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



**UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB**  
**LAHORE**



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## IMPERIALISM IN THE 19th AND 20th CENTURIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BRITISH IMPERIALISM

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The article has been divided into two parts. In the first part different aspects of imperialism have been discussed and in the second part British imperialism and its effects are examined.

Different meanings and definitions have been given to the word imperialism. Literally, imperialism is the policy of a state to establish control beyond its borders over people unwilling to accept such of foreign control. Due to this unwillingness imperial policy always employs power against its victims.

The term 'imperialism' was employed by critics to discredit the policy of their opponents.<sup>1</sup> The word was virtually unknown until, at least, the nineteenth century to the imperialists themselves. Lord Carnarvon, the British Colonial Secretary, said in 1878 that he was 'perplexed' by the newly coined word. The term, in fact, was meant to be abusive and used by the enemies of Britain. But in modern times, it is a pejorative term synonymous with economic exploitation, racial prejudice, secret diplomacy and acquiring area of influence.<sup>2</sup>

J.A. Hobson, the critic of imperialism, from an economic point of view, published his *Imperialism* in 1902 when the British expansion was at its zenith. He says, "The economic root of imperialism is the desire of strong organized industrial and financial interests to secure and develop at the public expense and by the public force private markets for their surplus goods and their surplus capital."<sup>3</sup> He attributed imperialism to inherent weakness in the capitalist system and argued that it was a group of powerful financial magnates which was behind the British foreign policy,



to find out markets for their surplus capital. To economists like Joseph Schumpeter imperialism means man's desire for glory and power.

Though various motives such as pride, prestige, influence and educating backward peoples are attached to imperial expansion, yet the most dominant factor is the search for markets and profitable investments. The expanding industrial production due to advancement of technology, exceeded the demand of consumption at home and forced the producers to find outlets for the surplus. In return, raw material was badly needed to run the industry. Lenin, who wrote *Imperialism* in Zurich on the eve of Russian Revolution, says that the World War I was on both sides an imperialist design to distribute the world into spheres of influence of finance capital. According to Lenin, imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism and that nothing could save capitalism from eventual decay from within. The Central point of Marxist criticism of imperialism comes from Lenin's work, not from Karl Marx himself, who died in 1883, when modern imperialism had not reached its highest stage. Lenin asserts that imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism in general. His definition of imperialism includes the following five essential features.<sup>4</sup>

- (i) The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive part in economic life ;
- (ii) The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this 'finance capital' of the financial oligarchy ;
- (iii) The theory of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance ;
- (iv) The formation of international monopolist capitalist combines which share the world among themselves ;
- (v) The territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.

What Lenin wants to convey is that the finance capital is bank capital of a few biggest banks. The capitalists have monopolised the world economy and have divided the world into spheres of influence. This is what is called 'economic imperialism'.

Karl Kautsky, the chief Marxist theoretician of his period, says that imperialism should not be regarded as a 'phase' or as an economic stage but as a policy. He writes : "Imperialism is a product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to bring under its control and to annex larger and larger regions, irrespective of what nations inhabit them."<sup>5</sup> But this is not wholly a correct definition. The characteristic feature of imperialism is not industrial capital but finance capital. It tries to annex not only agrarian but even highly industrialised regions, for example, Germany's eagerness to bring Belgium under her and the French desire to exploit the resources of Lorraine.

The imperialists believe that things turned out that way because they has been ordained to be so by providence. Louis Faidherbe, France's architect of empire in Western Africa, once said, "Our intentions are pure and noble, our cause is just, the future cannot fail us." In fact he wanted to convey the message that an attack on one enclave of Power, from any side and for whatever reason, would be taken as an attack on the authority itself. Similarly, the czarist claim that the Russians were ordained by God to bring enlightenment to both Eastern Europe and Asia, seems very funny. The fate of Poles in 1863, the storming of Tashkend in Central Asia in October 1864, and the absorption of Mery in February 1884 by the Russians, are nothing but acts of expansion, though Russians tried to justify the actions each time.<sup>6</sup>

According to Marx, capitalist mode of production was governed not by satisfaction of human needs but by the drive to get surplus value from a class of wage-labourers. To obtain this surplus value, new markets are found to export commodities and the big profits are utilised to acquire means of production.<sup>7</sup>



The growth of capitalism and industrialisation of the advanced countries brought into existence a world market and international division of labour. Each capitalist state, in order to safeguard its export, made its own laws for monetary system and tariffs and put restrictions on the movement of the factors of production. These laws created rivalries and tensions among the imperial powers culminating sometime in war. Marxism claims that the progressive role of capitalism as a whole has come to an end and the era of imperialism has begun. The capitalists pushed their surplus produce into the world market with the assistance of their governments, by using their superior bargaining power with the weaker partners. Means of communication railways, bridges, roads—in the subjugated countries were built less as a benevolent step for the masses and more as means of transporting raw material to the imperialist country and strengthening the defence of the occupied territory. The monopolisation of trade by the advanced countries was noticed by Marx and Engels. It had become the dominant factor of the capitalist mode of production.<sup>8</sup> By monopoly, Marxists do not take to mean literally capturing each industry by a single firm. They employ the term 'monopoly capitalism' to indicate the passage of capitalism from its earlier stage of more or less free competition to one in which giant firms, trusts and cartels dominate the market.

Now the question arises that if the advanced capitalism is pushed through giant firms, can it be said that the decisive role in the world development was played by those forces which Marxists call super-structural. If judged by the capitalist system, the answer is no. In the countries where 'finance capital' and 'monopoly capital' came to the fore, an urge to find new markets and raw material for home industry was felt and these factors led to colonial policy. Instead of capturing regions, the modern capitalists have captured the economy of those areas and this is called 'economic imperialism'.<sup>9</sup> Marx's model of capitalist economic structure is: M—C—M (Money—Commodities—Money) i.e., capital is turned into commodities to earn more money and this is the system of private capital ownership.<sup>10</sup>

In his analysis of capitalism, Marx seems most concerned with a highly competitive kind of capitalist system in which the entrepreneurs were in the main opposed to state intervention. The decades after Marx's death produced a kind of capitalism that was permeated with monopoly and in which the businessmen insisted on state interference for protection of monopolies, for protective tariffs and for opening of foreign markets and opportunities of foreign investments. A number of Marxist writers—Rudolf Hilferding, Rosa Luxemburg and others—tried to modify Marxist theory in the light of new experiences to strengthen the Marxist policy arguments.<sup>11</sup>

Hobson and Lenin have formulated the Theory of Capitalist Imperialism, the one in terms appropriate to the tradition of liberal opposition in Britain to colonization, the other (Lenin) according to economic principles as enunciated by Marx. Yet neither can claim so much originality. Both tried to apply established economic principles and current ideas to a particular set of events in a way which appear to their readers convincing. The fact is that the Theory of Capitalist Imperialism would have existed in as much the same form even if neither had written it. The roots of the Theory lie in the general but not unanimous opinion of the nineteenth century economists that the normal tendency of the rate of profit in industrialised societies was to decline over a long period.<sup>12</sup>

Let us now examine the political aspect of the Theory. Take the case of Egypt and Transvaal. Why were they annexed? Did the investments in these areas cause their annexation? The reply is that political rather than economic motives were behind this step. The British wanted dominance over Egypt more for the security of their Indian Empire than for protection of their investments in the canal Company. Transvaal was annexed lest the unfriendly Boer Republic should take over the area. Similarly France took over Tunisia to secure its Algerian occupation to guard against a possible usurpation by Italy, rather than to protect French investments in Tunisia. The opponents of imperialism believe that capitalism at a certain stage must either export capital or be strangled by



lack of opportunity to accumulate more wealth. In Lenin's view once a capitalist country becomes 'imperialist' it would not only export capital but also would protect that capital by any means—political or other. The imperial power will try to preserve its economic control even when such regions eventually become sovereign states after decolonization. The capitalists also insisted on exporting capital to preserve the rate of profit on investments. History records that the rapid colonization, after 1870, coincided with the unprecedented economic growth of Europe.<sup>13</sup>

Rosa Luxemburg tried to prove that 'in a closed capitalist system' capital accumulation becomes actually impossible because consumption does not increase as investment increases. But the fact is that it does increase through increased productivity and in many other ways.<sup>14</sup> The reality is that the colonial empires were the product of socio-economic conditions of the imperialist states and were an inevitable outcome of their historical evolution.

World War I marked a turning point in the development of capitalism in general and of European capitalism in particular. Before 1914, European capitalism enjoyed leadership in international economic community. Gold standard was almost universal and Europe served as world's banker. After World War I, these trends were reversed. International markets shrank; gold standard was replaced by managed national currencies in many countries. Many new Asian and African countries first demanded self-government and eventually complete sovereignty from their imperial masters. The Russian Revolution gave a severe blow to the basic capitalist institutions of private property in the means of production and to the traditional forms of government and society. Above all, Laissez faire, the accepted policy of the nineteenth century, was discredited by the post war experience. The depression period of 1930s gave a crushing blow to the capitalist system. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in the United States hit the Laissez faire policy badly. Free trade was abandoned in Britain. Retreat from

the free market philosophy was almost complete under the regimes of Hitler and Mussolini in Germany and Italy, respectively.<sup>15</sup>

The Labour Party, after coming to power in 1946, nationalized the basic industries in England—coal, transportation, communications, public utilities and the Bank of England. The World War II changed the centre of capitalist world from Europe to the United States. The big finance corporations (including World Bank) are American dominated. America is the leader of the economy of the Free World or non-communist world. The economic development in underdeveloped countries does not depend so much on the economic policies of the leaders of those countries as on how much aid these areas can get from America and other developed nations. The American 'imperialism' arises chiefly for those countries which discard communist institutions and accept the American ideology and come under its sphere of influence.<sup>16</sup>

The spirit of co-existence between capitalism and communism in modern times has placed the future of capitalism in a different perspective from that of the time of Marx. The ascendancy of one of these systems over the other depends on which of them is capable of bringing about more and faster growth. A shift of economic activity from the private to the public sphere has already taken place in many countries. The exigencies of technology, organization and development have suggested to many economists that in future the public sector would occupy an expanding role in the mixed private public economies still called capitalist. Though the two economic systems are converging yet significant differences in the economic structure still exist. The capital enterprise is working well in U.S., Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and many other countries. It can be visualized that, with some adaptations to suit the needs of the modern time, capitalism can flourish and play a significant role in the economy of the developing nations.

#### British Imperialism

The British imperialism was based upon the conviction of the British people that they were a superior nation, that they had a superior



economic system and that their political institutions were superior to those of others in the world.<sup>17</sup>

A few centuries ago, the belief in the primacy of blood gave birth to three terms; Latinism, Saxonism and Albinism. Leaving aside the first two terms which are quite clear, I may explain briefly the term Albinism. Albinism is the 'doctrine of the white man' exercising his superiority or domination over the entire world. Among the Anglo-Saxons the idea of albinism was very common in Europe and elsewhere and the English had firm faith in this doctrine.<sup>18</sup> The British imperialism was at its zenith in the second half of the nineteenth century.

By the end of the middle ages the English cloth industry monopolised cloth trade in Europe. The industry grew at a rapid rate during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. It was the woolen industry that spearheaded the British capitalism as a social and economic system and rooted it for the first time in England. As explained earlier, the surplus commodities at home forced the British home industry to find new markets abroad. Productive use of the 'social surplus' was the special virtue that enabled capitalism to outstrip all prior economic systems. The capital earned was invested in ship-building, enlarging the industries, and the purchase of raw materials. Thus the 'social surplus' was changed into enlarged productive capacity.<sup>19</sup>

The nature of force directing the British imperialism changed from period to period. In the eighteenth century conquest was made for trade and in the early nineteenth century territories were captured not merely for trade but for investments. The causes for the rapid growth of British holdings after 1870, the era of 'new imperialism', were: desire of business magnates for quick and heavy profits; lust for power and mastery; political, strategic and diplomatic considerations; need for raw material; and the conviction of missionaries that they had to 'civilize' the world.<sup>20</sup>

Political bargaining had always been a directive force behind the British imperialism. For example, the British ambassador informed the

Russian government in 1860 that Her Majesty's Government would not mind an increase in Russian influence in Central Asia. In fact, what the British envoy wanted to convey to the Russians was that the Russian influence should not penetrate into Persia and Afghanistan, the countries neighbouring British India, whose security could be endangered in case of Russian advances near the British border. Again, we find that Lord Rosebery, the Liberal Prime Minister of England, allowed Russia in 1894 to capture the Armenian provinces of Ottoman Turkey if in return Russia would recognize Britain's special position in Egypt. This shows that the British had presumed that what they would do was right, and that if the same course of action was taken by any other power it would be regarded unjust and an act of aggression.<sup>21</sup>

During the years 1885-89 'Scramble for Africa' was at its highest. But unlike the preceding years, they were marked by a revival of Anglo-German co-operation under the direction of Lord Salisbury and Bismarck. England had adopted a more friendly attitude towards Central Powers because she was concerned about the security of the Nile Valley and her African possessions.

The characteristic of British imperialism after 1870 was the competition of the rival Empires—German, French, Russian etc. Leaving aside India, Canada, New-Zealand and Australia, Britain asserted political sway over vast areas of Africa and Asia. At the end of the nineteenth century, the size of the British Empire was about 13,000,000 sq. miles, with a population of 400 to 420 millions. One third of this Empire was acquired between 1870-1900. Following is a list of some of the areas with the year of their acquisition, to give a picture of the rise of the imperialism during the second half of nineteenth century: Cyprus (1878); Zanzibar and Pemba (1888); East Africa Protectorate (1895); Uganda Protectorate (1894-95); Lagos (1889-99); Egypt (1882); Egyptian Sudan (1892); Hong Kong (1898); Upper Burma (1887); Indian States (1881-1890); British New Guinea (1888) and Fiji Island (1874).



