

## Translating India: British Orientalism and respect for the vernacular Literature

### Abstract

*The conquest of India by the British, as of other parts of the colonized world, was achieved not merely through gunpowder and bayonet but with the cultural and civilisational tool of European modernism. This was the period of the Industrial Revolution and Victorian society was fast undergoing changes in behavioural norms and philosophies, primarily due to the rise of rationality in the Age of European Enlightenment and decline in the ruling power of the Church. The British brought these changing influences to India in the eighteenth century and employed these ideals in its cultural hegemony over the region by gradually getting involved in codifying vernacular languages and intervening in India's literary culture. This was a contrarian claim, no doubt, with an imperialist invader trying to coach the subjects in the ideals of European humanism but it gradually took root and developed an imaginary among the local ruling classes that remains hard to dislodge to this day.*

**Key Words:** Orientalist Institutions, Urdu Prose and Poetry, vernacular literature,

### Introduction

As early as 1813 in which British Parliament endorsed the Charter Act for a twenty-year extension to the East India Company, the British assumed the responsibility toward native education in India while no such commitment officially existed between the English state and its own people. This was primarily to counter the depredations of Company rule but also to consolidate power in the colony. The early phase of British rule was marked by much respect for vernacular languages and literatures, the Orientalist phase, ushered in by Governor General Warren Hastings from 1774-1785. While it had the effect of strengthening existing institutions, the aim was to educate British administrators to better understand the people they ruled. Its inadvertent benefit was to introduce the West to the vast literary resources of eastern cultures, a service Hastings thought made to larger humanity.

...every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such as is obtained by the social communication with people over whom we exercise dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state: it is the gain of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

It was such Orientalist rationalization of power and the right to conquest that Edward Said took on and critiqued in his famous book of the name and how such

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naked aggression is masked as egalitarianism, for the own good of the natives and part of the European humanist project.<sup>2</sup>

The first Orientalist institution of learning was Fort Saint College (1717) established in Madras to give English officers and employees of the Company with a working knowledge of Urdu which had acquired the position of a common medium of expression in large parts of British ruled India.<sup>3</sup> The college continued to function until 1854 when it was handed over to the Madras Literary Society.<sup>4</sup> At around the same time in Bengal, in 1784, The Royal Asiatic Society was formed to study languages. Sir William Jones (1746-1794) undertook the study of oriental languages and the extraordinary series of oriental texts in Urdu, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Bengali, and other Indian languages and their translations. The Society's library, archives and museum retain a rich collection to this day.<sup>5</sup> After consolidating power in Bengal, the British were now looking towards the rest of India and needed to understand the local people and their languages.<sup>6</sup> In Calcutta, another important colonial outpost, Fort William College was established in 1800 under Governor General Lord Wellesley under Doctor John Gilchrist as head of the institution. Gilchrist imported a distinguished band of native scholars from northern India to write textbooks for British officers, and a department was established for the improvement of oriental languages.<sup>7</sup> The Fort William College was founded by the East India Company for the instruction of its employees in Indian languages<sup>8</sup> and an attempt was made to translate vernacular literature popular among the *Ashrafia* because their main agenda was to replace Persian at the lower level of administration into Urdu.<sup>9</sup>

Before the establishment of the Fort William College, there was no mentionable Urdu prose writing. As Ram Babu writes:

Before the foundation of this famous College, there were works in Urdu prose which were either religious in character or fairy tales and romances and were mostly translations, cured, imperfect and unfinished, from the original Persian. No attempt was made to polish the style or to improve the syntax.<sup>10</sup>

