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*Edited by*  
**SIRAJ-UD-DIN**



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LAHORE**



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## CONTENTS

	Page
I. IRANIAN INFLUENCE IN MUGHUL INDIA	
<i>Dr. Yar Muhammad Khan</i>	1
II. PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICES IN PAKISTAN	
<i>Abdus Sattar</i>	57
III. CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUSLIM DEMANDS	
<i>Sher Muhammad Garewal</i>	75

The political contacts between India and Iran go back into prehistory but the cultural affinity and the interplay of cultural forces, particularly after the advent of Islam, brought the two regions still closer. The fact that Persian was the court language in both the countries was the main reason of cultural exchange.

The study of Achaemenid suggests that Iran had political relations with India even in pre-Achaemenid times. A race of Gandhara, Makran and its neighbouring territory (area now a part of Pakistan) formed the Eastern component of Cyrus, who exacted tribute from the tribal chiefs of this area. According to the inscriptions at Persepolis and at Naqsh-e Rostam, Darius I (522-486 B.C.) held sway over the Punjab and Sindh (modern South Western) under Darius I. His Greek admiral, Scylax, discovered the Indian coast, conquered a few tribes and explored the coasts of Arabia and Makran. In 486 B.C. Xerxes I (486-465 B.C.) the successor of Darius I, recruited



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## IRANIAN INFLUENCE IN MUGHUL INDIA

by

DR. YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN

## INTRODUCTION

The two dynasties of the East, namely the Safawid and the Mughul, that played a significant role in the Islamic world, came into existence in the sixteenth century. The Safawid dynasty of Iran (named after its ancestor Shaikh Sefi-ud-Din) was founded by Shah Ismail I in 1501, whereas Zaheer-ud-Din Muhammad Babur laid the foundations of the Mughul Empire in India in 1526. Rulers of both the houses were deeply interested in the development of Islamic culture and civilization. The cultural relations between the two countries developed but we notice that Persian influence made a more significant mark in Mughul India than else-where, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that under the Mughuls 'the Persianization of all cultural pursuits became more pronounced.'

The political contacts between India and Iran go back into prehistory but the cultural affinity and the interplay of cultural forces, particularly after the advent of Islam, brought the two regions still closer. The fact that Persian was the court language in both the countries was the main reason of cultural exchange.

The study of *Avesta* suggests that Iran had political relations with India even in pre-Achaemenian times. A part of Gandhara, Makran and its neighbouring territory (areas now a part of Pakistan) formed the Eastern conquests of Cyrus, who exacted tribute from the tribal chiefs of this area. According to the inscriptions at Persepolis and at Naqsh-i-Rustam, Darius I (522-486 B.C.) held sway over the Punjab and Sindhu (modern Sind). Gandhara was one of the twenty-three satrapies (administrative units or provinces) under Darius I. His Greek admiral, Scylax, descended the Indus, conquered a few tribes and explored the coasts of Arabia and Makran.<sup>1</sup> In 481 B.C. Xerxes I (486-465 B.C.) the successor of Darius I, recruited



Indian soldiers from Gandhara, who wore cotton coats, for his army to fight against Greece. Antiochus III following the footsteps of Alexander, crossed the Hindukush and passing through Khyber Pass entered the Punjab. Kunala, the successor of Asoka, bought off the advance of the invader by offering him elephants and a large amount of money.<sup>2</sup> But sometimes rulers of Iran and India joined hands for a common cause. Bahram Gur of Sasanid dynasty and Kumara I of the Gupta dynasty put up a common stand against the White Huns.<sup>3</sup>

Trade and commerce were established between the two countries during the Achaemenian time. Silver coins found in Gandhara were struck in Persian style. Moreover, the Aramaic script adopted for official purposes in Taxila was borrowed from the Achaemenians.<sup>4</sup> The Achaemenian rulers used to engrave their laurels on cliffs, the most famous example of such an art could be found at Naqshi-i-Rustam. The rock edicts of Shahbaz-Garhi and Manshara in Pakistan, depict the Irani style of writing. The Persian influence on the art and architecture of Taxila and Gandhara is noticeable in the time of Asoka (269-232 B.C.). His monolithic pillars, on which edicts were engraved, and polished sand-stone speak for the predominance of the Irani culture.<sup>5</sup>

The Aryans of Iran and India had some common religious customs and traditions. Nature-worship was practised in both the countries. In the Early Vedic period we find the same general stage of development as in Iran and the same worshipping of the Nature powers. Even similar terms were used for a god. For example, the word *asura* in Sanskrit carries the same meaning i.e., the Lord, as *ashura* in *Avesta*. Again we find that *deva* in Sanskrit and *daeva* in *Avesta* have similar meaning. The latter has continued to be an Aryan word for god in such form as *theos*, *deus* and *deity* in Greek, French and English, respectively. Similarly, another legend which is related to dog is common in both the countries. In Hinduism *Yama* is one of the names of the setting sun and regarded as a hero. He being the first to arrive in 'the vast halls of death', becomes King of the Dead. He possessed two dogs, 'brown, broad-snouted four-eyed', who presented the

dead daily before their monarch. We can trace a reminiscence of these dogs in Iran in the old Zoroastrian custom of *Sagdid* or 'The Seeing of the Dog.' It is mentioned in the *Avesta* that 'a yellow dog with four eyes or a white dog with brown ears', shall be brought to the side of every dead person, as its look drives away the devil which tries to enter the corpse. But in modern times this custom underwent a little change. The *Parsis* put a piece of bread on the chest of the man who is pronounced dead. If the dog eats it, the man is declared dead and taken to *dakhma* or Tower of Exposure. It is recorded in the early histories that the people of Taxila used to expose their dead to vultures which was a significant feature of the Magian funeral practice.<sup>6</sup> India in fact experienced the Persian influence as early as fourth millennium. The ceramic decorative style of Susa, in South East Iran, was in use in Baluchistan. These cultural impulses known as Ubaidian in Mesopotamia continued until the third millennium B. C. in Baluchistan, Sind and the south-western Punjab. The archaeological findings have shown that some identical devices, for example, stone tools, terracotta metal objects and pottery were used both in Iran and in Sind and Baluchistan, now provinces of Pakistan.<sup>7</sup>

The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent also made some marks on the religious and cultural life in Iran. When Buddhism gained popularity and spread far and wide, it reached Central Asia and the Sasanid empire of Persia. Hundreds of thousands of people living in southern Persia accepted Buddhism as their religion. Many of the motifs in the Sasanid art, for example, the peacock and cock are of Gandharan origin.<sup>8</sup> Firdausi records in *Shah Nameh* that Bahram Gur recruited 12,000 *Luris* or gypsies as dancers and singers from India. These *Luris* are perhaps the ancestors of the Persian gypsies.<sup>9</sup>

India influenced Iran in the field of philosophy also. Indian philosophers served the Sasanid courts. Once Anushirwan, the famous Sasanid king, (531-590 A.D.), held a conference of philosophers, who were asked to determine the greatest cause of unhappiness in one's life. A Greek philosopher described it to old age with poverty, whereas the Indian attributed it to



'disease of the body added to the cares of the mind'. But Buzurgmihr, the renowned wazir of Anushirwan, excelled all answers by arguing that the extreme misery for a man was to see the end of his life approaching without having done any virtuous deed.<sup>10</sup>

Persian was the court language of the Sultans of Delhi (1206-1526 A.D.) and had earned a name for its beauty and richness. It became the language of culture and learning. Not only the elite but common people also took pride in speaking and writing Persian. In fact Persian had already made a name in the Punjab during the pre-Sultanate Ghaznawid period. Lahore was a great literary centre, and the poetical works of Nuktai, Masud-e-Sa'd-e-Salman (d. 1131) and Abul Farj Runi Sanai, the poets of Indian origin,<sup>11</sup> 'vied in excellence with the best specimens produced in Iran'.

During the Sultanate period several scholars of repute, poets and writers came from Iran and Central Asia. Delhi had become centre of the Islamic world after the sack of Baghdad in 1258 by Hulaku Khan and thousands of Muslim scholars immigrated to India.<sup>12</sup> From amongst the Sultanate poets the fame of Amir Khusrau (d. 1325), the poet laureate of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji (1295-1315) and Amir Hasan Sijzi (d. 1327) reached far beyond and they were admired in Central Asia and Iran. Owing to his lyrical style, Amir Hasan Sijzi is called the Sa'di of India.<sup>13</sup> Amir Khusrau's works...*Mathnawis*, *Diwans* and *Ghazliat*, for example, *Qiran-us Sa'dain*, *Miftab ul Futub*, *Nub Sipibr*, *Ashiqi*, *Ijaz-i-Khusrawi*, *Khazain ul Futub*, etc., 'provide the fullest single expression extant of medieval Indo-Muslim civilization'.<sup>14</sup>

Shaikh Jamali Kambu was a renowned poet at the court of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) and was known as *Khusrau-i-Sani* (Khusrau the second). Sultan Sikandar used to show him his poetry for improvement. He is the author of a treatise on sufism, *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, describing the lives of saints and merits of sufism. Shaikh Ilah Diya was another scholar of repute during Sikandar's reign. He wrote numerous works including commentaries on *Kafiya* and *Hidaya*.<sup>15</sup>

Since not many Muslims had accompanied the Mughul army under Babur, the Mughul court always encouraged and welcomed men of letters, *Sufis* and *Mashaikh* from distant lands. Therefore, we notice that the majority of the renowned scholars, poets, prose writers, architects and painters who adorned the Mughul courts mainly came from Iran and Central Asia. In fact the Mughuls looked toward Iran for fulfilment of their cultural aspirations. Various reasons to the immigration of literati and artists from Iran to Mughul India, could be attributed. The wealth of India and better chances of patronage by the Mughul emperors and their nobility were some of the main incentives to the talent from Safawid Persia. The rewards received by men of letters from their patrons on various occasions, confirm this hypothesis.

The annual income of India under Babur was fifty-two crore rupees. Babur was so happy on the conquest of Hisar Firuza by Humayun that he gave ten million rupees to his son in reward. After the battle of Kanwah, Babur gave eight or ten lakh rupees each to most of his nobles who were also rewarded with large *jagirs*.<sup>16</sup> According to *Ain-i-Akbari* the Mughul India consisted of one hundred and five *sarkars* and had twelve *subahs* (provinces). Three *subahs* were added to the Empire in 1601 after the conquest of Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar. The annual revenue of the Empire in 1594 was 3, 629, 755, 246 *dams* and twelve lakh betel leaves which is equivalent to rupees nine crore seven lakh, forty-three thousand, eight hundred and eighty-one.<sup>17</sup> The total income of Iran in the time of Abbas the Great (1642-1666) was seven lakh *lumans*, which is equivalent to two crore and forty lakh Indian rupees, whereas each of the province of Akbarabad, Delhi and Lahore in the contemporary India of Shah Jahan (1628-58), produced an annual income of two crore and fifty lakh rupees.<sup>18</sup>

In the seventeenth-century Persia the *wazir* called *Itmad-ud-Danlab*, received three lakh rupees as his annual pay, a *Qurchi Bashi* (keeper of the arsenal) got five lakh and *Beglabeg-i-Khurasan* (i.e. prince of princes, meaning



the crown prince), who was the highest-paid in the country, received ten lakh rupees. Abdul Hamid Lahori, the author of *Padshah Nameh*, informs us that a *Haft Hazari mansabdar* under Shah Jahan received a *jagir* yielding thirty lakh rupees as his annual salary. The annual income of Yamin-ud-Daulah Asaf Khan, the *wazir*, was fifty lakh rupees.<sup>19</sup> Regarding the wealth of India, it is recorded in *Haft-Iqlim* that if the wealth and good fortune of the entire universe be divided into ten parts, Mughul India received nine and the rest of the world got only one.<sup>20</sup>

The economic growth of a country depends on the political stability it enjoys. Political stability of Mughul India, especially from Akbar to Aurangzeb (1656-1707) as compared to contemporary Safawid Persia, seems to constitute another reason for the migration of scholars from Persia to India. Moreover, it seems that the Safawid Persia, which owed its existence to *Shiism*, was contained by her *Sunni* antagonists—Uzbeks in the North, Indian Mughuls in the East and the Ottomans in the West. Its rulers, therefore, were more devoted to making Iran politically strong and to establishing the *Shia* doctrines—the kernal of the Safawid state—among their subjects rather than patronizing flattering poetry and arts. Prof. Browne records that the Safawid Shahs patronized and preferred religious poetry to the panegyric.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, panegyrists finding no encouragement for their work left Iran for India where they were highly rewarded. But this does not mean that panegyric poetry did not exist in Iran at all. Qasimi was a panegyrist of Shah Ismail (1501-24) and Shah Tahmasp (1524-76). Muhtasham Kashi, Zamiri, Wahshi and Abidi were other *qasidagors* at the Safawi courts.

Whenever the panegyrists found indifferent attitude toward them by their Safawid patrons, they left Iran and made India their abode. The outstanding examples are those of Qasimi and Hakim Rukna Masih Kashi, the panegyrists of Shah Tahmasp and Shah Abbas (1585-1628), respectively.<sup>22</sup> They left the Safawi court and came to India. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan welcomed Hakim Rukna and introduced him to Akbar. Jahangir further enhanced his prestige by conferring on him the title of *Masibuzzaman* and

records his name in his *Tuzuk* with great respect.<sup>23</sup> Hakim Rukna Masih expresses the lack of interest of Shah Abbas in him and reveals his intentions in these words :

گر فلک یک صبحدم بامن گراں باشد سرش  
شام بیرون می روم چون آفتاب از کشورش<sup>24</sup>

i.e. If ever the sky becomes angry with me even for a day, I will go away on that very evening as does the sun from its territory.

Kausari, another court poet of Shah Abbas, complains of lack of interest in poetry in Iran. He writes :

درین کشور خریدار سخن نیست  
کسے سرگرم بازار سخن نیست  
ز بس باشد سخن بی قدر و مقدار  
بود امروز شعر و شاعری عار  
همه طوطی مذاقان شکر خا  
بملک هند ازان کردند ساوا<sup>25</sup>

i.e. There is no customer of poetry in this country i.e. Iran, and no one is busy in the market of poetry.

Poetry has become such a worthless thing that today versification and poetry are held in disgrace.

All the poets with sweet eloquence have, therefore, taken abode in India.

It is recorded that when Muhtasham Kashi, presented two panegyrics to Shah Tahmasp, one in praise of the Shah and the other in praise of princess Pari-Khan Khanam, he received nothing from his royal master. The Shah justified his action on the ground that the poetry written in praise of kings and princes is nothing but lies and exaggerations. A poet can exhibit his poetical talent better while eulogizing the prophets and Imams as there is nothing to exaggerate about them. He added that a poet should look forward to a divine rather than an earthly reward. Muhtasham then composed



his famous *Haft-band*, in praise of Imams and was highly rewarded by the Shah.<sup>26</sup>

Mulla Abdun Nabi, the author of *Maykhana*, who came to India in 1017/1608, says that every 'alim (scholar) of Iran came to India if he had the opportunity to do so, to take benefit from the generosity and patronage of the Indians.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Abdur Razzaq Fayyaz Lahiji expresses his eagerness to settle in India in these words: 'Great is India, the Mecca for all in need, particularly for those who seek safety. A journey to India is incumbent upon any man who has acquired adequate knowledge and skill.'<sup>28</sup> The desire of other Irani poets to settle permanently in India is manifested from their poetry. For example, the celebrated poet Sa'ib expresses his eagerness in these words:

همچو عزم سفر هند که در هر دل هست  
قص سوداے تو در هیچ سرے نیست که نیست<sup>29</sup>

i. e., There is no head wherein desire for thee danceth not,  
Even as the determination to visit India is in every heart.

Another Irani poet, Ali Quli Salim, extols literary India when he writes:

نیست در ایران زمین سامانِ تحصیلِ کمال  
تا نیامد سوئے هندستان حنا رنگین نشد

i. e., There exist not in Persia the means of acquiring perfection,

*Henna* does not develop its colour until it comes to India.

In other words, Ali Quli Salim thought that he would be unable to flourish unless he came over to India. Danish Mashhadi expresses his keenness thus:

راه دور هند پابست وطن دارد مرا  
چون حنا شب دریاں رقتن به هندستان خوش است

i. e., The long distant journey to India has imprisoned me in my own

country. It is good to go to India at mid night like *henna*.<sup>30</sup>  
(It is to remember that *Henna* gives its full smell at midnight).

Abu Talib Kalim could not get a position to his satisfaction at the Mughul court under Jahangir. He returned to Iran most unwillingly but his love for India brought him back in 1030/1621, after two years. Before his departure for Iran in 1028/1619 he expressed his affection for India in a very exciting poem. He writes:

اسیر ہندم و زین رفتن بیجا پشیمانم  
کجا خواهد رساندن پرفشانی مرغ بسمل را  
بایران می رود نالان کلیم از شوق همراہان  
بیائے دیگران همچو جرس طے کردہ منزل را  
ز شوق ہند زان ساں چشم حسرت برقفا دارم  
کہ روہم گر برہ آرم نمی بینم مقابل را

i. e., 'I am the captive of India, and I regret this misplaced journey;

Whither can the feather-flutterings of the dying bird convey it;

Kalim goes lamenting to Persia (dragged thither) by the eagerness of his fellow-travellers,

Like the camel-bell which traverses the stage on the feet of others.

Through longing for India I turn my regretful eyes backwards in such fashion,

That, even if I set my face to the road, I don't see what confronts me.'<sup>31</sup>

The other factor which forced the Irani poets to migrate from their native country was religious persecution. Those who refused to accept *Shiism* in line with their Safawi masters had to leave Iran. They either went to Central Asia or came to India. But majority of them preferred to make India their permanent home. Due to the charge of 'heresy' against him, Ghazzali Mashhadi had to leave the court of Shah Tahmasp. He came to India and joined the Mughul service under Akbar who gave him the lofty title of *Malik-usb-Shu'ra* (poet-laureate).<sup>32</sup> Sharif Amuli, another literary person



had to leave Iran and settle in India due to Shah Abbas I's biased attitude. He was welcomed by Abul Fazl and became his friend.<sup>33</sup> The famous Irani poet, Sheikh Muhammad Ali Hazin Isfahani also left Iran and settled in India.<sup>34</sup>

Persian was not the language of Amir Timur or his immediate successors, it was an acquired one. However, after the conquest of Central Asia, when the Timurids came in close contact with Persian, they were much impressed by its beauty and richness. It seems that they liked Persian more and more and a time came when it replaced their own language, Turkish, in Iran and Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The Indian Timurids particularly Humayun and his successors, also made efforts to flourish Persian language and literature. In fact, Persian was already, as explained earlier, language of the Muslim kings of Delhi and the elite.

### POETRY

The mother tongue of Babur was Turkish and he wrote his *Tuzuk* in that language. But he was a great admirer of Persian too, as he often quotes from the Persian works in his *Tuzuk*.<sup>35</sup> He was not only a versatile prose writer but also composed verses in Persian. In style and elegance his poetry stands at par with other Persian poets of his time. For example, he pays tribute to Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrari, his spiritual mentor, in these words:

در هوائی نفس گمره عمر ضائع کرده ایم  
پیش اهل الله از افعال خود شرمیده ایم  
یک نظر با مخلصان خسته دل فرما که ما  
خواجگی را مانده ایم و خواجگی را بنده ایم<sup>36</sup>

i.e., We have wasted our lives in the pursuit of misleading desires, we feel ashamed of our actions before the people who are dear to Allah.

Please throw a glance at the sincere dejected people because our lives have been for the Khwaja and we are the slaves of the Khwaja.

Once Babur composed the following couplet:<sup>37</sup>

بلاک میکنم فرقت تو، دانستم  
وگر نه رفتن این شهر، می توانستم

i.e. I am afraid your separation will kill me, otherwise I could leave this city.

Babur composed a chronogram of his victory at Chanderi in these words: فتح دارالحرب<sup>38</sup>

If these letters are counted from *abjads*' numerical point of view they would make 934, which is the *Hijri* year of the conquest of Chanderi. Babur used this chronogram in a Persian quatrain, which he composed to commemorate the occasion.<sup>39</sup>

The following Persian couplet attributed to Babur gained much popularity in the public.

نوروز و نوبهار و می و دلبرے خوشست  
بابر بعیش کوش که عالم دوباره نیست<sup>40</sup>

i.e. 'Nauruz (New Year celebrations), spring, wine and the beloved are very pleasing;

Babur, enjoy yourself as the world is not for the second time'.

