisdom with great care and reverence. This attitude brought about the collection of a large amount of traditions about the practice of the Holy Prophet.

In course of time as this record of traditions related to the prophetic practice increased in volume, misguided persons began to fabricate traditions and attribute them to the Prophet. The Muslims accepted the challenge of the fabricators and developed a "Science of Tradition" or 'Ilm al-Hadith by which they could judge the authenticity of the reports and the reliability of the reporters. What marvellous job they did in order to preserve the traditions related to the words and deeds of their Prophet and to discriminate the reliable from the unreliable, astonishes the world. The Muslims are rightly justified in taking pride in their Science of Tradition. In fact, they have no rival in the world in the task of collecting and preserving the details of life and the sayings and actions of their Prophet with perfect exactitude. What arduous task they performed in this field can be judged by the fact that, in order to sift the traditions of their Prophet, they preserved the records of lives of about half a million persons who were in any way involved in the narration (*riwayat*) of the Hadith.

Hitti, the well-known Orientalist and historian, says: "Among all peoples Moslems stand unique in having developed a science (*'ilm*) out of their mass of religious traditions."⁶

Juynboll, while appreciating the science of tradition, in his article on

6. *History of the Arabs*, London, 1940, p. 393.

Hadith observes:

The critical investigation of *isnad's* has caused the Muslim scholars to make thorough researches. They endeavoured not only to ascertain the names and circumstances of the authorities (*ridjal*) in order to investigate when and where they lived, and which of them had been personally acquainted with the other, but also to test their reliability, truthfulness and accuracy in transmitting the texts, to make certain which of them were "reliable" (*thika*). This criticism of the authorities was called *al-djarh wa'l-ta'dil* (wounding and authentication). . . . The so-called "knowledge of the men" (*ma'rifat al-ridjal*) was considered indispensable for every student of *Hadith*; all the commentaries on the collection of Tradition therefore contain more or less copious details concerning the authorities.⁷

We come across scores of such works composed by the Muslim scholars as convey information about the life, character, reliability or unreliability and categories, etc., of the reporters of tradition. Some of such works are *Tabaqat Ibn Sa'd*, *Usd al-Ghaba fi Ma'rifat al-Sahaba* of Ibn al-Athir, *Tabaqat al-Huffaz* by Dhahabi, *Shadharat al-Dhabab* by Ibn 'Imad, *al-Isaba fi Tamyiz al-Sahaba* by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani and *Lisan al-Mizan* and *Tahdhib al-Tabdhib* by the same author.

Similarly, we see standard works composed on 'Ilm al-Hadith or the Science of Tradition. According to Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, the first known comprehensive work of this type was composed by Abu Muhammad Ramahurmuzi.⁸ His work entitled *Kitab al-Mubaddith al-Fasil bain al-Rawi wa'l-Wa'i*, is preserved in the form of a number of MSS. but has not yet been published.⁹ Ramahurmuzi was soon followed by al-Hakim Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Naisaburi (321—405 A.H.) who compiled *Kitab Ma'rifat 'Ulum al-Hadith* in which he dealt with the whole subject, dividing the material into different categories. An edition of this work has been published by Dr. Mu'azzam Husain (Cairo, 1937). Other works on this subject are *Al-Kifaya* by Khatib Abu Bakr, *Ilma'* by Qadi 'Iyad and a treatise *Ma La Yasa' al-Mubaddithu Jabluhu* by Abu Hafs

7. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ii, 190-1.

8. *Sharh Nukbbat al-Fikar*, Urdu Trans. by Muhammad Abd al-Hayye, Delhi, n.d., p. 7.

9. James Robson (Tr.), *Mishkat al-Masabih*, Lahore, 1960, Intro., p. vii.

Mianji. Another work of importance, which may be mentioned here, was composed by Hafiz Abu 'Amr 'Uthman b. al-Salah 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shahrazuri (d. 643 A.H.). His work is generally known as *Muqaddima Ibn al-Salah*. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, the well-known traditionist and a great critic, already mentioned above, improved the arrangement of the work and prepared its summary giving it the name "نخبة الفكر في مصطلح أهل الأثر" (*Nukhbat al-Fikar Fi Mustalib Ahl al-Athar*). As this work was considered too brief, Ibn Hajar wrote, on the demands of his contemporaries, a commentary on it known as *Sharh Nukhbat al-Fikar*.

This work may well be considered to be a classical work on 'Ilm al-Hadith. It was a natural and necessary step towards the systematisation of the various studies which had been carried on since the Muhaddithun (the Traditionists) began to investigate the credentials of transmitters and the value of their traditions.

