JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC HISTORY
AND CULTURE OF INDIA

Department of Islamic History and Culture
University of Calcutta
JOURNAL OF
ISLAMIC HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF INDIA

Volume III, 2014

Editor
KAZI SUFIOR RAHAMAN

Department of Islamic History and Culture
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
CONTENTS

Modern Indian Muslim Politics
Education and Community Consciousness among the Muslims of British India 1
   Carimo Mohomed
Democracy in the Nationalist Discourse of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad 17
   Safoora Razeq
The Indian Muslim League and the Question of Palestine 53
   Kaustav Chakrabarti

Bengal Urbanization, Medicine and Architecture
An Introductory Overview of Colonial Origin of the City Calcutta 61
   Ranjit Sen
Dispensaries of Unani Medicine in Bengal (1839-1939) 84
   Jahan Ali Purkait
Silver Coins of Bengal Sultanate: An Archaeometallurgical Analysis 97
   Mohammad Abu Al Hasan
   ASW Kurny

Medieval Indian Culture
History Writing of the Muslim Savants in Medieval Times: An Appraisal 108
   AKM Yaqub Ali
Relation between the Delhi Sultanate and the Caliphate 115
   Jamil Ahmed

Early Islam in Arab
The Medina Charter (622 AD): A Quest for Redefining Approach 122
   Md. Zakaria
   Md. Monirul Islam
The Abbasid Rulers: Lifestyle and Culture 131
   Md. Abul Kalam Azad
   Mohammad Shafiullah Kutubi

Constitutional History of South East Asia
Secession of Singapore from the Federation of Malaysia: An Analyse 141
   Mohammad Siddiqur Rahman Khan
   Mohammad Amranul Islam

Book Review 161
The Journal of Islamic History and Culture in India is the official Journal of the Department of Islamic History and Culture of Calcutta University. Indeed, the present volume of the Journal has acquired immense importance for the kind support of distinguished scholars from different academic disciplines and countries.

The journal contains altogether eleven illuminative articles covering different areas and a book review as well. Considering the nature of the articles the journal has been thematically classified into six sections. It begins with three substantial contributions on Modern Indian Muslim Politics. Dr. Carimo Mohamed from University of Lisbon in his thought-provoking article scanned the Indian Muslims psyche in connection with the introduction of western education in India by the British. Dr. Safoora Razeq of Alia University in her research paper examined the attitude of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad towards democracy against the backdrop of his political and religious ideas. Dr. Kaustav Chakrabarti of City College, Kolkata, in his fact finding paper has raised the question regarding the role of Indian Muslim League on Palestine problems.

In second section three valuable articles have been incorporated under the title of Bengal urbanization, medicine and architecture. The diligent investigative article by Professor Ranjit Sen from Calcutta University has dealt with a historical description of the origin of the city of Calcutta in a new approach with a plethora of information. Dr. Jahan Ali Purkait of Alia University in his research paper has analyzed the utility of unani dispensaries for health and sanitary services in Bengal (1839-1939), as well as the real objective of the British Government regarding unani medicine. Mohammad Abu Ali Hasan and Professor ASW Kurny from Jahangir Nagar University and BUET of Bangladesh, in their joint experimental paper has explored scientifically the percentage of the metal composition of four silver coins from four Bengal mints during the Sultanate period.

In third section two valuable papers present discussion on Medieval Indian Culture. Professor Emeritus of Rajshahi University, Dr. AKM Yakub Ali, in his diligent paper has critically but interestingly narrated the way of development of history writing among the Muslim Savants during the Muslim rule in India. Jamil Ahmed of Maulana Azad College, Kolkata in his article has discussed the informal relations between the Caliphs and the rulers of Delhi during Sultanate period and the author has come to the conclusion that the Delhi Sultanate was a part of the Caliphate.

In Fourth section two articles have been bracketed under the title Early Islam in Arab. Md. Zakaria and Md. Monirul Islam respectively from Dhaka University and BIU, Bangladesh, through their joint article have reassessed the historical Medina Charter (622 AD) of Prophet Muhammad in a new light on the question of secularism and democratic politics. In the last article of this section Md. Abul Kalam Azad and Mohammad Shafiullah
Kutubi of Chittagong University have given a vivid pen picture of lifestyle and culture of the Abbasid rulers in Arabia.

A joint article of Professor Mohammad Siddiquur Rahman Khan from Dhaka University and Mohammad Amranul Islam from Savar University College, Bangladesh has initiated discussion on constitutional as well as administrative History of South East Asia. They have chronologically interpreted the process of independence of Singapore from the federation of Malaysia in the context of regional and ethnical politics.

Finally, a book entitled ‘Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi: His Movement and Legacy from the Pukhtun Perspective’ of Altaf Qadir published by SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd, New Delhi has been reviewed by Dr. Kazi Sufior Rahaman, former Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University.

I must record my gratitude to the head of the department, board of editors, faculty members’ concerned dignitaries, press and learned contributors in connection with the publication of the journal. I am greatly indebted to the contributors from home and abroad. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Sugata Marjit, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta for his invaluable suggestions regarding the publication of this volume. I also express my heart felt gratitude to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Academy) Professor Swagata Sen and to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor (BA&F) Professor Sonali Banerjee Chakravorty for their moral support. I extend my sincere thanks to Dr. Aparesh Das, Superintendent of Calcutta University Press and the members of the press for their cooperation towards the publication of this volume. Lastly I thank to all my colleagues in the department for their encouragement and proper suggestions. Due to unavoidable reasons, the original spellings and styles of notes and references of the contributors have been retained unaltered.

Hope that the present volume with articles containing valuable information on various subjects will receive acclaim from the academic world.

Kolkata, 18 July 2016

Kazi Sufior Rahaman
Introduction
On the 14th August 1947, Pakistan became a reality. Originally conceived as a State for the Indian Muslims, the origin of the idea of Pakistan has often provided lively subjects for controversy among scholars and publicists. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), in his interview with Beverley Nichols (1898-1983), pointed out that the idea of dividing India was not new for it had occurred to John Bright (1811-1889) in 1877.1 Talking about the distant future when the British Government might have to withdraw from India, Bright urged that the peoples of different Provinces in India should be encouraged to regard themselves as citizens of different states so that at the time of transfer of power there might be five or six great successor States.2 Similarly, Communist writers have credited Stalin with foreseeing as early as 1912 the breakup of India into diverse nationalities: ‘In the case of India, too, it will probably be found that innumerable nationalities, till then lying dormant, would come into life with the further course of bourgeois development’.3

The idea of Muslims forming a separate state in India was mooted as early as December 1883. It was Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840-1922) who suggested in Calcutta that in his view practically all the Provinces of Northern India should be placed under Muslim Government and those of Southern India under Hindu Government. In this scheme, the British would continue as the controlling power drawing their support from British troops stationed in each of the Provinces, but ‘the whole civil administration, legislation, and finance should be left to native hands’.4

After the inauguration of the Government of India Act, 1919, it became clear that the

---

* Author is graduated in History and Ph.D. in Political Science from University of Libson, Portugal. He is a Member of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies ‘Faith, Politics and Societies’. Executive Member of the International Political Science Association Research Committee ‘Religion and Politics’ and Member of the Educational Board of the International Journal of Islamic Thought, published by the International Society of the Muslim Philosophers and Theologian in the Department of Theology and Philosophy of National University of Malaysia.

E-mail: mohomed.carimo@gmail.com
British seriously contemplated the transfer of political power by stages to Indian hands. This created a feeling of uneasiness among Muslims as regards their share of power. It was significant that even at that stage Muslims regarded themselves and their problems as somewhat separate from the rest of India. Thus, Mawlana Mohammad Ali Jouhar (1878-1931), speaking on the resolution that reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier province of India in the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held in Bombay in December 1924, said:

If a line be drawn from Constantinople to Delhi on the map of the world it would be found that at least right up to Saharanpur, there was a corridor of purely Muslim people or Muslims were in clear majority. This gave them the clue for understanding the backward condition in which the Frontier and the Punjab were purposely kept by those in power.

One gets another glimpse of Muslim apprehensions and their separatist tendencies in the Nehru Report of 1928. The Report recorded:

The Muslims being in a minority in India as a whole fear that the majority may harass them, and to meet this difficulty they have made a novel suggestion that they should at least dominate in some parts of India.

All this, at best, was a hazy and uncertain groping towards a separate state. A clear conception was given by Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) on the occasion of the 25th session of the All-India Muslim League, held in Allahabad and where he was elected as president. In an historical speech, on the 29th December 1930, Iqbal devised for the first time the creation of a separate state for the Indian Muslims.\(^5\) And his conception was not only clear but comprehensive in the sense that it was based on both geographical and ideological factors. Echoing Johann Gottlieb Fichte's *Addresses to the German Nation* (Fichte 1922), Muhammad Iqbal talked about the question of Islam and Nationalism, saying that for the Muslims of India the main formative force through History had been Islam, which had given them the emotions and basic loyalties which gradually united scattered individuals and groups, transforming them into a well defined people. Addressing the question of the unity of the Indian nation, Iqbal raised the issues of the problem Indian Muslims would face as a minority, in their purposes of applying Islam as a moral, political and ethical ideal, if religion was to be considered a private matter, facing the risk of suffering the same fate as Christianity in Europe. For him, the unity of the Indian nation had to be searched not in the negation of some but in the reciprocal harmony and in the cooperation of many. Although the attempts to find that principle of internal harmony had failed so far, still each group had its own right to a free development according to its lines. Following this line of thought, Iqbal considered that India was composed by non-territorial unities, contrary to European countries, with human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour was not determined by a common racial conscience, and even the Hindus were not a homogenous group. The principle of European democracy could not be applied to India without acknowledging the
fact of the existence of communitarian groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India inside India was, for Iqbal and for that reason, totally justified. That State would include the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, with self-government within, or without, the British Empire, and the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appeared to him to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least those of North-West India. That state would be the best defender against a foreign invasion of India, and Iqbal assured the Hindus that they had nothing to be afraid of the fact that the creation of Muslim autonomous states would meant the introduction of a religious government, since he, Iqbal, had already indicated the meaning of the word ‘religion’ as applied to Islam. The Muslims of India, who were seventy million, were far more homogeneous, in Iqbal’s opinion, than any other people in India. Indeed, they were the only Indian people who could fit the description of a nation, in the modern sense of the word.

These issues were again focused in the Presidential Address delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim Conference at Lahore, on the 21st March 1932 (Iqbal 1932), and more developed in his book, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Iqbal 1934). However, what was most noteworthy in Iqbal’s conception was the ideological basis of his state. His idea was not inspired by fear or hostility towards the Hindus:

A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities... Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and my behaviour; and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby re-creating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness.⁶

According to Faisal Devji, the Muslim ‘community’ emerged in India during the nineteenth century as a direct consequence of colonial rule. With the destruction of royal and aristocratic forms of power in British territory, these indigenous sources of profane authority were displaced by religious ones, which for the first time stood free of the formers’ tutelage. In other words, it was the Muslim community’s separation from political authority that made it a religious entity in the modern sense. Yet by freeing Islam of such profane elements, the secular politics of colonialism freed it from all inherited forms of authority, making the Muslim community into a site of competition between different groups of divines and laymen. The birth of this new collectivity was signalled by its adoption of a name unknown to history, with Muslims in the nineteenth century calling themselves a *qawm*, an Arabic word meaning something like ‘tribe’ or ‘people’ that had rarely been used to describe religious groups in the past. Eventually, this word would become an equivalent for the equally novel term ‘nation’ in South Asia. Notwithstanding their reference to tie of kith and kin in other contexts, neither community nor *qawm* were names used to describe local forms of Muslim belonging, being deployed instead to represent the disparate, dispersed and merely demographic collection of Queen Victoria’s Muslim subjects.⁷
While the colonial census and its juridical borders may have mapped its demographic boundaries by Anglo-Muhammadan law, Indians themselves occupied the Muslim community in different ways. Indeed, it soon became the site of great struggles between Muslim groups in northern India, primarily Sunni clerics and their relatives among the laity. Both these groups belonged to the same class of minor landholders, administrators and bureaucrats, all Urdu speaking, who had been liberated by colonial rule from the kings and nobles they had once served. Fully conscious of their independence, these men called themselves ‘sharif’ (well born), and set out to recast Islam in their own image, thus lending the qawm some substance as an ethnic category. It were the laymen who set the terms of debate in this struggle and especially those who gathered under the ‘reformist’ and pro-British sign of the Aligarh Movement whose project to modernise Muslims was named after a town in the United Provinces that was home to its great institutions, the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (later, in 1920, Aligarh Muslim University) and the Muhammadan Educational Conference. Aligarh was also the base of the movement’s founder and guiding spirit, the influential modernist Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), which are going to be the object of analysis in this article.8

Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh movement

The second half of the Nineteenth century was a period of great richness in the history of the modern Islamic movement, when a group of Muslim intellectuals, in different parts of the world, rigorously examined the fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence. The central theological problems at the core of these examinations focused on the validity of the knowledge derived from sources external to the Qur’an and the methodology of traditional sources of jurisprudence: the Qur’an, the hadith (traditions of the Prophet Muhammad), ijma (consensus of the Muslim community), and qiyas (analogical reasoning). The epistemological step adopted was to reinterpret the first two, the Qur’an and the hadith, and to transform the last two, ijma and qiyas, in the light of scientific rationalism. Among those who had a strong impact were al-Afghani (1838-1897), Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905) and Amir ‘Ali (1849-1928), who presented Islam in a way that was consistent with modern ideas and rational sciences. They were fascinated with what the West had achieved in technological and scientific progress: the Newtonian conception of the Universe, Spencer’s sociology, Darwinian ideas and even Western style of life. All of them argued that, since Islam was a world religion, it was capable of adapting to the changing environment of each age, particularly since the use of law and reason was characteristic of the perfect Muslim community.9

Although the felt need for reformist thinking was endogenous, with movements which proposed a fresh rereading against the inherited traditions, the shock of European expansionism beginning in the later part of the Eighteenth century and the early Nineteenth century the expansive social and intellectual power of Europe, seen not only as an adversary
but also as a challenge, in some cases an attractive one, brought a new element which reinforced that feeling. The power and greatness of Europe, science and modern technologies, political institutions of European states, and social morality of modern societies were all favourite issues, forcing the formulation of a fundamental problem: how could Muslims acquire the strength to confront Europe and become part of the modern world?

As the century went on, and with the rise of the new educated class in the 1860s and 1870s, a split appeared among those who supported the reforms, a division of opinion which was about the bases of authority: whether it should lie with officials responsible to their own sense of justice and the interests of the political order, or with a representative government produced by elections. The split between generations of Muslim thinkers went deeper than this, however. The second generation was aware of a problem implicit in the changes which were taking place. Reform of institutions would be dangerous unless rooted in some kind of moral solidarity: what should this be, and how far could it be derived from the teachings of Islam? Such a question became more pressing as the new schools began to produce a generation not grounded in the traditional Islamic learning, and exposed to the winds of education and learning blowing from the West.

Ideological debates and religious disputes in nineteenth century resulted in the rise of several important issues in the wider Islamic world such as: i) The empirical versus the Islamic sciences; ii) The rational basis of law versus the Shari’a; iii) Western civilization versus the abode of Islam; iv) Gender equality versus male supremacy; and v) Constitutionalism versus the Islamic conception of sovereignty. In their re-examination of Islamic worldviews, Islamic modernists pointed to the methodological and conceptual inadequacy of Islamic orthodoxy. In India and Egypt, the active presence of the followers of the Enlightenment, the Westernizers, and the Evangelicals, resulted in the rise of a pluralistic discursive field, where modernist Muslim scholars faced a multiplicity of issues (Moaddel 2001).

In 1832 the Reverend Midgeley John Jennings (d. 1857) arrived in India, and became, in 1852, a chaplain of the Christian population of Delhi, and hoped to convert the local population to Anglican Christianity, thus ending with the local ‘false religions’, a sentiment shared by many Evangelical British in India, who were expecting not only to rule and manage the country but also to ‘save’ her, using their influence through the British East India Company to convert the country. The British Empire was the proof that God was on their side: to propagate the faith would augment even more that empire. Some Evangelical figures, such as the Reverends Henry Martyn (1781-1812), Joseph Wolff (1795-1862) and, especially, Carl Pfander (1805-1865), were important missionaries with an aggressive posture of ‘frontal attack’ against Islam, exemplified by the publication of books such as Mizan al-Haqq (Balance of Truth), first published in 1829 (Pfander 1910), or Remarks on the Nature of Muhammadanism.10

The impacts on the Indian Muslim community were felt and, at an intellectual level,
Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan became preoccupied mostly with theological issues. Born on 17th October 1817 into an important family from Delhi, which belonged to the Mughal aristocracy, Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s ancestors claimed to be direct descendents from the Prophet Muhammad (hence his title Sayyid) through his daughter Fatima and his cousin and son-in-law ‘Ali and Ahmad Khan’s family had migrated to India through Iran and Afghanistan. After his father’s death in 1838, he started to work as a civil servant in a Civil Court under the British East India Company in Delhi, dedicating himself to the writing of various subjects like History, Sciences, Theology and Civil Law. At the same time, he re-read the Muslim medieval classical works and produced his first historiographical work, which dwells on the ancient buildings and monuments of Delhi and surroundings (Khan 1854).