Atishi Qandhari, the celebrated Persian poet, accompanied Babur to India. He died in 973/1566 at Lahore.<sup>41</sup> Shaikh Zain-ud-Din Wafai (d. 940/1534) was another poet and great scholar of Turkish, Persian and Arabic who accompanied Babur to Delhi. He held the post of *Sadr* under him. He is the first to translate the Turkish memoirs of Babur into Persian. He composed *Fath Nameh*, which narrates the battle of Kanwah fought between Babur and Rana Sanga on March 17, 1527. Babur acknowledges the scholarship of Zain-ud-Din. He writes that the *farman* regarding the renunciation of wine by him (i.e. Babur) before the battle of Kanwah, was prepared by Zain-ud-Din. It was so well-worded that he ordered that its copies be made and distributed among his commanders and soldiers.<sup>42</sup> Zain-ud-Din also wrote *Tarikh-i-Baburi*, which ranks next to *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* not as a literary piece but as a record of the events of Babur's reign.



His other work is the commentary on *Mubayyan* written by Babur on *Hanafi* law. Among the learned who were in the service of Babur in India, the names of Maulana Shihab-ud-Din, Mir Ibrahim, Akhund Amir, Shaikh Jamali and Khwaja Abdul Haq have been mentioned in the *Tuzuk*.<sup>43</sup> Khwaja Abul Barakat and his son were poets of great repute and were patronized by Babur. Khwaja Abul Barakat also wrote satires on theologians in addition to *qasidabs*.<sup>44</sup> Maulana Muhammad Fazl Samarqandi, a poet and writer, joined the Mughul service under Babur, who appointed him *Sadr*. He compiled *Jawahir-ul-Ulum* in 946/1539 during Humayun's time.

Humayun himself was a good poet of Persian and Turkish. He composed *ghazaliyat*, *rubaiyat* and *mathnawis* in Persian. His style and his use of similes and metaphors are at par excellence.

Humayun feels happy when he brings the memory of his beloved to his mind. He expresses this thought thus :

اے آنکہ ز یاد تو دلم باشد شاد  
بے یاد تو خاطر دمے شاد مباد  
روزیکہ ز یاد تو کنم صد فریاد  
آیا ز من غمزدہ ات آید یاد

i.e. 'O thou from whose memory my heart gains joy,

Without thy memory my soul no joy can know ;

The day that in thy memory a hundred cries I raise,

Come to thee of me, the grief-stricken, remembrance ?'<sup>45</sup>

Humayun inherited the poetic genius from his father. His pen-name was Humayun. He left a *diwan* in Persian. There are two main reasons for his love of Persian. First, unlike his father, he had the opportunity to spend more time in a Persian speaking environment by remaining in India for longer time. Secondly, the time he spent in exile in Iran gave him a chance to understand the beauty of Persian poetry and literature from close quarters by coming into contact with the renowned poets and writers. He was thus much impressed by Persian culture, which had a great influence on his mind and he started liking Persian literature more than before. Regarding Humayun's taste for Persian language, Jauhar Aftabchi writes that the

Emperor loved Persian poetry, and whenever he wanted to be understood by few he talked in Turkish, otherwise, he spoke in Persian. In fact all the Mughul kings of India from Babur to Aurangzeb (1526-1707) knew Turkish and made use of it on special occasions for security reasons.<sup>46</sup>

Soon after his re-occupation of Kabul in 1545, Humayun invited some of those Persian poets and painters whom he had met in Isfahan. Mir Abdul Hayy, Khwaja Hijri Jami, Maulana Bazmi, Mulla Jan—all poets of eminence—joined Humayun at Kabul.<sup>47</sup> Other renowned literati like Maulana Abdul Baqi, Sadr-i-Turkistan, Jahi Yatmiyan of Bukhara, Khwaja Ayyub, and Hairati of Transoxiana came to Agra and joined Humayun's service. Similarly, Maulana Abdul Qasim Astrabadi, Shaikh Abdul Wajid Farighi Shirazi and Shauqi Tabrizi left the Safawid court and joined the Mughul court at Agra.<sup>48</sup> Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini was appointed tutor of prince Akbar at Kabul. In 1555, the Mir was invited by Humayun to join him at Agra. But before his arrival Humayun died. However, the Mir joined the imperial service under Akbar. His brother, Mir Ala-ud-Daulah, wrote *Nafais-ul-Ma'athir*, which is regarded as a standard work on literary activities during Humayun's reign.<sup>49</sup>

Shaikh Nizam, Zamiri Bilgrami, and Mulla Hayrati were prominent *qasidagos* at the court of Humayun.<sup>50</sup> Maulana Nadiri, a scholar of high repute, came to Agra from Samarqand in the time of Humayun. Badayuni also paid him high tribute for his scholastic talent. Maulana Nadiri earned his name in *ghazal* and *qasidah*.<sup>51</sup> Maulana Qasim Kahi was another prominent Irani poet at the court of Humayun. Unlike his contemporaries he wrote simple Persian. He composed many *qasidas* in praise of his master, Humayun. His chronogram on the death of Humayun surpassed all other chronograms. He wrote :

چو خورشید جهان تاب از بلندی  
پایان در نماز شام افتاد  
پی تاریخ او کاهی رقم زد  
همایون پادشاه از بام افتاد<sup>52</sup>



i.e. Like the sun from the height, he fell down at the time of evening prayers. In order to record the incident Kahi wrote :

"Humayun Padshah fell from the roof."

From the *abjad* numerical point of view the last line makes 963, which marks the Hijri year of his death.

Love for India forced Hakim Yusuf bin Muhammad to leave Herat. He joined the Mughul service first under Babur and then under Humayun. Though he wrote poetry under the name of Yusufi, yet his name rests on his works on the science of medicine. He composed a long poem on hygiene, *Qasidab-i-fi-hifz-i-sihat* in 937/1531 and dedicated it to Babur. He is also the author of *Jami-ul-Fawaid-i-Yusufi* and *Riyaz-ul-Adwiya*, which he wrote for Humayun. He also wrote '*Illaj-ul-Amraaz*, a versified treatise on therapeutics.<sup>53</sup>

Akbar (1556-1605) is not only famous for making the Mughul Empire a strong political power but also for his patronage of art and culture. It is he who first created the position and title of *Malik-ush-Shu'ra* (poet-laureate) at the Mughul court. He gathered men of letters at his court. On the recommendation of Shaikh Faizi, the poet laureate, Akbar invited Chalpi Baig of Shiraz and promised to bear all expenses if he came to Delhi.<sup>54</sup> Akbar issued a general order to his nobles to recommend to him the names of scholars to be invited to the Mughul court.<sup>55</sup>

Bairam Khan, himself a poet of high order, patronized Persian poets and men of letters. He once gave 70,000 rupees to Urfi for a *qasidab* in his praise.<sup>56</sup> The liberal patronage of his son Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, attracted men of literature from foreign lands, especially from Iran and Central Asia. The third volume of *Ma'athir-i-Rabimi*, consisting of seventeen hundred pages, describes mainly scholars and poets, majority of whom were of Irani origin and attached to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. Some of them were : Shakebi, Naziri Nishapuri, Urfi Shirazi, Sinai Khurasani, Muhtasham Kashi, Zahuri, Jam'l-ud-Din Malhi, Unsi, Naui Khurasani, Maulana Kamil Jharimi, Mir Ghayyuri Kashani, Taqyai Sustari, Waqui, Sanjar Kashi, Hayati Gilani, Kami Sabzwari, Baqai Maghfoor Lahijani,

Ghani Isfahani Mir Abu Turab Rizwi, Hakim Mashhadi, Talib Isfahani, and Nadim Gilani.<sup>57</sup> Shakebi Isfahani left his native Iran when he heard of Khan Khanan's munificence. He came to India and joined Khan Khanan's service. He wrote *Saqi Nameh* for Khan Khanan and praised his patron in these words :

بیا ساقی آن آب حیوان بده  
ز سر چشمه خان خانان بده  
سکندر طلب کرد لیکن نیافت  
که در هند بود او به ظلمت شتافت<sup>58</sup>

i.e. O Cup bearer, come and give me that water of nectar (*ab-i-haiwan*), Give me from the fountain of Khan Khanan;

Alexander sought it but did not get it,

For it was in India and he went in the region of darkness.

Khan Khanan was much pleased with the poet and gave him a reward of ten thousand rupees. Khan Khanan conquered Thatta and defeated its ruler Mirza Jani Baig who later joined the Mughul service. To commemorate the occasion, Shakebi wrote a poem and paid tribute to Khan Khanan in these words :

همائی که بر چرخ کرده خرام  
گرفته و آزاد کرده ز دام<sup>59</sup>

i.e. The *Huma*, who traversed the heavens in his walk, was captured by him and then released.

When Shakebi left for Mecca on pilgrimage, Khan Khanan gave the poet eighty thousand rupees as expense money.<sup>60</sup>

Rasmi, the sufi poet of Iran was much impressed by the liberal patronage of Khan Khanan. He says :

ز یمن مدح تو آن نکته سنج شیرازی  
رسید صیت کمالش بروم از خاور



بطرز تازه ز مدح تو آشنا گردید  
 چو روع خوب که یابد ز ماشطه زیور  
 ز مدحت تو حیاتی حیات دیگر یافت  
 بلع مقوی طبع عرض بود جوهر  
 حدیث نوعی و کفوی بیان چه سازم من  
 چون زنده اند بمدح تو تا دم محشر  
 ز نعمت تو به نوعی رسید آن مایه  
 که یافت میر معزی ز نعمت سنجر

i.e. 'Through auspicious praise of thee the fame of the perfection of that subtle singer of Shiraz reached from the East to Rum;

In praising thee he became conversant with a new style, like the fair face which gains adornment from the tire-woman (i. e. comber).

By praising thee, Hyati found fresh life (*bayat*): yea, the substance must needs strengthen the nature of the accident;

How can I tell the tale of Naw i and Kufwi, since by their praise of thee they will live until the Resurrection Dawn?

Such measure of thy favour accrued to Naw'i as Amir Muizzi received from the favour of Sanjar.<sup>61</sup>

Besides poets, numerous Irani *Kitabdars* and calligraphers were attached to Khan Khanan. The liberality of Khan Khanan is further confirmed from the fact that Naziri and Urfi, the celebrated poets, are recorded to have received one lakh rupees each from him on different occasions.<sup>62</sup>

Akbar's court attracted poets and men of letters from distant lands. Abul Fazl gives in *Ain-i-Akbari* a long list of Irani poets who left their native country and joined the Mughul service under Akbar. They included; Hakim Sinai, Hakim Rukna, Ghazzali, Urfi, Naziri Nishapuri, Qasim Qulahi, Jafar Baig Qazwini, Khwaja Husain, Hayati Gilani, Shokebi I fahani, Anisi, Shamlu, Silahi Harawi, Mehwi Hamdani, Sarfi Sawji, Farari Gilani, Atabi Najfi, Mulla Sufi Mazanderani, Judai Marnazi, Wafai Silani,

Shaikh Saqi, Rafi Kashani, Ghairati Shirazi, Sanjar Kashi, Tashbihi Kashi, Ashki Qumi, Asiri Razi, Fahmi Razi, Qaidi Shirazi, Bairwi Saji, Kami Sabzwari, Payami, Sayyid Muhammad Harwi, Qudsi Kerbalai, Haideri Tabrezi, Samari, Qaribi Shahpuri Fusuni Shirazi, Nadir Tirshidi, Nawai Mashhadi, Baba Talib Isfahani, Sarmadi Isfahani, Dakhil Isfahani, Qasim Arsalan Mashhadi, Ghayyuri Hisari, Qasim Mazinderani and Rehi Nishapuri. In the end of his list Abul Fazl concludes, 'those who could not get an opportunity to present themselves at the imperial court and are in a large number, are busy in praising the King of the World (i.e. Akbar) from a distance.' The names of Qasim of Gunabad, Zamir Isfahani, Wahshi of Bafa, Muhtashim Kashi, Malik of Qum, Zuhuri of Shiraz, Wali Dasht Bayazi, Neki, Sabri, Figari, Huzuri, Qazi Nuri Isfahani, Safi Bami, Taufi Tabrezi and Rashki Hamadani are mentioned in this category.<sup>63</sup> Khwaja Husain Mervi was a renowned poet at the court of Akbar. His mastery in the field of poetry is proved by the fact that a poet like Faizi had been one of his students.<sup>64</sup>

Qasimi, an Irani poet, was famous for writing *mathnawis*. His well-known *mathnawis* are: *Shah Nameh-i-Maxi*, *Khusrau-Shirin* and *Laila-o-Majnun*. He was much tempted to come to India but could not do so due to his advanced age. However, he sent his work to emperor Akbar, who despatched valuable gifts to the poet.<sup>65</sup> Despite his poor education Akbar had developed such a taste for poetry that he was capable of improving upon the verses of the poets. Once someone read the following couplet of Fughani before him:

مسیحا یار و خضرش همکاب و هم عنان عیسی

فغانی آفتاب من بدین اعزاز می آید

(i.e. Christ is my friend, Khizr is my fellow-traveller and Jesus is my co-rider, Fughani, my sun comes with such dignity).

Akbar immediately said that the second hemistich should be:

فغانی شمسوار من بدین اعزاز می آید

i.e. Fughani, my royal rider comes with such dignity.



Ali Quli Khan, Khan Zaman, Khan-i-Azam Kokaltash, Ghazi Khan, and Zafar Khan were other Akbari nobles who patronized poetry and literature. Poets like Jafar Harwi Sehmi, Madaami, Badakhshi, Muqimi and Sabzwari were in the service of Khan-i-Azam Kokaltash.<sup>66</sup> When Ghazzali came to the Deccan from Iran he was not well received. It was Khan Zaman, who sent one thousand rupees and some horses to Ghazzali and invited him to join his service. The poet remained in the service of Khan Zaman until the death of his patron. At Jaunpur, Ghazzali presented a *mathnawi*, *Naqsh-i-Badi*, consisting of 1000 verses. Khan Zaman was pleased with the *mathnawi* and gave one *ashrafi* per verse as a reward to the poet, a reward which Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi could not give to Firdausi. After the death of Khan Zaman, Ghazzali joined the court of Akbar,<sup>67</sup> who later appointed him his poet-laureate, the title held by any poet for the first time at the Mughul court. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan established an academy, *Bait-ul-Ulama* at Ahmadabad which contained copies of *diwans* written in the hands of the poets attached to his court. Paying tribute to the literary services of Khan Khanan and his poetical bent of mind, Maulana Shibli says that if Khan Khanan had devoted himself to poetry, he would have been at par excellence with Urfi and Naziri.<sup>68</sup>

Faizi is the second poet of Indian origin (Amir Khusrau being the first) whom Iranis acknowledge and respect. He is the son of Shaikh Mubarak and elder brother of Abul Fazl. He was master of both poetry and prose. According to *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, he wrote one hundred books, *diwans*, *mathnawis*, translation works and other writings. Abul Fazl writes that Faizi composed 50,000 verses. Some of his works are: *Khamasa*, *Markaz-i-Adwar*, *Nal-o-Daman*, *Mawarid-ul-Kalm*, *Khutut-i-Faizi*, *Insha-i-Faizi*, *Qasaid*, *Ghazaliyat*, *Tabashir-al-subh*, etc. Faizi also wrote a *tafsir* of *al-Qur'an*, and named it *Sawat-i-ul-alham*. The beauty of the *tafsir* is that letters without dots have been employed in it. The *tafsir* was well received in the contemporary Islamic world but the Indian orthodox *ulama* objected to that kind of *tafsir* on the basis that words without dots have been used. Faizi silenced them by saying that *Kalima* (confession) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

is also without dots.<sup>69</sup>

The style of Faizi and his use of similes and metaphors and way of expression are excellent. Very few poets could match his talent. For example, he writes :

گویند همراہان طریقت کہ اے رفیق  
آگاہ شو کہ قافلہ ناگاہ می زند  
روئے کشادہ باید و پیشانی فراخ  
آن جا کہ لطمہ ہائے یداللہ می زند

i.e. The fellow treaders of the path of spiritualism say, O Comrade, Lo ! Beware, the caravan is being attacked all of a sudden. Face the sallies of the Almighty's hand with bright face and broad forehead.

Faizi does not want to leave the company of the learned with whom he spent his whole life but at the same time he wants truth to prevail everywhere. He puts this idea thus :

آن نیست کہ من ہم نفسان را بگزارم  
با آبلہ پایاں چہ کنم قافلہ تیز است  
فیضی چہ شود فتنہ بریں انجمن امروز  
فرد است کہ جمعیت ما تفرقہ خیز است

i.e. This is not a fact that I want to desert my fellow travellers. But I am worried about them who had blisters on their feet and the caravan is going apace.

He expresses a similar idea in another verse :

فیضی از قافلہ کعبہ رواں نیست برون  
این قدر هست کہ از ما قدرے در پیش است<sup>70</sup>

i.e. Faizi is not out of caravan which is proceeding towards Ka'aba but the obstacle is that orders for advance movement are pending.



Faizi was appointed *Malik-ush-Shu'ra* by Akbar in 1589, i.e. in the 33rd year of his reign. That shows that the title was not a favour but was earned by him through talent and mastery over poetry. It is to be noted that no other poet of Indian origin after Faizi was ever appointed as *Malik-ush-Shu'ra* at the Mughul court. Following the example of the Early Caliphs of Islam, Akbar once attempted to give a public *khutba* in a religious congregation. He became so terrified that he stepped down from the pulpit after reciting the following verses of Faizi :

بنام آن که ما را سروری داد  
دلے دانا و بازوے قوی داد  
بود وصفش ز حد فهم برتر  
تعالی شانه الله اکبر<sup>71</sup>

i.e. In the name of God, who bestowed upon us the sovereignty the wise heart and the strong arm. His description is beyond our calculation. Exalted is His authority.

Urfi is rightly called *Imam-i-Qasidab goyan* (head of *qasidab* writers). Jamal-ud-Din Muhammad Urfi came to India from Shiraz. According to *Ma'atbir-i-Rahimi*, his father Zain-ud-Din Alwi held a post in the Department of Urf—department dealing with Justice and Public Laws. Due to this connection he adopted the *nom de plume* of Urfi.<sup>72</sup>

It is mentioned in *Tazkira-i-Baharistan-i-Sukhan* that Urfi got training in the art of painting in his early life. Shah Abbas Safawi I's dislike of panegyrists forced Urfi to leave Iran. On his arrival in Mughul India, Faizi made Urfi his guest. But the arrogance of Urfi did not let him stay longer with his host. He found his patrons in the persons of Abul Fath Gilani and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. Abdul Baqi Nihawandi, the contemporary historian, wrote a useful preface to *Diwan-i-Urfi*. Urfi wrote several *qasidabs* in praise of Akbar and prince Salim but could not get his expected position or recognition at the imperial court. Mulla Abdul Baqi says that great poets like Khaqani,

Anwari, Sa'di and Shaikh Nizami could not achieve that much popularity during their lives, which Urfi received in his own life time. People were so much impressed by his *Ghazaliyat* and *Qasaid* that they used to tie his poems on their arms to recite them anytime. He died in 999/1591 at Lahore but his remains were taken to Najaf.<sup>73</sup> Once Khan Khanan gave a reward of seventy thousand rupees to Urfi for a *qasidab*.<sup>74</sup> The jealous Urfi never missed a chance to humble his rival Faizi. Once Faizi fell ill and Urfi went to see him. Faizi had some dogs who wore golden collars. Urfi asked :

مخدوم زادایا به چه اسم موسوم اند

i.e. What names do these servants (by implication your sons, carry). Faizi replied: به اسم عرفی (i.e. ordinary names). Urfi retorted by saying: مبارک باشد (congratulations).<sup>75</sup> It may be noted that Mubarak is the name of Faizi's father.

The Persian influence was at its climax at the Mughul court under Jahangir (1605-1627) and Shah Jahan (1627-1658). Exchange of embassies between Iran and India, was more frequent in the reign of Jahangir than in any other period. The letters written by Jahangir to his 'elder brother' Shah Abbas Safawi, bear testimony to Jahangir's appreciation of Irani culture and goods of Persian origin. The Mughul court under Shah Jahan attracted scholars and artists from all over the world,<sup>76</sup> particularly from Iran, to such an extent that Maulana Shibli had to remark that Iran and Hindustan seemed two court-yards of the same house.