Ibn Hajar has discussed the various aspects of this science in a very systematic order. According to the different chains (ways, *Turuq*) of transmitters the following categories are distinguished:

1. *Mutawatir*: A communication handed down from the very beginning to its compilation, through so many sources that there was no scope left of any objection and suspicion against it.
2. *Mashhur*: A statement which is handed down by at least three different authorities.
3. *'Aziz*: A communication which is transmitted by at least two persons.
4. *Gharib* is in general a rare tradition. With reference to the Isnad, Fard-i Mutlaq or Gharib-i Mutlaq means a tradition which is transmitted in the second generation only by one Tabi'i and Fard-i Nisbi or Gharib-i Nisbi is a tradition which is transmitted by only one definite person of later generations.

The last three categories are further distinguished as *Abad*. Such traditions are again of three grades, according to the authenticity and reliability of the reporters, viz. Sahih (sound), Hasan (good), and Da'if (Weak). Likewise, if the chain of transmitters is unbroken and complete, it is called

Muttasil; and if the chain is broken or incomplete it is called Munqati'. Similarly, traditions have been placed into many categories like Mu'allaq (suspended), Mursal (defective), Munkar (unknown), Ma'ruf (known), Shadh (contradictory), Marfu' (raised), Mauquf (retarded), etc.

Every Hadith has two parts: (a) *Isnad* (the chain of narrators), (b) *Matan* (the text). The text is suffixed to the *Isnad*. For example, in the tradition:

"حدثني يحيى عن مالك، عن نافع عن عبد الله ابن عمر ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال صلاة الجماعة تفضل صلاة الفذ يسبع وعشرين درجة"¹⁰

[Yahya reported to me on the authority of Malik, on the authority of Nafi', on the authority of 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar that the messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said: Prayer in congregation is twenty-seven times better (as regards rewards) than one offered alone.]

From *حدثني* to *ابن عمر* (Ibn Umar) is *isnad* or chain of *rawis* and from *ان* (*Anna*) to the end is *matan* or text.

This method of giving the Isnad with the text, we find for the first time used by the Arabs. The history of any other nation does not contain the chain of narrators of every text along with it. It is completely lacking in the historical literature of the Greeks, the Romans, the Hindus and the Chinese.

It is remarkable that this method was also extended by the Muslims to other branches of learning such as history, geography, etc.

Margoliouth says, "The anxiety to know more about the Prophet and the heroes of early Islam led, as we know, to greater industry and effort among the Muslims than in any analogous case; and the study of the traditions of the Prophet is largely responsible for and to be credited with the growth of geography and biography; if the way to test the authenticity of a tradition was to estimate the trustworthiness of the transmitters, it was indispensable to learn as much as possible about their lives; it was necessary to know when and where they had lived, and this rendered geography and history requisite."¹¹

In the beginning Hadith and history were very closely related to each other, and it was from amongst the class of Muhaddithun that arose another class known as Akhbariyyun (the narrators of traditions), the genealogists

10. Imam Malik, *Al-Muwatta*, ed. Fuwad al-Baqi, Egypt, 1951, Kitab al-Salat al-Jama'at, p. 129.

11. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, Calcutta, 1930, p. 56.

and the authors of the accounts of the campaigns of the Prophet (peace be upon him), who were later classified as historians.

Shaikh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlvi considers history an indispensable branch of learning for the student of Hadith and mentions the close relation between these two branches thus :

”انقطاع اور سقوط راوی کا پہچاننا، راوی اور مروی عنہ کے عدم ملاقات کی پہچان پر ہے۔ اور دونوں کے درمیان عدم ملاقات اس طرح معلوم ہو سکتی ہے کہ یا تو یہ معلوم ہو جائے کہ راوی اور مروی عنہ کا آپس میں اجتماع نہیں ہوا اور راوی نے مروی عنہ سے اخذ و تحمل نہیں کیا اور راوی کو اجازت نہیں ہوئی اور یہ سب باتیں علم تاریخ کے ذریعہ معلوم ہوتی ہیں جس میں روایت و ناقلین اور رجال و افراد حدیث کے پیدائش و اموات، زمانہ تحصیل حدیث اور سفر وغیرہ وغیرہ۔۔۔ جملہ امور زندگی کے احوال کا بیان اور سوانح حیات اور حالات کا تذکرہ ہوتا ہے۔ اسی بنا پر علم تاریخ و فن محاضرات محدثین اور مشائخ حدیث کے نزدیک۔۔۔ ایک بہت زبردست بنیادی چیز ہے اور ایک درجہ میں علم حدیث کا علم تاریخ و محاضرات پر دارومدار ہے۔“¹²