The events of 1857 caught him in Bijnaur as a civil judge, and his journal between May 1857 and April 1858 became a monograph with the title *Tarikh-i Sarkashi-i Bijnaur*, which is a history of the Mutiny in Bijnaur. In 1859, Ahmad Khan published a book in Urdu, *Risalah-i-Asbab-e Baghawat-e Hind* (*Causes of the Indian Mutiny*), later translated into English, in which he criticised the mutiny of the previous years, arguing that there had been only one cause for it, all the others being a consequence: the fact that the natives of India blamed the government for the diminishing of their position and dignity and for maintaining them in a lower position. In addition, the natives blamed the British for daily suffering and for being afraid of abuse at the hands of the officials, and Ahmad Khan also exposed the errors of the administration of the East India Company as well as what the native population thought were the actual objectives of the Company: proselytism of Christian missionaries and subsequent conversion of India; in the economic field, the fiscal and financial monopolies of the Company, the smashing of local industries with the objective of creating a market for British exports; the huge fiscal burden in northern India, causing misery; destruction of political and military organization; and the deep discrimination and despise that the Company had for the native population.

What happened to the Muslims after the Mutiny shocked Sayyid Ahmad Khan greatly and he pursued the task of rapprochement between the British, on one hand, and the Indians and Muslims on the other. In 1860-61, Ahmad Khan published his *Risālah Khair Khawahān Musalmanān: An Account of the Loyal Mohamadans of India*, in which he defended that the Indian Muslims were the most loyal subjects of the British Raj (Rule) because of their disposition and because of the principles of their religion, being convinced that the British had come to stay and that their supremacy, with that of the West, could not be doubted in the near future. So, Muslims should rethink their way of living, being at the risk of falling further. For him, the existing resentment was due to mutual prejudices and ignorance. His effort to mediate between Christianity and Islam took shape in his work *Ahkam-i Ta‘am-i Ahl-i Kitab*, dealing with the social contact between Muslims, Christians and Jews, and in a commentary to the *Bible*, where he tried to establish that both religions derived from the
same source and that their similitude would be quickly recognised by whoever studied and compared them.

In that commentary, *Tabīyyan al-kalam fī'l-tafsīr al-tawrā wa'l-injil calā millat al-islam* (*The Mahomedan Commentary on the Bible*), he included, as an appendix, a *fatwa* issued by Jamal ibn al-ʿAbd Allah ‘Umar al-Hanfi, the Mufti of Mecca, who said that as long as some of the rites of Islam were maintained in India, this was *Dar al-Islam* (Abode of Islam). The aim was to contain the *fatwa* issued by some Indian ‘ulama saying that India had become *Dar al-Harb* (Abode of War). At the same time, Ahmad Khan tried to make Muslims see that modern western education, with its emphasis on science and rational thought, would only be beneficial to the community, and also tried to synthesize it with Islamic religious thought, defending that in this there was nothing that opposed to the study of science and that there was nothing to be afraid of from its impact.

Arguing that the *Qurʾān* should be interpreted according to each time and its conditions, Sayyid Ahmad Khan defended that the *Hadith* did not furnish an adequate basis for the understanding of Islam, and that religion had suffered many changes through time, especially with the additions and mixings of the specialists’ opinions. So, it was necessary to extract all the ‘exotic’ ideas and put them in their respective perspectives. Ahmad Khan conceived a new educational system, in which the responsibility to educate future generations would be on the Muslim community itself and in which the intellectuals would receive education in Islam and in Western sciences, becoming Aligarh’s main educational basis, with future impacts in Indian Muslim society in the modernist trend.

Ahmad Khan created two schools in the cities of Muradabad and Ghazipur, having established in the first one, in 1864, the Scientific Society, which was moved in 1867 to Aligarh. The objectives of the Society were to translate works on Arts and Sciences from English or other European languages so they could be understood by the natives; to find and publish rare and valuable oriental works which did not have a religious character; to publish a periodical, the weekly *Aligarh Institute Gazette*; to offer lectures on scientific subjects or others that were considered useful. The main objective for Aligarh was to become the source of a new leadership for Indian Muslims, responding to the new conditions in the world and based on new kinds of knowledge, claiming this new knowledge for Islam, and protecting the faith and identity of their English-educated sons in the face of competing sorts of belief and allegiance.12

In 1866, the Aligarh British Indian Association was created, with more political aims in the sense of influencing the government’s decisions in what was related to Indian Muslims, but with little impact. Ahmad Khan, who had been elected honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1864, visited England in 1869-70, staying in the British capital for seventeen months with his two sons, Sayyid Hamid and Sayyid Mahmud, a friend, Mirza Khuda Dad Beg, and an employee. Besides giving him the opportunity for contact with
the local reality, the stay also gave him the chance of meeting the State Secretary for India and Queen Victoria herself, who gave him the title of Companion of the Star of India. His visit convinced him of the British superiority and allowed him to read William Muir's biography of the Prophet Muhammad, which disturbed him deeply, for religious reasons and personal ones, because the Prophet was his ancestor.

Based on information drawn from the study of some Muslim sources, *The Life of Mahomet*, written by Sir William Muir (Muir 1861) in response to a zealous missionary's request, amplified the thesis that Islam was a backward religion, and was acclaimed as a great help in the missionary enterprise. In that work, Sir William Muir talked about divorce, polygamy and slavery, and Sayyid Ahmad Khan wrote a refutation with the title *Essays on the Life of Mohammed and Subjects Subsidiary Thereto* (Khan Bahador 1870), containing twelve essays, an endeavour which forced him to search for materials in the British Museum and in the India Office Library. Ahmad Khan was also able to visit Oxford and Cambridge Universities and some colleges, like Eton and Harrow, which would serve him as models for his Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College.

While he was in London, he came to know that his kinsman Sami Ulldi was involved in an effort to establish a new Arabic academy in their hometown of Delhi; Ahmad Khan wrote him that 'the old, run-in-the milli madrasahs won't do us any good'. In a letter to Mahdi Ali (later Nawab Muhsin ul-Mulk, 1837-1907), he wrote:

If you came here [Great-Britain], you would see how education is carried on and how children are taught, how knowledge is acquired and a community attains honour.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was only beginning to address himself to the formulation of an educational program especially for Muslims; until then his concern had been to promote modern European science, technology and scholarship through the medium of Urdu, which he conceived to be the cosmopolitan language of northern India. Although he had been very much occupied with questions of the theology, practice, historical reputation and present fortune of Islam, it was only toward the end of his London trip that these two streams came together: Sayyid Ahmad Khan announced to his friend that he would now devote himself to establishing a new kind of madrassah for the benefit of the Muslims of India, also believing that the cause of Islam was bound up with the worldly 'success' of Muslims, with the social standing of the Muslim community in a world in which not everyone was a Muslim or the client of a Muslim, particularly the enlightened and (hence) powerful were not. In this sense the validity of Islam was bound up in the living course of the world's activities. Now worldly success was ideologically prior: not by being a good Muslim would leadership descend upon the ummah—now referred to as qawm, more ethnic group than common confession but rather success in areas conceived as outside the realms of religious concern would benefit the religious cause.

Back to India in October 1870 and with a new orientation for his ideas and efforts, Ahmad
Khan dedicated himself to the social and intellectual regeneration of Indian Muslims. Though Aligarh fostered loyalty to British rule, it did so with a clear purpose and pattern in mind. Aligarh was to be the spawning ground of a new, self-conscious Muslim elite, prepared by their English education to take their proper leadership roles in the political and administrative life of British India. For this to happen, the education offered there had to be cast in a quality model: Aligarh was to be a Muslim Cambridge, the same Cambridge, which would supply key members of the faculty, and some important features, chief of which were union debates and a cricket club. However, Muslim features were also emphasized. The Muslims who founded and managed the college frequently clashed with the British staff, and among themselves, over just who was in charge and what would be the focus of the curriculum. Islamic theology and oriental learning gave way to the English curriculum, but the consciousness of being an ‘Indian Muslim’ was fostered, and perhaps even created, at Aligarh, a sense of solidarity created first among a brotherhood of students, which was later projected onto the Muslim community in British India as a whole. Many translations of English works in the fields of History, Political Economy, Agriculture, Mathematics and others were published, and the institution of modern education and Western scientific knowledge as a way of reform and renewal of the Muslim community and/or Muslim countries was also common in other places like Egypt, the Ottoman Empire or Tunisia.

In 1871 William Hunter published his *The Indian Musalmans* (Hunter 1871), with the aim of creating a better understanding between rulers and ruled, as a way to safeguard British power in India. Using as a basis the various trials after the Mutiny, he came to the conclusion that there was a causal relation between the Wahhabi activities and the permanent instability in the North-Western Frontier. For him, the movement was well organized and its leaders claimed all the functions of sovereignty over their constituents. The bonds that connected the members of that ‘secret order’ were extraordinarily strong and permanent. The headquarters, in Patna, and the controlling machinery throughout rural areas for the spreading of dissatisfaction, sent a multitude of zealots carefully indoctrinated with treason and equipped with vast literature about the duty to wage war against the British. An uninterrupted flow of money and fiery recruits determined to extirpate the infidel crossed the border.

This picture described by Hunter caused a protest from the part of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who characterized the book as misleading and historically inaccurate. In a recession to that book, *The Indian Musalmans*, he pointed out many in-corrections in the affirmations of Hunter about the Wahhabi precepts, and made a critical history of that movement from 1823 until the publication of that book. For Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the permanent transported hostility against British rule had nothing to do with Wahhabi fomentations but with the continuing presence in the border of a large, non-loyal and terrified population, Hindu and Muslim alike, who had run away from British territory, after the Mutiny, to escape the wrath of the conqueror. The population sought shelter in the tribes and started a
new life in an unknown environment, and there was nothing strange in the fact that those migrants received visitors and money from their families and others in India. Finally, the tribal enmity against authority in the country near the Indus River was something recurrent in Indian history, as illustrated by the expeditions sent in the past by the emperors Akbar (1542-1605), Shah Jahan (1592-1666), and Aurangzeb (1618-1707), all Muslim, and which had failed in their goal of subjugating the insurgents.

For Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Islam’s demonization and the distortion of its history in the West were directly responsible for the political adversity to Indian Muslims. For him, a more objective approach to the past would make the West end its strong aversion to Islam and its followers, and would also ensure that even the Muslims rediscovered their own identity and their own ideals. History would be an instrument in the Muslim renaissance and this attitude influenced many like Shibli Nu’mani (1857-1914), Zaka’ Allah (1832-1911) and Muhsin ul-Mulk, among others. Ahmad Khan was in the judicial service until his retirement, in 1876, moment from which he established himself at Aligarh and where the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College had been created the year before. In 1886 he established “The Muhammadan Educational Conference”, which was held annually in many Indian cities, and the magazine *Tahdhīb al-Akhīlāq (Refinement of Morals: Mohammedan Social Reformer)* which had been started in 1870 and modelled after the style of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, was published with the aim of educating and civilising Indian Muslims, with Ahmad Khan being its principal contributor until the end of the periodical in 1893. The essays written by him examined the foundations of Muslim society as well as its institutions, in the light of Reason and religious sanction. The *Tahdhīb* attracted an audience which shared with Sayyid Ahmad the objectives of reform. While on one hand he tried to contain the forces of scepticism and irreligion liberated by Western influences, on the other, he strongly fought the opposition to Western education.

The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, precursor of the Aligarh Muslim University, was founded in 1875 by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan to educate Muslim youth in the western sciences through the medium of English, but in an Islamic environment. Although the College admitted non-Muslims from the beginning, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in his later years warned Muslims to stay aloof from the Indian National Congress, which he feared, would jeopardise their new-found favour with the British rulers, or which, if successful in achieving independence, would leave them at the mercy of the Hindu majority. Indeed in 1906, eight years after his death, some of Aligarh’s patrons were active in the creation of the Muslim League. Although it is true that some five hundred of the students of the faculty, aroused by the Khilafat issue during the Non-Cooperation Movement (1919-1924), seceded from the College in 1920 to establish the *Jamia Millia Islamia* (Islamic National University), during the last decade of British rule Aligarh became a citadel and recruiting ground for Jinnah’s Muslim League activities and for the demand of Pakistan.18

In 1882, the Government of India appointed an Education Commission under the
Chairmanship of Sir William Wilson Hunter to ascertain views of responsible Indians. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was also one of the witnesses who appeared before the Education Commission. The proceedings of the Education Commission commenced in the Hall of the Aligarh Institute and Sir Sayyid, appearing as a witness, stressed the need for more engagement from the part of the British Government towards the Muslim community relating to matters of education. He also acknowledged the shortcomings of the Muslim community and the causes which prevented it from taking advantage of the system established by the British Government, causes which were, according to Sayyid Ahmad Khan, political traditions, social customs, religious beliefs, and poverty: To embrace modern education, which was built on European languages, in this case English, was the same as embracing Christianity, with all its consequences.19

Although he had no expertise in Western sciences or Islamic ones, especially in the study of the Qur'an or the Hadith (something which earned him some criticism from some 'ulama), Ahmad Khan tried to demythologize the Qur'an and its teachings. His interpretation of some fundamental aspects of Islamic teachings which could not be demonstrated by modern scientific methods found a strong resistance in some more traditionalist sectors but, in spite of that, he earned a widening popularity in the elite and, in the early 1880s, he became a very important figure in the Muslim community. Ahmad Khan wanted to reinterpret Islam, defending a modern 'ilm al-Kalam with the aim of showing that 'the Work of God (Nature and its laws) was according to the Word of God (the Qur'an)', something that earned him the epithet of Naturi. For that reinterpretation, Ahmad Khan elaborated a tafsir (the interpretation of the Qur'an), which was published at the same time as it was being written. The work started in 1879 and it was completed with the author's death in 1898. This tafsir found strong resistance not only from the 'ulama but also from some of his friends and admirers, like Nawab Muhsin ul-Mulk, who were uncomfortable with the radical interpretations of some of the Qur'an's verses. In response, Ahmad Khan wrote a little treatise with the aim of explaining the principles of his tafsir which was published in 1892 with the title Tahrîr fi'l-asâl al-tafsîr, where he declared:

Nature was the 'Work of God' and that the Qur'an was the 'Word of God' and no contradiction could exist between them.20

Until the end of his life, Sayyid Ahmad Khan dedicated himself more and more to the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, which produced a unique community of pupils and which, with time, would become the political and educational capital of Muslim India (for comprehensive details on the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, see Bhatnagar 1969; Jain 1965; and Lelyveld 1978). The sister organization, All-India Mohammadan Educational Conference, founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan in 1886, a year after the establishment of the All-India National Congress, became a forum for the discussion of social and educational issues and an important factor in the promotion of Muslim solidarity throughout the sub-
continent. Sayyid Ahmad Khan tried to stay away from 'political' issues, giving more attention to education, and his work was mainly educational and reformatory. He never considered himself a politician and always tried to forge a political accommodation with the British. At the same time, and due to the fact that Muslims had become a 'minority' in the context of the larger India, some Indian Muslims forged an emotional link with the Ottoman Empire, which also followed the Hanafi School of jurisprudence, and was considered the last symbol of Muslim pride.

In a communication addressed to one of his English friends, Sayyid Ahmad Khan said: The religion of Islam, in which he had full and abiding faith, preached radical principles and was opposed to all forms of monarchy, whether hereditary or limited. It approved of the rule of a popularly elected president; it denounced the concentration of capital and insisted upon the division of properties and possessions among legal heirs on the demise of their owners. But the religion which taught him those principles also inculcated certain others: if God willed the subjection of Muslims to another race, which granted them religious freedom, governed them justly, preserved peace, protected their life and belongings, as the British did in India, the Muslims should wish them well and owe allegiance.21

Conclusion
Although Islamic modernists like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Sayyid Ahmad Khan shared a modern reformist agenda, they had divergent political orientations and objectives. While Ahmad Khan held a position of political loyalty to the British (Khan 1887; and Khan 1888), al-Afghani was deeply anti-colonial, anti-British and pan-Islamist, violently criticising Ahmad Khan, considering him subservient to the British.22 Ahmad Khan was knighted as Knight Commander of the Star of India in 1888 and died in Aligarh in 1898. His work and thought influenced many who would play an important role in the intellectual and political affairs of Muslim India. The implications of the positions taken by Sayyid Ahmad Khan led to a variety of developments, in either opposition or developing his positions further.

His positions were not accepted by all of the major Muslim teachers, and the richness of Indian Muslim thought at the end of the nineteenth century are clearly visible in the variety of the more conservative positions that had emerged by the end of the century. New educational institutions were a leading part of the more traditional revival. In 1867, an Islamic school was established at Deoband by scholars in the tradition of Wali Allah (1702/3-1762) and their goal was to revive a rigorous study of the traditional Islamic disciplines and to provide a link between the Muslim community and its traditional identity. The Deoband School was relatively conservative in accepting the validity of the law schools and rejected compromises with Hindu customs and the adaptation of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, establishing an international reputation with ties to the 'ulama of al-Azhar in Egypt.23

The more conservative style was also manifested in other important schools. The oldest
and most conservative of the major schools was the Farangi Mahal in Lucknow, which maintained a traditional curriculum and was relatively aloof from the arguments of the modernists and active traditionalists. A less conservative school was the Nadwa-al-Ulama, established in Lucknow in 1894. Its leaders attempted to find a middle path between the modernism of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the conservativism of Deoband and hoped to provide the training necessary for the ‘ulama to be able to reassert their role as the moral leaders of the Muslim community in India.