Among the translators of Fort William College, the famous men of letters were Mirza Ali Lutf, best known for his biographical anthology named *Gulshan-i-Hind*, a translation from Persian into Urdu. The book may be read as a history of early nineteenth century poets and society. The language of the book betrays the influence of Deccani over Urdu literature.<sup>11</sup> Another translator, Syed Haidar Bakhsh Haidari, belonged to Delhi and worked mostly on historical texts. He translated *Araish-i-Mehfil, Tota Kahani* (1801) *Gulzar-i-Danih, Gul-i-Magfirit* and *Tarikh-e-Nadri* from Persian into Urdu. *Tarikh-e-Nadri* written by Mirza Muhammad Mahdi highlighted the history of Nadir Shah.<sup>12</sup> Mirza Aman of Delhi wrote *Bagh-o-Bahar* as a translation of *Chahar Darvesh*, in 1806 he translated Hussain Kashifi's *Akhlaq i Muhsini*, to which he gave the name of *Ganj Khubi*. Mir Aman's writing style in prose may be said to correspond to Mir Taqi Mir. In 1802, Bahadur Ali Husnaini translated *Seher ul Bayan*, into Urdu with the name of *Nasr-i Benazir*. Sher Ali Afsoos of Delhi is best known for his *Araish-i Mehfil*, based on *Khulasat- ut Tawarikh*. He also translated the *Gulistan-e-Sadi* into Urdu with the name of *Bagh-i-Urdu*. Other famous translators include Nihal Chand

Lahori, Lallu Lal, Kazim Ali, Ikram Ali and Hafiz ud Din Ahmed who also contributed in the Fort William College and thereby to the history of the development of Urdu literature.

But after Hastings, this interest in the vernacular and respect for literary productions of the past changed and Wellesley's successor, Lord Cornwallis, held open contempt for anything Indian. In his administration, Indians were barred from entering public service and the role of master and minion more clearly established. Governor-General Lord Wellesley, who served in India from 1812-1823, had a host of politically astute officers under him who believed Orientalism needed to be nurtured to cultivate the indigenous elite or *Ashrafia* that was to be co-opted into western values and ways of living but this perception was changing.

The institutions studying Oriental languages and literatures were open to all classes of native society although meant specifically for the training of British administrators. The language and literatures were pruned of their "excessive" content with a view to reforming local tastes for public responsibility and honour that would justify and facilitate foreign occupation.

By 1824, there were rumblings of discontent with the Orientalist project of promoting vernacular languages and literature that were considered to be of no utility to the government. It was the eloquent and vitriolic James Mill who mounted this attack on the British government in India, questioning their logic and adding that while supporting the study of Sanskrit and Arabic languages may be essential, what was the purpose of encouraging literature that was frivolous and mischievous at best, at worst a waste of precious colonial resources for investment in local education. James Mill's ferocious attack on Indian traditions in his book *The History of British India* (1817) was part of a general change in British attitudes and policies geared towards modernizing India. Although ideals like reforming freedom of the press and public opinion applied only to the European residents in colonial cities, and the introduction of western education was geared primarily to assist the administration, the Committee of General Instruction responded to Mill's challenge. With Orientalists like Horace Wilson, Holt Mackenzie and Henry Prinsep on board, they argued that India was not ready for introduction to the English language or literature since the natives had a large and well respected repertoire in Sanskrit and in Arabic languages.

By the 1920s, the Orientalist fervor was dying down and it was reflected in the cynical Macaulay's Minute on Education in 1835.<sup>13</sup> where vernacular literature was denigrated and caustic criticism was hurled at the Viceroy for bowing to Orientalist pressure in not insisting upon European supremacy in literature and the sciences. The task of educational reform, according to Macaulay was to create "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but the English in taste, in opinions, words and intellect".<sup>14</sup>

This was also the year when the most liberal Governor-General of India, William Bentinck, came into power. On Macaulay's advice, he promulgated the English Education Act in 1835 which made English the medium of instruction and withdrew funding from Orientalist institutions. In an even more revolutionary act, Lord Bentinck found a new function and purpose for the teaching of English Literature as the repository of moral and religious values, the first experiment in

India of colonizing the imagination of people before you rule over them. Thus it was that the English educated elite or *Ashrafia* in India grew up better acquainted with the cobbled streets of England and with a Dickensian view on poverty rather than knowing any part of their own vast homeland.