[The knowledge of a broken chain of authorities and dropping of a reporter depend upon the information that the reporter and the person from whom he reported did not see each other, and this in turn can be ascertained by the fact that they did not meet each other, and the transmitter did not collect his information from whom he is transmitting and the reporter was not given an *ijaza* (permission) to transmit traditions. This all is known through history, which deals with the reporters, copyists and *rijal* (authorities) of Hadith, their birth, death, period of their collection of Hadith and their journey, etc. . . . in short with almost all the affairs of life. Due to this very reason the Muhaddithun and Mashaikh al-Hadith consider history . . . a very basic thing and of immense importance, and in one degree 'Ilm-al-Hadith is based on history.]

All the scholars of Islamic history hold the view that the Muslim historians of early period followed in their works on biography, genealogy, conquests and other historical composition, like local histories, *tabaqat*, etc., a style which was adopted by the traditionists in their oral and written transmission of Hadith. Even the form of their presentation was that of the Hadith, and it was primarily the study of Hadith which necessitated the study of history.

12. Shaikh 'Abd al-Haqq, *Muqaddima Mishkat*, Urdu Trans. Khwaja Muhammad Ali, Lahore, n.d., pp. 58-9.

Professor Hitti in his article on “History” in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, while discussing the different influences which were responsible for the development of Muslim historiography and while mentioning the early historical works composed by various Muslim scholars, observes :

In these early historical works and in others which followed the form of presentation was that of the stereotyped religious tradition (Hadith). Each event is related in words of eye-witnesses or contemporaries and transmitted to the final narrator—the author, through a chain of intermediary reporters. Thus al-Baladhuri introduces his story of the capitulation of Najran to the Prophet :

“Bakr ibn al-Haitham related to me that 'Abd Allah ibn Salih related to him, on the authority of al-Layth ibn Sa'd, on the authority of Yunus ibn Yazid al-Ayli, on the authority of al-Zuhri, who said. . . .”¹³

Appreciating this form of presentation, he continues, “this tracing of the event to its ultimate source served to develop exactitude, as did also the insistence on dating occurrences even to the month and day.”¹⁴

Similarly, in his introduction to *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, he elaborates the above statement by saying : “The chief source from which history writing flowed was tradition (Hadith); it was a pious custom that when Moslems met, one should ask for news (Hadith), and the other should relate a saying or anecdote of Muhammad. Each event is related in the words of eye-witnesses or contemporaries and transmitted to the final narrator through a chain of intermediate reporters. The authenticity of the reported fact depends on (1) the continuity of the chain and (2) the confidence in each reporter.”¹⁵

Comparing this form of presentation with the modern historical methodology, he pays it a high tribute by observing : “This form of historic composition is unique in the case of the Arabs and meets the most essential requirements of modern historiography, namely, “back to the source” and “trace the line of authorities”.”¹⁶

Margoliouth, another great Orientalist (editor of a number of valuable

13. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. VII-VIII, p. 381.

14. Ibid.

15. P.K. Hitti (Tr.), *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, Vol. I, Intro., pp. 2-3.

16. Ibid., p. 3.

Arabic works, and an author of so many books), while tracing the beginnings of Arabic history, compares the form of presentation of the Muslims with that of the Greek historians and acknowledges its superiority over their system, as well as over the Christian and Jewish historical as well as religious literature and observes: "As we have seen, the Arabic historians render the tracing of sources far easier than those of other nations by the fact their history is a development of Ahadith (the Traditions). It does not begin with either the continuous or the official chronicle, but with the narratives of the eye-witnesses. The possession of this system gave the Muslims an obvious advantage in their controversies with Jews and Christians, who gave more the appearance of taking their information on trust. They had no chain of authorities for either sacred or secular history. Where, e.g., the Greek historians are not describing their own experiences, they rarely give us the opportunity of testing the sources of the information which they present; we have to assume that it was obtained from people who knew. Ultimately the Jews had to compose an isnad for their Taurah."¹⁷

It would be enlightening if we examine our above point of view in the light of certain historical works produced by the Muslim scholars.