In the late Nineteenth century a group known as the Ahl al-Hadith also emerged, which built on the tradition of hadith study that had been firmly established in India by Shah Wali Allah, emphasising the reliance on the Qur’an and the Sunna. Its members were unwilling to accept the teachings of the medieval scholars as binding unless they were directly based on the fundamental sources of the faith. The vigorous activity within the Indian Muslim community during the Nineteenth century shows the dynamism of Islam in the early modern era. Movements were built on the Islamic foundations of the past but also reacted to the changing modern conditions, and the community was not isolated within the Islamic world. Sayyid Ahmad Khan was aware of the works of Khayr al-Din Pasha (d. 1890) in Tunisia, and Chiragh ‘Ali (1844-1895), a close associate of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, read the works of al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) in Egypt as well as the writings of Khayr al-Din. The Ahl al-Hadith was influenced by nineteenth-century Yemeni scholarship, and virtually all educated Muslims were aware of developments in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. The second half of the nineteenth century was a time of real Islamic resurgence in India, in intellectual and religious terms, despite the fact that it took place in the context of foreign politico-military control.24

As Ruth Soule Arnon wrote: Some universities are simply places of instruction, and others are pre-eminently symbols of religious or ethnic aspirations. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College or the Aligarh Muslim University, as it later became in 1920, although numerically less important than other Universities (out of 1,184 Muslims graduating in India between 1882 and 1892, only 220 came from Aligarh, as against 410 from other colleges affiliated with the University of Allahabad), became the symbol of Muslim aspirations on the Indian sub-continent, an emblem of Muslim self-rule and separatism—‘a Pakistan of the educational realm long before the real Pakistan was imagined’.25

However, it should be stressed that that aspiration was not universal. The Muslim community as such did not exist and many were the leaders and intellectuals who fought against the idea of a separate state for the Muslims of India. For example, in 1937, the Jamia’at-i ‘Ulama-i Hind, an organization founded in 1919 and led by Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madani (1879-1957), the renowned Indian Islamic leader, also head of the Dar ul-Ulum Deoband, was split with a faction which was supportive of the Muslim League’s demands, originating the Jamia’at-i ‘Ulama-i Islam, led by Shabbir Ahmad Usmani (1886-
1949). In 1938, Madani wrote *Islam awr mutahhadih qaumiyat* (Islam and Composite Nationalism) (Madani 2005). In this book, Madani, who had spent some time in British jails between 1914 and 1917, depicted a multicommunal Indian state that would be compatible with the teachings of Islam, and laid out in systematic form the positions that the author had taken in speeches and letters from the early 1920s on the question of nationalism as well as other related issues of national importance. Using various verses from the Qur’an, Madani, with his book, aimed at opposing the divisive policy of Muhammad Iqbal, Muhammad ‘Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League, dealing mainly with two aspects: the meaning of the term *Qawm* and how it was distinct from the term *millat*, and the crucial distinction between those two words and their true meanings in the Qur’an and the Hadiths. By proposing ‘composite nationalism’, this book strongly argued that despite cultural, linguistic and religious differences, the people of India were but one nation, and, according to the author, any effort to divide Indians on the basis of religion, caste, culture, ethnicity and language was a manoeuvr of the ruling power.

Founded in 1875 in Aligarh, a town that was then eighty miles from Delhi, the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was a source of pride and leadership for those Indian Muslims who were deeply influenced by European political thought and British education. What gave Aligarh a national reputation was its indissoluble connection with its founder, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who made the college his base of operations, used its newspaper as one of his mouthpieces and made it clear that among the many organizations he had started; none was more dear to his heart than the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College.

However, and as David Lelyveld found out Aligarh also had its cleavages, which were not based on identities established at birth nor on divisions of religious sect, region or lineage; nor did they represent in-group structural tensions characteristic of certain primordial social units like village and family. Instead, the in-group tensions among the *alumni* were based on their positioning within a deliberately constructed social organization of which they were voluntary participants. On one level each faction was quite heterogeneous. Some included Sunnis and Shias, Sayyid, Shaikh, Pathan and even a converted Kashmiri Pandit. But on a higher level of generalization all these people were remarkably homogeneous as to religion, region, social and economic background and, of course, education. They were all Muslims from the Persianized government service class of northern India. They owned little or no land and had to earn their living, as their fathers had, in law, government or teaching.

It was also at Aligarh that they became indoctrinated with the ideology of Sayyid Ahmad Khan: that Indian Muslims, the former rulers of the country, had declined and that the only hope for their regeneration was to mobilize them under the aegis of Aligarh. This was an ideology that resonated powerfully with their own family histories: their families too had in some way or other been dispossessed, and yet their fathers had been able to find individual success under the new power. Sayyid Ahmad Khan now inspired them to project this
perception of family experience onto a vast historical aggregate: the Indian Muslim community.

Notes and References

1. Nichols, Beverley, *The Verdict on India.*, Bombay, Thacker, 1944, p. 192


23. Voll John Obert, *op. cit.*, p. 113


Democracy in the Nationalist Discourse of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Safoora Razeq*

Nationalism and democracy in South Asia are modern concepts, and products of the western enlightenment. Yet in their struggle against the democratic nation of the West, the colonized people in India and in other colonies took to democratic ideals. In their demand to establish the right of the people in the administration of their own country, they were imitative to the extent that 'they' accepted the 'value of the standards' set by the alien culture. However, the manner of their formulation of their particular paradigms of democracy tended to be different from those of 'West'. 'Their' understanding of the concept of liberty was intellectually traced within the realm of 'religion, culture and history' of the native. As a result, they made a judicious use of language, religion and spiritual values, to formulate the case for the uniqueness of that nation for which they demanded independent status. In the nationalist discourse, accordingly, history was brought to play, shaping the knowledge of the past in constructing notions pertaining to modernity such as equality, humanity, democracy etc.

As G.E. Von Grunebaum argues, historicity is the essence of the human existence. It is his own consciousness; man's orientation towards the future transforms undifferentiated time into historical time. Historical time alone can be experienced as meaningful. In the teleology of the nationalists both historicity and historical time remained as a determining factor in locating the democratic ideal of the perceived 'nation'.

In this paper, my humble effort will be to address Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's understanding of democracy at two levels.

1. As a nationalist and as a Muslim, how Maulana Azad traces the roots of democratic ideals in historicity of the people he addressed.

2. What impressed upon the Maulana—a traditional scholar of religion to advocate for a modern idea like democracy?

I

With the introduction of the colonial rule not only new institutions were introduced in the Indian society but new discourses pertaining to the Age of Enlightenment were introduced

* Dr. Safoora Razeq is Assistant Professor and Head, Dept. of History, Aliah University, Kolkata. E-mail : haque.safoora@gmail.com
too, the modernist conception of reason found a profound place in the thoughts of Muslim intellectuals. The nineteenth century intelligentsia genuinely welcomed the new ideas of reason and rationality as they formulated their theories of 'reform', and some of them even enthusiastically took the courage to promote English education and Western Science against stiff resistance from their own community. Because they thought of negotiating with the colonial rule by participating in the colonial administration and in the intellectual discourse pertaining to the age of reason initiated by the colonial ruler in India. Thus when men like Syed Ahmed Khan in North India and Nawab Abdul Latif in Bengal took up the question of social reform, they harped on the concept of 'reason' but they never felt short of placing importance to religion and found rationality also deep rooted in religion. Hence their efforts for social and educational reforms had a modernist agenda but it was on history and tradition that they relied for support.

In considering the predicaments of the nineteenth century reformers, Partha Chatterjee points out that Vidyasagar, in the late nineteenth century despite his own professed disregard for the sanctity or reasonableness of the sastra, felt compelled to look for scriptural support for his programmes. He did not think it feasible to attempt to create a 'nonconformist outside the bond of canonical orthodoxy'. In fact, this remained a major ideological anomaly in the nineteenth century reformers attempts to 'modernize' religion and social practice. Faisal Devji meticulously reflects how Muslim reformers of the nineteenth century were deeply concerned with the idea of modernity and its place in Islamic thought. Modernity for the reformers was not a break with the past but an evolution within the context historicity. Though there was a closeness of their thinking to European thought but their ideas were formulated within the contextual frame-work of the Islamic tradition. Fazlur Rahman, a scholar who had earlier worked on the issue of modernization among the Muslims in India, views Islamic modernism and its origin in European domination over the Muslims. He argues that the efforts of the modernizers of Muslim society in India suffer from basic contradiction. Their movement on the one hand was a defence of Muslim beliefs and practices against European criticism and on the other it was an attack on those same beliefs and practices in the terms of European rationalism because they wanted to tease out the weaknesses of the native society so that they could prepare themselves well for survival in the new political era. As Fazlur Rahman illustrates an important point that the nineteenth century reformers were critical to the questions which differentiated the East from the West, Islam from Christianity, it is easy to trace the roots of Muslim nationalism in the discourse of the Muslim reformist of the nineteenth century, who remained steadfast committed to their history and religion though they emerged out be to the severest critics of imitation or 'taqlid'.

Twentieth century was the age of mass politics. It was the age of nationalism which brought an end to the high tide of colonialism in most part of the colonised societies. In his reading of Indian nationalisms Peter van der Veer's elucidates on the importance of cultural elements in the process of 'inventing and imagining' the nation. As the nation was...
historically produce, each of its fragment worked within the realm of its own intellectual past to evoke the present, in the construction of the new discourse on nation. Thus Indian nationalism emerged from the rock-bed of a differentiated historical past down the ages from the rich historicity of regions, languages, religions, ethnicity and culture which played a dominant role. Here it is important to point out how David L. Johnson in his understanding of the emergence of nationalism among the Bhadralok nationalists in Bengal, in the early twentieth century, reflects on the idea:

Religion as ultimate concern assumes no clear distinction between sacred and secular; because religion was found not beside other cultural happenings, but, 'as it were in with and under' them.\(^7\)

In his reading of Sri Aurobindo, he elucidated how Sri Aurobindo in 1907 formulated his political theory that "nothing short of political freedom was the need of the hour", because 'the destinies of the people were tied to the desire of the alien rule'. For him the heights of 'noble mission', in the life of an individual is moksha—the spiritual freedom, so Sri Aurobindo postulated that political freedom remain as the necessary condition or stepping stone. He followed the Upanishadic ideals for the achievement of that high-aim of human existence and it's realization in spiritual liberation through self-knowledge—or moksha as the 'noble mission' or that ordained by God. Thus Sri Arurobindo saw the historicity or the essence of the human existence in moksha or spiritual liberation and the struggle for political freedom as a necessary condition in achieving moksha.

On the other hand approximately from the 1800s onward, Muslim societies in Asia and Africa, which were under the influence of the Western power directly or in-directly, had to face one of the greatest challenge- as the essence of its own existence was at stake. It was over the choice and selection of what they could take from the West and how good they could defend what they consider as the 'essence of Islam' or of their own society. The question for reform made the conservative reformist locate the cause of the Muslim decline in the neglect of God’s law, so they thought that the only way to reverse the misfortune was to purge out the variants of the faith with an uncompromising fidelity to scripture and traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. Since the unsettling affect of the West brought about great debates in the Muslim World. It is evident that different trend in politics and socio-religious reform programme became the order of the day in each of those Muslim society under threat from the West. For centuries the Muslim world was accustomed to be under ‘their’ own rulers and considered their civilization as foremost in trade, science and arts. Suddenly and irrevocably, it seemed the self regarding standards of Muslim civilization were placed in doubts. It was in such a situation that an important question emerged from the muddle that in becoming modern, Muslims must adopt the education, customs, manners and social disciplining and values of the West or whether Muslims have the means and duty to create modernity of their own. Muslim modernists in those societies quietly urged
their followers to learn from the West—new Science and new technology as they were not contrary to their faith.

As British imperialism and colonialism had transformed the sub-continent by the end of the nineteenth century, resulting in the introduction of new techniques of education, administration social disciplining and economic innovations—it brought about great miseries for the common man. The Indian societies reached an ‘acceleration of the pace and scope’ of cultural and economic transformations, where western impact became much a cultural and epistemological onslaught as it was political. The historicity had been a determinant factor for the Indian Muslims, in addressing their subjection and survival under the colonial rule and also in their effort for ‘modernity’. They addressed the question of reform as an integral part of tradition, history and religion. The Indian Muslims, especially the nobles, aristocrats and ulema, after the mutiny interpreted their ‘subject-hood’, through a varied reading of religion and came up with diverse responses. ‘Jihad’ and ‘Hijrat’ were promoted by a handful of traditional ulema, who considered India under the British rule as ‘Dar ul Harb’—unfit for the faithful. Many took to migration to the Holy land by undertaking Hijrat, while a band of ulema and their followers under Sayyid Ahmed of Rae Bareilly and Shahid Ismail continued their ‘jihad’ or resistance to the colonial rule. The third and the most impressive one was that of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who intelligently argued for ‘ijtihad’, a traditional Islamic jurisprudential connotation to pinpoint his case for ‘islah’ or reform within the parameters of tradition. Syed Ahmed’s exercise of ‘ijtihad’ was not simply to use reason to get back to original interpretation of Islam covered over by Ulema scholasticism, but he boldly reinterpret Islam in the light of its revealed sources, the scope for social reform. Thus Reformism became a programme for locating social Islam on the level of a normative Islam.

Syed Ahmad Khan in his argument for western education or Science never called for a break with the past. Rather his justification for the acceptance of the Western rationalism was that it was in consonant with the rationalist principles of the Muta’zilites and Ibn Rushd (Averroes). Sir Syed Ahmed believed that the Muta’zilites were the founders of scholastic theology, called Ilm ul Kalam (knowledge of God). He agreed with the Muta’zilites claim that all knowledge attain must be through reason. Syed Ahmed’s handling of the Islamic reasoning of the Muta’zilites on the one hand and western reasoning on the other displayed a consonance between traditional reasoning and modern reasoning. Syed Ahmed was no doubt first modern Muslim to catch a glimpse of the positive character of the modern age nevertheless he was the first Indian Muslim, also who felt the need for a fresh orientation of Islam, to work on the realities of colonial presence. Thus ‘ijtihad’; a traditional Islamic jurisprudential connotation, received a renew interpretation in the hands of the Muslim reformist in the late nineteenth century British India, when they worked for reforms. It is important to trace how the ‘colonized society’ in its urge for survival and progress, absorb the western ideas and knowledge within its own historicity and accommodated the ‘new
knowledge', within its own tradition, culture and history as its integrated part. Syed Ahmad’s advocacy for adopting and assimilating of western reasoning as similar to the Islamic reasoning projects that process of assimilation of the western ideas within the structure of traditional knowledge or reasoning. Because the reformist movement was after all related to the essential question of existence of the Muslim community or the issue of ‘Muslim self’ or ‘identity’, the reformist could not break away from the history, tradition and culture of the Indian Muslims. Even Syed Ahmed Khan’s political position of loyalty was not argued on a secular agenda but placed on traditional knowledge or the hadith. When Syed Ahmad Khan commanded that ‘Mohammedans are bound to obey an infidel ruler as long as he does not interfere with their religion’, he was not formulating an independent political ideology but he was actually referring to the hadith, and commanded that it was an obligation on the part of the Muslims according to the dictum of their own religion and tradition to be obedient to the colonial ruler, because they did not interfere with their religion.

With the gradual collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Muslim world was in the grip of colonialism as it has been argued earlier. Europe (in particular, Great Britain, France, and Holland) had penetrated and increasingly dominated much of the Muslim World from North Africa to Southeast Asia, especially the French in North Africa, the British and French in the Middle East and South Asia, and the Dutch and British in Southeast Asia. Within the Muslim world the Ottoman Mediterranean had most vividly experienced the forces of economic globalization leading to political collapse. Debt crisis had led in 1881 and 1882 respectively, to the French and British occupation of Tunisia and Egypt, to a multinational takeover of Ottoman finances in 1881 and to the dividing up of Morocco in 1912 between the French and Spaniards. With few exceptions, the first phase of globalization boxed Muslims into the various European empires thereby disconnecting them from their own earlier worldwide system of Muslim societies.