In order to justify British imperialism, British statesmen, like Aisraeli and Joseph Chamberlain, advocated that if ever England was reduced to 'Little England' (i.e. if the British Empire squeezed to the United Kingdom) half of the world population would starve. British imperialism was not a form of survival, but the sole policy of survival.<sup>23</sup> Not to have an empire would mean an economic chaos and disaster in England. Fieldhouse, the British economist, is also of the view that the empires built after 1870 were not an option but a necessity for the advanced countries of Europe and America. Reason: due to advanced technology capitalist states were forced to sell their surplus to the less advanced countries. The investments made in those areas eventually necessitated their annexation.<sup>24</sup> Chamberlain pleaded for abandoning the free trade system. He said, "This too had become a form of 'metaphysique politique'. It had been an admirably serviceable policy in the days when Britain was the unchallenged workshop of the world." It had indeed been a natural imperialist policy of the mid-Victorian manufacturers, although Cobden and Bright would have shuddered, had they ever heard it called by that name.

The over-populated Britain wanted some outlets to ease the situation at home. The ever increasing number of engineers, mechanics, medical doctors, scientists and other professionals found it difficult to earn a good living in the British Isles. So the immigrants moved to the lands under the British flag. The British investors also knew that if machinery and tools remained in the hands of white settlers, their capital would be in safer hands. The British Government on the other hand also wanted to have the English civil servants to run the administration of the colony and the British sailors and soldiers to man the navies and armies of the colonies. The capital realised from the colonies was invested on ship-building, guns and naval equipment. This was the economic outcome of the British imperialism.

Every advanced industrial nation intended to place a large share of its capital outside the limits of its own political area, in foreign countries

or in colonies. So did the British capitalists. It was estimated that in 1893, the British capital invested abroad formed 15 per cent of the total wealth of Britain. One half of it was given as loan to foreign and colonial governments and the other half was invested in construction and maintenance of roads, bridges and irrigation systems. The amount of colonial trade is impressive. The trade of Dominions and colonies of Great Britain, before 1939, was eleven billion dollars i.e., 74 per cent of the total trade of the world's colonies, whereas the possessions and protectorates of the United States accounted for 10 per cent or a billion and a half dollars and the French colonies made 6 per cent or about one billion dollars only.<sup>25</sup>

Each of the imperialist countries tried to some degree to monopolize the trade of its possessions, the doctrine of 'open door' being given mere lip service. In the British Empire differential duties were adopted by the self-governing Dominions, under the name of 'imperial preference'. The preferential rates were also enforced in Rhodesia, the British West Indies, Cyprus and Fiji. But the fact remains that discriminating tariffs don't always achieve their objective. For example, Canada purchased only 17 per cent of her imports from Britain and 67 per cent from the United States despite the policy of imperial preference during 1920.<sup>26</sup>

British imperialism at times 'acquired' some regions in the name of defence and security of her Empire; on other occasions Britain enforced her domination over an area because of its strategic position. The Punjab, Sind, and Lower Burma, on the frontiers of British India; Basutoland, Griqualand and the Transvaal on the Cape frontier and some areas in West Africa were all allegedly taken as a defensive measure or for the protection of the indigenous people.<sup>27</sup> Late in the nineteenth century, economic considerations became sub-ordinate to political interests in the British imperial policy and the 'contiguous area theory' was not the only theory advanced as a cause for British expansion. For instance, East Africa was not strictly contiguous to the British colonies of that time. Nigeria and Rhodesia were annexed too suddenly and or too large



a scale to be seen as the product of the domestic needs of Lagos or the Cape. The British strategists annexed a strategic peninsula because it controlled a strait. It must be controlled by the British navy, if the British were to prosper.<sup>28</sup>

Different factors have been stated to have pressed Britain for expansion in Africa. When the British entered Egypt, the 'Scramble for Africa' began and as long as they stayed in Cairo, it continued until there was no more Africa for partition. In West Africa, the businessmen needed government protection; the anti-slavery groups and British missionaries asked the government to take Uganda; the bondholders and traders urged the home government to bring the Nile Valley under her control and in South Africa the white settlers needed more Whitehall protection. In all regions north of Rhodesia, the imperative which decided which territory to reserve and which to renounce was the safety of the routes to the East. Britain's over-riding purpose in Africa was security in Egypt, the Mediterranean and the Orient.<sup>29</sup>

The colonies with English speaking white settlers were the first to be granted Dominion status. Canada could not be ruled like Egypt with a Khedive with British advisers. South African and Australian settlers could not be dictated at gunpoint. The white colonists insisted on self-government, which is the antithesis of imperialism, for in the strict sense imperialism means domination and exercise of power. For domination it was necessary to substitute federation or some other form of association. This problem of 'Imperial federation' and British-Dominion relations was very wisely settled by the British Government. Strictly speaking, Dominions were not part of the British Empire in the same way as colonies. A new term, 'British Commonwealth of Nations', was coined for the old name, 'British Empire.' As the settlers in these Dominions had come mainly from England, they were acquainted with the British political institutions. These dominions (Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand) were entrusted with a share in the task of governing the subject empire. In short, there are two separate political entities and the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the Commonwealth rules the Empire.<sup>30</sup>

In the Imperial Conference of 1911, Sir Joseph Ward, the Premier of New Zealand, suggested the establishment of an Imperial Parliament, consisting of representatives from the United Kingdom and the Dominions. The proposal was not approved for the fear that such a body as an Imperial Council would infringe the imperial autonomy. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom rejected the proposal on the ground that the responsibility of the Imperial government in foreign affair treaties and war and peace must remain unimpaired and could be shared with none.<sup>31</sup>

Every policy has its effects and repercussions and so had the British imperialism. Whereas the British imperialism had enjoyed glory and prestige in the eyes of the world powers, the British capitalist class sucked the economy of the areas and drew heavy profits. It had many good points as well. Rudolf Hilferding's statement that capitalism provides to the oppressed peoples means and methods of achieving their freedom and people become conscious of nationalism,<sup>32</sup> comes true on the test of history. We find that the two world wars gave an impetus to nationalism in the colonial countries, as peoples were already uniting themselves against foreign rule.

To stem the tide of nationalism once it had risen was not possible either for Conservatives or the Labourites in England, as this required a large standing army consisting of white troops. For instance, the French army fought long to maintain the French Empire in Indo-China and Algeria, but ultimately the French had to withdraw from these areas.

The western allies during the Second World War had all along propagated that they were fighting against tyranny and for the rights of the people. Such an impression generated feelings of self-determination and freedom among the nations of the world. The result was that the countries under the control of colonial powers sided with their masters and fought vigorously against the Axis powers. That is why soon after the end of the War in 1945 the colonies cried for political independence. Though



Britain had won the War, yet it had been exhausted completely and was not in a position to stem the tide of nationalism any more. Hence she had to liberate the countries under her control. It would not be inappropriate to say that despite all its havoc and destruction for mankind the war proved a blessing in disguise for the people of the colonized countries, bringing in its wake independence to most of the enslaved countries within twenty years.

In fact the British government had foreseen much earlier the reaction that was to come against her colonialism. Gladstone and other Liberals condemned the annexation of Transvaal and the interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The Labour Party of Britain declared in 1928 that, "it viewed with great concern the appalling evils produced by capitalist exploitation in certain of the tropical and sub-tropical parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations."<sup>33</sup> Mr. Clement Attlee, leader of British Labour Party, said when the World War II had just begun that his party repudiated imperialism and that it had "always been conscious of the wrongs done by the white races to the races with darker skins."<sup>34</sup>

Since the Britishers had realized that they had ultimately to leave the colonies, they, very wisely, started training the natives in many fields to take up the administration when the British rule comes to an end.

As a long range policy, the British took the following steps in the colonies. They trained the British subjects in different fields of administration, to man the institutions of self-government and to build a modern economy. Many schemes of economic development were enforced to raise the living standard and to develop agriculture because economy almost all the colonies was mainly based on agriculture. They tried to improve industrial and technological facilities, sufficient to assure the colony an income from world market, at the time of and after its independence. The institutions of self-government were introduced gradually to culminate in the creation of legislative bodies. The cabinets were formed of native elected representatives. They planned to leave a country in such

a friendly atmosphere that it may remain in the British Commonwealth, after attaining its independence.

It can be concluded that the British government had foreseen the effects of the liberal Western education and the rise of socialist tendencies in the world. She was, therefore, quick to change her former colonial attitude and started taking self-rule measures through a slow process. The theory that the Britons are a race like the Romans, with a genius of government, is proved by their efforts to spread throughout the world the art of representative government, which they practise at home. Judging from the way nationalism is gaining momentum in the present times the probability is that the British Empire will be squeezed to British Isles alone in the near future.

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## MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING

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The main purpose of this article is to analyse the nature and importance of the motivational factors in English language learning in Pakistan, particularly at the post-secondary stage when learners become fully aware of their learning objectives. Prior to that the young learner's interest and performance are motivated by factors present in his immediate environment, of which he is very rarely conscious. At this age, the learner may be motivated by the familial influence or an early and successful exposure to L<sub>2</sub>, or he may be inspired and encouraged by the teacher in the classroom so much so that he begins to enjoy its learning. But when he grows up and the outside or impersonal factors start influencing his interests and decisions, he is compelled to think about his choice, which very naturally has a bearing on his motivation.<sup>1</sup>

An examination of the motivational factors which influence the learning of English in Pakistan should be useful and practically valuable in a situation of declining standard of English. One may imagine that if the second language learner is unwilling to learn it, or feels disinterested in the learning activity, or, for one reason or another, is hostile when he is forced to learn it, his chances of attainment are very remote. On the other hand, when a learner is keen and feels convinced of the practical utility of learning the new language, he may be expected to make good progress in achieving reasonable communicative competence in it.

Linguists have mentioned two types of motivation, 'integrative and 'instrumental'. The first refers to the desire of a second language learner to participate in some way in the social or cultural life of the community which speaks this language. He might try to share some cultural and



intellectual pursuits with the natives or might desire to look like them. This is essentially the attitude of migrants or minority groups. The example of the Asians in U.K. is quite appropriate.

'Instrumental' motivation implies that the learner hopes to promote his career prospects or to gain some material advantages through the mastery of the target language—objectives which he feels are unattainable otherwise. When the Punjab University was founded in 1882, the original objectives gave prominence to the promotion of Oriental Languages, giving due importance to English also. Since English was the language of the rulers and guaranteed better jobs and social prestige, achievement of excellence in it became a popular objective. A high level of proficiency, an almost native-like command of English, became a universal goal. This attitude served as a major source of motivation for the learners. However, in the post-Independence period, the change in the situation has brought about a qualitative change in the general attitude. The Urdu-English rivalry has lowered motivation.

Considering the English Language learning situation in Pakistan, we may say that the 'integrative' element is insignificant, while the 'instrumental' is quite important. Every student is aware that English is an indispensable tool for higher and technical education and the amount of sophistication involved here is so great that complete reliance on Urdu, if it is the medium of instruction, might deprive him of contact with advanced knowledge, which is available only in English. Lack of terminology available in Urdu, scarcity of textbooks and fresh materials pertaining to technical subjects, and the practice of going to English speaking countries—U.K., U.S.A., Canada, Australia, etc.—for higher education, have accorded to English a very high prestige. Furthermore, the opportunities of employment in the international market are greater if one has good proficiency in English. These and other factors, no doubt, increase motivation as the learner is fully aware of the advantages he will have with an appreciable knowledge of English.

Motivation can also be discussed from another angle, from the point of view of its status in education and in the society where it is taught. Some people learn a foreign language because they need it for specific purposes, in which case only genuinely motivated persons would learn it. But when it is forced upon every student as a compulsory subject, the chances of a favourable response may be expected to be very remote and when there are mixed attitudes towards it, the result should be even more hopeless. Wilkins has very correctly said that "One person may be studying a language 'because he wants to,' another 'because he has to'." The former would probably be thought to be better motivated."<sup>2</sup>

What makes the Pakistani context so unique is the socio-psychological factor, to which fluctuations in motivation may be greatly attributed.

The learner of English may be inspired by the attentive parent, a good teacher, the culturally sophisticated life of the family, personal learning style and success therefrom, or by an intense understanding of the benefits of learning it. In all these cases, working individually or collectively, the learner reaps the gains provided by various motivational factors.

At an early age, when the young learner of English has no choice but to learn it, the question of motivation is exclusively related to personal or institutional factors. The influence of the family, of the teacher and of the teaching conditions in the institution, plays a major role in determining the level of motivation. We may add to that the elements of success or the avoidance of failure. When the learner makes satisfactory progress and is rewarded with approval of the teacher he is encouraged to take more interest in learning English. And if, for personal or impersonal reasons, he fails to make a steady progress and is conscious of his poor performance, his motivation is naturally weak and low.

"In the actual classroom situation", says Steinberg, "any one or a number of variables could affect motivation. Teachers are generally well aware of this possibility and thus often devise ways to increase positive motivation and attitudes."<sup>3</sup> This underscores the possibility



and need of devising ways to motivate the learner. Our classrooms are crowded and ill-equipped, most of the teachers are untrained or poorly trained, and they are partly responsible for lowering the level of motivation. Although it is true that all the sources of motivation are not present in the classroom, yet those that are should be fully tapped for effective language learning.

At the elementary stage the learner is not called upon to make a decision to learn English, but when he crosses the secondary stage and goes to college he comes to know the place of English in education, in his personal career, and in the society in general. In other words, the adult learner starts feeling about English in the light of the attitudes of the community. This is an important factor which has not so far been explored, but which is very important.

D. A. Wilkins clarifies this point very aptly. He says: "If social attitudes are negative, the overall achievement can be relatively poor no matter how well he (the teacher) does his job. If social attitudes are positive learning may proceed even where teaching is not particularly efficient. The achievement will be highest where attitudes and teaching together promote effective learning and lowest where attitudes are negative and teaching is weak."<sup>4</sup> We can verify the truth of the statement from the language controversies, mostly undertaken by the supporters of the Urdu language who attack English mostly on cultural grounds and who claim that English is an instrument of cultural domination of the West and local vested interest. They also claim that its universal teaching in Pakistan is responsible for cultural alienation of the educated class, as a result of which academic and social disadvantages play a negative role in our national life. This attitude has, to a great extent, been lent strength by the ambiguities and uncertainties created by the national language policies. The first education Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Fazal-ur-Rehman, in his speech made in 1948, underlined the need of an increasing role of the national language in education and other fields of national activity, acknowledging at the same time

the importance and utility of English. The National Commission on Education in 1962 is more vocal on the use of Urdu and Bengali, then national languages of Pakistan, retaining English at the same time as an indispensable means of acquiring modern knowledge and ensuring international contacts. The other successive national language policies have almost repeated the same line of thinking. The ambivalent attitude towards English encouraged by these policies has baffled the college student, who is torn between the nationalist sentiment and the practical needs. He cannot do without either of the two languages.