Talib Amuli came to India in the time of Jahangir. After serving different Mughul *mansabdars* like Chin Qilich Khan and Abdullah Firuz Jang he joined the imperial court under Jahangir in 1616. Jahangir was so impressed by his peculiar style and rhetoric expression that he appointed him his *Malik-ush-Shu'ra* in 1619, when the poet was only of twenty years. Before leaving Merv for India, Talib Amuli composed the following *rubai* :

طالب! گل این چمن به بستان بگذار  
بگذار که می شوی، پریشان بگذار



هندو نہ برد بہ تحفہ، کس جانب ہند  
بخت سیہ خویش بہ ایران بگذار<sup>77</sup>

i.e. Talib, leave the flower in the garden,  
Leave it otherwise you will be worried on this account,  
No body takes a black slave as a present to India.  
Therefore, you leave your black fortune in Iran.

Jahangir, himself a poet, was a great critic of poetry. Once a poet presented a *qasidah*, first hemistich of which was :

اے تاج دولت بر سر از ابتدا تا انتہا

i.e. Oh, the crown of sovereignty is on your head from the beginning to eternity.

Jahangir objected to it from the scanning point of view explaining that *lat* (لات) is wrong before *bar sarat* (بر سر).<sup>78</sup> Naziri Nishapuri was a renowned poet of the reign of Jahangir. After becoming king, Jahangir invited Naziri to his court in 1612. The poet presented a *qasidah* after Anwari's style. Jahangir was pleased with Naziri and gave him one thousand rupees, a horse and a *khil'at* in reward. Some of the verses of the *qasidah* are :

ناگہ بر آمد ز درم بانگ کہ گویند  
فرمان طلب شدہ از شاہ فلاں را  
بے کفش و عمامہ بدر از خانہ دویدم  
نہ کردہ قبا در بر و نہ بستہ میاں را  
اصحاب، چساں مصحف از اصحاب ستانند  
بہ گرفتہ از احباب بہ تعظیم نشان را<sup>79</sup>

i.e. Suddenly it was announced that such and such person has been invited by the king to his court.

I ran out from the house without putting on shoes or turban on my head nor did I tie up my *qaba* (long robe) in the middle.

I showed the same respect to the royal letter as people show to the *Qur'an* when they hold it in their hands.

Once Naziri presented a *ghazal* to Jahangir, who gave him three thousand *bigas* of land. One of its couplets was :

اے خاک درت صندل سر گشتہ سراں را  
بادا مثرہ، جاروب رہت، تاجوراں را

i.e. O the dust of your door is sandal for the giddy headed people,  
The eye-lashes of kings serve as broom-stick for your path.

According to *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, Naziri died in 1021/1612 but Maulana Shibli writes that he died in 1023/1614 at Ahmadabad.<sup>80</sup>

Abu Talib Kalim was born in Hamadan. He spent his early life in Kashan from where he went to Shiraz for education. He came to India in the time of Jahangir and joined the service of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, the father-in-law of Aurangzeb and Shuja'. Nur Jahan did not think highly of Kalim's poetry and used to criticize him. Kalim also realized the situation. He once wrote the following couplet and sent it to Nur Jahan :

ز شرم آب شدم کاب را شکستہ نیست  
بحیرتہم کہ مرا روزگار چون بشکست

i.e. I am ashamed and wonder how the world did break me when I am like water and water cannot be broken.

When Nur Jahan read the couplet, she is said to have remarked abruptly :

(i.e. Water was converted into ice and then broken.)

But Abu Talib Kalim gained his recognition at the court of Shah Jahan, who appointed him his poet-laureate.<sup>81</sup> He had attained perfection in ideas and his use of metaphors and similies earned a good name for him. For example, he says :



گردون نشاط کودکی از سر چنان گرفت  
کانگشتر کواکبش، از سر توان گرفت

i.e. Sky is so much busy in child-like happiness that if we take away rings of its stars from its head, it will not know of it.

At another place he says :

سرا مسوز که نازت ز کبریا افتد  
چو خس تمام شود، شعله هم ز پا افتد

i.e. Don't burn me, otherwise your pride and vanity will wither away, When straw is burnt off, the flame automatically cools down.

Kalim advises never to become impatient. He writes :

صبر گوارا کند هرچه ترا ناخوش است  
ساعتی از کف بنده، آب گل آلود را

i.e. Patience makes an unpleasant thing acceptable. When water is polluted with dust, wait a little, dust will settle down.

Kalim composed the following chronogram at the birth of prince Aurangzeb in 1027/1618 :

داد ایزد به بادشاه جهان  
خلفی همچو نو گل شاداب  
چون باین مشرده آفتاب انداخت  
افسر خویش بر هوا چو حباب  
طبع دریافت سال تاریخش  
زد رقم آفتاب<sup>82</sup> عالمتاب

i.e. God bestowed upon the king of the world, a son like the newly blossomed flowers ;

On hearing this good-news, the sun threw over his crown into the sky like a bubble ;

My mind inquired about his year of birth, (then) he penned :  
*Aftab-i-Alamtab* (i.e. the world-enlightening sun).

The *abjad* numerical value of the phrase *Aftab-i-Alamtab* comes to 1027, the Hijri year of Aurangzeb's birth.

Kalim's *diwan* consisted of *qasidabs*, mostly in praise of his royal master; *mathnawis*, and a *Saqi Nameh*. He also verified *Padshah Nameh*. Shah Jahan got prepared his *Takht-i-Taus* (Peacock Throne) in 1044/1634 at a cost of ten million rupees in seven years. When the Emperor sat on the throne on the eve of *Nauruz* celebrations, many poets recited poems and *qasidabs*. Abu Talib Kalim also presented his *qasidab*, first couplet of which ran :

خجسته مقدم نو روز و غره شوال  
فشانده اند چه گلپای عیش بر سر سال

i.e. The august arrival of *Nauruz* and the appearance of the month of *Shawwal* have showered (scattered) the flowers of happiness at the advent of the new year.

Shah Jahan was much pleased with Kalim. He weighed the poet against rupees, which were counted five thousand five hundred and gave these to him in reward.<sup>83</sup> Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush, the author of *Kalimat-i-Shu'ra*, and Maulana Shibli have recorded an interesting story of Kalim's quickness of mind and sharp intellect. He writes that once the Ottoman Sultan (*Qaisar-i-Rum*) Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640) objected to Shah Jahan's assumption of the title of Shah Jahan whereas he was only the king of Hindustan (India). Shah Jahan also realized that it was not proper on his part to use that lofty title and asked Yamin-ud-Daulah Asaf Khan, to suggest a new title. When Kalim came to know of his royal master's worry, he immediately composed the following couplet wherein he justified the use of that title by Shah Jahan. It was :

هند و جهان ز روئے عدد هر دو چون یک است  
شه را خطاب شاه جهانیه مبرهن است<sup>84</sup>

i.e. From the numerical value of the words Hind and Jahan



both have the same total number (that is, fifty-nine) hence the Emperor is justified in using the title of Shah Jahan.

Haji Muhammad Jan, surnamed Qudsi, originally belonged to Mashhad. After completing his education in Mecca, he came to India in 1042/1632. Once he composed a *qasidab* in honour of Abdullah Khan Zakhmi, a *Haft-Hazari* noble of Shah Jahan. The Khan was so pleased by Qudsi's expression of ideas that he got the poet seated in his place on the *masnad* and gave him whatever he had with him at that moment. In 1632, Qudsi read a *Qasidab* in praise of Shah Jahan. Its first verse ran thus:

اے قلم بر خود بیاں از شادی و بکشا زبان  
در ثنائے قبلۂ دین ثانی صاحبقران

i.e. O pen, be happy with pride and open your tongue in praise of *Sahib Qiran*, the second, (who is) the *Qibla* of religion.

Shah Jahan was pleased with Qudsi and gave him a *kabil'at* and two thousand rupees.<sup>85</sup> Once Shah Jahan so much appreciated a *qasidab*, presented by Qudsi, that he gave seven times mouthful of diamonds to the poet. In 1045/1635-36. Shah Jahan weighed Qudsi in silver, which was valued for five thousand and five hundred and gave that money to Qudsi.<sup>86</sup> Once princess Jahan Ara was burnt seriously. When she recovered in 1054/1644, Qudsi presented a *rubai'* to mark the occasion. The princess was so deeply moved by the sentiments expressed by the poet that she rewarded Qudsi with a *kabil'at* and two thousand rupees.<sup>87</sup> Qudsi's poetry is forceful like that of Urfi. He wrote numerous *qasidabs*, *mathnawis*, and a *diwan* consisting of *ghazals*. In the beginning of his reign, Shah Jahan appointed Qudsi as his poet-laureate. Qudsi started versifying *Padshah Nameh* under the orders of Shah Jahan, describing the buildings constructed during that reign. But due to premature death of Qudsi the work was completed by Kalim.

Mir Imam-ud-Din Mahmud Ilahi Husaini better known as Mir Ilahi, was a Najibi Sayyid of Iran. He came from Iran in the time of Shah Jahan. He was attached to Zafar Khan Ahsan, the governor of Kashmir. He wrote *ghazals*, *rubaiyat*, and *mathnawis*. Mulla Shah Badakhshi, the

spiritual guide of Dara, and Mir Ilahi did not see eye to eye with each other. Once Mir Ilahi read the following couplet of Mulla Shah Badakhshi :

پادشاهی را گزار و دست آگاهی گزین  
چون به آگاهی رسیدی هرچه میخواهی گزین

i.e. Give up kingship and take hold of the hand of a gnostic, If you attain gnosticism, then select what you like.

Below that couplet Mir Ilahi wrote his own verse :

من نمی گویم گدائی یا شهنشاهی گزین  
خویش را مگزین و دیگر هرچه میخواهی گزین<sup>88</sup>

i.e. I don't say you select either beggary or kingship, Dont' select your 'self,' besides that, select whatever you like.

When Mulla read Mir Ilahi's couplet he lost his temper.

It is wrong to assume that Persian poetry did not flourish under Aurangzeb. It did continue under him but in a different form. Himself a *sufi* king, Aurangzeb withdrew the royal patronage from panegyric poetry. He abolished the position and title of *Malik-ush-Sha'ra*. But that did not mean that poetry stopped altogether. Poets like Umar Khayyam, Sa'adi, Maulana Rum, Firdausi, Hafiz, Bedil and Dr. Iqbal were not poets-laureates of any court. But their poetry was recognized all over the world. Moreover, there are instances when Aurangzeb rewarded the poets who wrote *qasidabs* in his favour.

The venue of poetical activity during the reign of Aurangzeb shifted from the centre to provinces. Members of the royal family and nobility continued patronizing poetry and men of letters. Despite the strained political relations between Iran and India during that period poets from Iran continued immigrating to India. Mir Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad Farhat was a Sayyid from Qum. After his early education in Mashhad, he first came to Isfahan and finally to India in 1082/1671-72. He joined the imperial court under Aurangzeb, who held him in high esteem.



He was made *yak-hazari mansabdar* and sent to the Deccan as its Diwan. In 1687, Aurangzeb gave him the title of Musawi Khan. He was married to the grand-daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, i.e. the daughter of sister-in-law of Aurangzeb. He died in 1101/1690. He left a *diwan* consisting of *ghazals* and *qasidabs*.<sup>89</sup>

Isma'il Binish, whose ancestors had migrated from Iran was another poet of Aurangzeb's time. He was attached to Safshikan Khan (d. 1675). He wrote *mathnawis*: *Binish-Absar*, *Ganj-i-Rawan*, *Guldasta*, *Sbor-i-Khiyal* and *Rishta-i-Ganbar* and a *diwan*. He praised Aurangzeb in each of the *mathnawi*. He praises Aurangzeb in *Binish-i-Absar* thus :

شد قلم طرح کش بوستان  
از گل مدح شه هندوستان  
آن که لقب از لب اهل یقین  
یافت ظل الله و محی الدین  
گنج احادیث دل پاک اوست  
صدق خبر گوهر ادراک اوست<sup>90</sup>

i.e. My pen planted a garden with the praise-flower of the Emperor of India,

The Emperor, who is called 'the shadow of God and the reviver of the religion, by the faithful,

His pure heart is the treasure of the holy traditions of the prophet, The essence of his intellect is based on true knowledge.

Prince Azam was a great admirer of poetry. He had poets like Abdul Qadir Bedil, Rasikh, Hakim Shuhrat, Aslam Kashmiri and Ijad in his service. Muhammad Husain Azad writes in *Nigaristan-i-Faras* that Bedil (1645-1720) was the greatest poet of his time. Bedil was a *Sufi* poet and wrote *Sufi* poetry. Bahadur Shah (1707-12) asked Bedil to write *Shab Nameh* for him but he did not agree.<sup>91</sup>

Bedil wrote *qasidabs* in praise of Aurangzeb. He says :

خسروا ! معنی پناها ! کو سرو برگ قبول  
تا به عرض حال دل جویم درین درگاه بار  
صورت احوالم از طرز تخلص روشن است  
بیدلیها چیده ام بر خود ز وضع روزگار  
من سراپا احتیاج و چرخ دوز پرور خسیس  
من طراوت انتظار و ابر احسان شعله بار  
گر شود ابر عنایت آبیاری مزرعم  
خوشه سان از پای تا سر جمله دل آرم به بار<sup>92</sup>

i.e. O the Emperor! the refuge for the spirit and essence-which are the equipment of acceptance,

Allow me to seek admittance to the court to submit the plaint of my heart;

My condition is manifest from the form of my pen-name (بیدل) i.e. heartless;

I am all depressed owing to the bad state of the times;

I am all poverty and need, the sky is miser and nourisher of mean people;

I am waiting for the moisture but the cloud of munificence is raining flames;

If the clouds of your benevolence supply water to my farm, there will be all in all the product of heart.

Bedil also wrote for Aurangzeb on special occasions. For example, he wrote on the birth of prince Kam Bakhsh in 1081/1670-71 and on the conquests of Bijapur and Golconda in 1686 and 1687, respectively and also when Maratha chief Sambhaji was made prisoner. The Emperor seemed to have liked Bedil's poetry as he sometimes quoted his verses in his royal letters. Once it was reported to Aurangzeb that prince Azam rides with great pride, the former advised him to be polite and careful in future and quoted Bedil's couplet :



آهسته خرام بلکه مخرام  
زیر قدمت هزار جان است<sup>93</sup>

i.e. Walk with little elation, rather don't walk (with pride at all).  
There are thousands of (dead) bodies under your feet.

The following two couplets of Bedil have also found place in the royal letters written by Aurangzeb:

من نمی گویم زیان کن یا به فکر سود باش  
ای ز فرصت بیخبر! در هر چه باشی زود باش

بترس از آه مظلومان که هنگام دعا کردن  
اجابت از در حق بهر استقبال می آید<sup>94</sup>

i.e. I don't say that you should be worried about your profit and loss,

O you, who are unaware of the opportunity. Be quick in your decision;

Beware of the sighs of the oppressed, because when they pray, God Almighty listens to their prayers willingly.

Bedil wrote one lakh and eight thousand verses. Some of his works are: *Irfan*, *Talism-i-Hairat*, *Tur-i-Hairat*, *Mubeet-i-Azam*, *Tanbih-al-Mehwaseen*, *Qasaid*, *Rubaiyat*, *Chahar Ansar*, *Ghazals* etc.<sup>95</sup>

Mirza Muhammad Ali Mahir flourished under both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. He was attached to Dara and remained in his service until 1657. Dara gave him the title of Murid Khan. After his patron's death, Mahir joined the court of Aurangzeb. He wrote *Gul-i-Aurang* in praise of Aurangzeb. In it he expresses his thoughts both in poetry and prose. Regarding Aurangzeb's religious bent of mind Mahir wrote:

اگر عرفی در عهدش می بود تخلص خود شرعی نمود

(i.e. Had Urfi been living in his reign he would have adopted *Shari'* as his *nom de plume*.) He presented a *mathnawi* to princess Jahan Ara who liked the following couplet best of all and gave Mahir five thousand rupees:

به ذات او صفات کردگار است  
که خود پنهان و فیضش آشکار است<sup>96</sup>

i.e. She has God's attributes in her person. She herself is concealed but her munificence is manifest.

The author of *Makhsan-ul-Ghara'ib* says that Mahir also wrote a *mathnawi* consisting of nine hundred verses in praise of princess Zeb-un-Nisa. He wrote *qasidabs* in favour of Sa'adullah Khan, Himmat Khan and Danishmand Khar.<sup>97</sup> Mir Abdul Jalil Bilgrami, who wrote two *mathnawis* in the time of Aurangzeb, was twice rewarded by the Emperor. Aurangzeb was much pleased with the Mir for his following *rubai'* and gave him a high reward for the first time:

کسری که به عدل بود عالم پرور  
بی جرم بیا ویخت پای زنجیر به در  
ذات ز کمال عدل تجویز نکرد  
آویختن سلسله هم در کشور

i.e. Chostros, who was known as the nourisher of the world on account of his justice,

Hanged the foot of chain at his gate without any of its offence;

Your person, on account of perfect justice, did not propose;

To hang a chain in your entire kingdom.

Mir Abdul Jalil was rewarded for the second time when he presented some verses in Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Hindi in commemoration of the Mughul conquest of Sitara in 1700. Aurangzeb gave him a *jagir* in Saepur in the *sarkar* (district) of Bilgram and appointed him *Bakhshi* and *Waqai'-Nigar* of Gujarat, Punjab.<sup>98</sup>

Zeb-un-Nisa (1638-1702), the daughter of Aurangzeb was a great patron of art and literature. She established *Bait-ul-Ulum* (academy), where learned persons were employed for literary work. Men like Ni'mat Khan 'Aali, Mulla Safiud Din Qazwini, Nasir Ali Sirhindi, and Mirza Khalil were



in her service. They named their works after the princess — *Zeb-ul-Tafasir*, *Zeb-ul-Munsha'at* etc. She herself compiled a *Muraqqa'*, which contained verses of selected poets. Champat Rai, the student of Saeed Ashraf Mazanderani, paid a high tribute to the princess in a poem which he composed on her death. He wrote :

رخت هستی بست چون زیب النساء یگم ز دهر  
زین خبر بزم جهان چون دیده اعمی شده  
اینکه تاثیر کلاش در مزاج روزگار  
روح بخش و جانفزا تر از دم عیسی شده  
بود از شیرین کلامی خسرو ملک سخن  
تا ز عالم رفت، زیب از کشور معنی شده  
خویش را اندر(?) تخلص گرچه مخفی می نوشت  
در هنر لیکن زیاده(?) شهره گیتی شده  
سال تاریخ وفاتش را چو پر سیدم ز عقل  
از ره حسرت بگفت "آه از جهان مخفی شده،"<sup>99</sup>  
۱۱۱۳/۱۷۰۱ هـ

i.e. At the time when Zeb-un-Nisa Begum left this world for good, the world became dark like the blindman's eyes, on hearing this news.

The influence of her poetry was more soul-invigorating and soul-enlivening than Christ's breath,

She was the queen of sweet poetry; By her death, the beauty of meaning has left the world.

Though she adopted *Makhfi* (concealed) as her *nom de plume*, yet she was renowned in the world for the art of her poetry.

When I asked the mind about the year of her death; it said in agony: آه از جهان مخفی شده  
(Alas she has hidden from the world).