Ibn Hisham relates, in his *Sira* of the Prophet, the Prophet's grief at the martyrdom of Ja'far in the battle of Muta:

Says Ibn Ishaq that 'Abd Allah ibn Bakr told him, on the authority of Umm-i-Musa al-Khuza'iya, on the authority of Umm-i-Ja'far bint Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Ja'far b. Abi Talib, on the authority of her grandmother Asma bint Umais who said....¹⁸

Jahshiyari in his *Kitab al-Wuzara w-al-Kuttab*, while tracing the causes of the slaughter of the Bermicides at the hands of Harun al-Rashid, prefixes an Isnad to the text by saying: "And said 'Ubaid Allah b. Yahya b. Khaqan: I questioned Masrur, the elder, in the days of al-Mutawakkil... about the cause of the murder of Ja'far at the hands of al-Rashid who said...."¹⁹

17. Margoliouth, op. cit., p. 58.

18. Cf. Ibn Hisham, *Al-Sirat al-Nabawiyya*.

19. Jahshiyari, *Kitab al-Wuzara w-al-Kuttab*, Cairo, 1938, p. 254.

Al-Baladhuri gives an account of the Prophet's instructions issued to 'Amr ibn Hazm, while sending him to al-Yaman, thus:

"وحدثني الحسين قال حدثني يحيى بن آدم قال حدثنا زياد عن محمد بن ابي حنيفة ان رسول الله - - - - -"²⁰

[And al-Husain told me on the authority of Yahya b. Adam, on the authority of Ziyad on the authority of Muhammad b. Ishaq that the Prophet of Allah. . . .]

A similar style is adopted in their works by Ibn Jarir Tabari, Ibn Athir, Ibn Kathir and other important Muslim historians.

Another way of handling traditions, to which the Muslim historians have sometimes resorted, is that in which the compiler combines different traditions into one continuous whole, prefixing a statement of his authorities or contenting himself by interrupting the narrative, wherever need may be, by citing the particular authority.

For instance, al-Baladhuri himself acknowledges in the beginning of his *Futuh al-Buldan*, "I have been informed by certain men learned in tradition, biography and the conquests of lands whose narrative I transmitted, abridged and pieced up together into one whole."²¹

A very recent example of traditional method of presentation is to be found in the historical work produced by Shah Wali Allah Muhaddith Dehlavi. In his book *Izalat al-Khafa 'An Khilafat al-Khulafa*, he is very careful in prefixing Isnad to the text.

This application of the method of Hadith to historiography by the Muslims has enhanced the value of their works, and has influenced the modern historical methodology to such an extent that it seems to be an offshoot of the 'Ilm al-Hadith.

20. Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, Cairo, 1319 A.H., p. 77.

21. Cf. Hitti (Tr.), *Futuh al-Buldan*, Vol. I, p. 15.

REFERENCE GROUPS*

MUHAMMAD FAYYAZ

Mead's "generalized other"¹ and Cooley's "primary group"² concepts opened hitherto unexplored avenues toward understanding the kind of groups and people who are significantly influential in the socialisation of an individual. Indirectly they also unveiled the mechanism bringing about conformity to group standards and norms, and thus suggested functional prerequisites for the continuity of any society. Society, on the basis of these theoretical considerations, can be divided into such strata as "generalized other" and "particular other," or "primary" and "secondary" groups. While the knowledge of this sort of division into groups is essential in the initial stages of societal analysis, this knowledge does not, of itself, permit us to discover the internal characteristics of groups of either kind which transform primary into secondary groups or *vice versa*. Under what conditions, for instance, a group loses its primary characteristics, or standards of "generalized other" become virtually inconsequential, and a host of similar problems connected with group-to-group relationship are not solved by these broad concepts. In other words, the Mead-and-Cooley model is a static model accounting best for less differentiated, relatively stable societies where "generalized other" and "primary group" tend to overlap. For societies with considerable emphasis on mobility and considerable differentiation and specialisation, we can reasonably expect to find the "generalized other" drawn exclusively or partly from "secondary" groups and spread over a spatial range beyond the physical movements of the identifying individuals.

*The author acknowledges with thanks the help and guidance given him by his Graduate Committee Members, Professors Olaf F. Larson, Allan Holmberg and John Harp of Cornell University, in the preparation and finalisation of this paper.

1. George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago, Ill., University of Chicago Press, 1934, pp. 135-226.
2. Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind*, New York, Schocken Books, 1962, p. 23.

To consider the individual's learning of group and community standards as only due to particular individuals living at a particular place, is to oversimplify the elements of the learning process. Recognition of the fact that individuals, through thinking and imagination, can assume several roles and thus broaden the learning base to an unlimited extent required revision of and enlargement upon Mead's and Cooley's fixed-scope concepts. Originally derived from the writings of these theorists, this imagination-thinking dimension stimulated inquiries into possible sources of learning other than the designated social categories. Toward this end, Sumner's "in-group" versus "out-group" classification also provided new understanding of the group structures and group affiliations.³ This classification cuts across primary groups—family, neighbourhood, play-group—and emphasises identification as the most important single criterion for judging what constitutes the in-group for a certain individual and why. If this classificatory scheme is adopted, it becomes possible to look at the society, in all its multifarious manifestations, as consisting of individuals affiliating to groups they identify themselves with and viewing others as "they" or "out-group" members. Such an analytical procedure has an advantage over static categories of primary and secondary groups in the sense that it guides the researcher and the theorist alike to view learning as a continuous and growing process. Likewise, it helps in conceiving socialisation as a dynamic process and stresses the individual's identification as determining his membership in one group rather than another. Being general and relational in character, it also prompts us to seek an explanation of "why a man is the way he is" in terms of his identifications.