When an adult learner's mind is not clear about the precise role of the second language in education, as well as in his future career, the level of motivation in his case should naturally fall. This is true in the case of an individual learner and the planning of teaching in general. We may quote here the words of a psycho-linguist, Steven H. McDonough: "The sources of motivation may or may not be present in the classroom."<sup>5</sup> He further states that "Only a few types of motivation are under the instructor's control."<sup>6</sup>

The attitudes to English both of learners and the society in general are, besides the language policies, greatly influenced by the prevailing cultural atmosphere. However, in the absence of scientific and empirical research, precise conclusions are hard to draw. But the factors mentioned above have, one can say unhesitatingly, brought down the level of motivation in the learning of English. English has academically the status of a second language, but is the second-second language, the real L<sub>2</sub> being Urdu. The confusion resulting from the uncertainty of the real status of English, coupled with its exact relevance to the personal and career requirements of the college learner, tells upon his attitudes and motivation.

In the recent years, attempts have been made to clarify the status of English in our education, and in the spheres of public administration and official correspondence its role is being rightly reduced in favour of the national language. The general consensus seems to be that while retaining



English as a compulsory language up to the level of B.A., its role should be restricted to higher education, particularly in the case of science and technical and professional education, to subjects which for their technical nature, cannot be taught in Urdu. The recommendations made by a group of teachers in 1980 at the end of the seminar on the Teaching of English organised by the University Grants Commission lead to the same conclusion.<sup>7</sup>

The institutional conditions are also an adverse motivational factor in the learning of English. English is taught as a compulsory subject at the secondary and degree stages for 9 years. What disheartens both the teacher and the learner is the classroom situation. The learner is under compulsion and unwilling; the class is over-crowded and beyond the control of the teacher. Most of the teachers of English are untrained, even professionally incompetent and personally frustrated in their career; institutional arrangements for the teaching of English are inadequate; sometimes the time-table is unsuitable and number of periods and chances of follow-up and revision are not taken into consideration. All these facts leave no room for the required motivational level. These conditions can only strangle personal incentive and drive.

Still another factor relates to the teaching strategies and classroom procedures. A teacher can motivate the language learner by making teaching enjoyable and interesting. An effective use of suitable techniques can also stimulate interest in the students. But we have the most prohibitive conditions and procedures of teaching English. The grammar-translation method is universally used, and in the hands of untrained teachers, doing their job half-heartedly, it hardly produces any results. At the higher stages, the teachers and the students don't feel involved in the process of teaching and learning, because they are doubtful about the real value of what they learn. Thus, the unproductive methods of instruction generate retardation.

There is no doubt that motivation is easy to inculcate at an early age, but at the advanced stage when, as in Pakistan, the teaching of English

becomes extensive, it is no more easy. For the adult learner of English it is absolutely necessary to be aware of the language learning situation. Wilkins states this problem very succinctly: "Motivation has to do with the reasons for learning and with attitudes—attitudes towards the language, towards the group that speaks the language as a mother-tongue, and towards bilingualism itself."<sup>8</sup> He does not elaborate this pertinent observation; had he done so he would have explored an utterly neglected, but very important area of study in the context of the role of motivation in language learning. The views expressed here can explain why confusion over the objectives of learning English still persists in our society. The hostile attitude towards English culture and English language, so commonly found around us, neutralizes all efforts made to rectify the situation. On top of this, the unholy language controversy is continuously carried on by people who have virtually no qualification to speak on the subject. It is a pity that an issue on which the future of our education depends is debated mostly by the philistines.

The second language learning issue cannot be treated in isolation, it is connected with the total educational set up. Who does not know that the educational process or classroom procedures are ineffective and students are dis-involved and are indifferent to learning English? In these conditions, proper attention to the second language learning can hardly be expected. The general attitude of the students towards English, as a somewhat difficult subject among other subjects, has made them almost hostile to it and only a very intelligently framed remedial strategy can meet this challenge.

So far we have tried to analyse the influence of motivational factors pertaining to the socio-linguistic scene and to pinpoint the areas of adverse influence, but this is only one part of the total perspective. The role of pedagogy and teaching materials available to the teacher and the student also deserve mentioning. The classroom procedures, in view of large classes, unwilling learners, untrained, incompetent and frustrated teachers, inadequate resources, have made the generation and preservation of



motivation nearly impossible. But if the conditions of learning are improved and made interesting and enjoyable, motivation will be higher.

As far as possible, strategies should be devised to intensify motivation, particularly at the advanced stages when the learner has greater awareness of the learning objectives, conditions of retardation and personal benefits. In spite of the fact that many motivational factors lie outside the classroom a lot can be done by the conscientious teacher to inspire the learner to put in greater effort and to attain better level of performance. The teacher can clarify the objectives of learning English, not by making rhetorical statements in the classroom, but by discussing its uses and benefits for the student, whether in getting a good job or making progress in his career. Secondly, by using new techniques of teaching, involving the student actively, he can motivate him to learn better. Our current teaching practice is full of absurdities and stupendous irrationalities, which are fully backed by traditionalism prevailing in the academic institutions. If the teacher makes a departure from the practice of lecturing and uses intelligent methods of involving his students in the learning activities, or assigns learning tasks involving group system, or gives instructions and practical assistance for gradual self-reliance, he is likely to be successful in improving their motivation.

The afore-mentioned obstacles to motivation should be scrutinised by the English teachers so that the present apathy found in the learning of English may be minimized. It is true that the sources of motivation may or may not be present in the classroom, and that only a few types of motivation are under the instructor's control, but this should not deter us from attempting to stimulate it.

So far we have tried to analyse the socio-linguistic scene and to pinpoint the areas of adverse influence, but this is only one part of the total perspective. The role of pedagogy and teaching materials available to the teacher and the student also deserve mentioning. The classroom procedures, in view of large classes, unwilling learners, untrained, incompetent and frustrated teachers, inadequate resources, have made the generation and preservation of

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The Maghals did not consider drawing to be an end in itself, but used it to make paintings. European artists had a scientific approach towards the depiction of the human body. They even dissected the human



# COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MUGHAL AND EUROPEAN DRAWINGS

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This paper is an attempt to analyse Mughal Drawings as pictorial problems and also as complete works of art, and to compare them with Western drawings. In the West, drawing has been treated in both the above mentioned ways, but the Western approach was mostly from the study point of view. Michelangelo's drawings are made so as to produce sculptures or Frescos out of them. The drawing for his painting is reproduced on Plate I 'Libyan Sibyl'<sup>1</sup>, the face, hands, back and other parts of the body have been drawn a number of times as preliminary studies. On the other hand, Giacometti's 'Still Life with Apples'<sup>2</sup> (Plate II) is a complete work of art. The effect of space has been created by diffusing one form with another with special emphasis on line. The use of line is also very unusual. It is unlike the definite and precise line of Leonardo and Ingres. He uses line like the web of a spider, ultimately creating unity in the picture. Seurat depicts an object by merely shading, as in (Plate III, Fig. 1) 'Seated woman with an umbrella.'<sup>3</sup> In this drawing shape and volume are shown by shading and the line is omitted, whereas 'Princess Murat' and 'Panlin Bourghese'<sup>4</sup> by Ingres (Plate IV) is on the other extreme, and line is used to describe form. There have also been artists depending on shading as well as on line to get the plastic quality in their work. For example, 'Study of a Woman's Hand'<sup>5</sup> by Leonardo (Plate V) falls in this category. Line can be bold, sensitive and calligraphic.

The Mughals did not consider drawing to be an end in itself, but used it to make paintings. European artist had a scientific approach towards the depiction of the human body. They even dissected the human



body in order to understand its complicated structure, and Leonardo, who wrote the first complete book on Anatomy, epitomises this approach, whereas Mughal artist's knowledge of the human body was based on mere observation. Their finished pictures were built up from these studies from life. It is stated in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that "His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm."<sup>6</sup> "The delicate drawing and subtle modelling of the likeness is there in its perfection, and by means of these qualities one realises the character and soul of the original—actually look into the heart of the man himself. Contemporary historian may have described this distinguished individual according to his own dictation—fulsome and flattering—but the artist has sub-consciously presented him, as his deeds had marked him, great or petty, kind or cruel, generous or miserly, true or false, strong or vacillating these qualities reveal themselves, touch by touch, through the fine brush, dexterous hand and observant eye of this brilliant character delineator."<sup>7</sup>

Mughal paintings are fundamentally linear and calligraphic and their drawings were likewise. The sketch of Akbar<sup>8</sup> (Plate VI, Fig. 2), is an excellent study of the face. In this drawing, shading is eliminated but the plastic quality is achieved through thick and thin, dark and light lines. The artist, through his acute observation, has successfully brought out the personality of the Emperor. This bears comparison with the portrait studies by Ingres, who uses subtle shading and gives emphasis to line. The other three sketches, Fig. 1,<sup>9</sup> 3,<sup>10</sup> and 4,<sup>11</sup> although they have been executed at different times of the Mughal period, show the real daughtmanship of the Mughal artists. Mughal artists in their study of the portraits usually executed the head in detail whereas the rest of the body was treated in less detail. In portraits, figures were mostly represented with jewels, flowers or hand on the hilt of the sword to show the character of the sitter. In (Plate VII) 'Sketch Portrait'<sup>12</sup> the seated figure is holding in his hand a flower showing his peace loving nature. This is their symbolic way of representing the character of the model. The line is very delicate

and sensitive. The Mughal school being a school of conventions, had set rules and principles even while studying from life. In the majority of their studies the face is in profile while the body is shown in three quarters. Unlike the Rajputs, who paint profile faces with front eyes, the Mughals use profile face with profile eyes, which rest in the eye-sockets, such as in the 'Sketch Portrait of the Emperor Jahangir'<sup>13</sup> (Plate III, Fig. 2). It is interesting to note that even if any portion of the face is enlarged, proportion will not be lost. In this sketch the artist did not forget to capture the mood by showing the furrows on his forehead. Studies of Jahangir have been made from his childhood to his old age and they have both documentary and aesthetic value.

Another exceptionally fine Mughal drawing (reproduced on Plate VIII) is 'Portrait of Sher Mhammad Nawab'<sup>14</sup> by Nadir of Samargand, painted C. 1615, A.D. Special emphasis has been given to capture the fleeting expression of the face. The drawing of the hand is minutely observed whereas the rest of the body is treated in outline. Unnecessary folds are avoided and important folds are indicated with a few lines. With the change of form the line also changes its character.

'The Dying Man'<sup>15</sup> (Plate IX) is a preparatory drawing for a finished painting. It is a portrait of Inayat Khan (d. 1618).<sup>16</sup> He was an intimate attendant of Jahangir. He was addicted to drugs, which ultimately put him on his death bed. When emperor Jahangir came to know of this, he deputed an artist to make a painting of him. It is a remarkable drawing and can be compared with any European drawing. The minute study of the figure and the fine quality of the line reminds one of 'The Portrait of the Artist's Mother'<sup>17</sup> by Durer (Plate X, Fig. 2). The artist has emphasised the emaciated body and the haggard face by placing huge pillows around the subject, and as Jahangir wrote in his memoir: "He was skin drawn over bones."<sup>18</sup> The drawing is spontaneous, self-explanatory, and gives greater pleasure than the painting executed from it. In the drawing more attention has been paid to the



main subject, whereas in the finished painting more emphasis is given to the environment where Inayat Khan was lying on his death bed.

The keen interest of the Mughal artists in the study of animals, birds and plants can not be overlooked, particularly during the reign of Jahangir who "was personally interested in their appearance and habits. His memoirs contain constant references to his study of any unusual species, and in rare birds, he took a keen delight. Of these he frequently ordered his artists to make paintings."<sup>19</sup>

Not only that, he was an ardent lover of nature and was always accompanied by a staff of painters who were ready to depict any rare flower or scene which pleased the emperor. An album was prepared which consisted of the portraits of animals, birds and paintings of rare flowers. The most important artists who specialized in this field were Monahar and Ustad Mansur. Jahangir records in his memoirs that Ustad Mansur "has become Nider ul-Asr (wonder of the age) and in the art of drawing is unique in his generation,"<sup>20</sup> Monahar, another outstanding artist, started his career in Akbar's days but worked during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. We have large number of their paintings but unfortunately we do not have record of any drawings.

The drawing, 'Sketches of goats'<sup>21</sup> (Plate XI), reflects Jahangir's interest in animals. In fact, he actually bred a few kids of markhor goats and Barbary ewes. These animals amused him by their liveliness, laughable ways, gamboling and leaping. He entrusted the job of drawing these movements of the kids to one of his painters, who successfully drew the spirited movements of these kids, which was unusual in Mughal drawings.

Another example (Plate XII) is 'The World of Animals'.<sup>22</sup> In this fine drawing, animals, birds and fish have been executed very clearly with the help of a few lines. The composition is satisfactory, the artist has beautifully harmonized them in the landscape. The drawing is lightly coloured and is an excellent zoological record.

It can be concluded that the studies of the animals and birds have been made with close observation, rendered realistically with minute detail. These are by no means inferior to the drawing, 'A Hare',<sup>23</sup> by Durer (Plate X, Fig. 1).