The new French rulers of Tunisia, for instance, looked to Algerian models more often as examples of what not to do. Thus occupying Morocco in 1912, a generation after Tunisia, French perfected the technique of indirect rule that preserved local elites while pacifying the country and forging new administrations to serve projects of colonisation. The most important colonial legacy was the social composition of the nationalist movement that arose in opposition to colonial rule. But the nationalist movements in those colonies varied, according to the degree to which they mobilised their respective populations and in the composition of the new elites, the number of western educated men that orchestrated the mobilization. The more carefully repression was calibrated, the greater the chances for the nationalists to keep organizing and extending their new civil societies, as in British India or French Tunisia. In Tunisia a new French educated stratum with rural roots could incorporate older classes in a relatively extensive new nation. In the Middle East, it was Jamal al Din Asadabadi (Afghani), Muhammad Abduh and Shakib Arslan; all of them advocated for solidarity among Muslims, rising above sectarian, linguistic and regional differences.
Afghani, an outstanding figure of nineteenth century Islam and a major catalyst for Islamic reform, was a tireless activist, who lived and preached his reformist message in Afghanistan, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, India, Russia, France, and England. Afghani attempted to bridge the gap between secular modernists and religious traditionalist. Afghani’s ideas were initially shaped in Iranian seminaries; they were received in Calcutta, Cairo, Istanbul and Paris, where they were filtered through contemporary social and political categories. Afghani appealed to the Ulema with his assertion that Muslims needed to remember that Islam was the source of all strength and that the Muslims must return to a more faithful observance of its guidance. He was an ardent advocate of constitutionalism and parliamentary Government, and preached for limiting the power of the rulers.

Edward G. Brown in his analysis of the new uprising against the colonial rule in the Muslim dominated world writes that:

The awakening of the Muslim World, of which more or less striking manifestations, political or religious have taken place within the last 30 or 40 years in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Morocco, the Caucasus, the Crimea and India was without doubt, greatly accelerated and accentuated by the Japanese victory over Russia, which demonstrated that equally armed and equipped, ‘Asiatics’ were perfectly capable of holding their own in the field against even the most formidable armies of Europe. But that awakening goes back very much further. The Turkish reform movement inaugurated by Shinasi Efendi, Ziya Pasha and Kemal Bey, the first of the so-called ‘Young Turks’ more correctly, ‘New Turks’ goes back nearly 50 years, culminating into the granting of the constitution on December, 23rd 1876. Languished during the dark days of the Russo-Turkish war, and appeared to have been completely annihilated under the repressive rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid, until its sudden, glorious and utterly unexpected revival on July 4, 1908, almost exactly a month after the destruction by the Shah and his Russian mercenaries of the first Persian Parliament.19

The Egyptian national movement, which began about 1871 and culminated in the revolt of ‘Arabi Pasha and the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, was very far from extinction, as it showed various signs of activity during the early years of the twentieth century. The Persian “Risorgimento”, which culminated in the granting of the constitution by the late Muzaffaru’d Din Shah on August 5, 1906, and was checked, though only for a time, by the coup d’etat of June 23, 1908, really dates back so far as its outward manifestations are concerned, to the successful agitation against the Tobacco Monopoly in 1891, while the ideas which gave rise to that unexpected outburst of popular discontent began to be promulgated in Persia, at least 5 to 6 years earlier, by the remarkable man called Afghani. He was a once a philosopher, writer, orator and journalist. Afghani had been consistently opposed to colonialism in general and British colonialism in particular. As a political agitator Afghani advocated an Islamic solidarity which would empower Muslims in their struggle against colonialism. Dallal argues that Afghani lived in a period of continued efforts to modernise the Muslim states and their institutions under the political and intellectual influence of
Europe. As the European colonialism continued to undermine the political independence of the Muslim countries, Afghani’s reform was initiated at the intellectual and political levels to articulate responses to these two currents. While Muhammad ‘Abduh, the Mufti of Azhar University, was convinced that the transformation of Muslim society depended on a reinterpretation of Islam. Believing that as historical and social conditions warranted, the core of Islamic principles and values should be reapplied to new realities and that the crisis of modern Islam was precipitated by Muslim failure to uphold the distinction between the immutable and the mutable, the necessary and the contingent.

It was at this time that in most Muslim countries, the nation state identity of the elites had become self-evident by the year 1900. The focus of political conflict was the colonial state. As the impact of nationalism on Islamic countries was, however, primarily confined to domestic politics and largely concerned with the question of who had the right to wield power in the modern state. In this context democracy stood as the pivotal point of politics. Constitutional movement started in some of the Muslim countries which were directly or indirectly politically controlled by Western power. In countries like the Ottoman Empire, Iran and Afghanistan, the demand for constitutionalism was directed against sultans who still reigned as absolute monarchs. Charles Kruzman elaborately discusses how the liberal Islamic reformers of the early twentieth century, were working on the idea based on tradition where Qur’an worked as the source for ‘freedom of thought’ to argue their case for democracy. Especially, in countries under the grip of colonialism, nationalist intellectual worked on the notion of democracy so that power should not be transferred from the hands of the European power to that of the nationalist elites or a handful of people. They put special emphasis on the concept of ‘shura’ or consultation, which is taken to allow or require the expression of the popular will in matters of state. Freedom of thought lay at the root of all the logical arguments put forward by the liberal Islamic ideology at that time. The authority of late Muzaffaru’d Din Shah was curtailed by August 1906. The rise of the Nationalist in Egypt in 1906 under Mustafa Kamal (1847-1908) and his Hitb-ul-Watan (Nationalist Party) demanded the right of the people on that basis commanded the immediate evacuation of Egypt by the British. They were radical in their approach than that of Mohammad Abduh because they believed that Egypt’s rejuvenation and progress could only achieve in the hands of the Egyptian. Their formulation of wataniyat (nationalism) was an inclusive one, where language, religion or status was not the determining factor. In July 1908, the Young Turks reinstalled constitutional government. Sultan Abdul Majid was deposed and Sultan Mohammad V was placed as the Khalifa by the consensus of the people.

Colonial rule in the greater parts of the Muslim world had precipitated resistance movements from 1878 onwards. Inspired by the hope of establishing democratic societies, the intellectuals in the Muslim world quite logically traced back their ideals to the period of great Islamic humanism of the Tenth to Thirteenth centuries. The modern world no doubt
promises progress, emancipation, justice and liberty—a guide to continuous human
development. But the Muslim democrats, of the early twentieth Century, argued that Islam
too posses the potential for human development, in its concept of liberty, rationality and
above and justice. They postulated that ideal society had already been realised at the time
of Prophet, which promoted democratic and humanist ideal as the basis of all governance
and society.

In India it was around this time that the Colonial government was also planning for
constitutional reforms and the selfish leaders of the Muslim League disturbed the normal
evolution of constitutionalism in India by putting forward unrealistic demand of separate
electorate for the Muslims. It was the time when the age of mass awakening had dawn
in most part of the colonial world. In the greater Muslim World constitutional movements
were emerging, supported by differing political forces. In each case, the effort was to curtail
the power of the Sultan or the European colonial administrations which had replaced them
by appointing a new native civil government and administration which could claim its own
political sovereignty on the bases of right of the people. In India, the Bengali nationalists
openly declared their war against British colonialism—with the anti-partition agitation of
1905. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) at this time was in Calcutta—a young man
influenced by the reformist zeal of Syed Ahmed Khan. He worked through his journal
Lisn us Sidq (1903-05), for social and educational reforms of his community. Not before his
sojourn to West Asia and his father’s death in 1908 that a great revolution of ideas took him
by surprise. He returned from West Asia with his conviction on a new political ideology,
embedded in his faith on inclusive nationalism and mass participation. His new political
perception found a better reflection in many of his writings especially in al Hilal, as he
wrote with great emotions and a spirit of criticism:

Engagement for educational reform for the long forty years had been a sheer waste. No
other considerations found their place at that time. After those long fruitless years
realization dawned that they were merely chasing a dream. This was the time when the
colonial government in its most appeasing mood offered the scheme for constitutional
reforms. It was expected that a new wave of revolution would take over British India. More
so from the Muslims who were gradually moving into the world of politics (after forty years
of inactivity). It was expected that they would rally with the community of Hindus (who
were political active for years) and the Congress which was the only political party. But
they played their old game of folly (by demanding separate electorate for the Muslims). 24

Maulana Azad, born in the family of reputed sufis and muhaddith, 25 was well informed
in the Islamic theology, jurisprudence and in the history of the Muslim People down the
ages. It was his reading of the experiences of the Muslims in India and its unique historical
evolution as a socio-political entity, which made Maulana Azad somewhat master their
problems and formulated their solution in the establishment of democratic government in
India. Maulana as a Sufi and a pious Muslim believed that the spiritual freedom of the
individual was the final aim of human existence and like his contemporary Sri Aurobindo Ghose he too believed that political freedom was necessary stepping stone for spiritual development and freedom.

It was through al Hilal that Maulana Azad set an agenda for political reforms of the Muslims in India. On 13 July 1912, the first issue of al Hilal (new Crescent) appeared in Calcutta, a royal size, twenty-four pages, two column papers, subtitled-Ek Hoftawor Mussowir Risala (a weekly illustrated newspaper). Al Hilal opened a new chapter in Urdu journalism where a political weekly was presented in an artistic format. Although the tradition of typesetting was not new to Urdu journalism but al Hilal used a highly refined type, due to the editor’s special interest in the method. The photographs added to its appeal. Starting with a circulation of 2000, it reached 26,000 at the time of its closure, surpassing all other Urdu journals in the country. Initially several names were being suggested for it. The name finally selected was inspired by the Arabic journal al Hilal published from Egypt. It was the influence of an Arab Christian, Jurji Zaidan; the editor of al Hilal of Cario, which impressed upon Azad. Jurji Zaidan, who preached for a common cause against the colonial ruler of Egypt was a nationalist, he upheld Egyptian nationalism above communal identity and Maulana found his own answer to a complex question of Indian Muslim politics, which had disturbed him for long. It was the alienation of the Muslim community in general, from the anti-colonial movement in British India and the elitist nature of Muslim leadership with a loyalist agenda that stood in the way of democratic movement against the colonial government. Azad believed that the nationalist struggle was aimed at establishing democracy therefore every community of the Indian society should joined in that struggle against colonial domination and oppressive governance.

To Maulana Azad's despair it was the Indian Muslims led by the Muslim League and their communitarian interest, which kept the back the Muslims from passionately supporting the nationalist cause. Azad argued:

The political struggle in India was a ‘jihad’ or a struggle in the cause of establishing peace, and that is the command of Allah. Since the struggle for freedom against colonial rule oath to establish justice, equality and freedom he believed that every Muslim was bound by the command of Allah to participate in the struggle.

Azad thus wrote:

Now whom will I refer to as Muslim? Muslims and highly blessed Muslims of India are probably such a ‘quam’, who will find no equivalent with any other Human beings because they are non conformist to the Shari’a, friends of taqleed-blind following, not found to be welcoming reform and reinterpretation. But the most unfortunate part of it is that, among us that group who is in the forefront leading trying to guide groups are the ones who themselves laid the claim for their own leadership. They had put the crown on their own head, with their own hands, instead of the masses doing the same. They indulged in all sorts of exhibitionism of power and glamour of their wealth. And by so doing they had converted
the ‘millat’ (class) of downtrodden, as their slaves and camp followers. And now if anyone tries to defy them from this group of camp followers, they are successfully suppressed and annihilated by the selfish leaders, with the power of their money. If the Muslims have lost their tract and are misled, it is because they were lost in the urge to find some idols for worshipping (leaders). But it is a pity that the idols they found (in their leaders) are neither kind hearted nor sympathetic to their endless sufferings. They are the Muslims who had pulled the carriage of their leaders, when and ever the leaders screamed and called for help, they had poured out lakhs of rupees before them. Obedience to the command of the leaders was taken by them as command from Almighty and as the dictates of their destiny. All this they have done to be with the leaders who were idiosyncratic, discreetible ignorant, and ignominious to be slaves to the (colonial) state. The dissonance and cacophony between them and their leaders were obvious, for the leaders were never succour to them. For the leaders never thought of ameliorating them or mitigating them of their sufferings. In fact they laughed at the ignorance and imprudence of the masses. They form a part of the group (‘ahal) of righteous and devout, spiritually guidance is an inherent part, which they got from the tradition of ‘nabuat’ (tradition of the prophets). The (taufiq) the willingness blessed by the Illahi (Almighty) forms a spirit of the Rightful (God) influencing those heart, who had been continuously exercising that spirit. Those were the work and deeds of the selected and blessed ones of Illahi (God), to whom God Almighty had rendered the responsibility of guiding those way wards and disoriented lots. Thus God had blessed each one of them with the required skill.27

Azad believed that political goal was inscribed in the Holy Book, with the ultimate objective of establishing the right of the people against the wrong doers. Azad succinctly writes:

If you have any course of political action in front of you there is no reason why the Qur’an should not provide you guidance on that. The Qur’an delivers man from the darkness of all errors and brings him under the light of guidance. We find that all our political errors are merely due to our failure to surrender ourselves to the guiding hands of the Qur’an. Otherwise we would find light all around instead of darkness.28

As G.E.Von Grunebaun would argue that:

Man’s capability of mastering the problems of his existence through a multitude of coherent cultural forms unfolds his intellectual and emotional potentialities, not fully and simultaneously in an existence that is typically repeated by contemporaries and descendants, as is true of animal species, but through a sequence (or juxtaposition) in time of cultural forms.29

In this context Maulana Abul Kalam Azad formulation of democracy through his engagement with the Islamic tradition, that is, his reference to the Qur’an, the hadith and the Sunna, as potential forebears of democratic ideals and his detailed references to these coherent cultural forms of the Indian Muslims in opposing autocratic government reflects the importance of historicity to Maulana Azad.

As Islam stands in a long line of Semitic prophetic religious traditions that shares an uncompromising monotheism and the belief in God’s revelation, his prophets, ethical
responsibilities and accountabilities on the Day of Judgement and the core of Islam lie in
the broadest sense on the submission to God. So the Muslim self in many ways does not
connote to the idea of ‘individual’ in Islam.

Annemarie Schimmel attributes this to the apparent absence to a notion of ‘individual’ in
Islam as a normative being... whose rights are central in inter-human relations and who works
freely in the spirit of realization of the ‘human values’, which are intrinsic to the European
conception of ‘humanism’ and ‘democracy’. Again the Muslim self appears either as
‘abd’—an absolute slave of God or as the ‘insan-al-Kamal’—the inflated perfect being who
is Allah’s vice-regent on earth. As Allah’s vice-regent the ‘individual’ is expected to work
in harmony with other ‘individuals’. So that he establishes peace between God and His
creation on one hand and between man and man on the other hand. The essence of the
obligation to Allah from Man is further reflected in the injunction of the Qur’an which
commands that Man should be ordering the good and forbidding the wrong (3:104 and 3:110
of the Qur’an).

Ayesha Jalal candidly illustrates that the temporal side of the existence is more than
adequately balanced with the spiritual essence of Islam, so man in his personal capacity as
individual establishes his relation and understanding of God’s existence with that of his and
this is conveyed by the term ‘iman’ or faith. This is the spiritual part through which Muslims
establishes his submission to Allah. But the submission is not complete, until the Muslim
believes in ‘tauhid’ or the unity of the creation. Because ‘La illaha il lal Allah’ contributes a
Muslim’s faith—that expresses the uniqueness of the Creator and it also illustrates the
concept of ‘tauhid’ i.e., the unity of the creation hence the command of the Qur’an, that
‘Man should be ordering the good and forbidding the wrong’, to establish peace in this world.
Therefore has a temporal side of the existence of Man as Allah's Khalifa or vice-regent.
Who in command of Allah and in total submission to Him, strive to establish peace on this
earth. In order to establish peace, it is necessary to establish justice, equality and freedom
and this could be done only by assuming political power. Maulana Azad who was a Sufi,
a muhuddith and an alim found no sin in assuming a political role. Religiously informed
Azad took upon himself the ‘Himalyan task’ of informing his co-religionist the command
of Allah to eradicate the evil of oppressive colonial rule by establishing the rule of justice,
equality and freedom through democracy.

In his explanation of human existence, he traces ‘Historical time’ as meaningful, in
mapping the evolution of ideas that lay at the roots of democratic ideals and liberty. In his
famous book ‘Tazkirah’, Azad dealt at length with the role of ‘just Ulema’ and their role
in upholding the Shari’a or God’s law to establish peace, justice and freedom. By the
third century of the Muslim era, Muslims agreed in recognising the Qur’an and Hadith
(canonical accounts of the actions and saying of the Prophet Muhammad), the Sunna as
the main sources of divine guidance. The key normative ingredients in this corpus were
known collectively as *Shari'a*, the divinely appointed 'path' or 'way'. The Muslim world had the institution of religious scholars, the 'ulema', whose duty it was to study the rules of God and interpret His command, they remain as guardian of Shari'a—they were the custodian of God's law. The Ulema were not the counterpart of the Christian priest but they are the scholars of religion. They interpreted the law of God for men, so that the 'umma' or the community live a life in consonance with the normative principles of Islam, best suited for their environment-social, political and economic conditions. In Muslim societies the scope of the ruler's authority was different from that of the jurists, theologians and Sufis, and that it was important to accept this differentiation so as to protect the latter from the corrupting intrigues of self-interested potentates. Certainly, rulers in the Muslim societies were expected to play a role in the management of public religious affairs. In particular, they were charged with defending the community of believers and upholding the law. But these responsibilities were not expected to extend to formulating legal opinions or writing religious commentaries. These were the responsibility of the 'ulema' and lacking an ecclesiastical hierarchy, the 'ulema' exercised that authority more gingerly than did their clerical counterparts in medieval Europe. The relative autonomy of the 'jurisconsult community' or 'Muhaddesun' was greatly reduced in Ottoman times, which was characterised by a growing bureaucratisation and centralisation of religious education and authority. While in the case of India, under the powerful Mughals the 'jurisconsult community' was strong enough to challenge a powerful ruler like Emperor Akbar, the Great and his Infallibility Degree of 1579.