Frame of Reference

These three considerations, namely, (1) increasing mobility and differentiation, (2) man's ability to assume several roles, actual as well as imaginary, on the conceptual level, and (3) identification as an integral part of learning process, led to the formulation of the *frame of reference* concept. The concept was designed to bring into its fold attitudes, values, and standards

3. William Graham Sumner, *Folkways*, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1959, pp. 12-3.

derived by the individual from any source. In other words, it was taken to be equivalent to James' "pure ego"⁴ or Mead's "I," but, in addition, admitted of reference scales and reference points that one uses actively in a particular situation to judge one's or others' actions. These reference scales, being bound to time and space, may not be transferable from one situation to another. As defined by the Sherifs, frame of reference is a "system of functional relations consisting of influences operative at a given time ... in a particular situation."⁵

The frame of reference that one uses in a given situation at a given time to define situation and initiate action, as elsewhere noted by the Sherifs, is a functionally integrated whole consisting of external and internal factors.⁶ External factors are the stimulus factors embodying such properties as shape, colour and intensity of material objects, on the one hand, and words, gestures and other spoken and unspoken symbols, on the other. Internal factors are motive, attitudes, concepts, etc., learnt from past experience. A frame of reference in a given situation, then, is a product of the relative weights that an individual assigns to these internal and external factors at a given time before he makes judgment. Since these factors are very complex in nature, it is not always possible to infer a person's frame of reference with a high amount of accuracy.

The general approach in deducing a person's frame of reference, as should be expected, has been first to determine the attitudes, values, and reactions of the individual to a specific stimulus or set of stimuli, experimentally or otherwise, and from there to construct his frame of reference. Since, as observed by Newcomb, "it is, indeed, almost axiomatic that one's attitudes toward anything depend upon one's frame of reference,"⁷ further

4. William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1950, pp. 331-4.

5. Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology*, rev. ed., New York, Harper and Brothers, 1956, p. 41.

6. Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, *Groups in Harmony and Tension: Integration of Studies on Intergroup Relations*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953, pp. 165-6.

7. Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960, p. 210.

prediction of attitudes after a person's frame of reference has been determined becomes a matter of simple deduction.

The circularity of this argument should, however, be obvious. We derive a frame of reference from attitudes and then predict attitudes from this frame of reference. This closed-system approach, strictly adopted from the pervasive psychoanalytic approach, probably did not prove very helpful in advancing the ideas long before formulated by James, Cooley and Mead. Pointing out this deficiency, the Sherifs warned that:

The concept "frame of reference" cannot be used in an abstract way to "explain" behavior, simply by labeling it. It becomes useful in functional analysis of specific influences operating at a given time....⁸

Using this concept, mutual interaction between different stimuli, external and internal, and observable effects on judgment as a result of increasing the salience of one stimulus were extensively studied and the results were reported under the rubric of frame of reference. Realising the inadequacy of the "frame of reference" concept in terms of explanation, and having analysed enormous experimental evidence from the psychology of judgment area, Hyman set for himself the task of locating significant influences responsible for relative weights given to internal and external factors operating on the judgment process. Reflecting upon the days when he was working on this problem, Hyman recalls that "the psychology of judgment led me to inquire into the social frames of reference employed and gave many leads to inquiry."⁹

Hyman also felt that there are at an individual's disposal in a functioning society numerous alternatives for judging one thing higher or lower than another, but on certain considerations many of these alternatives are either ignored or forgotten and only a few held in the forefront. His aim, then, was to uncover these considerations which make up the individual's point of view and direct selective judgment. In this search, the concept "frame of reference" was treated as an effect concept, so to speak, preceded

8. Sherif and Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology*, p. 41.

9. Herbert Hyman, "Reflections on Reference Groups," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, Fall 1960, p. 384.

by the causative concepts of "reference groups" and "reference individuals". While this attempt lent explanatory character to frame-of-reference studies, it brought the whole scheme of analysing individual-group interaction in line with Mead's and Cooley's classical thinking in particular and symbolic interaction theory in general.