### **Institutionalising Urdu poetry and prose**

In the period when the British Governor-Generals were under the influence of Orientalism and into classical Indian literature but even late in their thought when English language took over as the dominant mode of communication of the elite, patronage of Urdu literature remained. As Molvi Abdul Haq writes, "There was a need to establish outstanding institutions for the education of children of the *Ashrafia* because they avoid sending them to schools run on charity".<sup>15</sup> The medium of instruction in such institutions was Urdu even for subjects like mathematics, physics, chemistry and geography.<sup>16</sup>

One of the first institutions established under Orientalist influence that later became the passageway for western modernism was Delhi College founded in 1825 at the behest of Sir Charles Metcalfe with M. Felix Boutras as its first Principal.<sup>17</sup> The primary aim of the institution was to impart western science and philosophy in Urdu and its most important achievement was The Delhi Vernacular Translation Society College that helped translate numerous books in English into Urdu from disciplines in the physical sciences and mathematics to constitutional law, philosophy, history and economics. Delhi College published several important journals like *Fawāid-un-Nāzirīn*, a fortnightly journal edited by Master Ram Chandar. Some of the luminaries of Urdu literature like Nazir Ahmed, Piyare Lal Ashob, Hussain Azad, Altaf Hussain Hali and Molvi Zaka Ullah were contemporaries at the college. Zaka Ullah (1910) wrote many books of science and mathematics but his main contribution is to the history of medieval India published in ten volumes. Nazir Ahmad (1912) was the first Urdu novelist whose method was social realism where he addressed contemporary issues of negotiating modern western values with traditional Indian ones in the contemporary Indian family. His works were considered edifying for the Muslim *Ashrafia*.<sup>18</sup>

In 1865, Dr Leitner, a committed Orientalist who later spearheaded the Government College in Lahore and setup the Anjuman-i- Ishaat-i- Mutalib-i- Mufida (Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge) with Muhammad Hussain Azad (1830-1910) in Lahore.<sup>19</sup> Leitner was a scholar of Arabic and Urdu and took out a number of literary journals among them *Indian Public Opinion* that was later renamed *The Civil and Military Gazette* with Rudyard Kipling as one of its first editors. Leitner also wrote voluminously on education in the Punjab where he finally retired. In 1882 his book *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab* was published that was controversial in its times and remains a classic to this day.

The Anjuman set up a Madressah in a *path shala* where Hindi and Sanskrit were taught to which Arabic and Persian were added in the curriculum. The school later developed into the well known Oriental College in Lahore. The aim of the Anjuman was to patronize vernacular languages and to impart useful knowledge as its name suggests. It was formed by employees in service of the British government with thirty five original members. In his *History of Urdu Literature in Twentieth Century*, Mohammed Sadiq hails two institutions as the precursors of

western ideas of modernity in northern India – Delhi College and the Anjuman-i Punjab.<sup>20</sup> The Anjuman had its own journal too and several other publications to its name but its other functions included setting up the Oriental College and equipping it as it was upgraded from being a school to a college. The Oriental college attracted the best minds among the *Ashrafia*, including Dr Muhammed Iqbal who spent four years there. The Anjuman also introduced book depots and moving libraries to foster the reading. Leitner was instrumental in arguing for a university for the Punjab and the University College was set up somewhat reluctantly by the British Government of India in 1869 and later upgraded by Lord Ripon to a full fledged University of the Punjab in 1882.

The Anjuman also played a pivotal role in developing Urdu poetry and prose in a particular direction. It instituted the public Mushaira where many battles ensued between old world poets and new ones led by Muhammad Hussain Azad. Educated at Delhi College, Azad had fled the city after his father, the eminent journalist, Baqir Ali who pioneered Urdu journalism in his *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* in 1836 was murdered ruthlessly by the British for siding with the mutineers of 1857. The press they owned was closed down and the house and all other property was confiscated. Azad spent six or seven years in penury tutoring children in Urdu till he had the good fortune of tutoring Leitner. He was immediately taken into the fold of the Anjuman where he worked very hard at editing journals and also put together his *Qisas-e Hind*, stories for children from the vernacular that were used as a textbook for school going children. According to his biographer, Sadiq, Azad's writing was imbued with "a growing interest in vernacular literature impregnated with the spirit of the West".<sup>21</sup>