In the *Mahzarnamah of 1579*, the claim of Emperor Akbar, to practice 'ijtihad' was challenged by the then 'Just Ulema', because they considered the Emperor to be ignorant of the Qur'anic knowledge and the direction of the *Shari'a*. Maulana Azad's argument was that scholar or *Muhaddith* like his ancestor Shaikh Jamaluddin, became part of the movement which challenged the claim of an autocrat like the Emperor Akbar, whose sophistry was expose because common men (intellectual) in those days were aware of their rights and limitations of the Emperor's power within the context of the *Shari'a*. In the historical time Maulana traces the *Shari'a* and the *ulema* as guardian of common man's right against autocrats and despot. As Maulana Azad found the concept of liberty intellectually traceable within the realm of 'religion, culture and history. In his reading of *Ibn Tamiyya*, he reflects the importance of historicity too. *Ibn Tamiyya*, in the thirteenth century refused to accept the degradation in the socio-economic condition of the Muslims as fate accomplice. He organised resistance against the Mongol invasions, attacked the corruption of the 'ulema and the unscriptural practices among the followers of different sufı orders of his time to bring about a revival of the political and social unity required for putting up a strong resistance against the Mongols. *Ibn Tamiyya* also inspires him with the idea and importance of the strength of the common man in the struggle against foreign invaders, for *Ibn Tamiyya* relied more on the unity of the people than on the sagacity of the ruler in bringing about
the rejuvenation of a nation. Thus the ‘historically informed’ Azad, made a conscious effort to make historical time, re-direct his aspiration for the future in visualizing a society where the right of the people reflected in the political, religious and social ethos of time. As he consciously transformed the undifferentiated time into historical time and he utilises the historical time to justify the root of democracy in tradition, religion and history of the people. In Ibn Tammiya’s appeal to the will and power of the people in addressing a serious problem as that of foreign rule and in organizing resistance against the foreign rule, Azad traces the importance of liberty in the Islamic tradition. Azad saw Ibn Tammiya not as a religious reformer because he had also criticised the philosophers and the ulema but as a nationalist whose appeal to ‘wataniyat’ made Azad argue that the roots of political liberty lay deep in the tradition and history of Islam.

To Azad, politics and political participation in resisting the oppressive regime and in forming government for the benefit of mankind are related to the complex issue of ethics, politics and religion. It is through a conscious role in politics that justice and equality are established brings an end to tyranny, oppression and atrocities. Democracy enforces the voice of the people (Quom), against the wish and whims of few individuals. Azad’s major argument illustrates the political and social climate in which the Muslim community found itself entangled in the first decade of the twentieth century. The elitist policy of educational reform had made the Muslim leaders so obsessed that they had forgotten their duties towards the multitudes of depressed within their community. The Leagues desirous of government support and sympathy for their educational reforms made them a puppet in the hands of the colonial government. As a critique of the Leagues political elitism, Azad put forward his understanding of people’s sovereignty in the Prophet’s tradition. Maulana thus writes:

Sovereignty has been defined by the Prophet of Islam and the Khalifas, by the practice of democracy and equality. Sovereignty could only be established, when the will of the nation has been established through unity, suffrage and election that is why the sovereign who is place as the president of a republic is like a designated Khalifa. Khilafat literally means nothing more nor less than representation, so that the authority a Khilafat consists in his representative role and he possesses no power beyond his representative role as the voice of the people. Islam defines it as a duty of Muslims to refuse to acknowledge the moral justification, even of an Islamic government, if that government does not let the will of the nation and the franchise develop in full form. How could it sanction a foreign bureaucracy to suppress the right of other nation? It is inevitable that Islam does not sanction an established Islamic government as ‘just’, if it is based on personal monarchy or upon bureaucratic oligarchy—to protest against the existence of such government would be by sacred duty as a Muslim. I would still call the government oppressive and demand its replacement.³⁶

Maulana Azad on his return from West Asia in 1908 realised the importance of the struggle against the colonial government. In that part of the world the ulema and the western educated intelligentsia worked hand in hand in mobilizing the masses for a break-down
with the oppressive colonial regime. But Azad found the ulema in India, whose knowledge of the religion and the historical past to be in a state of decadence while the western educated intelligentsia were totally ignorant about the guidance of the Holy Qur'an, the Hadith and the Prophetic tradition. Azad's sojourn to West Asia in 1908 gave him the first hand knowledge of the nationalist and constitutional movement in the greater part of the Muslim world, as he came to be acquainted with the political reasoning of the nationalist there. The ascent of the West introduced new models for private life and amusement, economic transaction and social communication, which challenged the socio-religious balance of the old societal structure. Muslim, in those societies took to re-examination of the classical sources of Islamic law, in struggling to preserve, adapt, or redefining their social and legal norms in the face of new challenge. In such societies it is also evident that tradition was frequently appealed to as a way of defending against perceived innovation, as a way of 'preserving threatened values'. Alternative uses of tradition became the major battle-ground, as fierce competition started to control the process of modernization by re-defining the content of tradition. When the Muslims nationalist began to separate ‘ijtihad’ from ‘taqlid’, reason from authority, they were not only echoing the ideas of nineteenth century reformers like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan but what made new changes. They expanded the right to practice ‘ijtihad’ to all believers and in doing so they urged all Muslims to study Islam for themselves and in effect, to be their own authority. Thus the Muslim nationalist, in the twentieth century argued that the general public need to be acquainted with the words of God to have an authority on tradition so they form a public opinion for the well-being of all in conformity with the guidance of the Holy Qur'an.

In the early twentieth century when Maulana Azad put forward an alternative understanding of politics and religion for the Muslims, challenging the predominant one promoted by Muslim League, he was neither the first one to condemn the loyalist policy of the League nor was he the only one to question the alienation of the Indian Muslims from the ongoing struggle for freedom of the common man against British rule. But Azad's ingenuity lay in his attempt to use the Islamic tradition and the authority of the Holy Qur'an to formulate a political theory for democracy and constitutional government. Azad illustrated the Qur'anic injunction which says ‘al amr bil mamif wa nahy bin munkar’— establish the good and eradicate the evil as the guiding principle for the Muslims of all generation and all corners of the world. In this injunction of the Qur'an, Azad also finds a political guidance for the Muslims of the sub-continent in the first decade of the twentieth century. He believed:

The evil of colonial rule could be only wiped out by establishing a successful democracy. And democracy will be accepted by the Muslims only if they could read the message of the Qur'an and the command of God to individuals, as the forebears or Khalifa of God.

Hence the argument of Azad like those of the Muslim democrats in the other colonies of the West was based on the idea of opening the doors of ‘ijtihad’ to all by decoding the words of the Holy Qur'an. Because democracy was not the question of establishing good
for the greatest number but by giving authority in the hands of the common man to decide for himself in the light of the Holy guidance. In *al Hilal*, his ideas found a clear reflection:

If you have any course of political action in front of you there is no reason why the Qur'an should not provide you guidance on that. The Qur'an delivers man from the darkness of all errors and brings him under the light of guidance. We find that all our political errors are merely due to our failure to surrender ourselves to the guiding hands of the Qur'an. Otherwise there would be light all around instead of darkness.38

Azad’s postulates that, “A person who cannot avail a ship cannot reach the shore”, was based on the same perception that efforts towards the social, educational and political reforms for the Indian Muslims was not conceivable without an understanding of religion. Such the efforts to establish the rights of man aimed at defining man’s social, economical and political institutions to bring about the change; but such institutions would not stand on their own without recognising the relation between Man and his Creator. Religion, in this sense was the fundamental institution which determined not only the nature of all other institutions, but also the political decision of the faithful. This view had emerged from his deep understanding of the Islamic rationality, grounded in its philosophy and history with a bearing on the socio-political environment created by the colonial presence. It was indeed a critique of the very idea of the ‘Muslim-self’ crafted by the colonial state, which was brought to play in the second half of the nineteenth century.39

He [Allah] claims that His wisdom resides with the community and collective. To Him, only that Government can be legitimate which is not autocratic but is in the hands of a nation (its people). Accordingly He commands that there be a mutual consultation, hereby establishing the principles of democracy, as an obligatory duty of every pious Muslim. It is in accordance with the religious duty that a Muslim should not rest until the parliamentary Government has been established.40

For Azad Muslims were politically inactive because they had forgotten an important religious duty, which inspires them to resist oppression, tyranny and not to compromise with them at any cost. The struggle for freedom and liberty was not only the demand of the time for the Muslim community, in Azad’s perception it was the command of God, to the faithful. Azad’s understanding of democracy grew from his own reading of the ‘Muslim self’ and in realizing the importance of multiple voices in the community of Muslims of the subcontinent. He was inspired by the normative ideal of equality under the command of God, established as His servant ‘*abd*’ or as His representative ‘*khalifa*’, Thus arguing that every man has a right equal to that of the other and that could he established through democracy. As plurality was the inherent character of Indian Islam, in terms of both religious practices, and distinct patterns of social evolution, Muslim ‘political self’ could attain success only in a democratic order, where the voice of the variable in the community finds a medium of expression. Azad was well aware about the condition of the Muslim
society, where the rich and the influential rule the toast. The poor and the oppressed had no voice in the political decision making. So Azad challenged the discourse of homogeneity project by the Muslim League's leadership in no less an expression as this, when he wrote:

Now the rein of the leadership is in the hands of gold and silver. It is in the hands of those, who have power and glamour. Those are the two things which is now needed. When both are there in a person, he claims himself to be the undisputed leader of the community (quam), even if he was completely ignorant, indecorous and his propriety was questionable. He has no hesitation to lead the pious and the God fearing. When they know very well that they themselves have little or no knowledge of religion. The most depressive situation for the (quam) community is to get into a habit of been led by such autocrats and affluent men and to be tied to their servitude as their destiny.41

One can argue that 'Muslim nationalism' like 'Muslim reformist movement', in India was worked on historicity and had developed its future transformed undifferentiated time from its historical time. Especially, when Maulana was arguing his case for democracy, he did not take into account the logical understanding of the West in favour of democracy. Because his intention was to establish the relation of his thought for democracy with those of the tradition of people he was addressing, so he used the religious code already provided by history. As a result, the set of ideas corresponding to democracy and its meaning were only acquainted chapters of history, to the mass, he wanted to address. As a result Maulana wanted to link his political reform to thoughts which were historical and religious on the one hand and modern and progressive on the other. Because nationalism in the colonies need not be imitative of the West against whom they were struggling to unite and put up resistance, it was essential that the inherent culture and history of the nation should provide the necessary adaptive leverage to enable it to reach those standards of progress, which the West claimed for itself.

Maulana Azad found in the lives and works of Shah Waliullah, who lived and strived in Delhi (in the eighteenth century), that historicity, or the essence of human existence which was essential for democracy. Shah Walliullah during his lifetime witnessed the final breakup of the Mughal Empire and the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. He also saw the rise in the hereditary prebendal system and its representative, the landed gentry (ashraf). He fought for an educational system which would encourage reason against the one which emerged in the wake of the decline of central Mughal rule. Though that educational system in many ways built up the cultural integration but it strengthened the traditional compliance with State/law and dependence on authority. Thereby it encouraged 'Taqlid' or blind adherence which became complacent in such a political situation. Jamal Malik rightly pointed out that such an education system complemented the need of the new power holder at the peripheries of the Mughal Empire, who evolved on the ruin of the Mughal state.42 As the successor states encouraged the new education system they facilitated the need to build up the cultural integration and also encouraged compliance with State/law and dependence
on authority. As such a system restricted the spirit of enquiry in the Muslim society; Shah Waliullah started his crusade against this notion of ‘Taqlid’ or blind adherence. According to him the rational human knowledge as represented by the study of logic by the service elite was only a preliminary truth. Prophetic knowledge was more reliable than rational studies of logic and philosophy. His idea was to strengthen faith through rational proofs and call for unity among all Muslims.

In such a socio-political situation, the elites were exposed to all sorts of disintegrating forces within the society, to the extent that the Muslim society (elite) was on the verge of losing their own identity both culturally and politically. This was also the phase of historical transition from the disintegration of the Mughal Empire to the birth of new territorial states in the eighteenth century, i.e.; when society was experiencing far-reaching socio-economic and cultural transformations. The real differences between the Shi‘i and the Sunni came to be classified through the Mughal court politics but the cleavages between the two sharpened, in the formation of the successor states and the new nobility at Awadh, Rampur and Murshidabad, which magnified the difference between the two major sects in the Indian Muslim society. As Jamal Malik postulates on the point that eighteenth century was not merely a period of decadence and disintegration for the Mughal elite it was also a period for the reorientation of resources and trade as the rise of the successor states and new provincial powers brought into existence a new class of commercial men—who thrived on the trans-regional economic affiliation that resulted in the formation and development of a new social order. They can be compared loosely with the bourgeoisie in Europe. And Shah Waliullah reformist debate initiated among the Muslim in the eighteenth century was in favour of the ‘New Class’ of men as it challenged the authority of ‘received legal authority’, which nurtured the aristocratic patrician nurturing on hierarchical ideas. Because the later encouraged privileged distinction based on ascription rather than on achievement. Hence, the reformist movement which emerged in the Mughal heartland at this time advocated for ‘purity of religion’, by getting rid of folk ways and blind imitation.

But Shah Waliullah’s condemnation for blind imitation or ‘taqlid’, practiced by the traditional pedagogy, was initiated a revolutionary change at the intellectual level. In an effort to bring together the deliberations of philosophers, theologians and mystics, he arranged the ideas of reform in theoretical treatises and style it as a discipline of religious study—the Waliullahi tradition gave the greatest impetus to the idea of rationality in Indian Islam. Because Shah Waliullah tried to interpret God’s message individually and independently through the revealed text. Though this aspect of his ideas sound similar to that of Ibn ‘Abd al Wahhab or Wahhabism, but Shah Waliullah, unlike ‘Abd al Wahhab, was committed to the sufī ideals with a serious social concerns. He was primarily interested in unity not just as a doctrinal ideal, but as a social reality. And this impressed upon Maulana Azad to pinpoint that the ulema in the historical times had sworn the seed of social unity as essential character of Indian Islam. Ahmed S. Dallal postulates that Shah Waliullah, in his efforts
for reform had being careful not to antagonize, the majority of Muslims nor did he want
to pose as a radical reformer crusading against mainstream social trends.\textsuperscript{45} His ideas on belief
(\textit{iman}),\textsuperscript{46} and his own reading of certain historical classification to support a conciliatory
distinction between ‘sin’ and ‘unbelief’,\textsuperscript{47} in the context of ‘practicing Islam’ in the sub-
continent. Especially in the eighteenth century it reflects the dynamism of the new school,
in Islamic intellectual understanding. As it sowed the seeds for compassion and tolerance
both within the community and outside, consequently Maulana traces his ideas of composite
nationalism not in the secular understanding of the West but in the historicity of ‘Indian
Muslim experience’ in the historical time. Therefore the complicated question of who is
a Muslim? In the era of pluralism, democracy and composite nationalism was well settled
back in historical times.

Shah Waliullah phenomenal work \textit{Hujjah Allah-al-Balighah} is a comprehensive study
of theology, jurisprudence, ethics and also sociological study of evolutionary society. He
reflected the complex relation between ethics, politics and economics. His idea of justice
could be well compared with that of Plato, because both of them aspired for an ideal society
which aimed at the collective good of the individual that formed the society. In his al-Insaf,
he reflects on the dismal picture of monarchy which the later Mughal displayed, it made
him appeal to every section of the population-peasants, artisans, workers, soldiers, scholars,
mystics and others, to rise to the occasion and to claim their legitimate part in the political
sphere. He exhorts them to develop faith in their destiny and to be conscious of their potential
contribution in revitalising political institutions.\textsuperscript{48} Again Maulana Azad, in his construction
of an ideal society and in his advocacy for democracy which establishes good for a larger
greater number of its members, found Shah Waliullah as an intellectual guide, whose appeal
to every section of the population-peasants, artisans, workers, soldiers, scholars, mystics and others, to rise to the occasion and to claim their legitimate part in the political sphere,
provided an antithesis within the tradition of Indian against elitist politics of the Muslim
League. Azad effort to bring about the ‘Pan-Indian society or composite nationalism’ by
establishing unity among the different sections of the society irrespective of their religious,
economic, political, social and philosophical differences found its historicity in the tradition
of Shah Waliullah. Azad found in Shah Waliullah a tradition in the historical time where
‘taqlid’ or blind imitation as the nurturer of aristocratic patrician hierarchical ideas or elitism
in the twentieth could be challenged and question for its utility as a social and political
ethics. For Azad, the complex relation between ethics, politics and economics, in the
establishment of justice in a pluralistic society, necessitated the establishment of the
‘general will’ or democracy’. In the eighteenth century Shah Walliullah’s effort in
establishing an ideal society by challenging the hereditary rights of the aristocracy remained
as the starting point in historical time where the struggle for equality can be rooted.