Mughal drawings were primarily intended to be preparatory studies for finished paintings and not complete works of art in themselves. Yet, in the author's view, in delicacy of treatment, subtlety of observation, and intensity of expression, they exceeded the somewhat cold, if highly accomplished, paintings, that were developed from them, and exceeded them as a source of aesthetic pleasure. At the risk of repetition the reader's attention is drawn to the drawing of 'The Dying Man' and the painting<sup>24</sup> rendered from it. The difference is obvious and fully supports the author's contention.

In the History of Art there are other such examples, and many derived greater pleasure from the drawings of such masters as Ingres and Holbien than they do from their paintings, but in these cases one is referring to the works of individuals and not schools.

Mughal drawings have not received the attention they merit, and it is possibly because of this that so few have survived. The loss is greater indeed. For the Mughal school is unique in that its drawings are a greater source of aesthetic pleasure than its paintings.

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19. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Moghals*, (Oxford, 1924) p. 128-129.
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7. *Ibid*, p. 81.
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PLATE I : 'Libyan Sibyl' by Michelanglos.





PLATE II : 'Still Life with Apples' by Giacometti.



PLATE II: 'The Emperor Jahangir' by Chitrakut

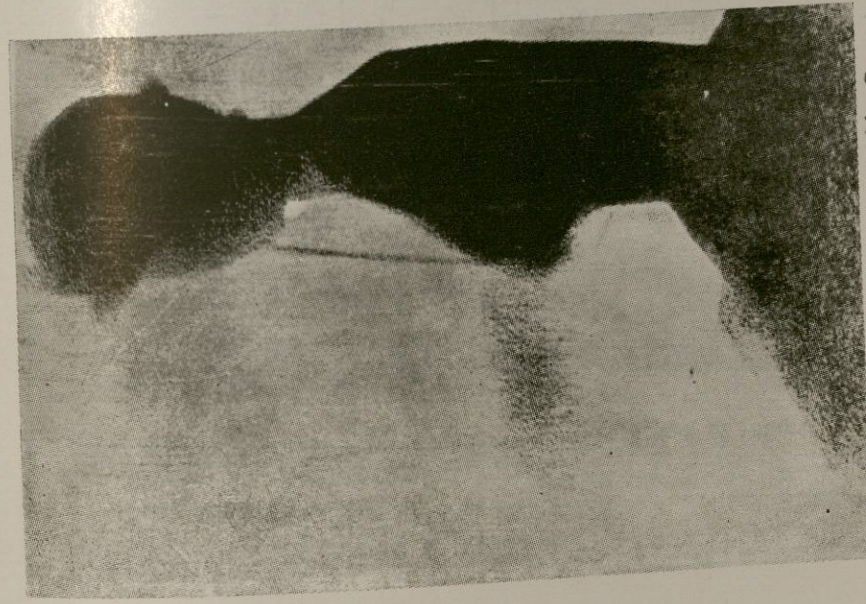


PLATE III: Fig. 1. 'Seated woman' by Seurat.



Fig. 2. 'Sketch Portrait of the Emperor Jahangir'.



PLATE III: 'Study of a Woman's Hand' by Leonardo

PLATE IV: 'Princess Murat and Panlin Bourghese' by Ingres



PLATE IV : 'Princess Murat and Panlin Bourghese' by Ingres.

PLATE V : 'Study of a Woman's Hand' by Leonardo



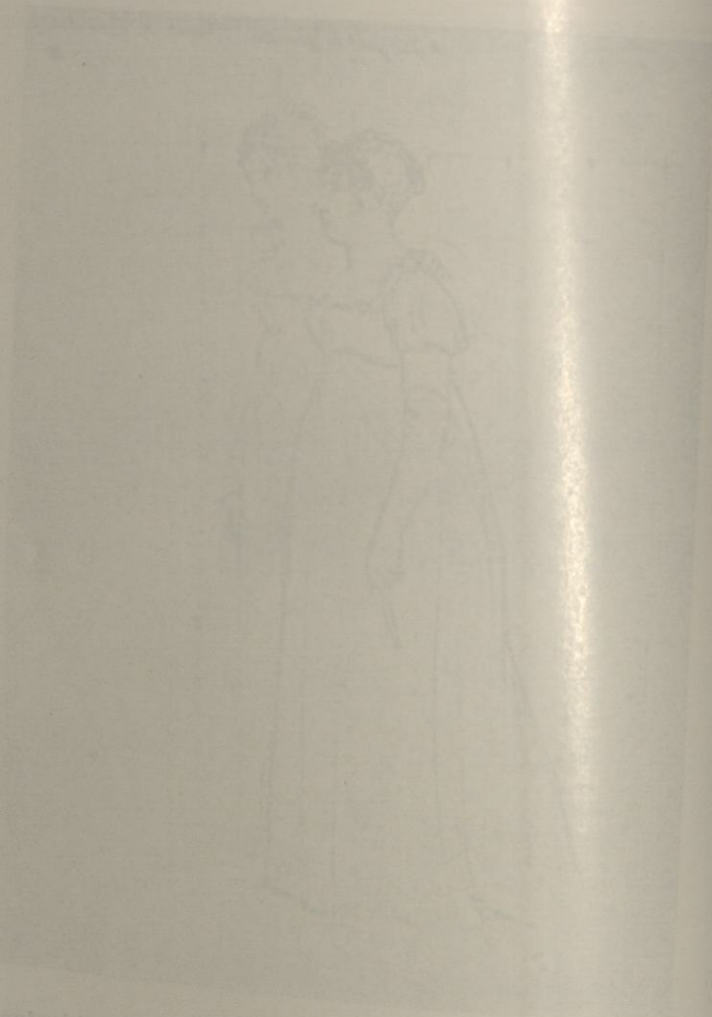


PLATE IV : 'Prisoners Mourning and Pining for Death', by Leonardo.



PLATE V : 'Study of a Woman's Hand' by Leonardo.



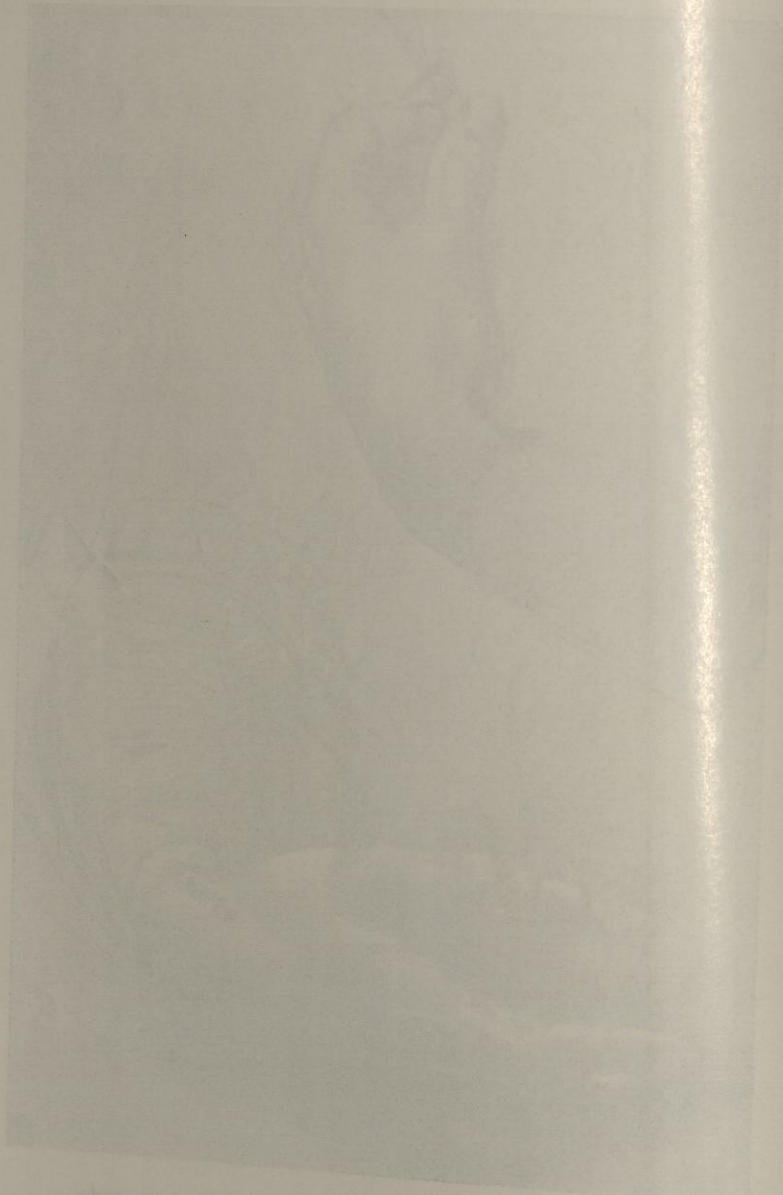


Fig. 1. 'Hakim Masih-uz-Zaman'  
by Mir Hashim.



Fig. 2. 'Akbar' (?)



Fig. 3. 'A Prince' (Aurangzeb?)



Fig. 4. 'Jahangir' (?)

PLATE VI

PLATE V : Study of a Woman's Head by Mir Hashim





PLATE VII : 'Sketch Portrait'

PLATE VIII : 'Portrait of Sher Muhammad Nawab'  
by Nadir of Samarkand.





PLATE VIII : 'Portrait of Sher Mohammad Nawab'  
by Nadir of Samarqand.



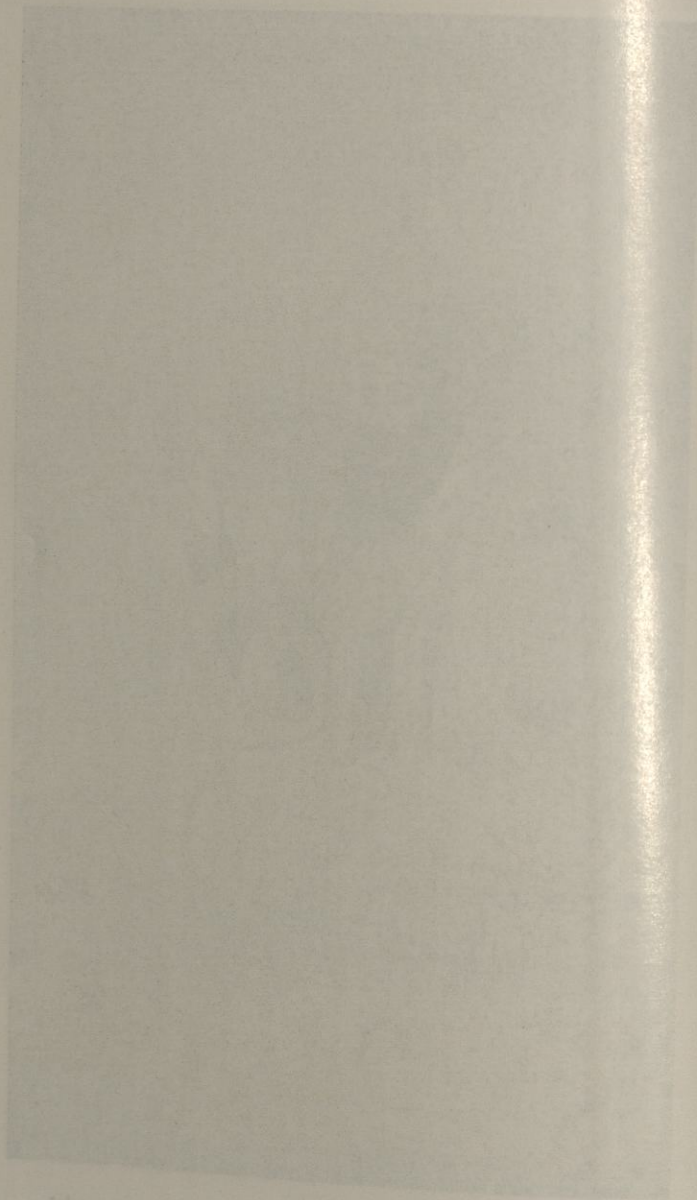


PLATE VII : 'Portrait of the Mother of the Prophet'.



PLATE IX : 'The Dying Man'.