What gained Azad most notoriety was his public lecture in 1874 when he reviewed Urdu poetry in the light of English poetry, condemning the former for being moribund and arcane and in need of finding new pathways of expression. The younger generation decried this pulling down of Urdu poetry and criticized Azad's uncritical acceptance of western paternalism.<sup>22</sup> Azad wrote several papers and two large volumes on the role of Urdu poetry '*Aab-e Hayat*' his oeuvre, in two volumes that deals with the development of Urdu language and Urdu poetry and his later *Sukhandan-e Fars*, also in two volumes, dealing with the development of Persian language and poetry and its effects on Urdu poetry.

The tradition of Mushaira set up and encouraged by Major Holroyd in Lahore and the Anjuman-e Punjab did not go very far after 1875 but after only nine such sessions, the group fell apart in bitter acrimony due perhaps to personal competitiveness of poets but also since so many of them disapproved of Azad as an organizer and questioned his poetic merit.<sup>23</sup> Sadiq's take on this is that academic poetry cannot travel very far or hold its ground while Leitner thought dictation of poetic inspiration was necessary to draw Urdu poetry out of its sentimentalism and obsession with love. The modern commentator, Farrukhi, disagrees from this idea of the Mushaira tradition failing and believes quite the contrary that the Department of Public Instruction achieved its purpose and changed the tenor of Urdu poetry.<sup>24</sup> The Persian influence was gone and replaced by the influence of the English literary tradition.

C.M. Naim puts the issue in perspective when he says,

The decline of “Oriental” learning, the increasing awareness on the part of literate people of the range of scientific knowledge available in English, and the need to provide school texts in regional vernaculars, led a number of individuals and associations to produce translations as well as original works in Urdu in the realm of what was seen as *ilm* (knowledge; science), as opposed to *shairee and dastan* (poetry and tales). It is interesting to note that just when the teachers and students of the famous Delhi College for the instruction of the natives were engaged in translating into Urdu books on analytical geometry, optics, and Galvanism, Goldsmith’s *History of England*, selections from Plutarch’s *Lives*, and Abercrombie’s *Mental Philosophy*, the traditional *munshis* at the equally famous College of Fort William for the instruction of British officers were busy putting into simple Urdu the *Gulistān* of Saadi, the *Tale of the Four Dervishes*, the *Tale of Amir Hamza*, *Singhasan Battisi*, the *Shakuntala* of Kalidasa, and a selection of stories from the *Arabian Nights*...<sup>25</sup>

### **Negotiating modernity: Muslim institutions of learning**

The educational institution that was seminal to modernizing the Muslim *Ashrafia* was founded by the minor aristocrat and government official, Syed Ahmed Khan in 1875. It first took the name of The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (MAO College) and had an even stranger motto that governed its activities. In a curious twist to Macauley’s Minute on Education, Syed Ahmed proclaimed the motto of the College to be: “to form a class of persons, Muhammadan in religion, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, and in intellect.”<sup>26</sup> This later became the Aligarh Muslim University in 1920, with the aim of promoting higher education in the Urdu medium while English was taught as a second language.<sup>27</sup>

Syed Ahmed supported the British politically to gain their trust which had been badly shaken after 1857 and to take the place of trusted allies of the British as Hindus rose in power and nationalist self assertiveness. A number of smaller educational institutions grew under the shadow of the college at Aligarh and Syed Ahmed was hailed as a renaissance man for the Muslims of nineteenth century India.<sup>28</sup> To be sure, he had a fair number of detractors who saw in him a political opportunist and an unprincipled modernist who cared not for nurturing what was best in Muslim civilization and its knowledge systems. These detractors were far less in power and proximity to the British and were largely silenced.

Aligarh remained a conflicted movement, and it took three generations before the benefits of a modern education increased the social standing of the *Ashrafia* and brought them into the fold of the professional and ruling classes.<sup>29</sup> Muhammad Sadiq’s saw other aspects to the college in Aligarh and wrote about how it had revived the prestige of the *Asrafia* in colonial India.