Reference Groups

Hyman first coined and used the term "reference group" explicitly in his now famous study of subjective status in the year 1942. Since then, the concept has been very lively in sociological and social-psychological writings. The reason for this, states Hyman, is simple:

Behind the concept lay an old vigorous tradition of thought in social psychology. It had been built by many men. The specific ideas flowing from this tradition had not died. Perhaps they were still searching for a fitting title or a name.¹⁰

Previous studies on status held it a rule that status determinants can be objectively specified. Investigators had their status scales constructed on the basis of income, education, occupation, and similar criteria, and rated individuals as belonging to higher or lower status according to their obtained scores. Hyman postulated a subjective dimension of status, namely, the status that an individual ascribes to himself and is not imputed to him by the researcher.

After intensively interviewing thirty-one persons representing different occupational groupings, Hyman found that the subjects made significant shifts in their positions on status scale with shifts in the groups or individuals they were asked to compare with, sometimes higher, other times lower than the one calculated through objective criteria.¹¹ These groups Hyman named "reference groups", and the individuals "reference individuals". They were empirically determined in the following manner:

Reference Groups: For each status reported, the subject was asked what group of people he compared himself with. Were they actual people he knew? Were they conceptual or "reified" people whom he did not

10. Hyman., op. cit., p. 384.

11. *Idem*, *The Psychology of Status*, New York, Archives of Psychology, No. 269, 1942.

know, but whose existence he postulated? Were they of higher or lower status than he?

Reference Individuals : He was asked for each status whether he compared himself, not with a group, but with a particular crucial individual, and these individuals were identified.¹²

Reference groups, then, are groups with which one compares oneself, in this case for status, but potentially for any other behavioural category. It should be evident that such groups could theoretically be of almost infinite number depending on mere knowledge of them on the part of the individual and the number of behavioural categories being compared. In practice, however, such is not the case. Hyman tacitly refers to selectivity of perception and cognition as reducing the number of such groups, and concludes that :

The number of reference groups habitually used by individuals . . . is relatively small despite the huge number of reference groups theoretically available. [Also] Despite the large number of possible reference groups, it is likely that particular reference groups are specified by, or are relevant to [in this instance], particular problems of status.¹³

In this study, therefore, we are shown the salient features of reference groups and their influence on the self-conception and judgment process. An individual seldom makes an absolute judgment; rather he does so *relative* to some group or individual.

As might be expected, the introduction of the concept of reference groups presented new possibilities of explaining behavioural manifestations. Newcomb took the lead in this direction, and reinterpreted the findings of his Bennington College study¹⁴ in these terms. In the original study these ideas were present but no clear reference was made to them as such.

Newcomb expressed the purpose of his original study in the following statement :

12. Ibid., p. 15.

13. Ibid., p. 47.

14. Theodore M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change : Attitude Formation in a Student Community*, New York, Dryden Press, 1943.

Since values come to be values largely through the mediation of the groups with which an individual has direct contact, one cannot very sensibly study individuals' values apart from groups.¹⁵

By a panel-study method, Newcomb started out to discover the extent to which a group influences an individual in the areas of values and attitudes. Students of Bennington College were girls who came from families usually of a protective type and holding conservative opinions on public issues. As a sharp contrast to this, the college community had, and encouraged, liberal attitudes. Here, then, was a situation most amenable to an investigation of the kind of values and attitudes acquired by the students, and of the processes making such acquisition possible. As later noted by Newcomb :

Such attitudes, however, are not acquired in a social vacuum. Their acquisition is a function of relating oneself to some group or groups, positively or negatively.¹⁶

There were two significant reference-group channels open to most of the students : the conservative family group and the liberal college community. As regards membership, the students had formal membership in both the groups, but what was crucial in attitude formation was not simple membership in but the level of identification with these two groups. It was the consistent finding that those who related themselves to the college community and valued its acceptance showed increasing acceptance of liberal solutions to public issues. Their relationship to the college community, or, in other words, its acceptance as a positive reference group, was a corollary to the family's being treated as a negative reference group. So Newcomb summarised the theoretical implications of this study with the following note :

...in a community characterized by certain approved attitudes, the individual's attitude development is a function of the way in which he relates himself both to the total membership group and to one or more reference groups.¹⁷

15. Ibid., p. 3.

16. Theodore M. Newcomb, 'Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups : The Bennington Study,' in Eleanor E. Maccoby, *et al.* (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, 3rd ed., New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1958, p. 275.