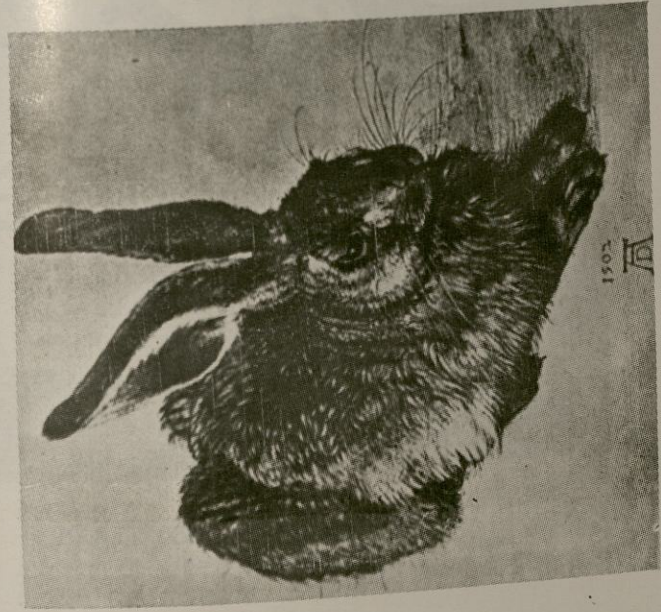
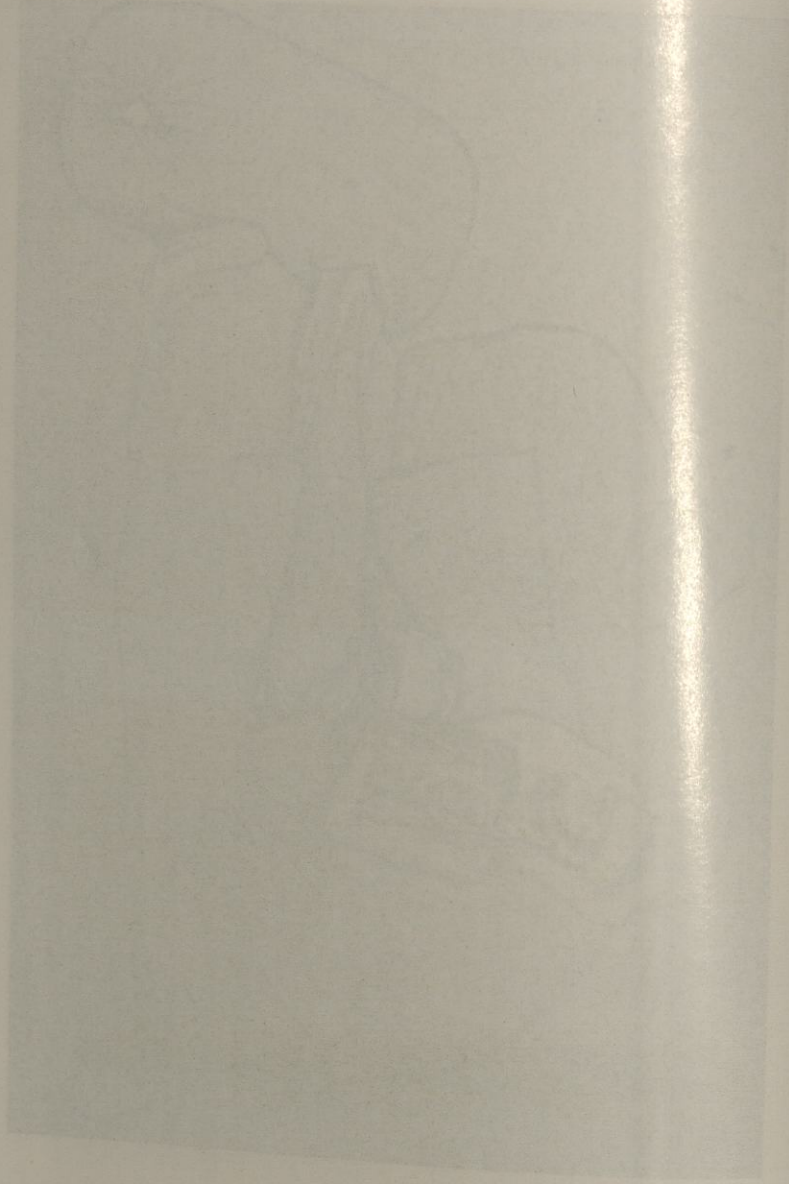


Fig. 1. 'A Hare' by Durer.



Fig. 2. 'The Portrait of the Artist's Mother' by Durer.



Fig. 1. A goat, from the Vindolanda papyrus.

Fig. 2. A goat, from the Vindolanda papyrus.

Fig. 3. A goat, from the Vindolanda papyrus.



PLATE XI : 'Sketches of goats'.



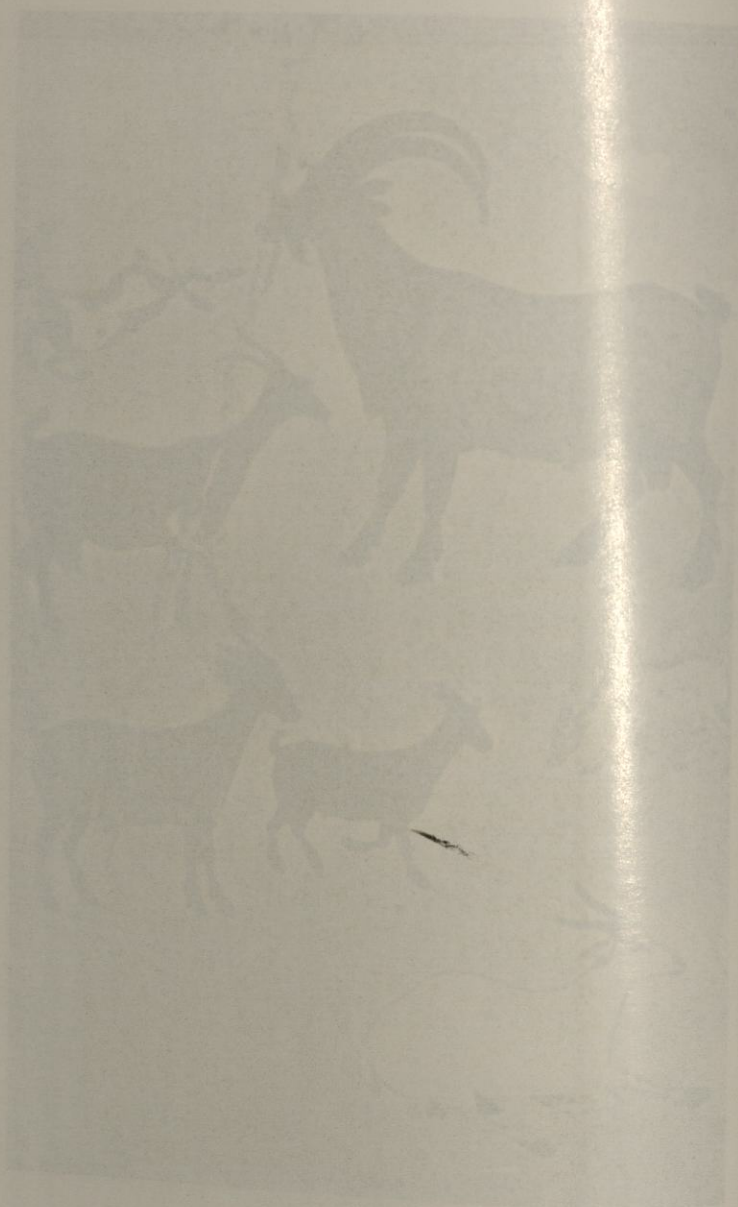


PLATE XI: 'The World of Animals'.



PLATE XII: 'The World of Animals'.



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It is a matter of common observation that often certain facts of chronology are associated with historical personalities which have hardly any factual validity. These facts find a place in the history of art even if they are not assessed in their historical sequence. If such mis-statements of historical facts belong to common parlance they stand in need of rectification but when such fallacies begin to find a place in books of reference, it becomes an obligation for students of history to make the best of effort to remove them.

For instance, it is commonly stated in the history of Mughal Painting that Mansur, the famous bird and animal painter of the Mughal period belongs to the period of Jahangir. This misunderstanding has probably arisen out of a statement from the *Memoirs of Jahangir*, which is often quoted without reference to its proper context. In an entry in Mc-Graw Hill, *Dictionary of Art*, Mansur has been introduced as follows :

"Moghul Painter (Fl. 17th Cent.). He specialized in animal, bird, and flower paintings in detailed, carefully executed manner. Mansur was attached to the court of Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605-27), who described him as unique in his generation in drawing and conferred upon him the title of 'Nadir ul-Asr' (wonder of the age)."<sup>1</sup>

Likewise the remarks of Sivarama Murti as stated below are not clear. It gives the impression that Mansur had no relation with the age of Akbar.

According to Mr. Sivarama Murti :

"Bishandas and Mansur were among the famous painters of his (Jahangir) day."<sup>2</sup>



It is evident from a statement of V.A. Smith that the professional career of Mansur made its first appearance during the period of Akbar but he does not make explicit whether Mansur was attached to the Atelier of Akbar or to the Art workshop of a prince or a noble. Also it throws no light on his association with the early stage of the development of Art under Akbar. In the words of Vincent Smith :

"The celebrated artist Mansur who had enjoyed the special favour of Jahangir, and was honoured by him with a title of nobility began his career in Akbar's reign."<sup>3</sup>

Lawrence Binyon has also written in the same strain and does not indicate if Mansur was attached to the court of Akbar. However, his account throws light on some idea of the age of Mansur during the times of Akbar.

According to Binyon :

"Mansur was a young man in Akbar's time; he became famous in the reign of Jahangir, who gave him a title of nobility."<sup>4</sup>

Binyon has not supported his statement on the authority of any valid source. Most probably he derived his inference from a reference in the *Memoirs of Jahangir* and has made a conjecture about the age of the artist. As the annals of the history provide hardly any factual basis about the life and work of even the most outstanding artists of the age of Akbar, the life of Mansur is also in the dark. He was singularly fortunate that Jahangir's remarks about him have been preserved in his *Memoirs*. In addition to some information of historical nature, the *Memoirs* provide a few facts of biographical significance. The following extract from the *Memoirs* with reference to the present discussion, has a historical importance of its own :

"Ustad Mansur has become such a master in painting that he has the title of Nadir ul-Asr, and in the art of drawing is unique in his generation. In my father's reign and my own these two (Mansur and Abul Hasan) have had no third."<sup>5</sup>

This passage from the *Memoirs of Jahangir* confirms this fact with historical certitude that Mansur also belongs to the age of Akbar. Obviously, he had joined the art establishment of Akbar before he got into the service of Jahangir, also that he had no rival in the profession who could contest his place except Abul Hasan.

But the supreme appreciation for Jahangir, the aesthete of the Mughals, raises a pertinent query. How could Mansur attain to such a superb recognition in the presence of a highly distinguished and renowned group of artists at the court of Akbar. There is no denying of the fact that Mansur must have taken years to acquire such a signal recognition from a great connoisseur like Jahangir. Undoubtedly, before winning for himself signal distinction from Jahangir as the unique of the age, he must have attained superb maturity of skill and technique by those days.

Historical information of a reliable nature is hardly available as regards the life and work of even the most outstanding masters belonging to the school of Mughal Painting, specially in case of the courtly artists of the period of Akbar and Jahangir. In view of such a difficulty, the student of the history of Art must have recourse to conjecture and speculation for determining facts which have at least a semblance of historical reality.

Abul Fazl has given the list of seventeen master painters, the most distinguished and renowned of the period of Akbar which include the names of Mir Sayyid Ali, Khawajah Abdus Samad, Daswanth and Biswari. But the name of Mansur is conspicuous by its absence in the list. It appears that by 1595, the year in which *Ain-i-Akbari* was published Mansur had not acquired such a record of merit which would have made Abul Fazl include his name among this group of luminaries of painting.

In view of such a signal omission the following verdict of Jahangir could hardly be accepted. According to *Memoirs* :

"In the time of my father's reign and my own these two (Mansur and Abul Hasan) have had no third."



But a rejoinder to this query is supplied by the great connoisseur of the Mughal Emperors himself which occurs in the same context:

"(Mansur) in the art of drawing is unique in his generation."

The earliest work of Mansur can be very helpful in determining his generation and, in the light of his earliest available work dated 1595, it can be claimed that Mansur had achieved maturity by that time and had risen to perfection in the technical sense of the term.

On this basis of his aforementioned work, it can be concluded that he belonged to the second generation of the artists in the period of Akbar. So he must have been of the age of Manohar, the son of Basawan. Thus, he must have been a pupil of Mir Sayyid Ali, Khawajah Abdus Samad, Daswanth or Basawan. At present, it is not possible to trace from the available sources, any work in which Mansur had coordinated as a pupil with any four of the above mentioned master artists.

However, a study of the miniature 'Akbar hunting in an enclosure' (Plate 1) which belongs to *Akbar Nama*, dated 1590, indicates that there is possibility that Mansur might have been a disciple of Miskina who belonged to that distinguished group of seventeen master artists named by Abul Fazl in his *Ain*. S.C. Welch has included a reproduction of this miniature in his book. It would not be here out of place to point out the anamoly which occurs in the book *Imperial Mughal Painting* by Welch, on its page 66, the famous miniature 'Akbar hunting in an enclosure' Plate 14, has been reproduced. In its margin, the transcription reads, "Tarah (outline) Miskina, Amal (Painting) Mansur." But in the note on this plate, the author, Welch, attributes it to Miskina and Sarwan. Actually the miniature under discussion is essentially the left page of the double page picture. According to Barrett and Gray, "This picture is distinctly marred by division of the colouring of the two halves between two hands, the right leaf by Sarwan being heavier than the left ascribed to Mansur." A study of the double page reproduction can be seen in

Emmy Wellesz's book, *Akbar's Religious Thought : Reflected in Mughal Paintings*, London.

A study of the technique of Mughal painting shows that the work of Tarah (outline) was entrusted to the master painter or perhaps to the teacher. Alexandre Papadopoulos has described at length the particular function of the master painter or the teacher in the following words :

"We know from the account books of the royal workshop of painting instituted by Akbar and continued by his successors that often a number of artists worked on the same miniature because Akbar was in haste and therefore divided the work among specialists, one for the composition as a whole, another for the colour, a third for the figures. The first of these was best paid, which tells us that the composition—and we know how it was organized as concerns the 'preliminary diagram' and the 'grouping of the figures'—was considered the essential contribution."<sup>6</sup>

If we make a study of the hunt scene, in the light of the passage as stated above, we can conclude that Miskina who is responsible for the outline, holds a primary position of a senior partner. If we ignore this relationship between Miskina and Mansur then we should take into consideration another possibility. It is not probable that Mansur completed his period of apprenticeship in Persia before his arrival in India? There is evidence to show that in those times, there was constant trickle of artists streaming into India from Persia, Central Asia and even Kabul. For instance Farrukh Beg Qalmaq came from Kabul and "joined Akbar's service about the year 1585. . . . About the same time . . . another Persian artist arrived in Hindustan. This was Aqa Riza,<sup>8</sup> who had taken employment under Prince Salim, the heir apparent of Mughal throne."<sup>9</sup> An internal evidence provides a basis for the supposition that he must have migrated from Persia.

There is the Chenar tree in his well known picture with the title 'The Squirrels in a Plane Tree'.<sup>10</sup> The atmosphere of this work has a



flavour of the school of Herat. In case he did not migrate from Persia, there appears to be no doubt that he was influenced by Herat school which was represented in India by Mir Sayyid Ali.

All this discussion leads us to the conclusion that Mansur belonged to the period of Akbar and particularly the last years of Akbar's reign. He seems to be busy in very important assignments and was working with immense faith in himself and his art. He was deemed to be one of the important masters of art. Two important royal assignments were an abundant testimony to the honour in which he was held by the royalty. He executed the great Hunt Scene (1596) for the *Akbar Nama* and was associated with the project of illustrating the *Babar Nama*.