The obscurantism of the ulema and the unconcealed hostility of the British to their Muslim subjects and their patronage of Hindus, reduced the Muslims to the verge of extreme ignorance and destitution. By the beginning of the present century, the Hindus had outstripped the Muslims

so completely that there was no possibility of the latter ever overtaking the former. As we have seen, the man who saved the Muslims in India from complete ruin was Sayyid Ahmad Khan. His mission was twofold; to co-operate with the British and to recommend British civilization to his co-religionists. Thanks to his efforts, Western culture ceased to be taboo for the Muslims and they made some real headway in education. As regards the British, they were made to realize that they needed an ally in the country to nullify or retard the nationalist activities of the Hindus; and they were eager to take the Muslims under their wing and protect their rights, provided they kept out of politics.<sup>30</sup>

The objective of the Aligarh Movement was to modernise Indian Muslims to enable them to take full part in national affairs. It aimed at the maximum assimilation of western values and civilization without an overt break with religious tradition but this was a difficult position for anyone to maintain. Syed Ahmed Khan's agenda of social reform included a rationalist interpretation of religion and he wrote an interpretation of the Quran, pruning its miraculous content to read into it metaphors and symbols. But this was so controversial that even the college he had founded could not make it a part of the curriculum.<sup>31</sup>

He conceived the idea of a special journal *Tehzeeb-ul-Akhlaq*<sup>32</sup> to disseminate his ethical ideals. Since he knew he was addressing an audience largely orthodox in religious outlook, he broadened his approach by setting down as a basic principle of Quranic exegesis that if a passage could be given a naturalistic explanation it should be accepted. Even heaven and hell could be interpreted as allegories and metaphors and men and women were equal in the eyes of God even if different in earthly responsibilities. The Aligarh Institute *Gazette* exhorted Muslims to "distinguish laws and social customs and institutions from religion in its strict sense".<sup>33</sup>

Along with Aligarh, Osmania University established in Hyderabad Deccan gradually assumed the distinction of being the first of its kind where graduate and postgraduate education in all disciplines was through the Urdu medium. It was also known as a centre for the best translations of textbooks.<sup>34</sup> The Darul Tarjumah or Translation Bureau, was set up to translate and compile text books in Urdu in all subjects for graduate and postgraduate classes. Scholars and literati of eminence like Mirza Mohammad Hadi Ruswa, Nazim Taba Tabai, and Josh Malihabadi served this institution and translated valuable treatises dealing with various subjects such as medicine, psychology, law, history and geography, physical and the social sciences.<sup>35</sup>

For the detractors from European modernism the survival strategy was one of withdrawing from the political contest and cultivating traditional knowledge systems that largely, though not exclusively, concentrated on religion. One such Muslim centre was the theological seminary at Deoband, UP, established in 1869. The other well-known centres were the Nadvat-ul-Uloom in Lucknow, established in 1894.<sup>36</sup> Farangi Mahal fell into the Deoband method and influenced the development of Muslim religious thought in the subcontinent between the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. It was established in the Mughal period and it was the place where a French adventurer had built a mansion known as Farangi

Mahal.<sup>37</sup> Due to this institution, Lucknow became a center of learning and scholarship and the rendezvous for seekers of traditional knowledge. This influx of scholars increased to such an extent that Mulla Nizam-ud-Din's curriculum, which was called Silsila-e-Nizamia, was for a long time the course of instruction in use not only in India but in all of Asia. In addition to instruction in secular subjects, one may imagine that the course contained sacred tuition. It is easy to understand why in those days many students from a great number of places and coming from great distances used to gather in Lucknow.<sup>38</sup>

Francis Robinson argues that being a center of learning Farangi Mahal was an authentic institution and held attraction for the men of learning; he writes that Mulla Qutb-al-Din and his descendants won their reputation for scholarship.<sup>39</sup> Teaching was their first priority and they made Farangi Mahal a center of learning that attracted students from all over the Muslim world. There was also accommodation in Tila Mosque, which had seven hundreds rooms for the students who came from outside of Lucknow. Farangi Mahal was patronized by the royal treasury.<sup>40</sup>