Prince Azim-ush-Shan, the grandson of Aurangzeb, was a great admirer of poetry.<sup>100</sup> Poets like Mulla Saeed Ashraf and Muhammad

Hasan Ijad were in his service. Ijad wrote a *diwan* and *Farrukhsiyar Nameh*.<sup>101</sup> Some of the other poets who flourished in Aurangzeb's reign were 'Aqil Khan Razi, Ni'mat Khan 'Aali, Haqiri, Sa'ai, Fanai, Sanuni, Nasibi, Grami, Hairat and Sarkhosh.<sup>102</sup>

The names of other prominent poets who immigrated to India from Iran and Central Asia during the Mughul period are mentioned below with their places of origin.<sup>103</sup>

Place	Name of poet/poets
Asadabad	Ghani
Badakhshan	Janubi, Qasim Khan Mauji, Mirza Ayyub, Jur'at
Bafq	Wahshi
Bukhara	Fazli Bukhari, Roohani, Sehmi, Muhammad Amin, Janun, Mirza Muqim, Mulla Mushfaqi, Niyazi
Burujerd	Murshid
Daghistan	Ali Quli Khan Wala
Darband	Yusuf bin Muhammad
Eig	Arif
Ghazna	Ali bin Umar
Gilan	Hayati, Maghfuri, Qarari
Herat	Sani Khan, Ummi, Hyder Baloch, Fakhri, Abdul Wahid, Farighi, Mirza Quli Meli, Fikri
Hamadan	Mir Elahi, Amani, Qizilbash Khan, Ummid, Aqa Mehdi Khan, Biyan, Taqi, Jismi, Rashki, Mirza Jan Riza, Roshani, Raunaqi, S'ad Salman
Khabooshan	Riza Nauli
Khurasan	Fikri, Mir Hasan Kaufri, Wali, Nasiri
Isfahan	Imam-ud-Din, Ikseer, Hazni, Dakhili, Sharif Sarmadi, Shakibi, Safi, Zamiri, Talib, Abdur Razzaq Mushrib,



	Matin, Mirza Muhammad Tahir, Mir Murtaza, Wafai, Nuri.
Khawaf	Muhammad Afzal Salit, Rahai
Kashan	Tashbihi Kashi, Fasuni, Masum, Mir Yahya Rafi
Lahijan	Muhammad Ali Hazeen
Mazandaran	Soofi, Muhammad Husain Ashob, Muhammad Saeed, Ashraf, Qasimi
Mashhad	Hasan Baig Rafi, Hasan Sanai, Razi, Danish, Ghazzali, Qasim Arsalan, Nawai
Merv	Husain Fanai
Nishapur	Mir Sharif Waqooi, Naziri, Nawaidi, Rahi, Baqiya
Nacen	Asad Baig, Jafar Baig, Abdun Nabi, 'Aziz Ullah 'Azizi, Mir Mulki, Mir Ashki
Qazwin	Ahmad Quli Khan, Kazim Khan Farogh, Ashki, Aqil Khan, Abidi, Asiri
Qum	Abdul Fath Atih, Abdul Ali Tali, Kami
Rey	Mulla Husain, Mulla Tariqi, Saifi, Pirwi
Sabzwar	Ummi, Agha Tahir, Husain Shuhrat, Muhammad Husain Naji, Mulla Pidai, Qaidi, Eizdi.
Sawah	Zia-ud-Din
Shiraz	Hyderi, Sa'ib, Naqaqi, Judai, Samari.
Sijistan	Muhammad Kazim Rafi
Tabriz	Faizi
Tirmiz	Zahuri
Turbat	Daud
Turshez	Muhammad Quli Salim, Sayyidi, Fahmi
Tuisarkan	Baha-ud-Din
Teheran	Fusuni
Ush	
Yazd	

As explained in earlier pages, generally poets from Iran moved to India and made it their permanent abode. However, there are some instances

though very few, that poets from Kashmir migrated to Iran. The names of Mulla Muhammad and Adib Peshawari can be mentioned in the latter category.<sup>104</sup>

### PROSE

Following were the historians of repute who migrated from Iran and joined the Mughul court:

#### *Khwand Mir :*

Ghias-ud-Din bin Humam-ud-Din better known as Khwand Mir, is the author of *Ma'athir-ul-Mulk*, *Dastur-ul-Wuzara*, *Makarim-ul-Akhlaq*, *Habib-us-Siyar*, *Akbbar-ul-Akhyar*, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, *Khulasat-ul-Akbbar* and *Muntakhab-i-Tarikh-i-Wassaf*. He was born in Herat in 880/1475. After the death of Shah Ismail in 1514, Khwand Mir had to look for a patron whom he found in the person of Babur. He came to Agra in September 1528 and joined the Mughul service. Humayun also extended his patronage to him and gave him the title of *Amir-i-Akbbar*.<sup>105</sup> At the command of Humayun, Khwand Mir wrote the history of his reign and named it *Qanun-i-Humayuni*. He died in Gujarat in 941/1534-35.<sup>106</sup>

*Zain-ud-Din Wafi Khwafi :* He held the office of *Sadr* under Babur. He composed *Fath Nameh*, which narrates the events of the battle of Kanwah and Babur's success over Rana Sanga. Babur mentions of *Fath Nameh* in his *Tuzuk*.<sup>107</sup> Zain-ud-Din also wrote *Tarikh-i-Baburi*. He died in 940/1534.

*Jauhar Aftabchi :* He narrated the event of the reign of Humayun in *Taxhirat-ul-Waqi'at*. He was a devoted and sincere servant of Humayun both during the Emperor's happy and unfortunate days. He accompanied Humayun to Iran during latter's exile. He held the post of *Khazanadar* of the Punjab and Multan.<sup>108</sup>

*Bayazid Bayat :* Bayazid Bayat was the younger brother of Shah Burdi Bayat, who is better known as Bahram Saqqa. When Humayun reoccupied Kabul in 1545, most of Kamran's men deserted the latter including Shah Burdi and Bayazid Bayat. Humayun appointed Bayazid to the post of



*Bakawal.* Bayazid also served under Akbar as steward of the imperial kitchen. Akbar asked Bayazid to write the history of the reign of Humayun, most probably to assist Abul Fazl in his writing of *Akbar Nameh*. Thereupon Bayazid wrote *Mukhtasar or Tazkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar* but later on the work came to be known as *Tarikh-i-Humayun*.<sup>109</sup>

*Mir Ala-ud-Daulah Kami Qazwini:* Mir Yahya, the author of *Lub-ut-Tawarikh*, fled from Iran in 961/1554 and joined the Mughul service under Humayun. His son Mir Ala-ud-Daulah wrote the history of the reigns of Humayun and Akbar and gave a detailed account of the poets of his period in his other work, *Nafais-ul-Ma'athir*, completed in 998/1589. Both Abul Fazl and Badayuni have derived much information from *Nafais-ul-Ma'athir*.

*Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad Bakhsbi:* He is the son of Muhammad Muqim Harawi of Herat, who accompanied Humayun to Iran when the Emperor was driven out of India by Sher Shah Suri. Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad held the post of *Bakhsbi* for a long time in Gujarat under Akbar. He wrote the history of Akbar and named it *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* after his royal master. He could record the events from 997 to 1593, when he fell seriously ill and died.

*Abdul Baqi Nihawandi:* Khwaja Aqa Baha, the father of Abdul Baqi was *wazir* of Hamadan under Shah Abbas I of Iran. Owing to strained relations with his Safawi master, Abdul Baqi left Iran in 1023/1614 and came to India. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan extended his patronage to Nihawandi and made him his *Waqi'a Nawis*. He wrote the history of Akbar in 1015/1616 and named it after his benefactor Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, as *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*. He served as *Amin* in the Deccan until 1619. His work consists of 4000 pages. The volume III of *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, as mentioned earlier, is chiefly an account of poets, prose writers and artists of Iranian origin in the service of Khan Khanan and his dependents.<sup>110</sup>

*Asad Baig Qazwini:* He held the post of *Dawatdar* under Khwaja Afzal the *wazir* of Herat. He migrated to India and remained in the service of Abul Fazl until latter's death in 1011/1602, when he took the imperial

service under Akbar. The Emperor sent him to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur to settle the marriage of prince Daniyal with the Bijapuri princess. He records the events from the death of Abul Fazl to Jahangir's accession in his *Waqi'at-i-Asad Baig* also known as *Halat-i-Asad Baig* or *Abwal-i-Asad Baig*.<sup>111</sup>

*Muhammad Sharif Mu'tamad Khan:* He came from an ordinary family of Iran. He migrated to India in 1608 and received the title of Mu'tamad Khan from Jahangir. He was first made *Bakhsbi* of *Abadis* and sent to the Deccan to serve prince Khurram. Emperor Shah Jahan appointed him *Mir Bakhsbi* in 1637. He died in 1640. He is the author of *Iqbal Nameh-i-Jahangiri*, a book on the history of the Mughuls from Babur to the early period of Shah Jahan's reign. The first two parts dealing with the reigns of Babur, Humayun and Akbar are scarce and the third part which deals mainly with the reign of Jahangir, is better known as *Iqbal Nameh-i-Jahangiri*. Mu'tamad Khan was asked by Jahangir in 1622 to write for the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, as the Emperor was unable to continue writing due to his weak health. Mu'tamad Khan included the events of Jahangir's reign from 1622 to 1624, in the *Tuzuk*.<sup>112</sup>

*Mulla Kami Shirazi:* It is difficult to find any detailed biographical note on the author's life except that he wrote *Waqat-i-Zaman*, also known as *Fath Nameh-i-Nur Jahan*, in 1035/1625.

*Mirza Muhammad Jalal-ud-Din Tabatabai Isfahani:*

Tabatabai came to India in 1634. He wrote the history of the first five years of Shah Jahan's reign in his *Padshah Nameh*. He translated *Tauqiat-i-Kisariwiyah* or *Dastur Nameh* from Arabic into Persian for prince Murad. It is a collection of answers alleged to have been given by Anushirwan to his ministers, regarding administration and other important matters. Muhammad Salih Kambu has highly commended the prose style of Tabatabai and remarked that no one could write better than the latter.<sup>113</sup>

*Mir Muhammad Yahya Kashi:* Yahya Kashi belonged to Shiraz but



he spent his early life in Kashan. He came to India in the reign of Shah Jahan and became a panegyrist of both Shah Jahan and Dara. He was appointed *Kitabdar* and was asked by Shah Jahan to record the events of his reign in poetry. He thus composed *Padshah Nameh*. Besides *qas'id*, *ghazals* and *rubaiyat* he also wrote *mathnawis*. When the new capital of the Mughul empire, Shah Jahanabad, was completed in 1648 at a cost of six million rupees, he wrote the following chronogram :

شد شاه جهان آباد از شاه جهان آباد<sup>114</sup>

i.e. Shah Jahanabad is founded by Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahan was so pleased with him that he gave the poet an immediate reward of five thousand rupees for composing the chronogram. His *diwan* comprising miscellaneous poems was compiled after his death in 1652 by his friend Muhammad Tahir Inayat Khan Ashna.

*Inayat Ullah Khan Ashna* : Ashna's mother, Buzurg Khanam, was the daughter of Mumtaz Mahal's elder sister. He therefore had an access to the imperial court and its politics under Shah Jahan. He wrote a complete history of Shah Jahan's reign, which is called *Shah Jahan Nameh*. Muhammad Afzal Sarkhosh, the author of *Kalimat-us-Shu'ra* regards it a better piece of literature than *Shah Jahan Nameh* written by Abdul Hamid Lahori. Aurangzeb deputed Ashna to investigate the life style of Sarmad (i.e. his nakedness) and his sufism. He sent the following couplet as his report regarding Sarmad :

بر سرمد برهنه کرامات تهمت است  
کشفی که ظاهر است از و کشف عورت است<sup>115</sup>

i.e. The charge of miracle on Sarmad, the naked, is false. The only revelation which is observed is the revelation of his privy parts.

*Sadiq Khan* : He wrote in his work *Shah Jahan Nameh* the history of the reign of Shah Jahan from his accession to the Emperor's imprisonment. His style is lucid and simple. He held the post of *Waqi'a*

*Nawis*, *Bakhshi* and *Darogha-i-Ghusalkhana*. Shah Jahan appointed him tutor of prince Shuja'.

*Khafi Khan* : Khafi Khan was a native of Khawaf—a district of Khurasan, situated between Herat and Nishapur. His name is Mirza Badi'uz-Zaman Rashid Khan. He is also called Muhammad Hashim and still better known as Khafi Khan. He is the author of *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*. The study of Aurangzeb's reign (1658-1707) is incomplete without his *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, which covers the events of Mughul history from 1526 to the reign of Muhammad Shah. Khafi Khan held the post of *Diwan-i-Khalsa* under Aurangzeb.<sup>116</sup>

## ARTS AND CULTURE

### Painting :

The art of painting which evolved in Mughul India was, in fact borrowed from Iran and Central Asia. Babur was a great lover of painting. He met Bihzad, (1487-1524 A.D.), the world renowned painter, at Isfahan at the court of Shah Tahmasp Safawi. His deep appreciation of Bihzad's work testifies to his taste for this art. When Humayun went to Iran, Bihzad had died. However the fugitive king met Mir Mansur Badakhshani, 'whose realistic painting greatly impressed Humayun'. During his exile in Iran, Humayun developed a taste for Irani painting. He built a library at Tabriz and collected the illustrated works of Irani artists. The Emperor spent most of his time in the study of Irani art and literature.<sup>117</sup> Bayazid Bayat says, 'At the time of his departure from Iran, Humayun issued two *farmans*, one was an invitation to Mir Ali Sayyid and Mulla Samad and the second to Mulla Qutb-ud-Din, son of Qazi Ali Bakhshi, to come to the Mughul court'. Due to his preoccupation Mulla Qutb-ud-Din could not join the Mughul service. But Mir Sayyid Ali and Mulla Abdus Samad proceeded to the Mughul court as soon as they received the royal orders. Mulla Muhammad Sherwani and Mulla Fakhr-i-Majalla also accompanied them. When they reached Qandahar the request of the latter group to join the Mughul camp was received by the Emperor. Khwaja Jalal-ud-Din



Mahmood, the *Mir-i-Saman* was appointed to bring them to Kabul. Mir Sayyid Ali, Mulla Abdus Samad and Mulla Fakhri-Majalla presented themselves to the Emperor, who raised them high by bestowing many honours on them.<sup>118</sup>

The Mughuls considered Bihzad's style as their ideal and regarded it a standard to judge a painting. Persian painting was, henceforth, introduced in all art forms at the Mughul court. To improve upon Bihzad's style and formation was considered a great achievement. In fact Bihzad neither represented any concept of a special character nor religious or sacred feelings, yet his formal style is marked by depth and clarity and masterly use of space in composition. In technique he completes the trend of 'decorative isolation'. Bihzad's contribution to Persian painting was that he 'introduced the simplification and centrality of characters in the composition'.<sup>119</sup>

Mulla Abdus Samad and Mir Ali Sayyid were the founders of the *Mughul Maktaba-i-Tasweerkashi* (Mughul school of painting) or *Mughul Qalam*. Trained in Iran, it was quite natural that both these painters 'should have brought with them the Persian tradition of two-dimensional art with little attempt at perspective, brilliant colours, vigorous live drawing and facial expressions which betrays Chinese influence.' The Irani art of miniature painting influenced the Mughul court tremendously. Humayun was still in Kabul when he planned to paint *Qissa-i-Amir Hamza* and appointed Amir Ali as in charge of the project. The paintings, more than twelve hundred in number, were bound in twelve volumes. Owing to non-availability of large sheets of paper they were painted on processed cotton cloth. *Maqamat-al-Hariri* was illustrated with thirty-nine miniatures, perhaps one of the oldest styles of illustration known in the world. Mir Sayyid Ali and Mulla Abdus Samad brought this Irani tradition with them in India. Manuscripts like *Hamza Nameh*, *Darbar Nameh* and *Akbar Nameh* were illustrated in the time of Akbar. In the manuscript and album painting, the Irani delicacy of detail and line was continued in the works produced in Mughul India.<sup>120</sup>

Humayun appointed Khwaja Abdus Samad *Shirin Qalam* tutor of Akbar

to teach calligraphy and painting to the prince. Abul Fazl mentions in *Akbar Nameh* that Khwaja Abdus Samad used to teach these arts to emperor Humayun and prince Akbar.<sup>121</sup>

The *Shahi Qalam* was in its early stage under Akbar but attained its perfection under Jahangir. Akbar made Abdus Samad the principal officer of the Royal School of Painting. He was appointed Master of the Royal Mint at Agra in 1578 and later was sent to Multan as *Diwan*. He was such a genius that he wrote the *Sura Ikbals* of *al-Quran* on a poppy seed (*Dana-i-Khashkhash*).<sup>122</sup>

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ - اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ -  
لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ  
كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ.

i.e. 'In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

Say : He is God, The One and Only

God, the Eternal, Absolute ;

He begeth not, Nor is He begotten ;

And there is none, Like unto Him'.<sup>123</sup>

Sharif, the son of Abdus Samad, was also a great calligraphist of repute. Sharif once made eight small holes in a poppy seed and passed wire through them. On a grain of rice he painted a picture of an armed horseman with a man in front equipped with a sword, a shield and a polo stick.<sup>124</sup> In the beginning of his reign Akbar appointed Sharif Khan his Prime Minister and entitled him *Amir-ul-Umara* with a *panj hazari* (5000) rank.<sup>125</sup> Abul Fazl gives a list of calligraphists in Akbar's reign, including the names of the following Irani artists : Maulana Dauri, Herati, Nizam Qazwini, Nurullah Qasim Arsalan, Wuqui' and Mir Abdullah Wasfi.<sup>126</sup> Akbar bestowed the title of *Kitab-ul-Mulk* on Maulana Dauri and according



to Badayuni none could write in *Nastaliq* better than Maulana Dauri in Mughul India.<sup>127</sup> Amanat Khan was another Irani calligraphist who wrote an inscription inside the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal—the Taj Mahal. Shah Jahan was so pleased with the artist's writing that he gave Amanat Khan an elephant in reward.<sup>128</sup> Abdur Rashid Dailami came to India in the reign of Shah Jahan, who appointed him to teach Dara Shukoh the art of *Nasta'liq* writing. He died in 1670 at Agra.<sup>129</sup> Sayyid Ali *Jawahir Ragam* came from Tabriz and joined the Mughul service. Aurangzeb appointed him to teach calligraphy to princes. He also held the post of librarian of the imperial library for some time. He died in the Deccan in 1683.<sup>130</sup>

Abul Fazl says that one hundred painters flourished during Akbar's reign, two of whom were prominent Persian artists. They were: Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz, and Khwaja Abdus Samad *Shirin Qalam*.<sup>131</sup> Akbar invited Farrukh Baig from Iran. But he joined the service under Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the step-brother of Akbar and ruler of Kabul. However, after the death of Mirza Hakim, Farrukh Baig came to Agra to Akbar who deputed him to paint some important manuscripts. Aqa Riza of Herat was another renowned painter who migrated to India during Akbar's time.<sup>132</sup>

The impact of the art of fresco painting of Iran is noticeable in Mughul India. It was Persian in technique but some changes were introduced in it by the Indian artists later on. The most interesting fragment of that period which has survived is that beautiful painting made in 1570 on the north wall of Akbar's bedroom at Fatehpur Sikri which may be called 'Eight men in a Boat'.<sup>133</sup> Due to royal encouragement many Persian books, both prose and poetry were ornamented with paintings. As mentioned earlier, *Qissa-i-Amir Hamza*, written in twelve volumes, was illustrated with twelve hundred beautiful paintings. Moreover *Chingiz Nameh*, *Zafarnameh* of Sharfuddin Ali Yazdi, *Razmnameh*, *Ramayana*, *Nal-o-Daman*, *Kalilah-o-Daman*, the '*Ayar Danish*' and many other books were illustrated during Akbar's time.<sup>134</sup> The art of portraiture was also introduced by the Irani artists. Under the orders of Akbar portraits of the

Emperor and his *mansabdars* were made.<sup>135</sup> These can still be found in the picture galleries and museums all over the world.