His association with these two vitally important projects is an eloquent testimony of the fact that by that time he had acquired the reputation of a master artist in the days of Akbar and was maintained in the royal service by Jahangir in view of his prominence as an artist during the reign of his father.

Although the other artists of the age of Jahangir have been executing works on subjects which were to his liking, Mansur was an outstanding painter who appear to have an insight about the general aesthetic taste of his royal master. He had not only an understanding of the royal taste but possessed also the aptitude, the skill and the technique of executing his idea. Under the autocrat forms of governments, the development of arts and crafts was directed by the personal likes and dislikes of the rulers.

In states under a personal rule, the growth of visual arts cannot be apprehended without an understanding of the cultural and intellectual aspects of the ruler's personality and the history of the growth of painting under the Mughals is no exception to it.

Akbar had a fascination for art from the very beginning but Jahangir did not possess that passionate fascination and intense feeling for the visual art as his father. Moreover Akbar's interests comprehended historical, philosophical and even religious aspects that in his case this was an

incentive for selecting such a vast number of classics for the work of illumination. The distinction between their approach towards art was deeply tinged by the different personalities of the two rulers. Their aesthetic taste and their intellectual and amotional attitudes profoundly influenced their approach towards art.

Akbar had an over-all view of life and he had a passionate desire for presenting a visual panorama of the various branches of learning, on the other hand the mind of Jahangir was more circumscribed. His interests had his limitations. He had the heart of a lover. He was fascinated by the beauty of human figure. He was equally moved by the panorama of natural life. In human figure he had a strong fascination for the facial features, their tenderness and grace. He was delighted with the proportion and the balance of animal figure and immensely enjoyed body-lines of bird life, the soft texture of its feathers and the resplendent colours of its plumage. He was a person of romantic nature and was charmed by the unknown, the unseen and exotic birds and animals. Whenever he heard of a novel bird his excitement would know no bounds and he would immediately order to produce a specimen at any cost. This was how he brought together a managerie and bird-house which has a charm of its own. He devoted day to day attention to them with great care and solicitude.

Hence the art of the age of Jahangir had a deep impress of his interest in the bird and the animal kingdom. The environment of his youth had an important role to play in cultivating his interest.

As Prince Salim he held his court and employed painters in his service. While introducing Abul Hasan he remarks in his *Memoris* :

"His father, Aqa Riza'i, of Herat at the time when I was prince, joined my service."<sup>11</sup>

There were possibilities of his interest in book illustration even when he was a prince. According to Pinder-Wilson :

"There are two illustrated manuscripts which are expressly stated to have been made in Allahabad and their dates fall within those years



during which Prince Salim, the future Emperor Jahangir, had his official residence in that city. They may well be the products of his own establishment.<sup>12</sup>

According to the *Tuzk*, Jahangir kept a royal library and a picture gallery with Maktub Khan as superintendent.<sup>13</sup>

Jahangir claims to have a great talent for appreciating a work of art. He possesses a great skill of discriminating the good work from the bad and can discriminate very easily the style of various artists from one another<sup>14</sup> and his claim is supported by the expression of his opinions on several occasions. He would also make efforts to import works of art from abroad. But it looks strange that inspite of his superb taste and his interest in art he did not reveal a passionate desire to promote art like his great father. T.W. Arnold comments in this context :

"Several of the Akbar's court painters such as Abul Hasan, Farrukh Beg, Daulat, Bishan Dass, Goverdhan, Mansur and Manohar continued to work for Jahangir, so the new ruler must have kept the Atelier that his father had established. We have no particulars regarding its organization, though he gives the name of Maktub Khan as being the first superintendent of his library and the picture gallery, nor does it seem to have been carried on upon so lavish a scale as in the preceding reign."<sup>15</sup>

In fact, during the period of Jahangir, painting had been confined to court scenes, portraiture, natural landscape and the portraying of animals and birds and among the royal atelier Mansur is a towering and dominating personality. As compared with other artists, he has been mentioned more frequently in the *Tuzk*. Also he often accompanied Jahangir on his tours and executed works according to his instructions that he had given to the artists.

He made every effort to meet the aesthetic demands of the emperor. He portrayed also animals and specially birds with such a delightful skill

and naturalism that he elevated bird portraiture into a genre. Thereby this genre is associated with his name in the Mughal School of Painting and he sets the fashion of portraying birds and animals for contemporary artists to follow.

The researcher on the history of Mughal Painting is handicapped by certain impediments. The page of history is blank about the biographical facts of his life and his complete works are not available for an assessment of the evolution of various stages of aesthetic evolution and the concept of his ideals of art. At last the researcher has to be satisfied with the opinion of Art critics about his work, some extracts of which are given below :

Brown says, "The royal connoisseur highly praises the leading animal painter Ustad Mansur."<sup>16</sup>

"With the wonderful variety of the flowers Jahangir seems entranced, and eventually he commissioned his leading artist, Ustad Mansur, to paint as many as he could find."<sup>17</sup>

In the opinion of V. A. Smith, "Mansur excelled as an animal and bird painter."<sup>18</sup>

Havell comments, "Mansur's claim to distinction rests rather upon his admirable portraiture of birds and animals."<sup>19</sup>

But a mark of interrogation would still harass the researcher. Had Mansur carried out the royal order and painted the flowers, birds and animals in a mechanical obedience of the royal instructions or had he lavished his artistic self, his innate tendency and his entire wealth of training on the project?

We are still in the dark about the works which Mansur executed during the period of his apprenticeship. There are 68 miniatures in the British Museum which were executed for the illustration of *Babar Nama*, a project taken in hand during the reign of Akbar.



According to Barrett and Basil Gray, "None of the Miniatures are probably earlier than 1595 A.D. and the latest may be of 1600 A.D. ... There are also forty-eight pages of smaller drawings of individual animals and plants, described in the *Memoirs*, among them the early work of Mansur, the great specialist in the genre in the next (Jahangir's) reign."<sup>20</sup>

V.A. Smith has made a reference to the early work of Mansur and he has given the number of these early works. In his own words:

"The *Waqiat-i-Babari* (B.M. Or. 3714) contains a series of eight exquisite little miniatures from his (Mansur's) brush. (Persian, Nos. 110-17, on the folios 387-9)."<sup>21</sup>

The quoted extracts indicate that from the outset, animal and plant painting was a speciality of Mansur and in the light of the Methodology of Mughal Painting and the collective ways of executing a work, there can be no gainsaying the fact that Mansur was chosen to work on the project for this particular quality of his technique. It was a general practice in those days that more than one artist cooperated in executing a particular work of art and each partner was assigned that particular aspect of the work in which he had acquired a high class skill.

According to the *Memoirs of Jahangir*, the Emperor allocated miniatures for various topics to different artists. For instance he would assign pictures depicting a procession or a festival celebration to Goverdhan. When Jahangir dispatched Khan Alam as ambassador designate to Persia in 1617 A.D., the painter, Bishan Das was instructed to draw portraits of the great nobles of the court. When the Emperor went on the visits to Kashmir, he took with him Mansur. Most probably he desired to preserve the miniatures of the flowers for which the valley was well known. He writes about these flowers in his unimitably delightful style, "The flowers that are seen in the territories of Kashmir are beyond all calculations. Those that Ustad Nadir ul-Asr Mansur, has painted are more than one hundred."<sup>22</sup>

Only two examples of his miniatures of flowers, are extant at present. One of these is in the collection of Mr. N.C. Mehta and the other is in the Habib Ganj Library Collection, Uttar Pradesh, India.

The birds and other creatures excited the curiosity of Jahangir as much as the world of flowers. During his stay in Kashmir, he records a visit in the *Memoirs*.

"I rode to see the Sukh Nag. It is a beautiful summer residence. This waterfall is in the midst of a valley and flows from a lofty place. There was still ice on its sides. The entertainment of Thursday was arranged for in that flower land and I was delighted at drinking my usual cups on the edge of the water. In this stream, I saw a bird like a Saj. A Saj is of a black colour as a bulbul with white spots and it dives and remains for a long time underneath and then comes up from a different place. I ordered them to catch and bring two or three of these birds that I may ascertain whether they were water fowl and were web-footed or had open feet like land birds. They caught two and brought them. One died immediately and the other lived for a day. Its feet were not webbed like a duck's. I ordered Nadir ul-Asr Ustad Mansur to draw its likeness."<sup>23</sup>

In the light of Jahangir's interest in painting there is no place to doubt that Ustad Mansur must have portrayed the bird faithfully but unfortunately the miniature is not preserved. Apparently he had portrayed several other birds also which are not traceable. We can evaluate only those works which are extant.

A Royal Falcon (Plate 2) was sent by Shah of Persia as a present for Jahangir. The falcon got mauled by a cat owing to the carelessness of the Mir Shikar and it did not live for more than a week. Describing the bird, Jahangir says:

"What can I write of the beauty and the colour of this falcon. There were many black markings on each wing and back and sides. As



it was out of common, I ordered Ustad Mansur, who has the title of Nadir ul-Asr to paint and preserve its likeness."<sup>24</sup>

Again according to Jahangir, Muqarrab Khan brought from Goa, several rarities which included a Pheasant and Turkey Cock. The Emperor was delighted to see these birds. He writes, "I ordered that painters should draw them in the *Jahangir Nama*."<sup>25</sup>

In his *Memoirs* he gives a detailed description of the 'Pheasant' (Plate 3) and the Turkey Cock but there is no trace in the *Memoirs* for explicit instructions to any painter for portraying the birds preserved in the collection of the Calcutta Art Gallery<sup>26</sup> and the Wantage Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>27</sup> This picture has the following words inscribed on it, 'Banda-i-Dargah Mansur Nadir ul-Asir'.

A comparative study of the two copies reveals difference of a minor nature probably the miniature of the Calcutta Art Gallery is a copy of the other.

Although the painting of the Pheasant was not signed by Mansur but in all probability, it is the work by Mansur dated 1625, A.D., because it has all the characteristics of the style of Mansur. It is preserved in the collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild, Paris.<sup>28</sup>

The miniature of 'Two Cranes' (Plate 4) is also preserved in the Wantage Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. In the opinion of Havell it has been painted by Mansur. He remarks, "The admirable painting of 'Two Indian Saris' (Plate LXI), probably the portrait of the two pet birds to which Jahangir gave the name of Majnun and Laila. This is the nearest approach to romance in real life which Jahangir's portrait painters give us."<sup>29</sup>

Welch has reproduced the 'Peafowls' (Plate 5) in colours. He comments, "Mansur, to this unsigned piece has long been ascribed on ground of style, must have started this picture from life."<sup>30</sup>

His exquisite accomplishment is revealed in one of his other bird

miniature. Bamber Gascoigne has reproduced it in colours under the caption 'A Himalayan blue throated Barbet,' (Plate 6) dated 1615 A.D. On the margin of the miniature, is an inscription in bold Nastaaliq. "Painted by Nadir ul-Asr, Ustad Mansur Naqqash."<sup>31</sup>

The catalogue of the Chester Beatty Library has a miniature of 'A Vulture' (Plate 7) which has been reproduced in colours.<sup>32</sup> T.W. Arnold comments on this work as follows :

"A Vulture perched on rocks. The character of the painting and its delicate and minute workmanship suggests that this is a portraiture of Mansur, the famous animal painter who enjoyed patronage of the Emperor Jahangir."<sup>33</sup>

According to Barrett and Basil Gray, there is a picture of a Chameleon by Mansur in the royal collection of the Windsor Castle. According to their estimation "here something more than portraiture has been attempted."<sup>34</sup>

So far we have discussed the flower and bird portraits of Mansur. But he was also a brilliant painter of animal portraits. The number of animal portraits executed by him are not many. There is a painting of 'Zebra' (Plate 8) by him and it seems that he had done it from life. When Jahangir saw the animal, he was fascinated by it. He appears to be inspired when he says, "One might say the painter of fate with a strong brush had left it on the page of the world. Some people imagined that it had been coloured. After minute enquiry into the truth, it became known that the Lord of the World was the creator thereof."<sup>35</sup> This animal was portrayed by Mansur. S.C. Welch has reproduced this picture in colours.<sup>36</sup> This painting belongs to Victoria and Albert Museum, London. A calligraphic note on the picture reads as follows :

"A mule that the portugese brought from Abbisynia in the company of Mir Jafar. This picture was executed by Nadir ul-Asr, Ustad Mansur in the sixteenth year of the reign of Jahangir."<sup>37</sup>



It is one of the best examples of animal painting by Mansur which shows his masterly draughtsmanship. The black stripes, on the body of the animal are the main interest of the portrait, which reveals a great sense of designing.

There is evidence to show that although Mansur had executed many works but most of these have not survived the depredation of time but the small number which has been preserved reveal his superb talent. He was unique in his age and such a great master takes centuries to appear on the scene. In the words of Welch, "When the Emperor (Jahangir) described this artist as unique in the art of drawing," "his words were carefully chosen."<sup>38</sup>

Tributes have been paid to his aesthetic sensibility in all the periods of Muslim Art. He had been invested with the title of Nadir ul-Asr by Jahangir. But the great achievement of Mansur was that in spite of command performance he was successful in preserving his genius.

Mansur acquired accomplishment in the book illustration work during Akbar's reign, for it Hunt scene is an ample proof. What makes him different from his old and young contemporaries is his break with prevalent subjects. He expressed himself altogether in an undiscovered field. It is Mansur's great skill and originality that earned for him an unrivalled status. His bird portraits are expressions of plastic sensibility. He executed these birds in such a way, that every bird has individual characteristics and peculiarities. The birds which he painted stimulated the aesthetic sensibility by their form and shape. He possessed a talent by which he created such an impression of movement, a sparkle in the eye or a curve of the body which makes it full of life. His treatment of colours is harmonious and subtle.

The qualities of keen observation and execution made him the most celebrated artist of the Mughal School of Painting.

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PLATE I : 'Akbar Hunting in an enclosure.'





PLATE 2: 'A Royal Falcon.'