In Lahore, the Anjuman-i-Himayat Islam was set up in 1885 and its branches grew throughout the land. Its objectives were clear: to give modern education to Muslim boys and girls according to the teachings of Islam. Much emphasis was placed on the education of young girls.<sup>41</sup> Its curriculum stated the objectives as: To propagate Islam, reply intelligently - either in writing or verbally - to charges made against this faith, give appropriate Islamic training to boys and girls, provide the poor and orphaned children with education.<sup>42</sup> They established Muhammadan Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular Schools for the education of Muslim Youth.<sup>43</sup>

In 1894, Maulana Shibli Naumani (1857-1914) started an Oriental college in Lucknow by the name of Nadvat-ul Uloom . Naumani was one of the most striking personalities of his age, a versatile genius with a remarkable career as a historian, journalist, and educationist, poet, literary critic, social reformer, publicist, teacher, preacher, philosopher, and theologian. He distinguished himself in history research, and education. He was born in 1857 AD at Bindaul, a village in the district of Azamgarh, United Provinces.<sup>44</sup> The medium of instruction in Nadvat-ul Uloom was Urdu and English was taught as a compulsory subject. Unlike Syed Ahmed's Aligarh College, Naumani's institution did not only stress upon acquiring English language and scientific information but worked to strengthen the classical curriculum. There was great emphasis laid on teacher training methods for better instruction of students.<sup>45</sup>

Nadvat-ul Uloom tried to steer a middle path between the religious fundamentalism of Deobandi schools and Aligarh's imitative modernism for which it received some state patronage as well support form the Muslim aristocracy. However, it could not sustain the criticism of its opponents that it was an extension of the Aligarh College and, eventually, its middle path was grabbed by orthodox Islam which found complete succumbing to the Shariah as the only answer to the multifarious problems of modernity. One can very well judge the middle path of this seminary with the following quotation of Shibli Naumani displayed in the main hall of its library: "Europe has no past. Hence it gropes aimlessly in the darkness of the future. But Islam's past is so splendid that progress for the

Muslims lies in retreat into the past until they return to the blissful age of the Companion (of Prophet), nay of the Prophet himself’.

Earlier, as a student in Aligarh, Shibli Naumani had helped found the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu (Hind) in 1903 at Aligarh. It was dedicated to promoting Urdu language and literature under the able guardianship of its secretary “Bābā-e-Urdu”, Dr. Abdul Haq (1870-1961).<sup>46</sup> The Anjuman had its headquarters in Aurangabad that were later shifted to Delhi, where a massive campaign was launched of publishing edited texts of rare Urdu manuscripts to illuminate the early period of Urdu literary history. *Hamāri Zabān* was its journal which has been a regular weekly publication of the Anjuman to this day.

In 1913, Shibli Naumani established another research centre in Azamgarh, called Dārul Musanefin with a view to fostering a synthesis of the best in the oriental and occidental cultures. This was a writer’s residency where scholars could find accommodation and dedicate themselves to writing treatises on history, scholasticism and literature.<sup>47</sup> Distinguished scholars like Abdul Salam Nadvi, Sulaiman Nadvi, Sabah-ud-Din Abdur Rahman and others were the product of Darul Musanefin. Its monthly Journal *Muarif* (Knowledge) is still published.<sup>48</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Francis Robinson considers this large number of Urdu journals as a sign of Muslim revival because their content was largely popular Islam.<sup>49</sup> Ayesha Jalal, too, sees them as being instrumental in gradually furthering communalism by consolidating Muslim identity and Urdu thereby assuming a form of cultural identity associated with Muslims. She writes: “Colonial policy together with the perception of the ‘majority’ community advanced in the public arena through newsprint as well as religious and literary publications, bundled Muslims into an undifferentiated and essentialised category defined by the criterion of religion alone.”<sup>50</sup> Except this identity, like all identities, was about political expediency and there there was no agreement in the Urdu press in the late nineteenth century among Muslims about who could represent, far less arrive at, the consensus of the community.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Mackenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) p.3.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism, Western Conceptions of the East* (Delhi: Penguin Book, 1978), See introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Fort St. George (or historically, White Town) is the name of the first English or British fortress in India, founded in 1639 at the coastal city of Madras Eastern banks of the River Hooghly, modern city of Chennai. The construction of the fort provided the impetus for further settlements and trading activity. It was named after King William of III of England.