For Azad the misfortune of the community was indeed great because the leaders had
been alienated from the community itself. The leaders were influenced by the western model
of progress and development; they ignored the fact that their project and their language of reform remained alien to the people for whom they had fashioned it. The alien character of their reform and language had little appeal to the people for whom they were concerned. This made them non intelligible to the masses and thereby less effective. Azad wrote:

Our new leaders have been treating the religion and the mundane as two different spheres of activities. It is widening with time and there is no scope for reconciliation between the two. All their movements or reform for progress that had been launched by them bore signs of alienation from religion. They perceived their programme in such a way, as if they were not addressing the issues of the followers of Islam nor did they they gave the slightest indication that they had anything to do with the community of Muslims. Their life style, their actions, their tenor, their precedents, their examples, their models before them, rather all their manoeuvring and their character are completely devoid and bereft of Islam. They had looked at the world for inspiration instead of their own religion. Whenever they took a step forward it was in the direction of the world. On the contradiction had they moved towards religion, the world would fall on their feet... Though among the new class of leaders all are not atheists nevertheless, what was the purpose of their conformity to religion, when they were so impressed with atheism that everything they said was atheist.49

II

The twentieth century brought about revolutionary changes in politics. It was an age of mass awakening in most part of the colonial world. In the greater Muslim World constitutional movements were emerging, supported by differing political forces. Maulana Azad would shower his tirades on the League and its elitism and exclusivist policy as detrimental to the cause of the emerging nation. Azad thus wrote in al Hilal condoning the League: Muslims who were gradually moving into the world of politics after forty years of inactivity were expected to rally with the community of Hindus (who were political active for years) and the Congress which was the only political party. But they played their old game of folly by demanding separate electorate for the Muslims.50

What impressed upon the Maulana—a traditional scholar of religion to advocate for a modern idea like democracy?

Maulana provided a new reading of ‘the Muslim self’. His construct of the notion of ‘Muslim self or identity’ was very different from those promulgated earlier both by the ulema or the Muslim laity. Azad’s understanding of the ‘Muslim self’ has been conspicuously reflected by the historical past as much as by the demand of the present state of political, social and economic realities associated with the lives of the Muslims, in the subcontinent. It emphasised the differences between individuals, societies, linguistic groups, families and education as real and also as determining factor51 Whereas, he highlights the commonalty of tradition and history in the cultural space, specific to the experiences of the Indian Muslims, as that part of its ‘self’, which remain inseparable to its identity. Thus the ‘Muslim
self” which Maulana perceived in formulating his political theory, for the Indian Muslims in the early 20th century, inculcates the spirit of freedom of the individuals, communities and the nation.

In *al Hilal* when Azad wrote that ‘till now the community did not have any policy or any opinion of its own, in matters of politics’, his words were meant to highlight the arbitrary nature of Muslim League’s politics in those days. He further added that it was only for the few persons who wielded influences and power over others, which led to formulation major political decision. The real power belongs to the community in general and a genuine political party is that which is born out of the mind of the community.52 Maulana Azad was arguing his case for democracy in India and he rightly perceived that the concept of community constructed by the colonial regime and promoted by the League was becoming a greatest stumbling block in the way of constitutional development and democracy. By making religion as the social demarcator, colonial order denied the existence of individual autonomy, in social, political and religious matters. Ayesha Jalal also reflects on the point arguing rightly how the logic of collective politics, virtually denied autonomy to the individuals in a communitarian discourse.53 Azad who had been working to establish the importance of democracy and democratic ideas among the Muslims found the League as his greatest hindrance, because the League had been acting as the mouth piece for the entire community of Indian Muslims. Individual preferences or regional and class differences were all thrown to the air, giving a dead blow to the very idea of democracy. Azad took the issue with the League by arguing that democracy and constitutional government had the sanction of the Qur’an and the blessing of Almighty.

Islam in India, both in the past and at present, unfolds a bewildering diversity within Muslim communities. That there was, and is a wide spectrum of variety in their social habits, cultural traits and occupational patterns of the Indian Muslims. In their commitment to the school of ‘*fiqh*’ and in their assertion and following to either ‘*Shari’ah*’ or ‘*tariqa*’ they show a wide variation. Nevertheless, ‘communal solidarities’ were being forged at different levels of society for self-defence or self-assertion. Outsiders and Muslims themselves, like most participants in historic religious traditions, often speak as if their tradition, in this case Islam, offered a single standard and single interpretation. In Maulana’s understanding of the Muslim community, in India, the basic element which finds the core of his argument is the plurality in the character of the Muslim community. It is this basic difference which he held with the Muslim League and their understanding of the Muslim community which made his postulation for democracy strong. Because he wanted the participation of all section of Muslims in politics. In a community, as that of the Indian Muslims, no single group should claim the leadership because it is only through democracy that wide varieties of the Muslim interest could be preserve. When Maulana Azad conceived of his ideas he was not only critical of the western educated intelligentsia among the Muslims but the religious minded scholars too. He had worked out an intellectual argument for political Islam within the
historical tradition of the Indian Muslims as well as through the prism of normative Islam. And in so doing he provided a logical antithesis to the argument put forward by the Muslim League in support of the colonial rule.\textsuperscript{54}

The Extremists in India and the nationalists and constitutionalists in Iran, Syria, Egypt and Turkey argued their case against Imperialism and colonialism they upheld equality in tradition and justice in religion as the guardian of liberty. Maulana Azad’s perception of Islam and Muslims in India was deeply rooted in its historical past. His political vision of the nation and its struggle against the British colonial regime, envisaged his community as a component of the greater India. And it was in this context that he saw the experiences of the Muslims in India as inclusive to their own historicity. So the Muslims of India like any other community of India was a historical part of its evolution through the ages. As an important component of the Indian nation he wanted the Muslims to play a historical role in the struggle for freedom.\textsuperscript{55} Azad thus wrote in al Hilal:

Had the Muslims not been blindfolded under the spell of their leaders, they would have thought of all problems associated with India as a purely “Hindu problem”, and the Muslims as a community did not have anything to do with it. Whether it was the House of Commons or the Congress platform, wherever discussion took place, the ‘problem of India’ had come to mean the ‘Hindu Problem’. The responsibility of the Hindus for the progress and freedom of the country is part of their obligation to the motherland. But O, ye, who have forgotten yourselves, this responsibility was entrusted to you by God. The Jihad (Crusade) for truth in this world, and the liberation of mankind from the bondage of human slavery is the natural mission of Islam. It is therefore, you whim God wanted to come forward, but alas, you dame yourselves forget your God, and consequently, yourselves too. The result is that there is no place for you even in the last rows. What a tale of woe, what a bad luck!\textsuperscript{56}

Nationalist elites in most of the colonies first started with the demand for their rights to participate in decisions and institutions but in course of time radicalized their position and finally demanded the abolition of European rule. In India the situations were similar, by the early twentieth century there were similar radicalization of politics as the moderates gave way to the extremist, who demanded not only the end of colonialism but the end of elitist politics. In the case of India, especially in Bengal, David L. Johnson, elucidated how Sri Aurobindo formulated a clear and candid idea that the assertion of individual and communities were the law of nature. Whether for survival or for perfecting political strength, demand of the political life emanates from the engagement of individuals and communities in politics.\textsuperscript{57} By asserting such an idea, Sri Aurobindo actually builds a critique of the then existing Congress policy of ‘prayer and petition’, of the handful of elites. There was no political agitation which could revitalise the ‘assertion of individual’. Because Aurobindo believed that British rule and increasing poverty [stand] in a relation of cause and effect. Unlike the moderates he believed that the removal of the ‘effect’ must be done by removing the ‘cause’ of it. Hence the eradication of the colonial rule was the need of the hour.
according to Sri Aurobindo. As a result the new political ideology of Sri Aurobindo stressed on political subjection as the deep rooted cause of all evil in the society, so the impulse for survival demands the end of subjection under the colonial rule. Because the power of the colonial government was compared with that of the power of autocratic monarchs therefore the end of the colonial rule was to establish justice, peace and progress for all. And in this context Sri Aurobindo was not ready to relegate the power in the hands of the elites. In *Bande Matram*, Sri Aurobindo raised that important issue when he wrote:

> Where the people have no voice in the administration of the country...where they are treated as mere children unable to think out their own good...the necessary first condition for turning our attention to the deep-rooted evils of society is wanting. Where the people have to commit their destinies to the aliens and cannot claim the legitimate and elementary right of governing themselves they can hardly be moved by any philanthropic and humanitarian impulse to their best to lessen the sufferings of their fellow beings. Subjection naturally makes them take a very poor view of life. It seldom occurs to a member of a subject race that he has a noble mission in life, that he belongs to a society with the well-being of which his own well-being is inseparably bound up, he never looks upon himself as part of an organic whole.

In a subjection country society is deprived of its normal tendency towards progress.\(^{58}\)

Maulana Azad while keeping with the tradition of Shah Walliullah was not ready to remove the Indian Muslims from their own historical past. As Shah Walliullah’s religious reforms were meant for the Indian Muslims he was rational enough to take into account the experiences of Indian Islam in its own historical and cultural space, while Maulana in his urge for political reform among the Indian Muslims in the early twentieth century had built his argument within the context of historicity to argue his point on ‘*ummah e-wahida*’ or one nation. But his emphases were equally strong on the plurality and heterogeneity of both Indian Islam and Indian nation and therefore his appeal for democracy. Both Sri Aurobindo and Maulana Azad believed that:

> Human lives are related to their spiritual and moral well-being and the death of spirituality leads to the death of nations.\(^{59}\)

In the words of Azad:

> The creator of Heavens and Earth had opened this path before human beings, the moment He had given them eyes to see. Adam took that path and Noah preached it even as stones were pelted on him. Abraham constructed an altar as its road sign and Ismael laid bricks for the same. Joseph pointed to the same path when asked by a fellow prisoner in the Egyptian Jail. And Moses when he was impatiently waiting for light in the Valley of Bliss had the vision of the splendour of the same path inside a green tree.\(^{60}\)

Maulana Azad saw historicity not only in the Indian Islamic tradition but also in the historicity of mankind and in its spirituality, which could be traced among the Prophets and messengers of God, in the historical time. As messiah of the common man that spirituality flourished down the ages. Azad mapped that spirituality in the struggle of those who fought
for democracy in the twentieth century. Tradition and modernity have often been seen as opposite poles, with reason as the fundamental spirit of the Enlightenment finding its passageway blocked by the invincible wall of tradition. In so portraying the conflict between reason and tradition, Enlightenment thinkers perhaps failed to recognize the degree to which they were, themselves, rooted in the traditions from which they claimed to have escaped. But in Maulana Azad’s al Hilal, his advocacy for a modern idea like democracy found a basic place in the essence of the human existence. Earlier great human traditions when caught in the dichotomy between ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ actually engaged themselves in the process of rethinking their traditions. Since the most radical opponents of tradition cannot entirely depart from tradition; they only seek to remould it. But religiously informed Maulana Azad worked within tradition and religion to illustrate that a modern concept like democracy was associated with the normative Islam as ‘ibadat’ or obedience to Allah. In al Hilal the idea is well reflected:

We believe that Islam considers rule by an unconstitutional and non-parliamentary government to be the most heinous sin and the worst of impiety. Therefore we believe the establishment of democracy to be a religious duty of Muslims of India; as the followers of the Qur’an, the Muslims of India should demand from the British government the establishment of a parliament and for the sake of religion not to rest in peace till this is granted. For forty years they have been claiming about the unpreparedness on the part of the Muslims.61

Schulze illustrates that because of the impact of nationalism on Islamic countries, the immediate issue which emerged primarily because of domestic politics largely concerned itself with the question of ‘who had the right to wield power in the modern state’. It was the question of Power, (in the context of colonial presence and monarchical regime), that most of the Muslim dominated states at this time opted for constitutionalism. Because constitutional government ensures the right of the common man so it stood at the heart of the nationalist demands in Persia, Turkey and also in Egypt. It was not too late when the new leaders in the greater parts of the Muslim world argued for ‘Islamic democracy’, they made ‘ijtihad’ as the ideal pillar within Islam to install the concept and logic for democratic society. Rashid Rida an Islamic nationalists, conceived early Islamic history as a model for a modern, urban nation state. He argued for a sovereignty unified by Islam, in which religion was to substantiate the authority of the urban elites over the state. To Rida, religion (din) was always public, hence a political matter. The Muslim citizen had the absolute authority. Though Rida was claiming democracy, but he ‘Islamically’ legitimized unification of State authority, based on the principle of absolute sovereignty of the people. Rida, enlarged the nationalist’ conception of independence by giving absolute sovereignty to the people. For the other nationalist their only concerned was with external policy but Rida added an internal dimension to it. As representatives of God on earth, human beings were entrusted with this sovereignty for which they were politically responsible. It has been
argued by many that Rida promoted the theory for Urban Islamic nationalism, which was highly moralistic in nature. Its fundamental idea was based on the concept of justice (adl), which had already been the subject of theological debates in the scholastic period. Islamic intellectuals had again and again pointed out that the western concept of freedom essentially corresponded with the Islamic concept of justice.62

It was around this time that Sri Aurobindo also made in his postulation where he traces India's slavish condition on the Indian National Congress itself—an ironic assertion, since the Congress was intended by its members to manifest India's independent mind and will. But he found, the Congress to represent the most degrading mark of servitude. The drawback he could see in the Congress was its elitist character—a body of aristocrats and elites, not representing the interest of the common man. Sri Aurobindo candidly wrote:

Life being, as science tells us, an affection of one's self, any aggregate mass of humanity must invariably strive to engage and affirm its own essence, must by the law of its own nature aspire towards life, aspire towards expansion, aspire towards perfecting of its potential strength in the free air of political recognition and the full light of political predominance.63

Sri Aurobindo's formulations therefore were clear and pinpointed, as he argued that the assertion of individual and communities as the law of nature commands 'affirms its own essence', whether for survival or for perfecting political strength, only while working as a group or as collective. Therefore a rejuvenated political life demands self assertion of individuals in community. By asserting such an idea, Sri Aurobindo actually pointed out that there were no political agitation which could revitalise the assertion of individual and community' i.e., democracy. Thus the assertion that 'the voice of the people in the administration of the country', is an important factor for progress and development of the nations, in India people the destinies to the people were in the hands of aliens rulers. The legitimate and elementary right of the people to govern themselves they can hardly be fulfilled by any philanthropic and humanitarian impulse, even if they were the best of it kind but it could not lessens the sufferings of the subjected lots. Because subjection naturally makes them morally low and make them think very poor about their own life.

With the turn of the century, a distinctive change was taking shape among the India Muslims too. There was a mounting discontentment against the colonial regime, especially in Bengal after 1911, when a group of Muslims raised the banner of revolt. Muslim League was founded in Dacca 1906, by the elites with the desire to project it as the sole political voice of the Muslims. So it had been consciously toeing a line of loyalty, in their urge to argue the case for educational reforms only which was the focus of the elitist agenda, it ignored the community of the peasantry and the workers, shopkeeper and wage-earners. Hence its political policy was not well sounded on progress and development of the Muslim community.

They had become frustrated with the policy of prayer and petition, especially the
younger and more volatile members of the Dacca coterie; men like Abdullah Suhrawardy and Fazlul Haq by then began talking about emulating the eminently successful Hindu pattern of agitation. At a meeting in Calcutta in January 1912 Suhrawardy first preached the idea of cooperating with the Hindu in opposing the colonial government. But, such idea was restricted to small circles of intellectuals Muslims. It was the Morley-Minto Reform of 1909 and the question of separate electorates for the Muslims demanded by the League, which became a great impediment in the way of the democratic movement against the colonial government. And Maulana Azad who was a traditional scholar of religion believed that it was the command of God to eradicate the evil of injustice, oppression and tyranny and this could be done in the twentieth century only by educating the mass about their rights and duties. The participation of the masses in the political struggle against the colonial ruler, to Azad meant the end of atrocities but the need to establish the good—could be establish through democracy. It goes to the credit of al Hilal and its popularity that it reached a circulation of 25,000. Its importance rose among all section of the Muslim population because Maulana’s ideas on politics were well weaved into historical, traditional and religious understanding. Nevertheless, his ideas were modern and progressive too because he harped on the idea of democracy as the only form of government fit for Indian Muslims. Azad thus wrote:

I am a Muslim and by virtue of being one, this has become my religious duty. Islam never accepts as valid a sovereignty which is personal, or is constituted of a bureaucracy or a handful of paid executives. Islam constitutes a perfected system of freedom and democracy. It has been revealed to recover for the human race the liberty which has been snatched away from it. Monarchs, foreign dominations, selfish religious pontiffs and power brokers, all had misappropriated this liberty of man. They had been fondly nursing the belief that power and possession spell the highest right. The moment Islam appeared it proclaimed the highest right is not might but right itself. No one, expect God, has got the right to make serfs and slaves of God’s creatures. All men equal and heir fundamental rights are also on equal footings. Only that person oath to be superior to other whose deeds are confirmed to be the most righteous than the others.64

Religiously informed Maulana Azad believed that God had created all men as equal and their fundamental rights are equal too, the politics of ‘exclusive nationalism’, and the politics of number promoted by the Muslim League, negates the basic Islamic concept of universal manhood. In Islam, Azad primarily formed a linguistic medium in the broadest sense of the word, to reflect the programme for citizenship. It was a trend among the Muslim nationalist in most part of the Muslim world in the early twentieth century to use Islamic symbolism and languages in the context of anti-colonial politics. Democracy or ‘Jamoriyat’ from the spirit of ‘Hurriyat’, became the political agenda of the Muslim nationalists in the wider Muslim World. Islam was not only meant to establish the ethics of an internal ascetic ways of life, as claimed by the religious leadership but its most important task was to
found an independent policy focused freedom of individuals and nations, in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Muslim nationalist saw the evolution of the nation as an important phenomenon in the historical process of Mankind. So they could not remain indifferent or alienated from the progressive evolution of power? On the other hand what is important to point out is the fact that the Muslim nationalist in their construction of the civil society, considered plurality or the heterogeneity of the civil society as welcoming. Constitutionalism and the claim to sovereignty, made them advocates of democratic form of government against elitist politics of ‘favourism’.