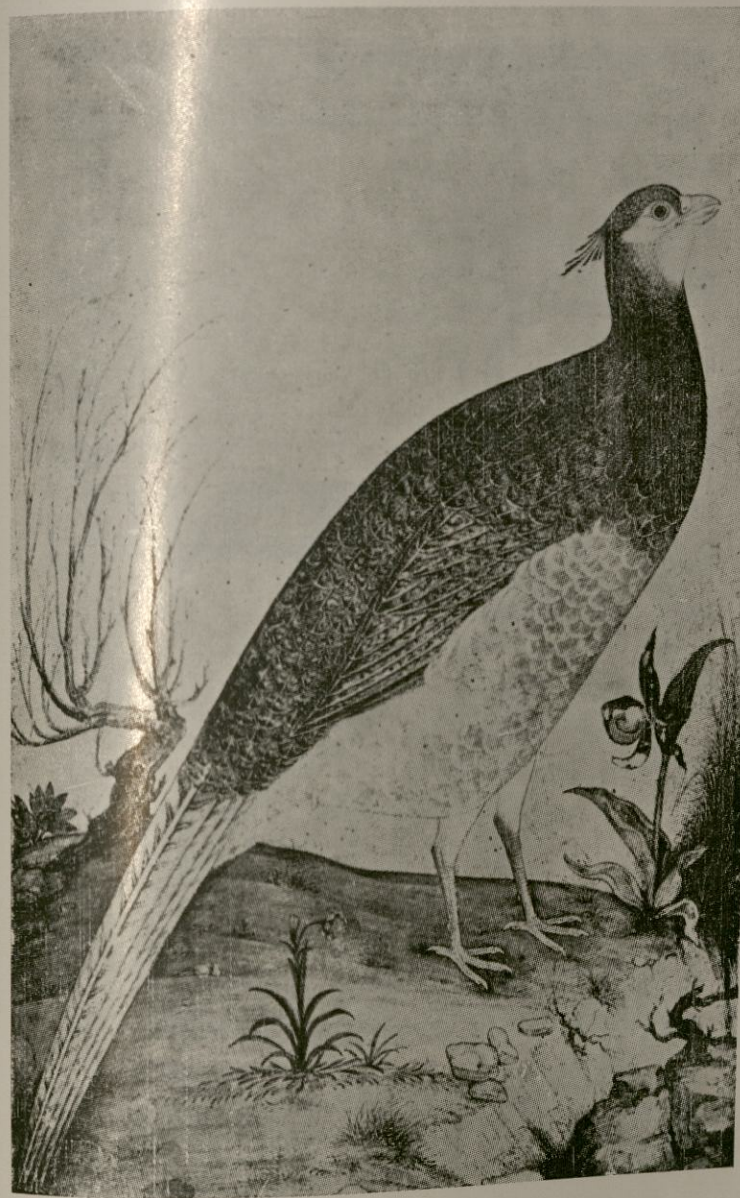


PLATE 3 ; 'Pheasant.'



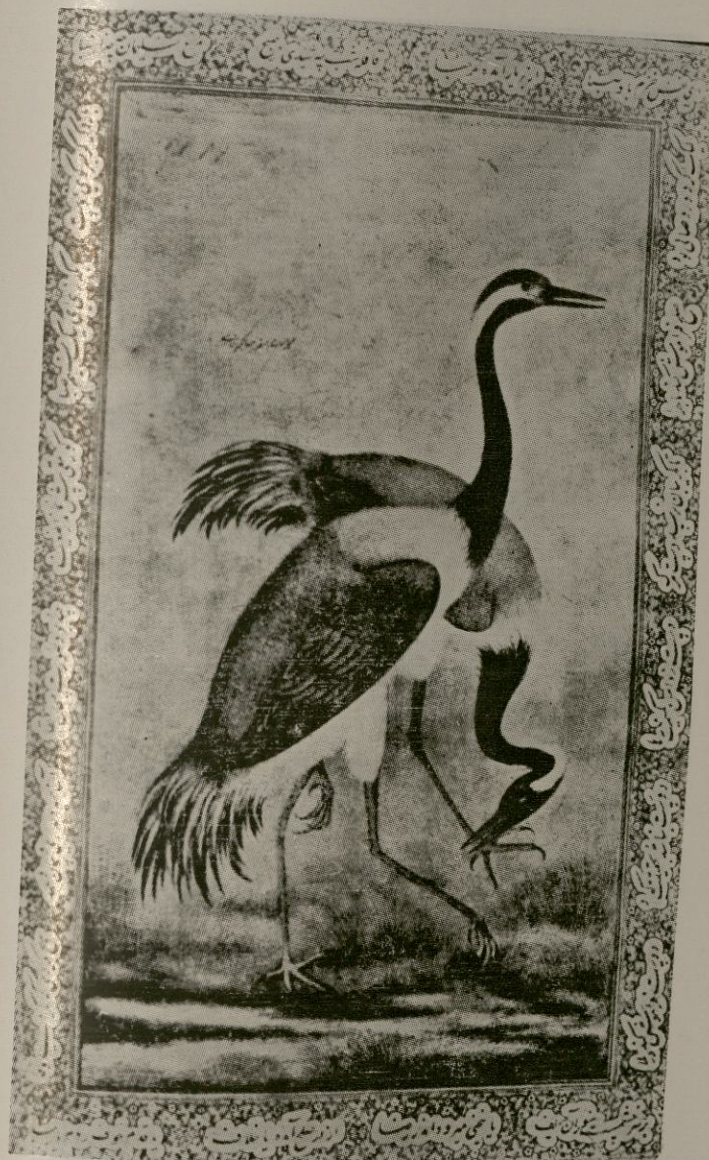


PLATE 4: 'Two Cranes.'



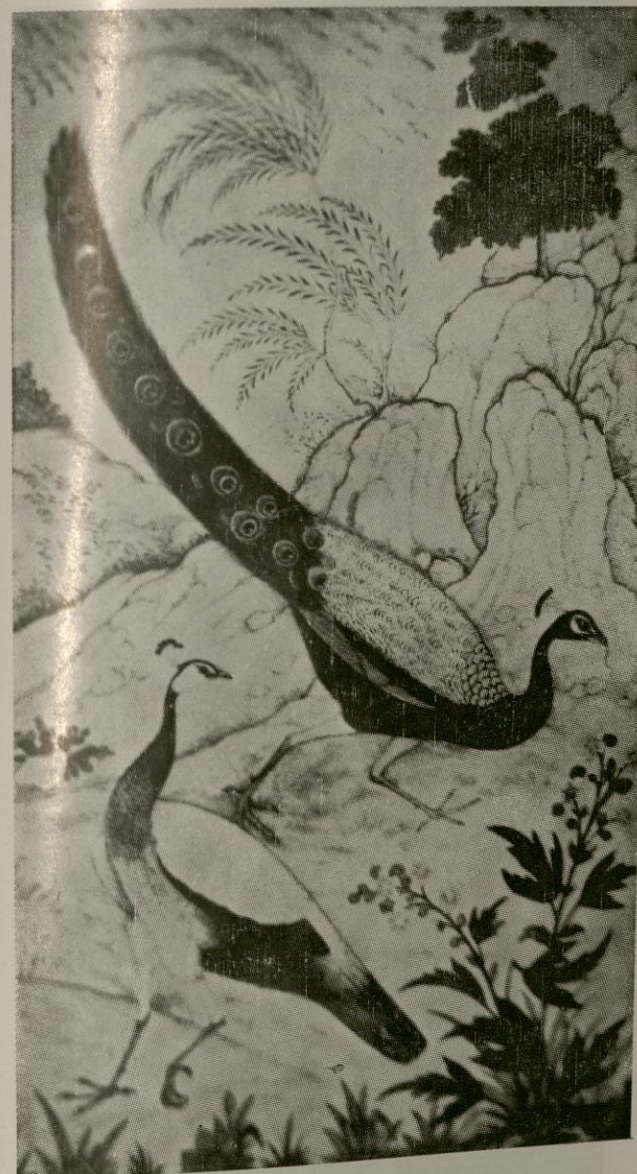


PLATE 5 : 'Peafowls.'





PLATE 6 : 'Barbet.'





PLATE 7 : 'A Vulture.'



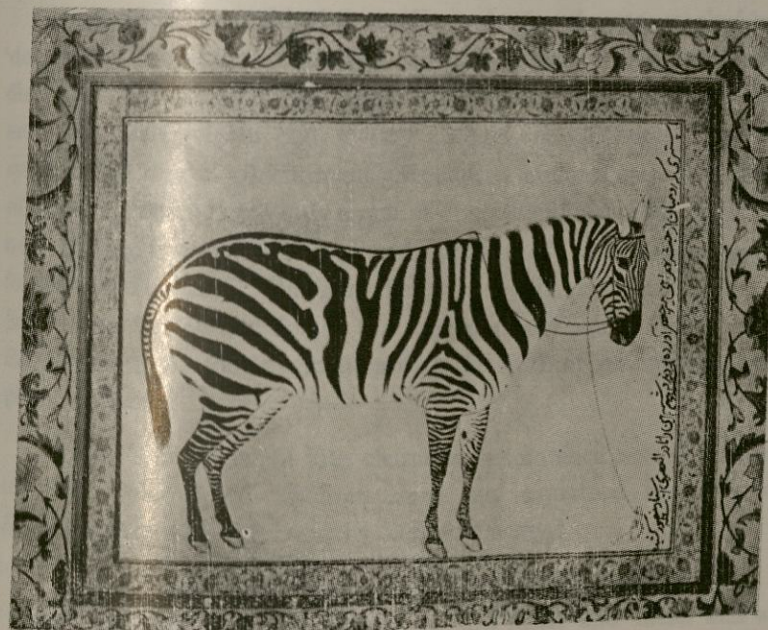


PLATE 8 : 'Zebra.'



## SEARCHING THE DARKEST CORNERS : ASPECTS OF THE GROTESQUE IN SELECTED WORKS OF CONRAD

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It has often been said of Conrad's works that they are marked by the 'doctrine of extremity' especially when it concerns the treatment of diabolism. Works like *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, *Heart of Darkness*, *The Secret Agent* and *Victory* abound in instances, characters, symbols and images which create this sinister atmosphere. The creation of this atmosphere is not only a matter of craft and technique in the art of novel writing, it may also be seen as the product of an instinctive sensibility for reading character. One may therefore say that characters like Kurtz, Schomberg, Verloc and James Wait are not only agents of destruction, they also have a strong association with the kind of environment which produces them.

Conrad's deep insight into character is combined with his narrative technique which Ford Maddox Ford has explained in *A Personal Remembrance*, as being basically one of intensity :

... 'every' word set on paper—must carry the story forward... the story must be carried forward faster and faster and with more and more intensity. That is called 'progression d'effect';... This produces grotesque effects at times.

In applying the word 'grotesque' to the artistic meaning which Conrad achieves in his characters and situations one need not adhere to any set meaning of the word as it is rather difficult to apply a formula to Conrad's creative powers. Moreover, Conrad himself has used the word 'grotesque' with a different meaning every time he has used it. In *Heart of Darkness* he uses it for Kurtz's rather perverted temperament



which becomes grossly inhuman while he is among the African natives. In *Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, the tone is rather ironic with metaphors and thematic structure focussed around the character of James Wait, an obnoxious figure. James Wait's obnoxiousness in relation to the humanity and patience of the crew of the 'Narcissus' may be equated with the grotesque effect of the nigger's personality. In *The Secret Agent*, the word has a paradoxical implication. Characters like Verloc, Vladimir and the anarchists are caricatures, laughable for their ludicrousness and pretentiousness in Dickensian terms.

On the other hand, the grotesque in *The Secret Agent* is so very true that it is painful. It creates a nauseating feeling on the physical level by the startling presentation of truth. It creates the effect through a dehumanizing metaphor as in some novels of Kafka. The feeling produced is not only one of cruelty but leaves one disturbed, thinking about the void of a moral wasteland.

In *Victory* the grotesque is linked with the malicious drives in some people, which makes them detestable. Such people are recreated in characters like Schomberg, Jones and Ricardo. The diabolic streak in them is inevitably linked with a certain amount of stupidity and denseness what in other words may be called stubbornness. This single-minded stubbornness is expressed through Schomberg and Jones's obsessions.

In the works of Joseph Conrad the grotesque also runs in close proximity to the device of creating metaphors, symbols and dramatic effects. The total effect of which is the creation of a macabre and sinister atmosphere as in some of Poe's stories. However, unlike Poe, Conrad never brings in the Gothic element or supernatural decor to produce this effect. He does it in an ironic manner. Never admitting to believing in it but making his characters believe and practise occult rites. The grotesque atmosphere of 'romanticized primitivism' becomes a myth or a technique for probing and questioning a variety of meanings. These may include individual sparks of character and also an ironic treatment of political

anarchy and the justification for colonialism. Understones of these are to be found in *Heart of Darkness*, *The Secret Agent*, *Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* and *Victory*. The collective effect of these works operates on more than an intellectual plane. It strikes strongly on the sensory and emotive plane as Conrad said, "I am complex because my thought is multiple."

Conrad characterizes his artistic approach by saying:

"I am but a novelist, I must speak in images." In one of his letters, he says about his fiction:

You must cultivate your poetic faculty... you must search the darkest corners of your heart... for the image.

The image in Conrad's works is extremely important from the point of view of producing the grotesque effect.