<sup>4</sup> The Madras Literary Society (MLS) was founded in 1812. At the time, the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Presidencies were directly controlled by the London office of the East India Company. The Society functioned as a cleaning house and a repository for the literary, exploratory and scientific discoveries and experiences of the Civil, Military and Judicial officers of the Madras Presidency. It complemented the Company's School of Language and Oriental Studies at Fort St. George. As quoted in Javed Ali Khan, *Early Urdu Historiography* (Patna: Khuda Bux Oriental Public Library, 2005) p.129.

<sup>5</sup> P.G. Robb, *The Government of India and Reforms. Policies towards Politics and the Constitution 1916-1921*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1976.), p.95.

<sup>6</sup> - For detail see, Ian. St.jonh, *The Making of the Raj: India Under the East India Company*(ABC,Clío: 2012)

<sup>7</sup> - see, Richard Colley Wellesley, Letters of the Marquis Wellesley Respecting the College of Fort William, (Hatcher:1812), Thomad roebuck, The annals of the college of Fort William,(Philip, Pereira:1819), [www.googlebook.com](http://www.googlebook.com)

<sup>8</sup> - Khawaja Muhammad Zakriya, *Tareek-e-Adbiat, Muslamanan-e-Pakistan-o-Hind (1857-1914)* vol.IV, (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010), T. Grahame Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, (London, 1932) 80.

<sup>9</sup> -Farina Mir, *The social space of the language: vernacular culture in British colonial Punjab*(California: 2010)p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid,22.

<sup>11</sup> - For details see (Bailey, 1932, 80)

<sup>12</sup> , Khawaja Muhammad Zakriya, *Tareek-e-Adbiat, Muslamanan-e-Pakistan-o-Hind (1857-1914)* vol.III, (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010),

<sup>13</sup>Lord Macauley's *Minutes on Education* written in 1835 for Lord William Bentinck to declared the medium of English language compulsory for the indigenous, this policy remained the essential part of the British raj. For detail see Baron Babington Macaulay, G. Cumberlege (edit),*Lord Macaulay's legislative minutes*,

(Oxford University Press, 1946)

<sup>14</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.) p.35.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted by Abida Begum, *Urdu Nasr Ka Irtaka 1800-1857 ( The Evolution of Urdu prose1800-1857)* ,(Delhi: Maktaba Jamia, 1988), p.191.

<sup>16</sup> But while it was in Bengal that it made most headway, comparable trends are also to be seen long before the middle of the century in .the Urdu-speaking area. Of these the most noteworthy was that which led to the establishment in 1827 of the Delhi College. There through the medium of Urdu, the modern sciences and arts were, taught alongside the traditional subjects of oriental learning, and the College quickly became thriving intellectual

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centre. Quoted by Muhsan-ul-Mulk in the introduction to *Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh*, Aligarh, 1898, p.2.

<sup>17</sup> Sisir Kumar Das, *A History of Indian literature: 1800-1910 Western impact: Indian response* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1991), p.484.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.,484.

<sup>19</sup> In 1864–65 Dr. G. W. Leitner, Principal of Government College in Lahore, who worked all his life for the promotion of the development of Western learning in Indian languages, took tuition of Urdu from Muhammad Hussain Azad (1830-1910)

<sup>20</sup> - Dr Muhammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu Literature in Twentieth Century*, (Delhi: oxford university press, 1964) p.315.