The British state through its legal reforms only complicated the situation on the ground which revealed that sectarian conflicts among Muslims were as serious and deep rooted as the tensions between Hindus and Muslims. In the constitutional plan which came into force from 1909, such assumptions formed very little place in the state policy. The Mapillas and the Pathan, the Urdu-speaking landed elite of Awadh and the Bengali speaking rustic peasants in East Bengal countryside, the Shi’is and the Sunnis, the Bohras and the Memon, the Barelwis, the Deobandis and the Ahl-i-Hadith and the Qadianis were all considered as part of a monolithic. The Muslim League followed the same logic when they ignored the major differences of interest which existed among the Muslims; they too projected the Muslim community as a monolithic entity. The Muslim League’s demand for separate electorates for the Muslims was based on the idea of homogeneity, among Muslims. Ayesha Jalal is right in pointing out, that ‘the discourse on Muslim identity, whether propounded by Sayid Ahmad or his opponents, was unabashedly elitist both in letter and spirit. Similarly the elitist politics of the leaders, which was determined by a packaging of communitarian demands, neglected the interest of the downtrodden Muslim ajlaf class. As the voice of the numerically weak but socially powerful group prevailed over the others in the formulation of the political policy of the League, Jalal suggested that in demarcating the main line of divisions between ‘Muslims’ and ‘Hindus’, the colonial state’s social engineering paid little heed to the internal differentiation of class, regional, linguistic or sectarian factors. Effectively stripping of other signifiers of social relationships, individuals were left to give voice to their subjectivity through the medium of collective discourses which in order to achieve their objectives had to be fashioned in a manner that made few concessions to diversities within the community.

Azad’s understanding of democracy grew from his own reading of the ‘Muslim self’ and in realizing the importance of multiple voices in the community of Muslims of the sub-continent. As plurality was the inherent character of Indian Islam, in terms of both religious practices, and distinct patterns of social evolution, Muslim ‘political self’ could attain success only in a democratic order, where the voice of the oppressed would found a medium of expression. Thus Azad, as a Muslim and as a Sufi believed that the eradication of injustice, oppression could be best achieved through democracy. Democracy also establishes the right of individuals in politics. Earlier the poor and the oppressed had no
voice in the administrative decision making. So Azad challenged the discourse of homogeneity project by the Muslim League’s leadership, his chagrin against the exploitation of the poor by the rich leaders finds no less an expression as this, when he wrote:

If the Muslims have lost their tract and are misled, it is because they were lost in the urge to find some idols for worshipping (leaders). But it is a pity that the idols they found (in their leaders) are neither kind hearted nor sympathetic to their endless sufferings. They are the Muslims who had pulled the carriage of their leaders, whenever the leaders screamed and called for help, they had poured out lakhs of rupees before them. Obedience to the command of the leaders was taken by them as command from Almighty and as the dictates of their destiny. All this they have done to be with the leaders who were idiosyncratic, discretable ignorant, and ignominious to be slaves to the (colonial) state. The dissonance and cacophony between them and their leaders were obvious, for the leaders were never succour to them. For the leaders never thought of ameliorating them or mitigating them of their sufferings. In fact they laughed at the ignorance and imprudence of the masses.

Now the rein of the leadership is in the hands of gold and silver. It is in the hands of those, who have power and glamour. Those are the two things which is now needed. When both are there in a person, he claims himself to be the undisputed leader of the community (quam), even if he was completely ignorant, indecorous and his propriety was questionable. He has no hesitation to lead the pious and the God fearing. When they know very well that they themselves have little or no knowledge of religion. The most depressive situation for the (quam) community is to get into a habit of been led by such autocrats and affluent men and to be tied to their servitude as their destiny.68

Like Sri Aurobindo, Maulana Azad’s argument for democracy in India was based on a critique of elitist politics. Ayesha Jalal also reflects on the point arguing rightly how the logic of collective politics, virtually denied autonomy to the individuals in a communitarian discourse.69 Azad who had been working to establish the importance of democracy and democratic ideas among the Muslims found the League as his greatest hindrance, because the League had been acting as the mouth piece for the entire community of Indian Muslims. Individual preferences or regional and class differences were all thrown to the air, giving a dead blow to the very idea of democracy. Azad took the issue with the league by arguing that democracy and constitutional government had the sanction of the Qur’an and the blessing of Almighty, as he wrote:

He [Allah] claims that His wisdom resides with the community and collective. To Him, only that Government can be legitimate which is not autocratic but is in the hands of a nation (its people). Accordingly He commands that there be a mutual consultation, hereby establishing the principles of democracy, as an obligatory duty of every pious Muslim. It is in accordance with the religious duty that a Muslim should not rest until the parliamentary Government has been established.70

Azad entered the political debate on Muslim politics in 1910, with the crucial question
of ‘individual liberty’, as the founding stone for his argument on democratic government. ‘Religiously informed’ Azad addressed the issue from the point of Islam. His article on Sarmad Shahid was revealing, because in this text he accused Aurangzeb the Mughal Emperor, who was known for his piety, simple living and his commitment to Islam, of destroying the very essence of Islam rooted in its democratic spirit. Azad’s first major work after his comeback was on Sarmad. The article crystallised the thought of those who sought to question the right of individual. Azad promulgated that Islam had within its on format of religious belief the essence of democracy, liberty and justice. A true believer was expected to uphold these essences of Islam in his social, political and religious life. Azad interpreted the execution order of Sarmad by Aurangzeb, on the basis of Sarmad’s religious understanding, as a mere display of power over individual freedom.

Maulana Azad used the Qur’anic injunctions and the Prophetic tradition to establish ‘plurality’ and heterogeneity as the bases of Human existence, in their construction of ‘citizen’. They emphasized on the rights of the multiples in each society and thereby proclaimed it to be the political philosophy of their ‘imagined-nation’. As the Western concept of the nation-state was supplanted the traditional concept of the Muslim as a citizen of the Muslim World had to be re-interpreted. Western ideas of literature and art affected a trans-valuation of the traditional forms and norms of self expression. They introduced the parliamentary institutions to suit the novel situation as that of modernity and progressiveness but located tradition in every sphere of life to suit the completeness and accomplishments of the western concept within the historicity of the nation. Thus the nationalists of the colonies in their struggle against Western democratic powers found themselves playing to two galleries at the same time. The world of tradition was a real as ever although submerged and out of fashion yet its emotional hold had been broken only in relatively rare instances.

As Hamid Enayat points out that historically speaking, democratic ideals of free opinion, free speech, free assembly and representative government impressed the Muslim mind as corollaries to the goals of national independence and unity, in those parts of the Muslim world which was struggling against imperialism and colonialism. Here large section of a population were aroused and mobilised in the name of a common aim, it is only natural that wider popular participation in determining the affairs of the state should be either demanded or promised as necessary instruments or rewards in the national struggle.

Sufi helped Muslims develop their own form of ecumenical consciousness, enabling them to look at other religions, not as heresies, but as expressions of one divine truth. Maulana Azad’s understanding of ‘citizen’ emerged within the Islamic notion of ‘Ilm al-mukasahaf’ (the science of unveiling of the divine mysteries)—the essence of Sufi tradition. It is this tradition of Islamic humanity which builds on an understanding of God and his relation with mankind. In his Turjuman ul Qur’an Azad discusses the same in a more elaborate way when he wrote that God as ‘Rubbul-Alamin’, reflects the ‘unity of Truth’ and unity of Godhead, but it also emphasises on the unity of his creation. That Mankind who
are divided in terms of race, religion, colour and nationalities are in reality the sons and daughters of Adam and therefore belong to the same stock. Their claim for superior or exclusive identity, in terms of race, religion and power refutes the universal truth. That Man as ‘universal being’, remain united by the law of the Universal creator that is, God in His Hidayat of Rububiyyat, which unites mankind.

For Maulana Azad the message of the Qur’anic revelation is also to establish the ‘Universal truth’ about Man’s existence as the ‘Universal Being’, that the Surat al Fatiha as Umm-ul-Qur’an (the core of the Qur’an), dealt in great depth in describing the universal character of divine Hidayat of Rabubiyyat or the Law of Providence. He argues that God establishes His concern for every individual, group, community, country and every form of existence. This puts an end to the long speculation among mankind assigning divine blessing and favour to one’s own community alone. Maulana points out, that in seeking knowledge about God, the Qur’an directs man to reflect on the phenomenal world of creation because His grace and tender providence is clearly felt in every particle of the universe. To Azad, He who is the Lord and the provider for all forms of life and also governs the functioning of the non-living like the Sun, moon, stars, the rain etc, makes no differences between his creations, demands that the differences should be respected with tolerance. In the Surat al Fatiha, God’s message is sound and clear that, the provisions which He made for the sustenance and growth of His creations are basically different as they are in cognizance to their differences (because of their functional differences) and their realities but they form only a part of that Hidayat of Rabubiyyat or the Universal Providence.

The differences in the world of creation is the handiwork of that Merciful and benevolent God, who provides and sustains that difference through a system of nourishment and protection only to fit in those difference in the greater system of functioning as the ‘Rabb ul Alammin’. So, to Azad the Surat Fatiha reflects on the ‘Rabubiyyat’ of God, as one that holds in unity the wide varieties of His own creation. He is the provider for and the protector of the ants that crawl on the earth, the worms that push in the mud and dirt, the fish that swim in water, the birds that fly in air, the flower that blossom in the gardens, the elephants that wander in the jungle and the stars that revolve on it orbits. And for those countless varieties of His creations, the sustenance law Hidayat e- Rabubiyyat is but universal.

The concept of ‘citizen’ in Maulana Azad’s formulation of democracy emerges from his reading of the Holy revelation where Man’s existence as the ‘Universal Being’, eradicates the differences emerging from ethnic, religious, social, linguistic and economic pluralities. Thus Maulana Azad’s formulation of democracy was a response to the challenge of haphazard and superficial westernization of Indian Muslim life, thought and politics, which seemed to upset the balanced projected by Shah Waliullah. His formulation of ‘citizenship’ was based on three levels. Spiritually, was the bases on which he established ‘individual’s relation with God’ on one hand and the relation of Man to Man on the other hand, where
the concept of *akhlaq* regulated the later. Culturally, it resisted a mechanistic, materialistic and individualistic civilization, which seemed to be destroying or distorting the indigenous tissues of growth, while tracing the roots of progress and growth within the historical space of the nation. Politically it promoted the idea of composite nationalism in a democratic society. He saw the Bhadralok nationalists as committed servant of God in their struggle for freedom. This was reflected in the pages of the al Hilal: In the first place, the Muslims were alienated from the really active group of people in the country, i.e., the Hindus, and in this way the government was insured for a long time against the success of national demands. While other nations were drunk with patriotism, we were yawning under the after-effects of the intoxication with education. If their hands held the burning ambers of self-effacement and sacrifice, we were playing with red petals.

The Western commentators believed that on the eve of the modern age, the Muslim world was characterised by unchanging Oriental despotisms or, even less ‘peoples without history’. But Islam as in other World religions, the tensions between global ideals and the ideals of the religion were well accommodated, as a characteristic feature of the Muslim civilization since its early years. Muslims had conveyed the message of God and the preaching of the Prophet in different languages and cultural grasps but their desire was to keep the essence or the common normative core. Maulana Azad in keeping with the tradition worked on the western concept of democracy and citizenship but his programme was for the Indian Muslim so he kept himself rooted in the historicity and the historical time to reduce the tensions between global ideals and the ideals of the religion so that the former could be accommodated within the cultural, political, and social life of the native.

Thus one can conclude that ‘Religiously informed’ Azad made the Holy Book and the Prophetic tradition his intellectual basis and the historical time as the important determinant in tracing the roots of democracy where tradition and culture feed the idea of popular resistance against autocratic, tyrannical oppressive regime. Azad was inspired by the democratic movements in West Asia which were both against monarchy and colonial rule. It was also from their experiences that Azad learned the importance of minority in a democratic set-up. The elitist character of the Muslim League politics not only suppressed the popular voice within the community but made the ‘politics of exclusion’ an obvious a blunder for the development and progress of the Muslims. In democracy Azad found the flourishing of his idea of *Ummah e-Wahida* or the one nation territory, where the people of different socio-economic, religious and linguistic affinity found proper scope for development and progress. Azad picking the clue from the injunction of the Qur’an, pointed out that guidance for the faithful in their political goal was inscribed in the Holy Book, with the ultimate objective of establishing the right of the weak against the powerful, oppressive and tyrants. And governments that protect the rights of the weak and the browbeaten had the sanction of God. As democracy establishes the right of the rich and the poor, the majority
and the minority, the capitalists and the workers, Azad believed that the tyranny not only of the colonial rule but that of the privileged over the oppressed.

Notes and References
8. Muslims considering the country under siege so the take a policy of migration, avoiding direct confrontation.
9. Ijtihad means Independent interpretation. The process of resolving the issues of diverse nature where no clear, explicit, revealed text or general consensus existed within the administrative affairs itself and outside it, i.e. on individual level was carried on extensively in the subsequent times by the successors of the Sahabah and the imam of the community, caliph etc. The tool used in this case is ijtihad (creative self-exertion to derive laws from the legitimate sources). In the 18th and the 19th century it acquired a new meaning, in the context of colonial presence.
10. Islah: Meaning reform. Typically used to describe reform movement from the eighteenth century through the present. Based on the belief that historical misunderstandings and misinterpretations have distorted the original meanings of texts, introducing harmful practices. Therefore reform consists of a return to Islam's original message, although implanted in ways consistent with changed circumstances. The thrust behind the current reform movement is the perceived need to fulfil the ethical requirement of Islam. The movement stresses continuity of the Quranic message, rejection of innovations believed to be incompatible with the interests of the community and with the teachings of the Quran and hadith, reform of educational and political systems and improvement of the status of women.
12. The school of Mu'tazilites (Dissenters) was founded at Basra by Abu H uz aifa Wasil bin Ata al Ghazzal (A.D 699-700 to A.D 748-49). The general rationalism of his school realised around him the strongest and the most liberal minds. When the Aristotelians Philosophy was first made known to the Muslim world, it was almost as a revelation supplementing the Qur'an. At that time it was very imperfectly understood and the discrepancies between it and orthodox theology were not perceived. Thus the Qur'an and Aristotle were read together Greek philosophy began
to act as a powerful solvent on the traditional beliefs. The difficulties which arose with the qualities of God and, later with the Qur'anic promise of the beatific vision. More or less directly prompted by the Mutazilite controversy we have three other lines of development in the first place we have the ʿphilosophersū as the name is used by the Arabic writers, meaning those commentators who based their work directly on the Greek text at least on the later and better versions. In their hands philosophical enquiry took a somewhat changed direction as they began to understand better the real meaning of what Aristotle had taught while the orthodox theology of al-Asharia, al Ghazali, and other, represented Muslim theological service as modified and party directed by Aristotelian philosophy. They made a conscious endeavour to make a working compromise between that philosophy and Muslim theology. Finally it was the Sufi movement in which we find neo-platonic elements mingled with others from the last, from India and Persia. The Muʿtazilites proper came to an end with the 4th Century A.H. See. O' Leary, De lacy “Arabic thought and its place in History Revised edition (Kegan Paul, Trench Tubner and co, Ltd, London, 1939) PP. 123-134. It was the Muʿtazilites who was the founders of scholastic theology, called Ilm-ul-kalam. (Ilm: Science, Kalam: word of God) what appealed more to Azad at this time, was the Muʿtazilites claim that all knowledge attain through reason, and must necessarily be so while the Ahl-us-sunnat to which the Muslims in India ascribe to believe that God does whatever the pleases, for he is the sovereign Lord of his domains and whatever he wishes he orders. This was justice to them, But, the Muʿta zilites, prescribe reason and wisdom as all (justice) and deeds performed for the well being of mankind. They believe that the knowledge of God is within the Provence of reason.