An image, technically speaking, does not only consist of visual effects. It may appeal to any of the senses. "It may be visual, may be auditory or may be wholly psychological." According to Conrad himself it is "the outward sign of inward feeling." The image therefore is "that which represents an intellectual and emotional complex", "the image seems an appropriate epitome of the whole."<sup>1</sup> Very often in a work of literature, the image identifies with the symbol, in that the symbols are recognized through specific images. Those images, in the context of the story, give it dimension and make the work what it is. "All symbols, in fact, are apprehended through specific images."<sup>2</sup> For instance, the whiteness of the whale in *Moby Dick*, is a "vague, nameless horror" on the one hand, and on the other hand it symbolizes "whatever grand or gracious" things there are. In *Heart of Darkness* the images of blackness recurring continuously in the context of the story build the symbol of the 'impenetrable mystery' of the heart of darkness. In a wider context, the image of blackness is a probing deep, deep down into the recesses of the human psyche. This would include the psyche of the Russian, in *The Secret Agent*, the psyche of Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness* and the psyche of civilized Europe, which seems almost an obsession in Conrad's works. Quoted



below are instances where Conrad has used the image of blackness to emphasize "the improbable, inexplicable, and altogether bewildering" existence, in the stifled atmosphere of the heart of darkness:

Black men advanced in a file toiling up the path . . . black rags were wound round their loins and the short ends behind wagged to and fro like tails.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation, lying confusedly in the greenish gloom.<sup>4</sup>

All these images create the symbol of deepest, darkest Africa which is the abode of barbarity and corruption. Another parallel image is Marlowe's impression of the river Congo slithering through the forest:

But there was in it one river especially, a mighty big river, that you could see on the map, resembling an immense snake uncoiled, with its head in the sea, its body at rest curving a far over a vast country and its tail lost in the depths of the land. And as looked at the map of it in a shop window, it fascinated me as a snake would a bird—a silly little bird.<sup>5</sup>

Through the image of the long river compared to a snake, Marlowe symbolizes not only the cognitive journey through the real Congo, it is the symbolic journey of experience especially the encounter with the forces of evil. It is the mythic journey like Huckleberry Finn's journey down the Mississippi River. But whereas Huckleberry Finn's journey makes him accept the hard facts of existence, Marlowe's journey to the Congo makes him all the more aware of the "black and incomprehensible frenzy" of madmen like Kurtz and the manager of the station. Compared to the deep and complicated intentions of the Europeans in the heart of darkness, Marlowe is "a silly little bird." The image as such in Conrad's works, like in the *Heart of Darkness*, equates with the symbol. They both work in close proximity. They not only create the atmospheric effect, but also fulfil the purpose of being an "outward device for presenting an inward state."

T.S. Eliot's statement about the use of 'objective correlative' may be said to identify with the image and the symbol in that it is:

The only way of expressing emotion in art . . . in other words, a set of objects; a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that *particular*; such that when the general facts which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked.<sup>7</sup>

An example of such a 'particular' may be cited from *The Secret Agent*. By various suggestions, Conrad implies that the anarchists are the most insincere group of people. They are disorganized and everything they do is chaotic, their personalities are swamped and they are stifled. Nothing in them is genuine. Their confusion is directly intuited by Stevie. In Eliot's sense of the definition, Stevie creates through his innocence, juxtaposed to the hypocrisy of the anarchists, the sensory experience. This sensory experience not only arouses the reader's sympathy for Stevie, it also objectifies the general chaos among the anarchists.

Mr. Verloc, getting off the sofa with ponderous reluctance, opened the door leading into the kitchen to get more air, and thus disclosed the innocent Stevie, seated very good and quiet at a deal table, drawing circles, circles; innumerable circles, concentric, eccentric. A convocating whirl of circles that by their tangled multitude of repeated curves, uniformity of form, and confusion of intersecting lines suggested a rendering of cosmic chaos, the symbolism of a mad art attempting the inconceivable.<sup>8</sup> (Italics mine).

Through the images in Stevie's mind, the author has been able to include not only Stevie's personal failings, but also a wider area of connotation. Through Stevie's chaotic mind a reference is made to the cosmic chaos, ironically pointing towards the anarchists. The image in this respect helps to concentrate and make more compact the author's



general area of reference. The image or the symbol helps in a condensation of meaning, of unexpressed reference.

Conrad's works abound in images and symbols which are concentrated, and whose aim is through the 'power of the written word' to create a total effect :

My task which I am trying to achieve is to make you hear, to make you feel—it is, before all, to make you see.<sup>9</sup>

The image of Pedro, in *Victory*, according to this statement, is not only to fulfil the immediate purpose of making him a grotesque personality, physically nauseating : it is also a reference to a wider subject which Conrad is concerned with. It is to indicate the existence of grotesque characters like Schomberg, Jones, Ricardo and Pedro :

Pedro the third individual—a nondescript, hairy creature—had modestly made his way forward and had perched himself on the luggage... his narrow and low forehead, unintelligently furrowed by horizontal wrinkles, surmounted wildly hirsute cheeks and a flat nose with wide, baboon-like nostrils.<sup>10</sup>

This is one instance of how in an isolated image, Conrad can produce a startling effect.

On the subject of evoking an image, one can apply Conrad's statement, in the preface to *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*. That is to say that Conrad draws from sources and many arts to create an image which fulfils his artistic intention. His image sometimes aspires :

Strenuously... to the plasticity of sculpture, to the colour of painting, and to the magic suggestiveness of music—which is the art of arts. And it is only through complete, unswerving devotion to the perfect blending of form and substance; it is only through an unremitting never-discouraged care for the shape and ring of sentences that an approach can be made to plasticity, to colour, and that the light of magic suggestiveness may be

brought to play for an evanescent, instant over the commonplace surface of words.<sup>11</sup>

For example, in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, Conrad borrows from sculpture to make an image which would express effectively the god-like authority which James Wait exercised over the crew of the 'Narcissus'. The image is most appropriate in that it contains a reflection of James Wait's malingering and obnoxiousness which ironically gets so much consideration for him from the crew of the 'Narcissus'. The same image also contains the feeling of the crew for whom James Wait was a test of their endurance. He was a carbuncle in their soul. He stood out in their imagination as a hostile god who must be propitiated. While Wait is lying sick in his bed, one of the crew looks at the aspect and comments on the visual aspects :

The little place, repainted white, had in the night the brilliance of a silver shrine where a black idol, reclining stiffly under a blanket, blinked its weary eyes and received our homage.<sup>12</sup>

Through the visual impact, produced by the sculptured image, Conrad has been able to create sensory perceptions on many levels. The image in such an instance creates its own vortex which is a verbal embodiment of thought and feeling.

However, sometimes the images in Conrad's books are suggestive on a different plane. They are not easy to explain, except when they are carefully noticed. The reader on a second reading sometimes finds that the images relevant to setting the tone of the novel, are carefully scattered in the book. An illustration is the image and not the symbol of ivory in *Heart of Darkness*. The image gradually works up to a symbol. By symbol is meant here a predominating pattern or motif holding up the structure of the story. Kurtz's head, says Marlowe :

Was impressively bald. The wilderness had patted him on the head, and behold, it was like a ball—an ivory ball.<sup>13</sup>



Kurtz's main topic of conversation was: "My ivory", "my intended, my ivory, my station my, river, my . . . everything."<sup>14</sup> About Kurtz's face when he was dying Marlowe says: "I saw on the ivory face the expression of sombre pride, of ruthless power, of craven terror."<sup>15</sup> In another instance Marlowe describes Kurtz's appearance when he was ill but had crawled to participate in the pagan rites. Kurtz looked:

As though an animated image of death carved out of old ivory had been shaking its hand with menaces at a motionless crowd of men made of dark and glittering bronze.<sup>16</sup>

These individual images of ivory contribute towards the symbol of the ivory as a predominant force in *Heart of Darkness* till the word 'ivory' itself becomes a fetish. "You would think they were praying to it." The ivory then symbolically becomes as important a motif in the book, as the coiling river or the black natives all of which set the smothered atmosphere of *Heart of Darkness*.

The image works in close association with the symbol in the works of Conrad to produce the grotesque effect. From a single incident the image works towards a larger and wider base. What an American student of Donne, James C. Cline, has said of Donne's imagery, is relevant to Conrad's symbolism too:

There is no advance in thought, only a refinement of it, a deepening and gathering intensity of realization until finally the great period crashes to a close, still reiterating, still sustaining, an incremental movement of passion and of mind.<sup>17</sup>

It may be said of Conrad's technique of creating the grotesque effect that, there is hardly any rapid development in the story. The story moves slow and is at times almost static but the images grow in space through the symbols. Bereft of the symbols the character would lose much of its stature. From "visual scene upon visual scene charged with emotive impact" Marlowe creates the grotesque personality of Kurtz. But the final role of Kurtz's corruption is revealed in taking the story on an

altogether different plane. The image of Kurtz grows wider and his corruption becomes more obvious juxtaposed to the innocence of his 'intended' and the admirable opinion she has of him. In a letter to William Blackwood, Conrad sums up his technique of creating effects in *Heart of Darkness*. Conrad writes:

For the writing is as good as I can make it (first duty) and in the light of the final incident, the whole story in all its (detail) descriptive detail shall fall into its place—acquire its value and significance . . . The last pages of *Heart of Darkness* where the interview of the man and the girl looks in—as it were—the whole 30,000 words of narrative description into one suggestive view of a whole phase of life and makes of that story something quite on another plane than an anecdote of a man who went mad in the centre of Africa.<sup>18</sup>

There is yet another method which Conrad uses to create an atmosphere of the grotesque. Transferring our attention to *The Secret Agent*, we notice that the symbolism which is the basis of the grotesque effect of the book, relies a good deal on the texture of the similes and metaphors. This does not however suggest that there are no similes and metaphors in *Heart of Darkness* which we have discussed earlier. The difference is one of emphasis. Whereas the metaphors of *Heart of Darkness* are derived from anthropology and primitive ritual, in forming the core symbol of the ivory, the metaphors of *The Secret Agent* are acquired from the animal world. By metaphor I mean here:

. . . a figure of speech in which two unlike objects are compared by identification or by the substitution of one for the other.<sup>19</sup>

The metaphor being an extension of the simile which is usually defined as a 'stated comparison'. The metaphors of *The Secret Agent*, are largely those of flesh and animals. These 'zoological metaphor', as such metaphors may be called, are not 'only damaging, but damning'. Verloc is therefore abused by Vladimir for his fatness "you are too fat



for that," "he's fat—the animal." Verloc on account of being fat was too lazy—"He breakfasted in bed and remained wallowing there with an air of quiet enjoyment untill noon every day."<sup>20</sup> Vladimir is a 'dog fish.' Karl Yundt, the terrorist appears, "His little bald head quivered, imparting a comical vibration to the wisp of white goatee." Of Comrade Ossipon, Conrad writes, "Comrade Ossipon's thick lips accentuated the negro type of his face."<sup>21</sup>

The Professor looked ridiculous :

The roundness of the heavy rimmed spectacles imparted an owlsh character to his moody, imperturbed face.<sup>22</sup>

Baron Stoth-Wartenheim, "enjoyed a fame for an owlsh pessimistic gullibility."<sup>23</sup> Nicheals "was speaking in an even voice, a voice that whoozed as if deadened and opposed by the layer of fat on his chest."<sup>24</sup>

Verloc extended as much recognition to Stevie as a man not particularly fond of animals may give to his wife's beloved cat.<sup>25</sup>

And last but not the least the metaphor of the people :

They swarmed numerous like locusts, industrious like ants, thoughtless like a natural force, pushing on blind and orderly and absorbed, impervious to sentiment, to logic, to terror, too, perhaps.<sup>26</sup>

These are indeed examples of some of the metaphors drawn from the animal world which one can say "determine the theme and even the structure of a novel", like *The Secret Agent*. These metaphors express Conrad's contempt for the anarchists and the hypocrisy of their entire organization. The contempt stands out all the more, from the disparity between what Conrad considered were Winnie Verloc's honest intentions and the untruthfulness of the anarchists.

To sum up, we may say that Conrad creates in his style, layer after layer of images, all tightly packed and inseparable and the overall effect of

such images is to make the characters appear grotesque—truthful, yet larger than life. This fits in well with the technique both he and Ford Maddox Ford set forth :

The architectonics of the novel over the way a story should be built up so that the story progresses and grows up to the last word.<sup>27</sup>

1. Ibid. p. 10.
2. Heart of Darkness, p. 1.
3. Ibid. The Literary Symbol, p. 8.
4. T. S. Eliot, "Hamlet," Selected Essays (London 1967), p. 142.
5. The Secret Agent, p. 46.
6. The Nigger of the 'Narcissus', p. 13.
7. The third individual in the trio of grotesque characters in fiction. The other two are Jones and Ricardo.
8. The Nigger of the 'Narcissus', p. 12.
9. Ibid. p. 92.
10. Heart of Darkness, p. 27.
11. Ibid. p. 28.
12. Ibid. p. 84.
13. Ibid. p. 72.
14. Ibid. Craft and Character, p. 219.
15. Joseph Conrad, Letters to William Blackwood and David S. Mitchell (ed.), W. Blackburn (Durham, N. Carolina, 1928), p. 124.
16. Conrad and Goll, Literary Terms, p. 127.
17. The Secret Agent, p. 41.
18. Ibid. p. 74.
19. Ibid. p. 72.
20. Ibid. p. 32.
21. Ibid. p. 42.
22. Ibid. p. 41.
23. Ibid. p. 74.
24. Ford Maddox Ford, Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance, (Little Brown & Co., Boston 1924), p. 182.



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4. *Ibid*, p. 18.
5. *Heart of Darkness*, p. 7.
6. Tindall, *The Literary Symbol*, p. 8.
7. T.S. Eliot, "Hamlet", *Selected Essays*, (Faber, London 1963), p. 145.
8. *The Secret Agent*, p. 46.
9. *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, p. 13.
10. The third individual in the trio of grotesque characters in *Victory*. The other two are Jones and Ricardo.
11. *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, p. 12.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
13. *Heart of Darkness*, p. 57.
14. *Ibid*, p. 58.
15. *Ibid*, p. 84.
16. *Ibid*, p. 72.
17. Zabel, *Craft and Character*, p. 219.
18. Joseph Conrad, *Letters to William Blackwood and David S. Meldrum*, (ed.), W. Blackburn, (Durham, N. Carolina, 1958), p. 154.
19. Beckson and Ganz, *Literary Terms*, p. 127.
20. *The Secret Agent*, p. 41.
21. *Ibid*, p. 74.
22. *Ibid*, p. 75.
23. *Ibid*, p. 32.
24. *Ibid*, p. 42.
25. *Ibid*, p. 41.
26. *Ibid*, p. 74.
27. Ford Maddox Ford, *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance*, (Little Brown & Co., Boston 1924), p. 185.

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