<sup>21</sup> Muhammad Sadiq, *Muhammad Husain Azad: His Life and Works* (Lahore: West-Pakistan Publishing Co., 1974), p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> For details consult *Muhammad Hussain Azad* vol I and ii (Karachi: Anjuman e taraqqi e Urdu, 1965) Muhammad Sadiq *Abe Hayat ki Himayat main aur Dosr e Mazameen* (Lahore: Majilis e Taraqqi e Adab, 1973)

<sup>23</sup> Tahir Kamran, *Urdu Migrant literati and Lahore's Culture*, (Cambridge: Center for South Asian Study, 2013), p.187.

<sup>24</sup> As quoted in (Tahir Kamran, 2013) p.180.

<sup>25</sup> [www.urdustudies.com/AsaduddinPersianate](http://www.urdustudies.com/AsaduddinPersianate).

C.M. Naim, "Prize-Winning *Adab*: A Study of Five Urdu Books Written in Response to the Allahabad Government Gazette Notification," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Metcalfe (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p.291.

<sup>26</sup> Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, As quoted in David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.260. The statement is a rephrasing of the famous statement contained in Macaulay's Minute on Education, 1835.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid

<sup>28</sup> Lini S. May, *The evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857*, (Lahore: Ashraf press, 1975), p.120.

<sup>29</sup> Firoze Mookerjee, *Lukhnow and Word of Sarshar* (Karachi: Saad Publications, 1992), p.26.

<sup>30</sup> - (Sadiq, 1984, 34)

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>32</sup> This journal was started in 1870 which set a new pattern of independent and critical thinking in social, moral and religious spheres.

<sup>33</sup> [www.urdustudies.com/AsaduddinPersianate](http://www.urdustudies.com/AsaduddinPersianate)

<sup>34</sup> Founded in 1918 by the Seventh Nizam of Hyderabad state, Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan, higher learning in India, the third oldest in southern India and the first to be established in the erstwhile princely State of Hyderabad.

<sup>35</sup> (Lini 1975, 136)

<sup>36</sup> M. Asaduddin, *the west in the Nineteenth-Century, Imagination: some Reflections on the transition from a persianate knowledge system to template of Urdu and English*, [www.urdustudies.com/AsaduddinPersianate.1/18/07](http://www.urdustudies.com/AsaduddinPersianate.1/18/07)

<sup>37</sup> R Upadhyay, *Islamic Institution In India -Protracted Movement for Separate Muslim Identity*,(New Delhi: Oxford University Press,2003), p.54.

<sup>38</sup> Lini S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857*, (Lahore: Ashraf press , 1975) ,p.98.

<sup>39</sup> - Francis Christopher Rowland Robinson (born on 23 November 1944) is a British academic who received a CBE in 2006 for his services to higher education and his research into the history of Islam. Robinson's research interests have focused on the Muslim world, with particular emphasis the Muslims of South Asia, Muslim responses to modernity, learned and holy families, and religious and political change. He has written several books on the Islamic World, including *Atlas of the Islamic World Since 1500* (1982), *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (2000), *The Ulama of Farang I Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (2001), *The Mughal Emperors* (2007), and *Islam, South Asia, and the West* (2007).

<sup>40</sup> See Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,2001)

<sup>41</sup> ( May 1975, 121)

<sup>42</sup> J.N Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*(London : Macmillan and Co , Ltd, 1929), Pp.347-9.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid

<sup>44</sup> Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu Literature*, p.318

<sup>45</sup> ( May 1975, 132)

<sup>46</sup> -Moulvi Abdul Haq, awarded the title Baba-e-Urdu was the moving spirit behind the Osmania University Hyderabad, Deccan, where all subjects were taught in Urdu. The textbooks and reference material to be used here were translated and compiled under his supervision: Later on, he served as the chairman of the Department of Urdu. After his retirement in 1930, he compiled and edited a comprehensive and authoritative *English Urdu dictionary*.

<sup>47</sup> M.S. Agwani, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992),P. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, P.34.

<sup>49</sup> - Francis Robinson, p.242

<sup>50</sup> -(Ayesha ,2002,58)

<sup>51</sup> -(yesha ,2002,58)