#### Book Illustration:

Jahangir had a great passion for painting and book illustration. He praises Abul Hasan, the Irani painter, in his *Tuzuk* in these words: 'Today Abul Hasan, the painter, who has been given the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman*, made the picture of my accession, a front page of *Jahangir Nameh* and presented it to me. As the painting was worth praising, he received enormous favours. He has attained perfection in his art and his paintings are a remarkable gift of nature. He has no equal in the present times. Had Abdul Hayy and Bihzad, the great masters of painting, been alive, they would have done him justice (i.e. praised him). His father Aqa Riza of Herat, joined my service when I was a prince. Abul Hasan is a product of my *darbar*. He has taken the lead over his father.... I brought him (Abul Hasan) up and taken special care of him and his art from the very beginning to the present position. Indeed he has become *Nadir-uz-Zaman*.'<sup>136</sup>

#### Calligraphy:

Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan was a great patron of calligraphy. He established a big library at Ahmadabad and collected numerous manuscripts. He created the office of *Kitabdar*, to which a scholar of high repute was appointed. Both of his sons were calligraphers of a high order. The Irani calligraphers, who were in his service included Mirza Shukrullah Shirazi, Faghfur Lahijani, Mirza Fath Ullah Shirzai, Sultan Bayazid Dauri, Ali Yazdi, Abdul Baqi Nihanwandi, Mulla Abdur Rahim *Ambarin Qalam*, Abdus Samad *Shirin Qalam*, Qasim Arslan Mashhadi, Muhammad Sharif, Ahmad Ghaffari, Abdur Rashid, Dailami, Shah Shuja' Gorgani, Inayat Ullah Shirzai, Abdul Baqi, Hadad Irani, Iradat Khan and Ali Tabrizi *Jawabar Qalam*.<sup>137</sup> Calligraphy was extensively used for ornamentation on cloth and buildings. Mir Ali of Tabriz is credited with the development of *Nasta'liq*, though Kufic and *Nasakh* were known. The prominent Persian calligraphers during the Mughul period included Sultan Ali Mashhadi, Mir Imad and Yaqut.<sup>138</sup>



### Architecture :

The Mughul architecture was greatly influenced by Persian traditions. 'It has rightly been said of the Mughuls', writes Dr. Qureshi, 'that they built like Titans and finished like jewellers'.<sup>139</sup> Humayun's stay in Persia brought Irani traditions of architecture in India, though not visible in his reign. His mausoleum which was started in 1565, was built by Mirza Ghiyas, who was of Persian origin. Regarding this tomb Percy Brown remarks, 'It represents an Indian interpretation of a Persian conception, as, while there is much in its structure that is indigenous, there is at the same time much that can only be of Persian inspiration. In spirit and in structure, Humayun's tomb stands as an example of synthesis of two of the great building traditions of Asia... the Persian and the Indian'.<sup>140</sup> The style of Humayun's tomb—the arched alcove and facade could easily be seen in the contemporary Persia. According to Havell it is more Persian in character than any other building in India.<sup>141</sup> Ustad Hirawi was another Irani architect who designed the tomb of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

Under Shah Jahan the architecture reached its peak. The use of bricks with the insertion of sandstone instead of stone or marble, particularly in his reign, was due to the influence of Persian architectural style. The most important buildings built during his time in Lahore are: Jahangir's Mausoleum, tomb of Nur Jahan, Masjid Wazir Khan, the Gateways of Chauburji Bagh and Gulabi Bagh, Masjid Dai Anga, tombs of Ali Mardan Khan and Sharaf-un-Nisa Begum. These buildings can be cited among others, as best examples of this style. The structural productions of Shah Jahan's period show that the glazed brick double domes and recessed arcades of the Safawid era, as found in Isfahan, Mashhad and Tabriz, were to some extent reproduced in tangible form, but without their brilliant surface colouring, in the sandstone and white marble overlay of the Mughuls. The use of coloured glazed tiles in the Mughul buildings built in the Punjab and elsewhere are another proof of the 'cultural inspiration' from Persia. This is known as Kashi work, the term derived from Kashan, a town in Iran, known for its finesse.<sup>142</sup>

The Taj Mahal, the translation of the ideal of emperor Shah Jahan into a perfection of architectural monument, was completed in 1653. It was built under the supervision of two Irani architects—Mir Abdul Karim and Mukarramat Khan Shirazi. The name of Amanat Khan Shirazi, probably the chief assistant, also appears inside the dome of this monumental building.<sup>143</sup> This is undoubtedly a true homage of love by the Emperor to his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal. It was completed in 1653 at the cost of rupees five million. Due to its beauty and architectural design, the Taj is regarded as one of the wonders of the modern world. The buildings constructed in Aurangzeb's reign also show some Persian influence. Jami Mosques of Mathura and Benaras and Badshahi Masjid of Lahore are best pieces of architecture of Aurangzeb's time. The Badshahi Masjid is the largest mosque in the world, where so many Muslims can assemble at a time for prayers. It was built by Aurangzeb in 1684/1674 in red stone. The mausoleum of Dilras Bano (d. 1657), wife of Aurangzeb, was built at Aurangabad, in the Deccan in 1679 under the supervision of Ahmad. The name of Ata Ullah is inscribed on the main door of the mausoleum. It seems to be a replica of the Taj, hence it is generally called as 'the Taj of the Deccan'.<sup>144</sup>

### Gardens :

The idea of laying beautiful gardens in India was derived by the Mughuls from the Persian poetry and is another example of Irani influence on the Mughul cultural life. Firdausi, the celebrated Persian poet, while describing gardens of Afrasiyab, writes: 'like the tapestry of the Kings of Ormuz, the air is perfumed with musk, and the waters of the brooks are the essence of roses.' It was for this love of nature and beauty that Babur laid many gardens in Kabul: *Bagh-i-Bala Hisar*, *Bagh-i-Kobisar* etc. before his conquest of India. Instead of constructing a building, Babur laid the beautiful garden, *Kabuli Bagh*, at Panipat to commemorate his victory over Ibrahim Lodhi in 1526.<sup>145</sup> He was so much fascinated by the gardens of Kabul that he expressed his desire to be buried in Kabul. Spacious and well-planned gardens like *Bagh-i-Anarkali*, *Gol Bagh*, *Badami*



*Bagh*, *Angoori Bagh* and *Shalimar Bagh* in Lahore, and *Nishat Bagh* and *Shalimar Bagh* in Kashmir, depict the love of Jahangir and Shah Jahan for gardens. Park-like enclosure that surrounded tombs and mausoleums, was an ancient Irani tradition which also continued under the Safawids. The Mughul kings and nobility appreciated this Irani tradition and established it in India. The mausoleum of Jahangir, and tombs of Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan at Lahore and Taj Mahal in Agra are outstanding examples of laying beautiful gardens in this category.

#### Persian Customs :

The terms *qiran* indicates in the astrology of Persia, a conjunction of two or more planets. Some of these conjunctions such as that of the two fortunate planets Jupiter and Venus, are considered auspicious. Beneficent conjunctions are termed *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*. The phrase *Sahib-i-Qiran* indicates one who is master of the planetary conjunctions or aspects, and so may be regarded in case of a king, the most fortunate one, the lord of supernatural powers. This lofty title was first used by Amir Timur (1336-1405), who styled himself as *Sahib-i-Qiran*. The emperor Shah Jahan (1627-58) was the first Mughul Indian emperor who used this title and called himself *Sahib-i-Qiran-i-Sani*, the second *Sahib-i-Qiran*. Jahandar Shah (1124/1712-13) was the other Mughul king who styled himself as *Sahib-i-Qiran*.<sup>146</sup>

#### Irani Calendar :

Akbar introduced the old Sasanid calendar of Persia, redesignating it as the *Ilahi* Calendar and counting the *Ilahi* year from the commencement year of his reign. The *Ilahi* calendar was also used by Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Murad Bakhsh and for some time by the orthodox Aurangzeb. No Mughul coin bore the name of Islamic month on it, though they exhibited sometime the Islamic year.

The names of the months and days of the *Ilahi* year were identical with those of the year of the old Persians. Each year of Persian era of Yazdigerd consisted of 365 days, or twelve months, each of thirty days, followed at the

end of the twelfth month by five days called *Gathas*. The twelve months were :

- |              |                                 |
|--------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Farwardin | 2. Ardibisht                    |
| 3. Khرداد    | 4. Tir                          |
| 5. Amardad   | 6. Sharewar                     |
| 7. Mihr      | 8. Aban                         |
| 9. Azar      | 10. Di                          |
| 11. Bahman   | 12. Isfandarmuz. <sup>147</sup> |

The Mughuls started the use of Persian couplets on their coins after Irani fashion. For example Jahangir's one coin bore the following couplet :

قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر  
شبه حضرت شاه جهانگیر<sup>148</sup>

i.e. Destiny engraved the portrait of His Majesty the emperor Jahangir on the gold coin.

Another coin minted at Ahmadabad during Jahangir's reign has this couplet :

بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور  
بنام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زر

i.e. By the order of King Jahangir the coin got excellent decoration with the name of empress Nur Jahan.

The couplets generally expressed the desire and longing of the reigning monarch and prosperity of his empire. The coin struck in 1027/1618 at Ahmadabad in Jahangir's reign expresses such desire of the king in these words :

بهفت کشور این زر همیشه باد رواں  
ز نقش نام جهانگیر بادشاه جهان<sup>149</sup>



i.e. In the seven climes forever may this gold be current; Through the decoration of the name of Jahangir, emperor of the world.

A coin minted in 1058/1648 at Shahjahanabad in the time of Shah Jahan manifests similar longing. The verse reads:

سکه شاه جهان آباد رائج در جهان  
جاودان بادا بنام ثانی صاحب قرآن

i.e. May the coin of Shahjahanabad be current in the world;  
Forever in the name of the second Lord of the Conjunctions.

Couplets even appear on the coins of zealous Aurangzeb. A coin minted at Ahsanabad in 1118/1706-07 in Aurangzeb's time bears this couplet:

سکه زد در جهان چون مهر منیر  
شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر<sup>150</sup>

i.e. The coin struck in the world like the shining sun,  
Shah Aurangzeb Alamgir.

We find Irani astronomers at the Mughul court. The names of Abul Qasim Astrabadi, Maulana Ilyas, Mulla Nur-ud-Din and Hakim Fath Ullah Shirazi appear significantly in this science. Babur appointed Maulana Ilyas, who was unrivalled in mathematics and astronomy, tutor of prince Humayun who seemed to have developed a special interest for astronomy. He was also aided in this branch of science by Abul Qasim and Mulla Nur-ud-Din.<sup>151</sup> Humayun built a *Khargah* (tent), which was divided into twelve portions after zodiac chart. He also got prepared a carpet, which had nine astronomical circles drawn on it. Each circle was given a name after a particular star. Abul Fazl tells us that Humayun intended to build an observatory for which many things had been collected but with the Emperor's sudden death the work was left incomplete.<sup>152</sup>

Apart from literature, architecture and other arts, we find that Persian influence had a profound effect on the social life of the Mughuls as well. The Mughul harem had many renowned ladies of Persian origin. For example, Hamida Bano Begum, wife of Humayun, was the daughter of a Persian noble, Shaikh Ali Akbar Jamil, also known as Mir Baba Dost. Two famous Mughul queens—Nur Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal were of Irani origin. One daughter of Muzaffar Husain Mirza was married to Shah Jahan and two daughters of his brother Rustam Safawi were married to Parwez and Shuja.<sup>153</sup> One daughter of Shah Nawaz Safawi was married to Aurangzeb and the other to prince Murad.<sup>154</sup> Similarly the Mughul nobility also included men of Persian origin. For example, Bairam Khan Khanan and his son Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Shams-ud-Din Atka, Sher Afghan, Etemad-ud-Daulah, Jahangir's *Amir-ul-Umara* Sharif Khan, Mirza Jan Baig and Shaikh Farid Bukhari, the *Diwan* and *Mir Bakshi*, respectively, during the reign of Jahangir; the three *Amir-ul-Umara* of Shah Jahan—Asaf Khan, Ali Mardan Khan and Mir Jumla, and Fazil Khan, the first *wazir* of even the orthodox Sunni Aurangzeb, were all of Persian origin. It was but natural that these Irani ladies and courtiers brought with them various Persian customs and introduced them at the Mughul court.

#### Court etiquette :

Many Irani court etiquettes were introduced by the Mughuls in India. *Kornish* and *Taslim* (bowing before the king as a mark of respect and wishing peace for him) introduced by Humayun were in use at the Safawid court. Akbar made it common, but owing to the opposition in the beginning of his reign, by the orthodoxy like Taj-ud-Din, Shaikh Abdun Nabi and Makhdumul Mulk, he stopped it in the open court but allowed it in the private chamber. Later, after the promulgation of his controversial decree in 1579, Akbar established these customs in the *darbar-i-am*. Akbar started celebrating Persian *Nauruz*. The *Jashn-i-Nauruz* (New Year's festivities) lasted for three weeks. Princes and nobility presented their offerings on this day to the king, who rewarded them by



allotting them land and promoting them in their ranks. Its celebration continued until the early part of Aurangzeb's reign.

It can be concluded that scholars, men of letters and artists in various fields migrated from Iran to India in substantial numbers because of the patronage and better chances in Mughul India. This influx of the Irani immigrants over a period of more than two centuries made a tremendous impact on the cultural and social life of Mughul India. This has a special relevance for Pakistan. The impact made by migrants from Iran in the medieval period of the history of the two countries is still visible in the culture of this land. The modern era finds the two neighbours—Iran and Pakistan—again bound together by religious, cultural and historical ties which are growing with the passage of time.

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و این بیت خود را در کنار آن حوض کوثر مثال کنده بود

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## PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICES IN PAKISTAN

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### INTRODUCTION

The role of libraries in national development can hardly be over-emphasized. These provide not only the life blood of research and scholarship but also help in bringing up an educated and informed citizenry of a country. It is often remarked that a well-planned network of all types of libraries in a country is as essential as other educational institutions. Apart from academic libraries in the developing countries, it seems imperative to have a public library service, so essential for awakening of citizens' interest in social, cultural and economic development. The public library which has often been called the people's university is an institution which provides books and service to the community. As a matter of fact it is a democratic institution for the free use of people on equal terms and supported by public funds.

Ever since the emergence of Pakistan, through various library seminars and conferences, the need of a well-planned library system in the country has been expressed time and again. But the development of public libraries remained neglected due to various reasons. One of the most significant aspects of this state of affairs has often been attributed to lack of proper planning.

Efforts were made to establish public libraries through Basic Democracies Order 1959 and Municipal Administration Ordinance 1960. The various Five Year Plans made no concrete suggestions on this subject. Though in the Fourth Five Year Plan Rs. 127 million were allocated for library development and social welfare,<sup>1</sup> but as there was no clear-cut plan to utilize the funds, no development took place in this field.



Therefore, there is no organized system of public libraries, although there are a number of so-called public libraries, mostly subscription libraries under the charge of local bodies. There are 210 public libraries in Pakistan having approximately 7,83,37,000 volumes for about 24, 49,348 readers in the age group of ten years and over in urban areas only.<sup>2</sup>

The Policy statement of the Government in the Education Policy, 1972-80, regarding opening of 50,000 People-Oriented Libraries,<sup>3</sup> was received with pleasure and satisfaction. But one feels constrained to observe that even after the lapse of several years no action has been taken to translate the policy into workable plans.

Public library scene has not been subjected to much scientific research in Pakistan. Some papers were written on public library development and some surveys were conducted, but the scope of these studies was limited. There is lack of sufficient and reliable data. A detailed study of existing public libraries is, therefore, necessary to provide the planners the existing situation of public libraries and prevailing conditions therein. Any scheme for the improvement of libraries can be better developed if we exactly know the present situation of libraries in the country.

With this aim in view a study of public libraries in Pakistan was planned. Due to limited resources and time, as a first phase the study was confined to the public libraries in the Punjab. Almost all big libraries are located at district headquarters, therefore, it was decided that to know the situation of the public libraries throughout the country information may be collected from public libraries at district towns of the Punjab Province with emphasis on the local government supported libraries for the time being. The research had remained limited to a broad study of governmental structure, resources of the libraries, physical facilities at their disposal and the services being rendered by these libraries to the Public.

In view of the advantages and nature of the study, survey method of research was used. To collect the relevant data a questionnaire consisting of 47 questions was constructed and mailed to 22 libraries situated at

19 District towns of the Punjab (Kasur and Vehari are excluded), 91% libraries responded. The received data were tabulated and analyzed to draw meaningful conclusions. On the basis of these conclusions some recommendations have been given at the end of this article.

### Governmental Structure

Maintenance of the Public libraries and reading rooms is generally the responsibility of the local government such as Municipal Corporations, Municipal Committees, Town Committees etc. The Municipal Administration Ordinance 1960 has stated the maintenance of libraries and reading rooms as an optional function of the Municipal Committees. The undertaking of optional functions depends upon the option of the committee. All functions are to be undertaken subject to rules and the directions which the government may from time to time give as well as the funds at the disposal of the Municipal Committees. In the district towns of Punjab 85% libraries are being maintained by the local bodies. Among these 20% libraries are run by Municipal Corporations, 20% by Municipal Committees Grade-I, 40% by Municipal Committees-Grade II. There are also libraries wholly managed and run by various private organizations for the benefit of the general public, though these have been excluded from this study. Most of the libraries are still maintained by the local bodies and Municipal Public libraries are prevailing in all the district towns of the province. Fifty-eight per cent of these libraries were established before the independence of Pakistan. Only 8 libraries have been established after 1947. No library has been established after 1965. In the Education Policy 1972-80, 24,400 People-Oriented Libraries were to be opened in the province and a sum of Rs. 4,44,000 was allocated in the Provincial Annual Development Programme 1973-74 for this purpose.<sup>4</sup> In the first instance grant to 19 existing libraries was to be given, which were to be re-designated as People's District Libraries.<sup>5</sup>

There is only one library, People's District Library Faisalabad, formerly known as Coronation Library, which is controlled by the District Council Faisalabad. One library named Central library Bahawalpur is directly



run by the Provincial Government (Punjab Education Department) and one library named Punjab Public Library Lahore is managed and run by a Governing Board appointed by the Government and is mainly financed by the Punjab Government. Dyal Singh Trust Library, is controlled by the Evacuee Trust Property Board, Government of Pakistan. In addition to the above authorities some other agencies have also stepped in this field. Mention may be made in this connection of Pakistan National Centre, Bureau of National Reconstruction etc.

### People-Oriented Library Scheme

The data have revealed that only 14 Libraries have been redesignated.<sup>5</sup> The Libraries at Gujranwala and Sahiwal have not been redesignated as yet. However, Dyal Singh Trust Library and the Punjab Public Library, Lahore, have been redesignated as Divisional and Provincial Peoples' Libraries respectively. No grant has so far been given to any of these libraries included in the scheme. Under these circumstances this is not more than paying a lip service as redesignation contributes little to the library development. Moreover, the scheme has not fully been made known to the authorities or the Public. So much so, even the library authorities do not know as to whether the libraries will remain attached with the local bodies or they are to be provincialized.

### Library Committees

To run the internal administration of a library and for a liaison between the libraries and local bodies, Library Committees are formulated which assist the librarians and Municipal Officers in library administration, serve as a co-ordinating and policy making body, study library needs and advise the librarians on general matters concerning the development of library resources. In the libraries under study 45 % have library committees. The members of these committees in Municipal Corporations and Municipal Committees Grade-I are nominated by their Administrators (in some cases in consultation with the librarians). In Municipal Committees, Grade-II, they are nominated by the Deputy Commissioners while in the Punjab Public Library and in the

Central Library, Bahawalpur, members of library committees are nominated by the Government.

Most of the members are from among the teachers and Municipal Officers. Some library committees are also represented by elected members, politicians, industrialists, lawyers, businessmen and Government Officers. In 6 out of 9 library committees, librarians are also members and secretaries of the committees.

Most of the Committees are responsible for the selection of the library material. They also give suggestions for the improvement and development of the libraries. Fifty-five per cent libraries have no library committees, perhaps due to the nomination of some senior officers like Education Officers or Social Welfare Officers as library incharge in some of the local bodies. This is an unhealthy and unnecessary practice and usually creates problems because in some cases they are not even equals to the librarian in terms of education and salary. They have become principal officers just by virtue of being members of former L.S.C. Class. This situation mostly hampers the library development.

### Physical Facilities

Under this heading the facilities at the disposal of the Public Libraries, like finance, staff, building, furniture, equipment etc. is being discussed.

### Finance

The size of budget inevitably determines to a large extent the scope and effectiveness of the public library programmes. As the library facilities are regarded one of the public amenities, therefore, adequate financial support at local, provincial and central level is necessary for efficient library services.

The Municipal Public Libraries are generally financed by the local Government. Other sources of income are subscriptions, donations and grants-in-aid from the Provincial Government, District Councils etc. The grants-in-aid vary from library to library.



In the developing countries per capita budget standards are fixed for the provision of library facilities, sometimes this amount is fixed in accordance with the literate population of the city, and sometimes the library budget is determined in relation to the total budget of the local body maintaining the library. In the Punjab, the Local Government Department has issued standing instructions that at least 1% of the revenue budget of the local bodies should be spent on the maintenance and development of libraries.<sup>6</sup> But there had been some flaws in this directive and the local bodies exploit these to the maximum extent. The directive has a provision that keeping in view the financial position of the local bodies, percentage of the library budget may be reduced. None of the local bodies have cared for these instructions and as a result the financial support to the public libraries is inadequate. The budget position of the libraries is being analyzed in the following paragraphs.