17. Ibid.

Reinterpretation of the Bennington College study made three important contributions to the reference-group framework and, within it, to the concept of acquisition of attitudes. First, there are membership groups, those "in which a person is recognized by others as belonging,"¹⁸ that may or may not be one's reference group.¹⁹ Second, in addition to serving a comparison function, as demonstrated by Hyman, reference groups also serve a normative function and become sources of new attitudes. Lastly, reference groups may be positive or negative in character.

...a *positive reference group* is one in which a person is motivated to be accepted and treated as a member (overtly or symbolically), whereas a *negative reference group* is one which he is motivated to oppose, or in which he does not want to be treated as a member.²⁰

Attitudes which persistently resist change are generally anchored both in positive and negative reference groups in the sense that "what should be done" is derived from positive side and "what should not be done" from negative side. Whatever the attitudes, they are thus dually reinforced.

So defined, reference groups could be individuals in physical existence or imaginary ones, and could be membership or non-membership groups. A necessary and sufficient condition for their designation as reference groups is that the individual *assumes* he belongs to them or desires to seek membership in them. It is not essential that groups or individuals themselves are aware that a certain individual thinks of himself as belonging to them. What is important for determining the extent to which he will be influenced by the group norms and standards is his interpretation of them. However, if we want to predict an individual's attitudes from knowledge of the group that we have reason to believe to be his reference group, it is likely that we shall discover his opinions and attitudes deviate "from the objective position of a group determined as his reference group, not because he opposes the group, but simply because he conforms to a false norm that

18. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*, p. 225.

19. "If a person's attitudes are influenced by a set of norms which he assumes that he shares with other individuals, those individuals constitute for him a reference group" (ibid.).

20. Ibid., p. 226.

he has taken for the true norm of the group."²¹ To measure group influence, we need therefore to know the level of awareness that an individual has of the group norm and the way he interprets its content.

Thus far we have seen that two crucial processes have been singled out as contingent upon reference-group influence. They are *identification* and *motivation* regulating learning of group norms by an individual. The Sherifs define reference groups in terms of these processes:

Reference groups can be characterized simply as those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically.²²

In situations where multiple reference groups are available, like the situations arising out of diverse roles one is performing, it is likely that one may not consistently relate oneself to one or all the reference groups. Confronted with such situations, individuals develop a tendency "to gravitate toward one another and to form *informal reference groups*, deriving their major self-identity, aspirations and values from those informal groups, at least for the time being."²³

The idea of informal reference groups, though perfectly harmonious with the traditional balance theories in psychology, does not seem to have been further pursued by Sherif or others.

Reference-Group Theory

Probably the single most significant contribution to understanding of reference-group behaviour, and the one that unambiguously outlined several steps yet to be taken in developing ideas about reference groups into a systematic theory, was that of Merton.²⁴ In reinterpreting some of

21. Hyman, loc. cit., p. 394.

22. Sherif and Sherif, *Groups in Harmony and Tension*, p. 161.

23. Muzafer Sherif, "The Concept of Reference Groups in Human Relations," in Muzafer Sherif and M.O. Wilson (eds.), *Group Relations at the Crossroads*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953, pp. 226-7.

24. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, rev. ed., Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1959, Chapters VIII and IX, pp. 225-386.

the major findings of *The American Soldier* reported by Stouffer and associates²⁵ within the framework of *relative deprivation*, Merton comments that "the concept [relative deprivation] was primarily utilized to help account for feelings of dissatisfaction, particularly in cases where the objective situation would at first glance not seem likely to provoke such feelings."²⁶

In such paradoxical situations, and Merton has listed a fair sample of them, one has to turn to subjective criteria and look at situations from the point of view of the person involved. How does he define them? Is satisfaction or dissatisfaction a function of his comparison with his immediate associates or others? An investigation into these and many similar aspects will lead one to have an explanation for relative deprivation. Since reference-group explanations take into account such aspects, Merton concluded that "the concept of relative deprivation can provisionally be regarded as a special concept in reference-group theory."²⁷

These reinterpretations brought into the foreground concepts of "conflicting reference groups," "multiple reference groups," and "comparative reference groups."²⁸ No doubt implicit references to these concepts are made in the writings of earlier theorists, yet here we have their scope and function specified and explicated for construction of a systematic theory.

25. Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life and The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath*, Vols. I and II of *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, 4 Vols., Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1949-50.