During the year 1973-74 an amount of Rs. 10,08,963/- was spent for the provision of library facilities for a total population of 51,92,523<sup>7</sup> which means that Rs. 0.19 was spent per capita for library services. Table I indicates per capita library budget in different district towns in the province.

Average annual expenditure for one library comes to Rs. 59,351/-. Budget provisions in respect of 17 libraries for the preceding 3 years along with average annual expenditure and rate of increase have been shown in Table 2. During 1973-74 the budget provision ranged from a minimum of Rs. 1,464/- to the maximum of Rs. 4,20,824. Maximum increase of budget was 337 per cent and the lowest rate was 16 per cent. Overall budget was increased by 51 per cent.

Table 3 shows the annual budget of various local bodies for the year 1973-74 along with the budget spent on the maintenance of libraries. The percentage column of this table shows that among all the local bodies, Municipal Committee of Dera Ghazi Khan has spent the maximum amount on the development of libraries i.e. 0.79 per cent of its revenue budget.

TABLE I  
Per Capita Library Budget

Name of City	Population	Lib. Budget (in Rs.)	Per capita Budget (in Rs.)
Bahawal Nagar	49948	5000	0.10
Rawalpindi	373253	68000	0.18
Lahore	2017533	660758	0.33
Muzaffargarh	31129	10831	0.35
Lyallpur	822263	76800	0.93
Gujranwala	323958	10000	0.31
Sargodha	166076	15000	0.90
Gujrat	100581	10200	0.10
Sahiwal	106213	2015	0.02
Mianwali	48370	1464	0.30
Bahawalpur	115917	84510	0.73
D.G. Khan	71429	14885	0.21
Multan	508514	38500	0.78
Jhelum	63653	N.R.	—
Jhang	135722	—do—	—
Sialkot	183556	—do—	—
Rahim-Yar-Khan	74408	10000	0.13
Total :	5192523	1008963	0.19

Over all per capita library budget Rs. 10.19



TABLE 2  
Budget of Public Libraries in the Province

Name of the Library	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	Mean of 3 years	Increase (4) or decrease (-) over 1971-72	Improvement of budget in % 1973-74 over 1971
Sutlaj Park Library Bahawalnagar	2000	—	5000	3500	(+)	(+)
Peoples' District Library, Rawalpindi	26500	54500	68000	49667	(+)	(+)
Punjab Public Library, Lahore.	198336	247582	229944	225287	(+)	(+)
Peoples' Municipal Library, Muzaffargarh	2481	3657	10831	5656	(+)	(+)
Peoples' District Library, Faisalabad.	15000	17000	28000	20000	(+)	(+)
Sh. Din Muhammad Municipal Library, Gujranwala	10000	10000	10000	10000	—	—
Municipal Library, Lahore	18000	20000	100000	16000	(-)	(-)
Ghalib Municipal Library, Sargodha	15000	15000	15000	15000	—	—
Peoples' District Library, Gujrat	4500	8500	10200	7333	(+)	(+)
Dayal Singh Public Library, Lahore	208719	222540	420814	285690	(+)	(+)
Municipal Committee Library, Sahiwal	2000	8314	2015	4110	(+)	(+)
Municipal Library Mianwali	1053	1675	1464	1397	(+)	(+)
Central Library, Bahawalpur	52380	76283	84510	71057	(+)	(+)
Municipal Library, Faisalabad	28800	59000	48800	45533	(+)	(+)
Municipal Library, Dera Ghazi Khan	16241	10136	14885	13754	(-)	(-)
Peoples' District Library, Multan	39500	39500	39500	39500	—	—
Allama Iqbal Library, Rahim Yar Khan	27000	150000	10000	17333	(-)	(-)
Total	667509	813687	1008963	—	(=)	(+)
Over all Mean	39265	50855	59351	—	(=)	(+)

64

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TABLE 3  
Local Govt. Budget for Library Development

Local body	Budget for 1973-74	Budget for Library Development	Percentage
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Municipal Corporation, Rawalpindi	1,73,95,900	68,000	0.39
Municipal Committee, Gujranwala	1,90,00,000	10,000	0.05
Municipal Corporation, Lahore	7,88,29,982	10,000	0.01
Municipal Committee, Sargodha	58,61,100	15,000	0.26
Municipal Committee, Sahiwal	53,35,950	2,015	0.04
Municipal Committee, Mianwali	22,66,850	1,464	0.06
Municipal Corporation, Lyallpur	2,65,33,000	48,800	0.18
Municipal Committee, Dera-Ghazi-Khan	18,90,215	14,885	0.79
Municipal Corporation, Multan	1,96,90,149	39,500	0.20
Municipal Committee, Rahim-Yar-Khan	39,84,750	10,000	0.25

Overall situation of financial support for public libraries shows that average budget of each library is too meagre to meet its requirements. In all the cities per capita amount being spent on the library services is not sufficient. Despite standing instructions of the Local Government Department



of the Punjab that all the local bodies may spend one per cent of their revenue budget on the development of libraries and reading rooms. None of the local bodies spent even half of the desired target. The major portion of the allotted budget of the public libraries is spent on the purchase of reading material and thus service has not been attached much importance.

### Staff

The effective participation of the Public library in educating the masses requires well qualified and numerically adequate staff. Due to certain misfits on the library staff, even the best materials on the shelves will look like waste papers. On the other hand a competent staff is able to utilize to the fullest extent even a small collection. Therefore, professionally trained and sufficient number of staff has become a pre-requisite for efficient service in libraries. There is no professionally qualified staff in most of the public libraries in the Punjab, particularly in smaller towns. The public libraries have been placed under the charge of clerks, toll tax collectors, tax inspectors, etc., who perform the functions of a librarian in addition to their own duties. One hundred and fifteen staff members are working in 20 libraries in different categories, i.e. about 6 persons in each library. Among them 18 are professional, 23 sub-professional and 74 are non-professionals.

The staff in almost all the libraries is inadequate. Many libraries have been put under the charge of sub-professionals, non-professionals, even janitorial staff like Daftaries, peons and Chowkidars etc. Eleven libraries are in the charge of trained librarians, 3 in the supervision of sub-professional staff and 5 libraries are under the control of clerical staff. One library is in the charge of janitorial staff and one library is supervised by a part-time junior Clerk.

The pay scales of trained librarians vary from library to library even in Municipal libraries which are under the administrative control of the same department. The librarian of the Punjab Public Library, Lahore enjoys

National Pay Scale No. 18. The Librarian of a Municipal Public Library, though he possesses Master's Degree in Library Science, yet is working in National Pay Scale No. 9.

### Building

The library building should exemplify the spirit of service, i.e., library service. It should offer the community a compelling invitation to enter, read, look, listen and learn. The interior and exterior should attain the fundamental efficiency and beauty found in best architectural achievements. According to Mr. L.C. Key, location of a public library can have a decisive effect upon its success or otherwise; it should, therefore, be located at a central and convenient place.<sup>9</sup> Among the surveyed libraries (22 in number) 5 libraries are located in commercial areas, 4 are attached with the Municipal Offices and 13 are situated in other areas like public Parks and in other central residential areas of the locality. Though located centrally, most of the libraries have inadequate space, unfunctional buildings and insufficient seats for the readers.

The minimum space occupied is 50 square feet and the maximum space is 22,940 square feet.

The buildings of 16 libraries were designed specifically for the library purposes. Fifteen libraries have been said to have adequate space to meet their requirements. The space occupied by 5 libraries is inadequate.

The seating capacity varies from library to library which ranges from minimum of 10 to maximum of 420 seats. The Number of seats in most of the libraries ranges from 40 to 60.

## LIBRARY RESOURCES

### Book Collections

The holdings of a public library should include a generous collection of carefully chosen works presenting our common heritage. They should be



supplemented by a wide variety of modern books in the major fields of knowledge and books that should be of both current and enduring interest. The collection should include in particular many works of high calibre which will arouse intellectual curiosity, counteract parochialism and help to develop critical thinking. Liberal provision should also be made for stimulating recreational reading. The reference collection must be strong; it should be upto date and broad in its coverage.

The collections of individual public libraries and overall resources to serve the total population are inadequate in our country, as revealed by this study. The total collection of books etc. in all the libraries under study is 4,60,487 to provide reading facilities to a total population of 51,44,153<sup>7</sup> and the figures given in the following table indicate the total library collections in a city alongwith total population being served at present by these libraries. The collections range from a minimum of 1,500 volumes to a maximum of 1,71,000 volumes.

#### Per Capita Library Books in the Punjab

Name of the city	Population	Library collection	No. of persons for one book
Bahawal Nagar	49948	5000	10
Rawalpindi	373253	13000	29
Lahore	2017533	276757	7
Punjab Public Library			
Dayal Singh Public Library			
Municipal Library			
Muzaffargarh	3129	1873	17

Name of the city	Population	Library collection	No. of persons for one book
Lyallpur	822263	26832	31
Peoples' District Library			
Municipal Library			
Gujranwala	323968	9550	34
Sargodha	166076	9000	18
Gujrat	100581	5935	17
Sahiwal	106213	5500	19
Bahawalpur	115917	65000	21
Dera Ghazi Khan	71429	5128	14
Multan	508514	11389	45
Jhelum	63653	5000	13
Jhang	135722	2841	48
Sialkot	183556	13000	14
Rahim Yar Khan	74408	4687	16
Total :	5144153	460487	11

One book is available for 11 persons in the Punjab.

Annual addition to the collection is too small to keep pace with the ever expanding boundaries of knowledge. The additions during the years 1973-74 range from the minimum of 20 books to the maximum of 5,657 volumes. Periodicals and newspapers constitute an invaluable source of reference. The number of periodicals purchased by our public Libraries is generally poor. The minimum number of current periodicals received in 20 libraries ranges from one to the maximum of 115 periodicals (including daily newspapers and weekly magazines). The total number of periodicals being



However, the Punjab Public Library, Lahore, is visited by maximum of 653 visitors.

One to 4 books are issued at a time to the members. Most of the libraries allow their members to have two books at a time. The period of loan ranges from 7 to 30 days. Municipal Committee Library, Sahiwal, has not imposed any time limit on the loan of books perhaps because of the reason that this Library provides services only to the Municipal employees. The limit of 14 days loan period is observed by most of the libraries.

Working hours of these libraries range from 33 to 63 hours per week. Majority of the Libraries remain open from 30 to 40 hours per week. Fourteen libraries open twice in a day, 3 remain open only during office hours, another three remain open from morning till evening without any break.

Access to the stock of 16 libraries is closed. However, 4 libraries have open shelves for the readers.

In addition to the provision of books and periodicals 7 libraries also provide other facilities like radio, tape recorder, record player, television etc. Central Library Bahawalpur has Educational/Documentary Film Mobile Unit and Foreign Language Teaching facilities through zingeo Phonic System. Dayal Singh Public Library, Lahore, has Micro-Film Reader, Micro-Fish Reader and Photostat Machine.

One fails to understand that how can the libraries which do not have rules and regulations provide efficient service? Despite having the label of Public libraries, most of them have restricted their use by imposing the condition of security and subscription. Perhaps for this reason the number of daily visitors and registered members is very discouraging. Majority of the libraries do not remain open for the whole day to provide adequate services to the people from all walks of life. The browsing facilities have been restricted by keeping the books under lock and key (closed access).

#### Recommendations

As revealed by the data given in the preceding paragraphs it is evident that the situation of public library services in our country is not encouraging.

dictionary arrangement, as it is the easiest method and is helpful in increasing the use of library.

All the libraries take inventory of their stock annually but in most of the libraries librarians are held responsible for book losses. Though some libraries have a provision of writing off losses yet in the absense of specific rules, losses are not written off liberally.

#### Services

As there are so many intangible factors involved, one of the most difficult tasks of librarianship is to determine the quality of library service. But the inherent difficulties in no way minimize the importance of attempting to discover the extent to which a given library is serving its clientele. Generally, public libraries offer lending services, reference services and make efforts to teach and promote the use of books and libraries. In the following paragraphas an effort is made to analyze the services being rendered by our public libraries :

Fifteen libraries have prescribed rules and regulations for the entitlement of membership and about the provision of services.

Seventeen libraries require securities from their members which range from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 50- ; 2 libraries do not require any security from the members. Fifteen libraries require annual subscription from their members, which ranges from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 12/- per annum. Four libraries do not require any subscription from their members. However, Municipal libraries exempt the Municipal and Local Fund Audit employees from security and subscription.

Registered members in 18 libraries range from a minimum of 25 to maximum of 3,710 members. Five libraries have less than 250 members. Municipal Committee Library, Sahiwal has replied that it has no member and has further informed that this library is utilized only by the Municipal employees.

The number of daily visitors to these libraries ranges from 20 to 653. Majority of the libraries are visited approximately by 200 persons daily.



purchased by 20 libraries is 610, average being 31 periodicals per library. Majority of the libraries are purchasing 20 to 30 titles.

Eleven libraries receive donations to enhance their resources for the public, mostly from the Asia Foundation, USIS etc. Some libraries also receive donations from the United Bank Ltd., Pir Ibrahim Trust, Rifat Sultana Memorial Trust etc. Despite the fact that the major portion of library collection is built up by donations, gifts, majority of the libraries do not strive to get donations from philanthropic agencies.

As the funds at the disposal of our libraries for the purchase of material are generally limited, therefore, this material must be selected carefully. Prior to selection of material, librarians should make careful study of the users' needs. The librarians in majority of these libraries are not given the opportunity to play their important role in the selection of library material. Books are mostly selected by the administrators, library committees, subscribing members, managing and purchase committees.<sup>5</sup>

#### Organization of Material

The library collection should be fully organized. It should be catalogued, classified and arranged in a way that clientele could have maximum benefit out of that. In all our libraries books are recorded in the accession registers properly. The stock of most of the libraries has been found classified, Seventy-four p.c. have classified their stock into major subjects and five percent according to accession numbers.

An effective library catalogue as a useful tool in a library will record each work in a library by its author, will arrange entries in such a way that all works of one author and on one topic will be found together, will provide basic bibliographic information, will show the location of books through call numbers, and will serve as a dependable tool of communication of ideas to those who use the library. Seventy-nine percent of these have card catalogue which is flexible: entries may be rearranged, added to, withdrawn, revised and replaced. Fifteen percent have the old form of catalogue, that is, alphabetical listing of books on registers. Seventy-five percent of the card catalogues have been arranged according to

Therefore, following steps are recommended to be taken immediately to improve the library facilities:

Library Legislation for the country should be enacted as early as possible to control and coordinate library services and to ensure adequate financial support.

Public Library System as was planned in the Education Policy (1972-80) should be introduced and all the existing public libraries should be linked properly with each other. As public libraries are existing in almost all the cities, therefore, the Government will not have to spend much for a system, it is just a question of proper planning so that all these libraries may come under the control of a central agency.

A library committee should be provided for each public library drawing its members from all strata of society with the librarian as an ex-officio member-secretary.

Professionally trained adequate staff with sufficient clerical assistance be provided in every public library to provide efficient library services.

Public Librarians who have been given National Pay Scales No. 16 and 17 should also be given proper status equal to that being enjoyed by the LCS officers of the same scales. They must be declared Principal Officers to equate with the LCS officers of the equal scale in local bodies.

Large, centrally located and highly functional buildings should be provided to attract more users.

Public library services should be free to all and the practice of realizing securities and subscriptions should be abandoned.

Readers should be provided open access to the stacks and working hours should be extended, adjusting them according to the convenience of the local users.

To enhance the pool of resources formalized cooperation among the public libraries should be introduced.

The book losses in libraries should be considered a consequence of the service which a library renders and the librarian should not be held responsible for this loss.



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## CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE IN INDIA, (1919-35) WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUSLIM DEMANDS

By

SHER MUHAMMAD GAREWAL

E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, solemnly promised on behalf of the British Government, in August 1917 to grant India a responsible government.<sup>1</sup> But the subsequent Act of 1919 brought inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing reforms.<sup>2</sup> The Indians were already doubtful of the pledge made through the August Declaration. They started protesting against the expected betrayal. The Government adopted oppressive measures to hush up these protests. Black laws, such as Rowlatt Acts, were passed, which mainly led to the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh (13 April 1919). The conditions became very critical. The treaty of Sevres<sup>3</sup> further made the matters worse, and the subsequent Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements made the operation of Reforms impossible.

Anyhow, some liberal and moderate leaders had decided to co-operate with the Government in the working of the 1919 Reforms. Among the Muslims, M.A. Jinnah, Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Syed Ameer Ali, Yaqub Hasan and Abdullah Suhrawardy resolved to co-operate with the Government,<sup>4</sup> and amongst the Hindu leaders Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Feroze Sethna, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, C.Y. Chintamani and J. N. Basu, Jagat Narain, Dr. Jayakar, N. K. Kelkar and Madan Mohan Malaviya had organized themselves into All-India liberal Federation (1918) and pledged to work for the Reforms.<sup>5</sup>

It was mainly due to the co-operative spirit of the moderate leaders that general elections under the new Reforms were held at the end of 1920. As a result, Provincial Councils and about Legislative Assembly were constituted. But the British authorities were anxious about the co-operation of the



Indians for the operation of the Reforms. Lord Chelmsford and the Duke of Connaught, while inaugurating the proceedings of the first Legislative Assembly, showed their anxiety and appealed for Co-operation for the working of the Reforms.<sup>6</sup> But their appeal failed to move the Indian general feelings, as the Act of 1919 was "one of the most complicated constitutional instruments which has ever been devised".<sup>7</sup> Even the liberal and moderate leaders, with all their readiness to co-operate with the Government, were not satisfied. Though they did not participate in the agitations and demonstrations, they soon adopted constitutional methods for the revision of the Act in accordance with the wishes of the Indians.

On 23 September, 1921, a resolution was moved in the Legislative Assembly by Rai Jadunath Mjumdar demanding the establishment of autonomy in provinces and responsible government at the Centre. An amendment to this resolution was moved by Jamnadas Dwarkdas on 29 September 1921, in which he asked Governor-General to appoint a Committee consisting of officials and non-officials, including members of the Indian Legislature, to consider the best way of bringing about provincial autonomy in all the Governor's provinces and of introducing responsibility in the Central Government and to make recommendations".<sup>8</sup> At the end of the debate, Sir William Vincent, Home Member, suggested a formula which was adopted by the Assembly: "That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he should convey to the Secretary of State for India the view of this Assembly that the progress made by India on the path of responsible government warrants a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an early date".<sup>9</sup>.....

Accordingly the Government of India informed Lord Peel, Secretary of State under Conservative Government, who did not pay any attention to the Indian situation and flatly rejected the revision demand.<sup>10</sup> On 15 February 1924, another resolution was moved in the Assembly by Rangachariar, a prominent Moderate, urging the revision of the Act of 1919 to establish provincial governments and a full responsible government at the Centre, which, after some amendments, was unanimously passed.<sup>11</sup>

Muhammad Ali Jinnah had strongly supported this resolution in the Assembly.<sup>11a</sup>

Meanwhile, prominent Congress leaders, who previously boycotted the elections under the influence of Gandhi, organised themselves under the leadership of C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru into a party popularly known as Swaraj Party,<sup>12</sup> to enter the Legislatures with an avowed object of wrecking the Constitution from within, unless the Indian demand for an immediate revision was conceded.<sup>13</sup> Now the repeated demand for revision and the threatening attitude of the Swarajist's "Policy of uniform, continuous obstruction with a view to making the government, through the Assembly and Provincial Councils, impossible" compelled the British authorities both in India and in England to reconsider the serious condition of affairs in India.<sup>14</sup> Malcolm Hailey, the then Home Member, announced on 18 February, 1924 that the Government of India had agreed to make inquiry into the working of reforms. And Ramsay MacDonald, Premier of Labour Government, also encouraged Government of India's readiness for an inquiry.<sup>15</sup>

Consequently, an Inquiry Committee was appointed by the Government of India under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Muddiman, who succeeded Malcolm Hailey as Home Member. The Committee, besides Sir Muddiman, consisted<sup>16</sup> of Sir Bijay Chand of Burdwan (a conservative Land-owner of Bengal), Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad), former Law Member, Sir Arthur Froom (from Bombay), Member of Council of States, Sir S. Iyer, Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, M.L.A., Sir Muhammad Shafi Law Member, M.A. Jinnah, Dr. Sir Raghunath Purshutham Paranjpye, Minister of Bombay Government.

The Muddiman Committee, as it is popularly known, started its work on 4 August 1924 in Simla.<sup>17</sup> During its investigations it held interviews with distinguished leaders and prominent officials.<sup>18</sup> It examined views of some<sup>5</sup> political parties and other associations<sup>19</sup>, and also reviewed and analysed the views of provincial governments which were collected by the Central Government in 1923.<sup>20</sup> After its labour of four months, it submitted on 3 December 1924 to the Governor-General two reports, Majority Report



and Minority Report. The Majority Report, which was signed by Muddiman, Sir Shafi<sup>21</sup>, A.H. Froom, H.M. Smith, H. Tonkinson, M.L.A. (Secretary of the Committee) reflected the Government view and suggested no fundamental change because, as in the opinion of its signatories, the existing Constitution was working in most provinces and was affording valuable political experience. It was regretted that the time was too short to make possible an estimate of its ultimate success and it was also agreed that "complex constitution like dyarchy requires more particularly to be worked by reasonable men in a reasonable spirit if deadlocks are not to ensue."<sup>22</sup> And the Minority Report, which was signed by Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.S. Sivaswamy Iyer, M.A. Jinnah, R.P. Paranjpye, agreed with the Majority opinion that constitution should undoubtedly be worked by reasonable men with reasonable spirit, but at the same time, it remarked that in spite of the fact that supporters and advocates of dyarchy were appointed ministers, even then the dyarchy proved to be a failure and unworkable. Therefore, the abolition of dyarchy was strongly recommended, and it was emphasised that nothing short of fundamental changes would produce substantial results.<sup>23</sup>

British authorities found no suitability in the Minority Report recommendations<sup>24</sup> and decided to proceed with the principles underlying the Majority Report,<sup>25</sup> which was quite unsatisfactory, disappointing, inadequate, and retrogressive to the progress of the country. It satisfied no section of opinion.<sup>26</sup> But dissatisfaction over Majority Report led to a more insistent demand for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the working of the Constitution and to formulate a scheme for the establishment of responsible government. Nevertheless, it was partly due to the insistent demand of the Indians<sup>27</sup> and partly due to the Conservative Government's apprehensions respecting their rival labour party's success in the next general elections of England, that the appointment of Statutory Commission became inevitable in 1927,<sup>28</sup> although it was due in 1929.<sup>29</sup>

The Statutory Commission, appointed by the British Government through Parliament at the end of November 1927, under Sir John Simon, who had a prominent position in the Bar of England, included Lord

Burnham, who had rendered public service in England for a long time, Lord Strachona (both taken from House of Lords), Col. George Lane Fox and Edward C. Cadogan, the then Secretary to the Speaker, both from the House of Commons; Stephen Walsh, formerly Secretary for War, Major Clement Richard Attlee, a Labourite (both from the Opposition), later on Walsh was replaced by Vernon Hartshorn, who also belonged to the Opposition. While introducing these persons to the House of Lords on 29 November, 1927, Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, called the Commission as "Exceptionally Intelligent Jury".<sup>30</sup> But as no Indian was included in this 'jury', the Indians demonstratively resented the all-white body. They made protests and gave warnings.<sup>31</sup> But the British authorities paid no attention to the protests and warnings and stubbornly imposed the Commission on India. The Indians did not tolerate their unreasonable exclusion from the Commission, which was to decide their political fate, and unanimously decided to boycott it throughout the country.<sup>32</sup>

When the Simon Commission, as it is popularly known after the name of its chairman, landed at Bombay on 3 February 1928, complete *hartals* coupled with big demonstrations and slogans of "Simon, Go Back" were observed in all important towns of India: Though "never before, within living memory did the Indian political leaders hold common view of such an issue", yet a few Europeans, Anglo-Indians and a section of Muslims led by Sir Muhammad Shafi in the Punjab had offered their support to the Commission.<sup>33</sup> But the unanimous and countrywide protests and demonstrations seemingly made the work of the Commission impossible. In retaliation, Lord Birkenhead challenged the Indians to produce an agreed scheme for a constitution and submit it to the British Parliament for consideration.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the Indian leaders had already been thinking seriously about formulating a scheme for the future constitution of India. Particularly Srinivasa Aiyengar (President of the Indian National Congress of Gauhati Session, 1926) and M.A. Jinnah had been very keen on this issue.



But until and unless the Hindu-Muslim question, which was a great hurdle for the Indian advance, was settled, no scheme for the future constitution could be workable and useful. Therefore, both leaders decided to settle the Hindu-Muslim differences first and then to prepare a constitutional plan on all-India basis. M.A. Jinnah, Messenger of Hindu-Muslim unity, promptly convened a conference consisting of thirty prominent Muslims<sup>35</sup> on 20 March 1927 at Delhi to deliberate upon the Indian situation and to find out a solution representing the Muslim view to co-operate with the Hindus in the struggle of achieving new Constitution for India. The Conference passed a resolution accepting separate electorates on the conditions of reforms in NWF Province and Baluchistan,  $\frac{1}{3}$  Muslim representation in Central legislature and in the Bengal and Punjab Councils on population basis.<sup>36</sup> These conditions or Delhi Proposals,<sup>37</sup> as they are known, were accepted with satisfaction by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress in a meeting held on 21 March, 1927 at Delhi in which Sir Srinivasa Aiyenger, A. Ranga Swamy Aiyenger, respectively President and Secretary of the Committee, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Dr. M.A. Ansari were present.<sup>38</sup>

About a year later, in response to Birkenhead's challenge, an All-Parties<sup>39</sup> conference aiming at to prepare a scheme of future constitution was convened at Bombay in May, 1928 under the auspices of the Congress. The notable work of its first session was the appointment of non-representative Committee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to consider and determine the principles of a constitution for India. No doubt, out of ten members<sup>40</sup> of the Committee (Nehru Committee as it is known) two were Muslims-Shoaib Quraishi and Sir Ali Imam, but both did not represent any section of the Muslims. Besides this, Ali Imam could, due his illness attend only one meeting of the Committee; M. R. Jayakar expressed his inability to act on the Committee; N.M. Joshi also did not attend any sitting of the Committee because his demand for considering the rights of the labour was not given full attention. G.R. Pradhan, who was appointed to represent non-Brahman view, attended a few meetings of the Committee.<sup>41</sup>

However, the Nehru Committee started its work on 5 June, 1928, and after holding 25 sittings, submitted its Report on 10 August to M.A. Ansari, the President of the All-Parties Conference. The first notable point of the Report was the recommendation of Dominion status, a reformed kind of British colonialism in the twentieth century. Why Dominion status was recommended? It was said in the Report that as the Committee consisted of members belonging to different political groups, therefore, on any higher ground a general agreement was not obtainable.<sup>42</sup> The other important point the Report contained was the total rejection of Muslim demands, i.e. federal form of Govt., separate electorates, weightage in Central and Provincial legislatures, representative governments in NWF Province and Baluchistan, separation of Sind from Bombay, protection of minority languages, freedom for religious duties and preachings, and the recognition of all these demands in the Indian Constitution. Instead of All-India Federation, unitary form of government was recommended. Separate electorates were discarded completely, because they were considered 'bad for the growth of a national spirit and even worse for a minority' and in their place joint electorates were appreciated and recommended.<sup>43</sup> No reservation of seats for Muslims, in case of joint electorates, was accepted even for Punjab and Bengal.<sup>44</sup> Weightage in a number of provincial Legislatures was also condemned.<sup>45</sup> Though N.W.F. Province was recommended to be raised to the status that other provinces enjoyed, Baluchistan's position remained ambiguous. Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency was considered as a slogan of communalism<sup>46</sup> and it was remarked that if it was necessary, it should be subject to financial inquiry.<sup>47</sup> Urdu was not considered even a language, while *Hindustani*<sup>48</sup> was recommended as a common language of the whole of India. In this way, the spirit behind the Delhi Proposals was destroyed, but in spite of this, the Muslim leaders tried their best to make Nehru Report acceptable to the Muslims by suggesting various amendments, when it was discussed in the All-Parties Conventions, which started on 22 December 1928 at Calcutta.



Amendments were mostly put forward by M.A. Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslim League, and T.A.K. Sherwani, on behalf of Central Khilafat Committee, on the fifth day of the Convention. They were the same demands which were included in the Delhi Proposals as conditions in case of the acceptance of joint electorates. But the sub-Committee<sup>49</sup> which was appointed by the Convention on its fourth day to meet the delegates<sup>30</sup> of the Muslim League and the Central Khilafat Committee to solve the Hindu Muslim question, rejected all modifications.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, Muslim leaders, particularly Jinnah, did not give up hopes of reaching an honourable settlement of Hindu-Muslim question. During his speech, on 28 December 1928, the fifth day of the Convention, he strongly advocated the Muslim point of view and tried his best to convince the Hindu Leaders to accept the amendments. But the stubborn Hindu Conventionists did not pay any attention to Jinnah's pleas, he was badly criticised and called a spoilt and naughty child.<sup>52</sup> Jinnah left the Convention in protest, while Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, then a Nationalist, had already left it as he was also bitterly attacked and called a rabble rouser by the Hindu leaders.<sup>53</sup>

This was the parting of the ways. The treatment meted out to Jinnah and Jauhar in the Convention had intensified the Muslim opposition to the Nehru Report. And Motilal Nehru's own manoeuvres in the Simla Session of Legislative Assembly (September, 1928) for the approval of his Report had further stirred the Muslim feelings. The Muslim Members<sup>54</sup> of the Assembly saw in those manoeuvres an imminent danger to the political existence of the Muslim Community. Then immediately an idea of holding an All-India Muslim Conference originated in their minds.<sup>55</sup> Consequently, to formulate Muslim views on the way in which Indian Independence should evolve, the All-India Muslim Conference was convened by the Shafi League, Khilafat Conference and Jamiatul Ulama-i-Hind under the presidency of Sir Aga Khan at Delhi, from 3 December 1928 to 1 January 1929.<sup>56</sup>

Through a resolution which was read out by Sir Muhammad Shafi on the second day of the Conference (1 January 1929), the Conference proposed

that India's vast extent and its ethonological, linguistic, administrative and geographical or territorial divisions had made it necessary that it should have a 'federal system with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent states . . . . .'<sup>57</sup> It was emphasised that "no bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters be moved, discussed or passed by any legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourth majority of the members of either the Hindu or the Muslim Community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, resolution, motion or amendment."<sup>58</sup> The Conference stood for separate electorates and weightage and demanded due share for Muslims in central and provincial cabinets, a fair proportion in civil services and in all statutory self-government bodies, appropriate safeguards for the promotion and protection of Muslims education, languages, religion, personal law, charitable institutions and reforms in provinces such as the N.W.F. Province.<sup>59</sup>

The Conference ended successfully. "It was one of the most important in the long series of such assemblies which marked the road towards total and final independence for the whole sub-continent."<sup>60</sup> The principles adopted in this Conference proved to be "guiding lights henceforward in all our encounters with British or Hindu representatives and negotiators, with the Government of India or with the Congress Party, in every discussion of schemes of reform and new projects for the administration of the country. "We now had", wrote Sir Aga Khan "our code-book, and we did not intend to deviate from it".<sup>61</sup>

It must be noted that a section of the Muslim League led by M.A. Jinnah had not participated in the proceedings of the Conference because it wanted to undertake any further step only under the auspices of the All-India Muslim League (Jinnah League). Therefore, the Conference was considered by this section as a disastrous *organization* to the Muslim interest.<sup>62</sup> Thus, in spite of its importance and success, the Conference widened further the gulf of differences among the Muslim leaders. But Jinnah made supreme efforts at this juncture to bring together the warring



elements in Muslim politics.<sup>63</sup> It was the result of his efforts that Shafi League, which had previously parted ways in 1927 to co-operate with the Simon Commission, reconciled with Jinnah's League and in March 1929 a joint meeting was held at Delhi under the presidentship of Jinnah himself. On this very occasion, Jinnah drafted and circulated a compromising formula, known, as Jinnah's Fourteen Points, which was mostly based upon all the Muslim demands put up to that time either before the British Government or before the Congress for the security of Muslim Safeguards in the future Constitution of India. It included points such as federal constitution for India and uniform autonomy for all provinces, an adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing majority in any province to a minority or even equality, 1/3 representation of Muslims in Central Legislature, recognition of the separate electorates, no redistribution of boundaries in Punjab, Bengal and M.W.F. Province, full religious liberties, and passage of not such a bill which might injure the feelings of any community, separation of Sind from Bombay and reforms in N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan, adequate share for Muslims in all the services of the State and in local self-government bodies, adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim language, religion, personal laws, 1/3 Muslim ministers in the central and provincial cabinets.<sup>64</sup>

Uptil now, the Simon Commission had completed the inquiries and investigations into the working of the Constitution and prepared its Report, which was published in May, 1930, consisting of two parts : first part containing a survey of the problems, while the second, the recommendations of the Commission.

In the Report the Commission emphasised that the new "Constitution (of India) should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development."<sup>65</sup> It condemned periodical inquiry and remarked that the "method of periodic enquiry and enactment is quite foreign to the spirit of constitutional development". It proposed federal form of government, for which the Indian States cannot be compelled to "come into any

closer relationship with British India". It further remarked that "Burma should be excluded from the new polity" (Federation).<sup>66</sup>

It was further recommended that Provincial autonomy should be introduced and dyarchy be abolished while Governors should be endowed with special powers to override the advice of their ministers for certain purposes and should enjoy full powers in the event of a breakdown in the constitution,<sup>67</sup> that provincial legislatures, basing on widened franchise and direct elections should be expanded while separate representation for certain communities would continue until and unless an agreement was reached upon a better method, that for depressed Classes, the representation should be secured by reservation of seats.<sup>68</sup> No substantial change in the Central Executive was recommended and it was not held responsible to legislature.<sup>69</sup> The idea of introducing dyarchy at the centre was rejected. Indirect elections through provincial councils were recommended in both Houses of the Central Legislature. Indianization of army was favoured but at the same time it was suggested that as long as India was not fully equipped, the British forces must be retained.<sup>70</sup> It was remarked that the Secretary of State would continue to exercise authority over the Government in Council. He would, however, have no control over the provincial governments, except in connection with the exercise of the special powers vested in the Governor.<sup>71</sup>

The Report of the Simon Commission was preceded by six months by that of the Indian Central Committee which was appointed by the Indian Government to co-operate with the Simon Commission. It consisted of nine members,<sup>72</sup> three elected by the Council of State and six nominated by the Viceroy himself. It accompanied the Simon Commission throughout its second visit to India in October, 1928.<sup>73</sup> In its report, the Indian Central Committee remarked, "We demand an explicit declaration on the part of the British Parliament that full dominion status for India is the goal at which it aims. We demand further that an immediate and substantial step should be taken towards the attainment of that goal by the conferring on the



provinces of a liberal measure of autonomy and by making Government of India responsible to its legislature".<sup>74</sup>

K. Prem Chand wrote a separate note in which he strongly proposed Dominion Status for India and keenly demanded establishment of full responsibility and autonomy in every Province, strong and responsible government in the centre and a strong judiciary free from any shadow of political control. He rejected all forms of communal representation.<sup>75</sup> These views were frequently quoted in the Simon Commission Report but were not accepted fully. Turning to the Simon Commission Report again, opinions differed: As to the British, they held that the Commission had made a weighty and constructive contribution to almost difficult problem,<sup>76</sup> and that its Report would always stand out as one of the greatest state Papers. But to the Indians the Report was inadequate, unsatisfactory, unacceptable.<sup>77</sup> Some Hindu leaders like J.N. Gupta went so far as to call it a 'vicious document' and "a Constitutional monstrosity".<sup>78</sup> Actually, the proposed unlimited powers for Governor-General and his Executive and for provincial governors made the Commission's recommendations suspect and, therefore, the Report was rejected unanimously.

On the publication of the Commission's Report, the Government of India had invited the provincial governments to express their own views regarding the proposals of the Report.<sup>79</sup> Now in the light of the views of the provincial governments as well as in the light of the Indian public opinion, the Government of India sent its Despatch (on proposals for constitutional reforms) on 20 September, 1930 to Wedgwood Benn, the then Secretary of State for India.<sup>80</sup>

It was expressed in the Despatch that "the time has come when the broadest considerations of Imperial policy demand that we should spare no efforts, and even take some risks, in order to arrive at a constitutional solution which will give reasonable scope to the ideas and aspirations that are moving India to-day".<sup>81</sup> The Government agreed almost to the establishment of All India Federation, abolition of Dyarchy and Introduction

of responsible government in provinces and maintenance of separate electorates for Muslims.<sup>82</sup> However, it differed with the Commission as far as the Central structure of government was concerned. It demanded that "A Central Government should be constructed which would throughout the field of its functions be plainly responsible to the Parliament alone, and in order that the executive might fulfil these responsibilities the legislation should be so constituted that it could be depended on grant to the executive the money and the legislation required to carry out the policy of the Parliament".<sup>83</sup> It disliked the Introduction of dyarchy at the Centre because, 'Dyarchy... offers no possibility of an extension of the sphere of responsibility...'.<sup>84</sup> It gave preference to direct elections instead of indirect elections proposed by the Simon Commission.<sup>85</sup> While concluding its Despatch,<sup>86</sup> the Government of India hoped that if their "suggestions are placed at the disposal of the (Round Table) Conference, they may be of some assistance".<sup>87</sup>

The move for holding a Round Table Conference had started even in 1921 when the resolution for the revision of the Act of 1919 was passed in the Legislative Assembly. The authors of Minority Report (Muddiman Committee) also vehemently recommended the holding of a Round Table Conference. When the Muddiman Committee's Report was brought for discussion in the Central Assembly, Pandit Motilal Nehru had suggested for a Round Table Conference. Lord Irvin, between 1927-30, had also repeatedly assured the Indians of holding such a Conference after the publication of Simon Commission Report. But by that time this assurance was not fulfilled.

At least the British Government summoned the Round Table Conference to estimate and review the results of what was begun ten years ago to make further decisions for the future Constitution of India. The first session was inaugurated by the King Emperor, in the Royal Gallery of House of Lords on 12 November 1930, which lasted till 19 January 1931, under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. 89 delegates, 16 from three major British political parties (Conservative, labour, and Liberal), 16 from Indian States, and 57 from British India attend-



ed the first Conference. The British delegates included the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald; the Lord Chancellor, Lord Sankey; the Secretary of State for India, Wedgwood Benn; representing the Conservative Opposition Sir Samuel Hoare, later Lord Templewood and Secretary of State for India; and Lord Reading, a Liberal and former Viceroy. The Indian States delegates included the Maharajas of Bikaner, Patiala, Alwar and Jammu and Kashmir, the Nawab of Bhopal, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan, Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Haidri and Sir Mirza Ismail. The British India delegates<sup>88</sup> consisted of topmost Indian personalities belonging to different communities. Among the Muslim delegates were Sir Aga Khan, M.A. Jinnah, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Zafrullah Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, Captain Nawab Sir Ahmad Saeed of Chhitari, Captain Raja Sher Muhammad Khan, Fazlul Haq, A.H. Ghaznavi, Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Khan Bahadur Hidayat Husain, Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum, Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan and Begum Shah Nawaz.<sup>89</sup> Among Hindu leaders, were Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Sir Chimmanlal Setalvad, M.R. Jayakar, and Diwan Bahadur Rama Mudaliyar; among the Parsees were Sir Firoze Sethna, Sir Cowasji Jahangir, and Sir H.P. Mody. And Dr. Ambedkar, born an untouchable, represented the Depressed Classes; and Sir Henry Gidney, the Anglo-Indian Community.

During the general debates of the first Conference, majority of the Indian delegates expressed their opinion that British India and Native States should form a Federal Union based on Parliamentary system of Government.<sup>90</sup> The ruling princes also agreed to consider an immediate federation on two conditions: British India must be federalised, and the Central Government must cease to be a purely official Government and become in some degree responsible to Central Legislature.<sup>91</sup> 'We can only federate', said the Nawab of Bhopal, 'with a self-governing and federated British India'.<sup>92</sup> On the contrary, the British delegates opposed the immediate grant of Dominion Status and the introduction of British

Parliamentary system in India.<sup>93</sup> However, some principles were agreed upon. Establishment of All-India Federation embracing provinces and Native States, introduction of Central Federal government responsible to federal legislature, introduction of full responsible government provinces and separation of Sind etc. were accepted both by the Conference and the British Government. As the question of minorities was not solved it led to the way to the Second Round Table Conference.