26. Merton, op. cit., p. 235.

27. Ibid.

28. See, for example, Samuel A. Stouffer, "Role Conflict and Sanctioning Reference Groups," in Samuel A. Stouffer, *Social Research to Test Ideas: Selected Writings of Samuel A. Stouffer*, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962, pp. 39-67; John W. Riley, Jr., and Matilda White Riley, "Mass Communication and the Social System," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., (eds.), *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects*, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1960, pp. 547-54; Lewis M. Killian, "The Significance of Multiple-Group Membership in Disaster," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVII, No. 4, January 1952, pp. 309-14; S. M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, University of California Press, 1963, pp. 255-7; and S. M. Lipset, Martin Trow, and James Coleman, *Union Democracy*, Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962, pp. 124-7.

Incidentally, such a theory is not yet within sight.²⁹ Many of the theoretical problems concerning reference-group theory raised by Merton remain largely unexplored and unanswered. Instead of taking Merton's insights as premises for empirical researches, the trend over the years has been to use the reference-group concept as a quick and simple explanatory tool resolving conflicting findings and conciliating apparently unexpected results. Anticipating this trend, the Sherifs forewarned a decade ago: "There are incipient signs of its [concept of 'reference group'] becoming a magic term to explain anything and everything concerning group relations."³⁰

Generally, it seems researchers have been focusing attention, possibly for pragmatic reasons, on the functions of reference groups which yield ready explanations. Thus far, as so aptly summarised by Kelley, two functions have been repeatedly confirmed: comparative function and normative function:

A group functions as a *normative reference group* for a person to the extent that its evaluations of him are based upon the degree of his conformity to certain standards of behavior or attitude and to the extent that the delivery of rewards or punishments is conditional upon these evaluations. A group functions as a *comparison reference group* for an individual to the extent that the behavior, attitudes, circumstances or other characteristics of its members represent standards or comparison points which he uses in making judgments and evaluations.³¹

Though analytically separable, these two functions can be served by one and the same reference group in a practical situation. The normative

29. "Although sociologists are in the habit of speaking of 'reference group theory,' it is difficult to determine the elements of this theory. While it is also true that many definite research projects have been accomplished which have employed the general idea of reference groups, and in spite of the many enlightening articles about the concept itself, still the theory to which many projects and articles refer seems to be nonexistent" (Harold A. Nelson, "A Tentative Foundation for Reference Group Theory," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XLV, No. 3, April 1961, p. 274).

30. Sherif and Sherif, *Groups in Harmony and Tension*, p. 159.

31. Harold H. Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Guy E. Swanson, et al. (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, rev. ed., New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1952, pp. 412-3.

function suggests that a person is "motivated" to gain membership in a reference group, factual or imaginary, and assumes certain minimum criteria as essential to be met for conformity to group standards and norms. The comparative function, on the other hand, is related to perceptual field, that is, how a person perceives the group norms and, assuming those as reference scales, makes his and others' evaluations. Perceptions and, likewise, cognitions are selectively organised,³² and it is due to this fact that motives play a definitive role in the selection process. Thus, Kelley recognises that :

A more complete theory of reference groups must consist of at least two parts, one having to do with groups as sources and enforcers of standards and the other having to do with groups as the standards themselves. These two parts of reference-group theory should prove to be merely special cases of more general theories about the *sources* and *nature* of standards which, in turn, should ultimately derive from fundamental theories of motivation and perception.³³

There may be disagreement on the exact status of reference-group theory as a theory, but there is a general consensus on the fact, amply supported by empirical studies, that reference groups have considerable influence on attitude and opinion formation. The problem that warrants serious attention, however, is how to develop precise and discriminatory measures to determine reference groups. Once this is accomplished, prediction of the extent of their influence on individuals would become feasible.

32. David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield and Egerton L. Ballachey, *Individual in Society: A Textbook of Social Psychology*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962, pp. 20-5.

33. Kelley, op. cit., p. 413.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

The two issues of the Journal of the University of the Panjab relating to the Humanities, entitled *Journal of Research (Humanities)*, are published in January and July and the other two issues of the Journal dealing with Sciences, entitled *Journal of Scientific Research*, in April and October. The volumes of *Journal of Research (Humanities)* and *Journal of Scientific Research* are numbered separately.

The subscription, including postage, for a single issue is Rs. 2.50 in Pakistan (\$1.00 or 7s.6d. in foreign countries), for two issues in a year of *Journal of Research (Humanities)* or *Journal of Scientific Research* is Rs. 5.00 (\$2.00 or 15s.), and annual subscription, including postage, for four issues is Rs. 10.00 (\$4.00 or 30s.).

All correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Iqbal Husain, Secretary, Editorial Board, *Journal of Research (Humanities)*/*Journal of Scientific Research*, University of the Panjab, Lahore (West Pakistan).

Printed by A. R. Minhas at the Panjab University Press, Lahore, and published by Iqbal Husain for the University of the Panjab.