The Second Round Table Conference took place on 7 September and lasted till 1 December 1931. The Congress, which boycotted the First Conference, also participated in the deliberations of the Second Conference.<sup>94</sup> But even the participation of the Congress could not help in solving the communal or minority problems.<sup>95</sup> At the end of the Second Session of the Conference Ramsay MacDonald had to announce on behalf of British Government that if the communities in India were unable to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties on the communal question which the Conference had failed to solve, the Government would devise and apply themselves a provisional scheme.<sup>96</sup> And on 4 August, 1932, eight months after his announcement, he came up with his famous Communal Award.

The Award allowed separate Communal electorates to Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians and Europeans. It allowed reservation of seats for Muslims in every province, and weightage where they were in minority. It also gave weightage to the Hindus in the North West Frontier Province and Sind and granted the Muslims 49 per cent seats in the Punjab. The Hindu seats were reduced in this province in order to give weightage to the Sikhs.

In Bengal, Muslims were given 47.5 per cent seats against their population of 55 per cent and Hindus were allotted 44.8 per cent. The Europeans, who were 0.01 per cent of the population, were given 10 per cent of the seats. Moreover, special seats were reserved for depressed classes.<sup>97</sup>

Though the Muslims were not gainers in their majority provinces they showed their readiness to accept the Award.<sup>98</sup> But the Hindu Press and the Hindu leaders gave it a communal colour. They protested against the Award



and considered the scheme underlying it as impracticable, unreasonable, irrational inequitable and antinationalism.<sup>99</sup> Particularly for Gandhi, the Communal Award was a bomb shell. He was deeply moved at the idea that the depressed classes should be treated as distinct for voting purposes instead of being included in the general constituencies.<sup>100</sup> In protest, he undertook a fast unto death. However, during negotiations with Dr. Ambedkar and M. C. Raja, prominent leaders of the depressed classes, he succeeded in securing a pact known as Poona Pact.

The Poona Pact was signed with the consent of the Government on 24 September, 1932. Some modifications regarding depressed classes were made in the Communal Award. The number of seats allocated to the depressed classes was to be increased while the depressed classes were to vote in general constituencies. These classes were to select four times as many candidates as there were seats to be filled by their own representatives.<sup>101</sup>

The Communal Award and the Poona Pact were followed by a third session of the Round Table Conference held from 17 November to 24 December 1932. The character of this session was marked by the absence of any spokesman of Congress and it remained for the British government to accept responsibility for definite proposals for the future constitution of India.<sup>102</sup>

Consequently, the British Government, considering its final responsibility, issued in March 1933 a White Paper (4268), which embodied all the notable points—creation of All-India Federation, introduction of provincial autonomy and abolition of dyarchy and granting safeguards for minorities which were discussed in the Round Table Conferences (1930-32).

The White Paper was followed by the Report of the Select Committee (1933-34) on the basis of which the Government of India Act 1935 was framed by which the most of the Muslim demands were accepted.<sup>103</sup>

## NOTES

1. *The Parliamentary Debates*, 1917, Vol. XCVII (5th series); August 20, 1917 Cols. 1095-96.
2. A. C. Benerji, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Calcutta. 1946. Vol. II, p. 254.
3. The Treaty of Sevres was signed by Britain, France and Italy etc. in August 1920. It was an attempt to break the Turkish Empire into pieces. See: *Encyclopaedia of Britannica* Vol. 20, 1961, p. 401.
4. Makhdumzada Syed Hasan Mahmud: *A Nation is Born* (n.p.), 1958, p. 393.
5. Subhas Chandra Bose: *The Indian Struggle*, 1920-1942. Bombay, 1964. pp. 30, 40.
6. *The Legislative Assembly Debates* (Official Report of the first session), Vol. I., 3 February 1921, pp. 9-18.
7. Sir John Simon, *The Constitution of India*, London, 1930, p. 12.
8. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1921. *Official Report* Vol. II, pp. 956-66, 1228.
9. *Ibid*, p. 1286.
10. *Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee 1924 appointed by the Government of India and concerned papers* (Comd. 2360), London, 1925, pp. 132-133.
11. *The Legislative Assembly Debates*, (1924 Vol. I, Part IV, p. 351-256.)
- 11.a *The Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. IV, Part I, Delhi, 1924, p. 398.
12. Prominent members of the Swaraj Party were: V. Patel. A. Rangaswami Iyengar of Madras, Kelkar of Poona etc. Office bearers in 1922: President, C. R. Das; General Secretary Pandit Motilal Nehru, Additional Secretaries, Choudhry Khaliquzaman and Tassadduq Ahmad Khan, leaders of the Swaraj Party were formerly the members of the Home League of Annie Besant (1914-1918).
13. D. Graham Pole, *India in Transition*, London, 1923, p. 54.
14. *Ibid*, p. 58.
15. *Ibid*.
16. Pandit Motilal Nehru was also offered a seat on the Committee but he refused partly on the ground that sphere of Committee's activities was restricted: See, *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1924, Vol. II, p. 40.
17. *Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee 1924*, P-1, Pole mentions that the Committee began its work in May, 1924.
18. For Example, the following persons were interviewed: S. M. Chintavis, ex-Minister of C. P., N.K. Kelkar, another ex-Minister of G. P., Lala Harkishanlal, ex-Minister of Punjab, C. Y. Chintamani, ex-Minister of U. P., Jamnadas Dawarkadas, from Bengal, Chandra Mitter, ex-Minister of Bengal, Fazl-ul-Haq, ex-Minister of Bengal, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad of Bombay, Sir Abdur Rahim (on behalf of Bengal Government).



19. For instance, United Provinces, Liberal Association, Bombay Presidency Association represented by N. M. Joshi, Labour member of Assembly, Women League represented by Deep Naryan Singh, Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau represented by Sir P. Thakurdas, Parliamentary Muslim Party represented by Kabirruddin Ahmad, Punjab Muslim League represented by Barkat Ali etc. Swaraj Party boycotted the inquiry.
20. See: *Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924 Views of Local Governments on the Working of the Reforms, London, 1923* (Comd. 2361).
21. Later on Sir Shafi publicly supported the Minority Report (Pole, op. cit., p. 60).
22. *Report of Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924*, p. 37.
23. Ibid. pp. 201-203.
24. *The Indian Quarterly Register, 1925*, Vol. II, p. 344.
25. *Legislative Assembly Debates, 1925*, (Official Report) Vol. VI, Part-I, p. 10.
26. (a) On 3 April, 1924, U.P. Legislative Council condemned the Majority Report through a resolution, I.Q.R. of 1925, p. 272.
- (b) See All-India Muslim League's resolution on this topic passed unanimously on 31 December, 1925 in its annual session at Aligarh under the presidentship of Sir Abdur Rahim formerly judge of Madras High Court and advocate and magistrate of Calcutta High Court I.Q.R. 1025. Vol. II, pp. 357-59.
- (c) On 11 March, 1926, Jinnah moved a resolution criticising the Majority Report in the Legislative Assembly.
- (d) On 18 February dissatisfaction over the Majority Report was shown in the Council of State IQR 1926. Vol. I, pp. 258-61.
27. Arthur Berriedale Keith, *A Constitutional History of India (1600-1935)* London, 1937, p. 288.
28. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement in India* Vol. III, Calcutta, 1963, p. 308.
29. Section 84-A of the Government of India Act 1919 prescribed that within ten years after the passage of this Act, a commission would be appointed with the purpose of making inquiry into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education and development of representative institutions in British India and matters connected here with and then to report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish principle of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment second chambers of the local legislature is or is not desirable' See, *Report of the Statutory Commission, London, 1930* (Comd 3568) Vol. I. p. xv.
30. *The Indian Quarterly Register, 1927*, Vol. II, p. 71.
31. Pole, op. cit. pp. 80-81.
32. On 27 December 1927, at Madras, the Indian National Congress under the presidentship of Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, unanimously passed a resolution regarding the boycott of the Simon Commission. Gandhi, Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Besant Major

- Graham Pole, J.M. Gupta, Dr. U. Rama Rao, Ranga Swamy Ayangar, Yaqub Husain, Sir Rajendra Prasad (Bihar) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (U.P.), Dr. Sttyapal (Punjab), Gobind Vallabh Pant (U.P.), Dr. Monnje (C.P.) Vallabh Patel (Gujrat), T. C. Coswami S. C. Mitra, C. A. Nateson and Pandit Malaviya were present in this meeting. IQR—1927, Vol. II, pp. 384-96.
- II. The same day at Bombay, All-India Liberal Federation unanimously decided through a resolution to boycott the Commission. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sivaswamy Iyer, M. N. Joshi, Chintanmani and Firoze Sethna were present.
- III. On 31 December 1927 All-India Muslim League under the presidentship of Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub (Majibur Rahman was the chairman of the Reception Committee) declared through a resolution that 'Statutory Commission...are unacceptable to the people of India. It (Muslim League), therefore, resolves that the Mussalmans through the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form. M.A. Jinnah, Raja of Mahmudabad, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Barkat Ali (Secretary Punjab Muslim League), M. C. Chagla (President of Bombay Provincial League), Shamsuddin Ahmad (Bengal), Maulana Zafar Ali (Punjab) etc. vehemently supported the boycott resolution. Only Tamiz-zu-Din (Bengal) opposed the Boycott move. IQR—1927. Vol-II, pp. 447-448.
33. Due to the difference over the question of boycott, Sir Shafi and his party which included Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Allama Iqbal and Chaudhry Zafarulla Khan held a rival session of All-India Muslim League at Lahore on 30 December 1927 under the presidentship of Sir Shafi himself. In this session a resolution of inviting the non-Muslim communities for co-operation with the Commission was passed. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Masudul Hasan (U.P.), Mian Shah Nawaz Mazhar Ali Azhar (Punjab) supported the resolution, Ch. Afzal Haq Aurangzeb Khan (Frontier Province) and Mazhar Ali Azhar (Punjab) strongly opposed IQR—1928 Vol. II, p. 70.
34. *The Indian Quarterly Register, 1927*. Vol. II, p. 70.
35. They included Raja of Mahmudabad, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayyum, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Dr. Ansari, Sir Muhammad Yaqub, Maulvi Shafi Daudi, Nawab Ismail Khan, Mian Shah Nawaz, Sir Abdur Rahim, Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Ali Khan, Dr. L.K. Haider, Maulvi Syed Murtaza, Imam Sahib of Jama Masjid Delhi, Dr. Abdullah Mamun Suhrawardy, Syed-al-Nabi, Shah Muhammad Zubair.
36. *The Indian Quarterly Register, 1927*, Vol. I, p. 34.
37. Sir Shafi was present when Delhi Proposals were adopted. He remained silent and raised no objection but when he came back to Lahore, Sir Fazl-i-Husain expressed his resentment about the acceptance of joint electorates. Sir Shafi, under the influence of Sir Fazl-i-Husain became, the opponent of Delhi Proposals. It had led the way for holding a separate and rival session of Muslim League, at Lahore, Dec. 1927.



38. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927. Vol. I, p. 34.
39. National Liberal Federation, Hindu Mahasabha, All-India Muslim League (Jinnah League) Central Khilafat Committee, Central Sikh League, South Indian Liberal Federation, All India Trade Union Congress, General Council of All Burmese Association, Home Rule League, Republican Party, Independent Party in the Assembly, Indian State Subjects Conference, Indian States People's Conference, Anglo-Indian Association, Indian Association of Calcutta, Parsi Central Association, Zorasrian Association, Parsi Rajkeya Sabha. Jamit-ul-Ulama-i-Hind and the group of the League led by Sir Shafi were not invited.
40. Members: Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Shoaib Quraishi, Sir Ali Imam, G. R. Pradhan, Subhas Chandra Bose, Mahdaorao Aney, Mr. R. Jayakar, N. M. Joshi, Sardar Mangal Singh.
41. *All Parties Conference*, 1928: *Report of the Committee appointed by the Conference*, Allahabad 1929 p. 23.
42. *Ibid*, p. 24.
43. *Ibid*, pp. 30, 123.
44. *Ibid*, p. 123.
45. *Ibid*, p. 52.
46. *Ibid*, p. 31.
47. *Ibid*, p. 162.
48. *Ibid*, p. 62.
49. *Members of the sub-committee*: Mahatama Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Madam Mohan Malaviya, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. S. S. Moonje, M. R. Jayakar, Dr. Satyapal, Lal Duni Chand of Lahore M. S. Aney, Master Tara Singh, Babu Rajendra Prasad, C.Y. Chintamani, Sen Gupta, S. Srinivas Aiyengar, Sir Ali Imam, Annie Besant etc.
50. Delegates from All-India Muslim League: The Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, M.A. Jinnah, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, M.A. Chhagla, Malik Barkat Ali, Maulvi Abdul Hameed, Majibur Rahman, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Maulvi Hissamuddin, Maulvi Muhammad Akram Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Seth Yaqub Hasan, Ghazi Abdur Rahman, Abdullah Brelvi, Maulvi Liaqat Ali Khan, Maulvi Mazhar Ali, Shah Muhammad Zubair, Maulvi Fazal Haq, Maulvi Abdul Karim, Maulvi Muhammad Islam, Maulvi Aziz-ul-Haq, and Noor-ul-Amin etc. These delegates were appointed to take part in the deliberations of the Convention of Hindu-Muslim question and to report to the League of their efforts as soon as possible. But no report was submitted to the League.
51. *The Proceedings of the All Parties National Convention*, Allahabad, 1929, pp. 76-77.
52. *Ibid*, pp. 79-81.
53. *Ibid*, p. 53.
54. Prominent Muslim members of Legislative Assembly for (1928-29): Haji Abdullah Haroon, Maulana Muhammad Shafi Daudi, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Muhammad Yamin Khan, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Mukhdum Syed Rajan Baksh Shah, Mian Abdul Haye,

- A. H. Ghazanvi, Maulana Muhammad Latif, Shah Bahadur Farooqi, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum, Ch. M. Ismail Khan (Bengal), Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub, Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly,
55. *The Report of the All India Muslim Conference*, 1929, Aligarh, 1929, pp. 1-2.  
Ashiq Husain Batalvi is of the opinion that the idea of holding All-India Muslim Conference first originated in the mind of Sir Fazl-i-Husain. But there is no such indication in the Report of the Conference itself.
56. Prominent Muslim Leaders who attended the Conference were: Sir Abdul Karim Ghaznavi, Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, Nawab Ismail Khan, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Raza Ali, Sahibzada Sir Sultan Ahmad Khan, Dr. Sir Zia-ud-Din, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Shafi Daudi, Sir Muhammad Yaqub, Chaudhry Zafarullah Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali who attended the second meeting Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mufti Kifayatullah, Sir Abdul Qadir, Mian Shah Nawaz, Abdul Haye, Abdul Mateen Chaudhary, Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtullah (Bombay), Haji Abdullah Haroon etc.
57. *The Report of All India Muslim Conference*, 1929, p. 26.
58. *Ibid*.
59. *Ibid*, pp. 26-27.
60. *Aga Khan Sir: The Memoirs of Aga Khan*, World Enough and Time, London, 1954, p. 209.
61. *Ibid*, p. 10.
62. *The Indian Quarterly Register*, Vol. I, 1929, p. 399.
63. *Ibid*, p. 362.
64. *Ibid*, pp. 362-65, 367.
65. *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, London, 1930. (Comd : 3569) Vol. II. p. 5.
66. *Ibid*, pp. 9-12, 16.
67. *Ibid*, pp. 16-17, 332-33, 48-49.
68. *Ibid*, pp. 52-65.
69. *Ibid*, p. 18-19.
70. *Ibid*, p. 169.
71. *Ibid*, pp. 314-15.
72. Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Abdullah Al-Mamun Suhrawardy, Kikabhai Premchand (All M. As), Sir Sankarm Nair, Sir Arthur Froom previously member of Muddiman Committee, Raja Nawab Ali Khan (all these three elected by the Council of State), Sardar Bahadur Shivdev Singh (nominated by the Viceroy as fourth member from the Council of State).
73. *Report of the Indian Central Committee*. London, 1929, p. 7.



74. Ibid, pp. 70-71.
75. Ibid, pp. 389-428.
76. *The Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1930, Vol. I (Official Report) p. 42.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. "A letter from Government of India to all Local Governments, No. £-67/30 East India (Constitutional Reforms) Despatches from Provincial Governments in India Containing Proposals for Constitutional Reforms, London, 1930, (Comd. 3712) p. 2.
80. *Government of India's Despatch on Proposals for Constitutional Reforms* (Comd. 3700) London, 1930, p. 13.
81. Ibid, p. 10.
82. Ibid, p. 207.
83. Ibid, p. 13.
84. Ibid, p. 101.
85. Ibid, p. 123.
86. Despatch was signed by Irwin (G. G.), W. R. Birdwood, G. Rainy, J. Crerar, George Schuster, B. L. Mitter, Fazl-i-Husain, J. W. Bhome.
87. Ibid, p. 208, 123.
88. British India Delegates to the Round Table Conference were not the representatives of their respective parties or communities in real sense because they were nominated by the Government of India.
89. Ashiq Husain Batalvi is of the opinion that most of the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference were appointed by the Governor-General at the instigation of Sir Fazl-i-Husain (*Iqbal Ke Akhbari do Sal*. Karachi, 1961, pp. 257-58).
90. *Indian Round Table Conference*, 12 November, 1930, 19 January, 1931 proceedings Comd, 3778), pp. 25-186. (On this subject, speeches made by T.B. Sapru, M.R. Jakakar, Sir Shafi, Maulana Muhammad Ali, N.M. Joshi, Ambedkar, M.A. Jinnah etc. are worthy to be noted.
91. Ibid pp. 32-39 (Speech of Maharaja of Bikaner); pp. 46-51. (Speech of Maharaja of Alwar; pp. 77-80. (Speech of Maharaja of Patiala); pp. 107-110. (Speech of Nawab of Bhopal;.
92. Ibid, p. 237.
93. Ibid, pp. 61-69; pp. 72-76. *Indian Round Table Conference*, London, 1932, (Second Session Proceedings Comd. 3997) p. 5.
94. The participation of the Congress was made possible through Gandhi-Irvin Pact, signed on 5 March, 1931, According to the Pact, the Government of India released the Congress leaders who were previously put behind the bars and in response the

- Congress called off the Civil disobedience movement started in 1931 as a weapon for getting full independence. (Majumdar, op. cit.) p. 328.
95. Muslim leaders like Sir Aga Khan, M.A. Jinnah and Sir Muhammad Shafi tried their best to reach a Hindu Muslim settlement. As a staunch supporters of the separate electorates Sir Shafi was found ready to give up this principle only for the sake of Hindu-Muslim settlement. See, *The Indian Round Table Conference*, 1932, London, Proceedings of *Minority Committee*, pp. 417-18.
96. *Indian Round Table Conference*, London, 1932 (Second Session Proceedings) (Comd. 3997), pp. 417-418.
97. *The Indian Annual Register*, 1932, pp. 233-237.
98. *The Daily Inqilab*, (Urdu), *Labore*, 29 January, 1935, p. 1 Col. 1 Readiness to accept and retain the Communal Award was shown in a meeting held at Delhi under the presidentship of M. A. Jinnah on 26 January, 1935. (Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, Sir Firoze Khan Noon, Abdul Mateen Choudhry, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Syed Murtaza, K. L. Gauba, Haji Rahim Bakhsh, Hafiz Hadyat Hussain, Masud Ahmad, Farzand Ali, Imam of London Mosque, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana and Shafi Daudi were present in this meeting.
99. *The Legislative Assembly Debates*, (Official Report), 1932 also see *Indian, Quarterly Register*, 1934, Vol. I, p. 307.
100. A.B. Keith, *A Constitutional History of India*, 1900-1935, London, 1937, p. 307.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid, p. 308.
103. See for details my article "The Government of India Act 1935," *The Journal of Historical Research Society of Pakistan, Labore*, July, 1975, pp. 47-62.



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## CONTENTS

	Page
I. IRANIAN INFLUENCE IN MUGHUL INDIA <i>Dr. Yar Muhammad Khan</i>	1
II. PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICES IN PAKISTAN <i>Abdus Sattar</i>	57
III. CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUSLIM DEMANDS <i>Sher Muhammad Garewal</i>	75