17. Ibid.

18. Jamal al-din Afghani(1838-97) was the father of modern reformist Islam. Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) an Egyptian cleric who struggled to reform the Al Azhar University. He was the principal architect of reformist Islam in Egypt. Shaqib Arslan, (1869-1946) was one of the leading protagonist of the Arab nationalism. He emerged as the leader of Arab nationalism in West Asia and North Africa. He used Islam as the media to promote Arab nationalism.


22. The Egyptian Nationalist welcomed the support of the Christian Copts as well as the Muslims alike.
23. Azad writes in al Hilal that Sultan Mohammad V took his position according to the Sharia', because he was supported by a democratic system of government, with the consensus of his people. He was the first constitutional Khalifa, after the four Pious Khalifas.


25. Muhaddith are the scholars of hadith.

26. For Zaidan culture and political affiliation manifested itself when he set his ideals of freedom above all other concepts and gave prominence to Islamic history and to the Arab people in their longing for freedom.


30. Tazkirah-literary meant the Sufi's compendium but Maulana Azad's Tazkirah was written with a political motivation. He hoped to inspired his community with the high ideals of political and social reforms to establish peace, justice and freedom.

31. Shari'a is God's eternal and immutable will for humanity, as expressed in the Qur'an and Sunnah, considered binding for all believers; ideal Islamic law. The Qur'an contains only about ninety verses directly and specifically addressing questions of law. Islamic legal discourse refers to these verses as God's law and incorporates them into legal codes. The remainder of Islamic law is the result of jurisprudence(fiqh)human efforts to codify Islamic norms in practical terms.


36. Abul Kalam Azad, *Quol e-faisal*, submitted on the 24th of January, 1922 to the Magistrate. It is a written statement by Azad to the magistrate when he was arrested on 21st of December for in sighting the people to revolt against the colonial government. He said that the sentence was too light and much below my expectation.

37. It has been argued by historians that the spread of European imperial interest in the Muslim world led to the introduction of various new technologies. The Tanzimat period of Ottoman history (1839-76) was characterised not only by a new openness to institutional and technological influences from the modernising West but also to the developments in other Muslim societies beyond their own political borders. Following the collapse of the Mughal and the Safavid dynasties(especially the other two major Muslim empires of the early modern period in the first half of the nineteenth century) some Muslims from a wide array of societies around the world began looking towards Istanbul for symbolic, if not necessarily political or religious, leadership. For details see R.M. Feener, ‘New Networks and new knowledge: migrations, communications and refiguration of the Muslim community in the nineteenth and early

38. *Al Hilal*. Vol. 1. No. 9, 8th of September, 1912.

39. Jalal Ayesha, Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850, O.U.P., New Delhi, 2001. Jalal points out that in practice this did not preclude the colonial state from adopting policies which indirectly or directly involve religion in the political sphere. In making religion the primary factor in the definition of 'community', the British laid the basis for a discourse that claimed to represent the interests of the loosely conceived social categories identified by the colonial state as Hindus, Muslims and Christians etc. In a complete departure from the policy adopted in the home country to explicitly play down the religious factor, the Company's census enumerated simply did head count of 'Hindus' and 'Muslims' without actually bothering to spell out what these categories in fact constituted. How the census report 'reformalized' the meaning of religion to mean a community comprising individuals bound by formal definition and accorded characteristics based on the data garnered by enumerators working on questionable assumptions. They created a sense of community more detailed and more exact than any existing prior to the creation of the censuses.


43. *Ibid*.


45. Dallal, op. cit, p. 118.

46. Here Shah Waliullah makes a distinction between this worldly and other worldly iman. The former is the profession of faith on the basis of which worldly actions is decided, whereas a person's status in the hereafter is decided on the basis of other worldly faith. In the hereafter, cardinal hypocrisy may entail eternal residence to Hell yet *takfir* in this world cannot be predicated on a person's intention. *Takfir* is only possible on the basis of an unambiguous scriptural statement. Action as extreme as prostration to trees, stones, idols and stars, though strictly forbidden are not final evidence of unbelief because there is no explicit text that defines them as such. The accusation of unbelief is valid only when the person performing such forbidden acts declares them to be acts of worship or professes his or her belief in and obedience to creation other than God. For detail see Shah Waliullah' vols 2. (cairo, 1936), Vol. 1, pp. 60-2 and Vol. II, p. 38, Shah Waliullah *Al Tafhimat al-Ilahiyyu*, ed G.M. Qasimi, 2 vols (Hyderabad, n.d) Vol. n, p. 49.


51. Gubar e-Khatir, Letter No. 11.
52. Al Hilal, Vol. 1, No. 1912
54. See Gail Minault, Islamic Revival In British India: Deoband, 1860-1900. She showed how the Ulema between 1860-1900 who were snubbed as relics of the traditional unchanging past took the revolutionary step, when a section among them significantly committed themselves to religious renewal and moral purification. They used both the new justitutional (rational) forms and modern technological devices to bring about a remarkable change in the perception of religion itself. In this period the Ulema chose a strategy of turning within, eschewing for the time all concern with the organization of the state and relation with other community—the sole concern was to preserve the religious heritage.
56. A1 Hilal, op. cit.
59. Al Hilal Vol. 1, No. 11, 22nd of September 1912.
60. Al Hilal Vol. 1, No. 9, 8th of September 1912.
61. Al Hilal Vol. 1, No. 3, 27th of July, 1912
63. Mukherjee Haridas and Uma, Sri Aurobindo’s Political Thought, 1893-1908: New Lamps for Old, SAPT, Calcutta, 1958, p. 84.
64. Quol e Faisal or the final verdict. Azad wrote this to the Magistrate of Alipur jail in 1922.
65. There were countless occasions when the colonial officials had to give up their non-interference in religion into wane, in order to control the tensions between the Muslim subjects. In Delhi the local Ahl i-Hadith had a long standing rivalry with the Ahl i-Fiq. Though the doctrinal differences were minor their internal differences were deep rooted. Similarly the differences between the Ahl i-Hadith and the followers of the Khanqahi in Bengal were into virtual war, in the 19th and early 20th century.
67. Ibid., pp. 41-2
71. Sarmad a Sufi himself was associated with Prince Dara Shikoh, – the sufi prince. In Alamgir’s eyes, Sarmad’s greatest crime was his closeness to Dara Shikoh but Aurangzeb, executed him
on the pretext of his heresy or misinterpretation of Islam. Aurangzeb's order to execute Sarmad, had been interpreted by Maulana Azad, as an example, of interference in matters of private concern.


73. The term Rabb like the term Allah has an oft-quoted common root for several words in the Semitic languages. In the Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, it means Providence or Nourisher. Rabubiyat is a process of tender or careful nourishment providing from moment to moment and from stage to stage all that one needs to gain the fullest possible development.

74. The *akhlaq* tradition received nourishment from the Greek legacy, the rationalism of which had earlier been incorporated into Islam through the writings of scholars like Ibn Sina and Farabi. For details see Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in Indiace*. 1200-1800.

The Indian Muslim League and the Question of Palestine

Kaustav Chakrabarti*

Introduction

The Muslim League of India, which was founded in 1906 by Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dhaka, to safeguard the rights of Indian Muslims in all spheres, also took an active and lively interest in events world-wide which had a bearing on the *Umma*. Thus during the Balkan Wars, a Red Crescent Medical Mission, headed by Dr. Ansari, was sent to help the beleaguered Ottoman Turks in their wars with the Balkan Confederacy. By doing so, the Muslims of British India made no secret of their fact where their sympathies lay. Similarly, the League also took cognizance of the plight of the Palestinian Arabs in the latter’s dealing with the Jewish Zionist settlers, who chose to make Palestine, Eretz Israel, in the latter’s parlance, their permanent home whose landscape had a “moral and even redemptive significance” in Jewish psyche over the world.¹ By the Balfour Declaration of 1917², at the behest of Lord Arthur Balfour, the Secretary for colonial affairs in the British foreign office, the Jews were granted a National Home in the land of Palestine, which was followed by a clause that in the event of the Jewish people getting a homeland, the rights of other groups would not be infringed. During the First World War, Great Britain, had promised a national home for the Arabs, provided the latter helped them in the war against Ottoman Turkey. The Arabs responded enthusiastically, and thus began the Great Arab Revolt of 1916, headed by a British Army Officer, Colonel T.E. Lawrence. Meanwhile in the same year by a secret treaty, known by the name of Sykes-Picot Agreement³, Britain and France chose to divide Greater Syria into three provinces, namely, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, which was to be shared equitably between themselves, without the slightest knowledge of the inhabitants of those places. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the following year, was an event of tremendous significance for the peoples of Asia and Africa. For the Bolsheviks not only renounced the erstwhile Czarist policy of predatory claims in foreign lands, but also sympathized with the struggles of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism and colonialism. In their attempt to win the sympathies of the colonized countries, the Bolshevik revolutionaries threw open the Czarist secret archives, which besides other things, made the

---

* Dr. Kaustav Chakrabarti, Asst. Professor of History, City College, Kolkata, and Guest-Lecturer, Dept. of Islamic History and Culture, University of Calcutta  
E-mail : chakrabarti.kaustav@gmail.com
treaties public. It was then that the Indian Muslims and their brethren across the world came to know of the Balfour Declaration and the pacts made by the colonial powers with the Arab elites for the despoliation of the Arab lands. This treachery on the part of the British Government incensed Muslim public opinion across the globe including India.

**Muslim League on Palestine Question**

During the inter-war period, a number of Jewish refugees from Central and Western Europe fled the countries of their origin, due to racial persecution. The Nazis rise to power in Germany hastened the exodus. The emigration of Jews from Germany began in 1933, and became the only effective means available to the German Jewry in opposing Nazi persecution. For the Jews of Europe, as noted in Chaim Weizmann’s famous remark, the world was divided into two places: places where they could not live and places where they could not go. The restrictive immigration practices of the major overseas countries reflected a global climate of economic protectionism tinged with Xenophobia and anti-Semitism. An international conference on refugees at Evian (France) in July 1938 proved to be a complete fiasco. Except for the Dominican Republic, none of the representatives of 32 countries offered prospective Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria any hope whatsoever. A panic exodus of Jews from Europe ensued after the spring of 1938, in the wake of the Anschluss in March that year, and intensified after the Kristallnacht. By that time most Jews were willing to immigrate to any place they could. In the first years of the Nazi regime, most German Jews who emigrated went to neighbouring countries (e.g. Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg) and to Palestine. During the period between 1936 and 1938, as immigration of refugees in Palestine and to most countries in Europe became increasingly difficult, and as the circumstances of the Jews in Germany deteriorated, Jews became more willing to go to places they considered more remote. In their frantic efforts to break out of the Nazi death-trap, the Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria went as far as Shanghai, one of the few places that accepted immigrants freely without racial prejudice and also to India, a place so far neglected in the history of the Holocaust.

The Indian nationalist response to the influx of Jewish refugees into the country had been mixed. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi were moved by the plight of the Jews in Europe. Nehru, a socialist and an outspoken critic of imperialism and fascism, was a strong supporter of inviting the Jews to settle in India. Keeping in view the terrible problem in Germany against the Jews, Nehru sponsored a resolution in the Congress Working Committee. Even though, the exact date is not clear, this probably happened in December 1938, at the Wardha Session that took place in Maharashtra (then Bombay Presidency), shortly after Nehru returned from Europe. The draft resolution read:

The Committee sees no objection to the employment in India of such Jewish refugees as are experts and specialists and who can fit in with the new order in India and accept Indian standards. This move, however, was not accepted by the Congress Working Committee,
especially by the Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose who was strongly against making India “an asylum for the Jews.”

With regard to the settlement of the Jews, the policy of the British Indian Government was determined by its leanings towards the Muslims. Keeping in view the Muslim sentiment, the Government imposed many restrictions on the settlement of the Jews in India. The Government of India from the beginning was opposed to the pro-Zionist policy of the Home Government. It was worried that such a policy would have an extremely bad effect on the Indian Muslims, whose cooperation was needed for the successful conduct of the War, and as a bulwark against Congress nationalism. The Muslims in India were not only opposed to the settlement of the Jews in this country, but they also criticized the Jewish policy of immigration to Palestine, which in their view, was highly disastrous for the Arabs, who, in their opinion were no match for the resourceful Jews aided by various well-funded Zionist agencies. At a meeting held in Calcutta on October 16, the Muslim League appealed to the rulers of Muslim countries to save the Holy Places “from sacrilege.”

It warned the British Government that if it failed to alter the present pro-Jewish policy in Palestine, Mussalmans in India, in consonance with the rest of the Islamic world, would look upon Britain as an enemy of Islam. At the 1937-Palestine Conference held in Calcutta, the firebrand Muslim Leader (onetime associate of Gandhi) stated that all Muslim Kingdoms (sic) had stated in a clear language that they would not accept the partition (of Palestine) and Muslim India has declared, and is now declaring here, that they would stand behind the Arabs and make very possible sacrifices to attain their objective.

One speaker, Zafar Ali Khan warned that if England persisted with her Palestine Policy, there would be another Crusade. At the Patna session of the Muslim League, Sir Syed Reza Ali said that, the world was not prepared to accept the plea made by Britain that because Germany was persecuting the Jews, the latter should be thrust on the Arabs. As regards the attempt to provide a national home for the Jews, Sir Reza said that religious scriptures had laid down that the Jews would never have a home, but the British would overrule the will of God in providing a home for the Jews.

At the Lahore Session of the Muslim League on March 23 1940 during which the League President Muhammad Ali Jinnah propounded the Two Nation Theory based on the assumption that the Hindus and Muslims are two different nations and on the grounds of which the Pakistan Resolution was adopted, the League simultaneously passed the following resolution on the question of Palestine:

The All-India Muslim League views with grave concern the inordinate delay on the part of the British Government in coming to settlement with the Arabs in Palestine... No arrangements of a piecemeal character should be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world, and particularly to the Muslims in India, to secure their active assistance in the war of 1914-18. Further, the League warns the British Government against the danger of taking advantage of the presence of a large British force in the Holy Land to overawe the Arabs and force them into submission.
Not content with the anti-Jewish agitation at home, the Muslim League sent delegates to the Inter-Parliamentary Congress held at Cairo from October 7-11, 1938, to express solidarity with the Arabs on the question of Palestine. It consisted of Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Abdul Rahman Siddiqui, Moulana Hasrat Mohani and Moulana Mazharuddin. That the British imperialist government did not intend to settle Jews in Palestine on altruistic grounds was clear enough to not only the Quaid but also to Mohammad Iqbal, the ideologue of the Pakistan movement. He ripped the mask of benevolence off the face of British colonialism that he accused of double-speak and malafide intentions: If the Jew had a right to the soil of Palestine, Why can't the Arab lay claim to Spain? No, British Imperialism has other aims. It's no tale of citron, honey or dates. When in July 1937 the Royal Commission under Lord Peel recommended partition and further Jewish immigration, the whole world of Islam was left aghast.

Miss Farquharson of the National League of England requested Muhammad Iqbal to express his views on these shocking recommendations. Writing to her on 20 July 1937, he said:

We must not forget that Palestine does not belong to England. She is holding it under a mandate from the League of Nations, which Muslim Asia is now learning to regard as an Anglo-French institution invented for dividing the territories of weaker Muslim peoples. Nor does Palestine belong to the Jews who abandoned it of their own free will long before its possession by the Arabs. Nor is Zionism a religious movement.... Indeed the impression given to the unprejudiced reader is that Zionism as a movement was deliberately created, not for the purpose of giving a National Home to the Jews but for the purpose of giving a home to British Imperialism on the Mediterranean littoral.

In his Presidential Address of 8th October 1938, Jinnah minced no words on the question of Palestine whereby he warned the British Colonial Government in no uncertain terms what lay in store and at one instance drew an interesting parallel with the Czechoslovak crisis:

During the recent times Great Britain has thrown her friends to the wolves and broken her solemn promises.... They have also let down and thrown the Mussalmans of India to the wolves. I am sure that there will be no peace in the Near East unless they give an honest and square deal to the Arabs in Palestine. In India, I may draw the attention of His Majesty's Government and the British statesmen who I am sure are not under any delusion that the Congress represents the people of India or Indian nation, for there are 90 millions of Mussalmans.... It was because the Sudeten Germans who were forced under the heel of the majority of Czechoslovakia who oppressed them, suppressed them, maltreated them and showed a callous disregard for their rights and interests for two decades, hence the inevitable result that the Republic of Czechoslovakia is now broken up and a new map will have to be drawn. Just as the Sudeten Germans were not defenseless and survived the oppression and persecution for two decades, so also the Mussalmans are not defenseless and cannot give up their national entity and aspirations in this great continent.... I will therefore appeal to the British Government to review and revise their policy with regard to the Palestine Waziristan and Mussalmans of India and the Islamic powers generally.
The British Government fearful of losing support among the Indian Muslims invariably bowed to the intimidating tactics of the League. As early as November 14, 1938, prior to the League's Pakistan Resolution, the Colonial Secretary, Malcolm MacDonald, explained his stand to the Cabinet:

The government must choose between its commitment toward Judaism and those towards Islam.... The British Empire itself is largely a Moslem Empire, with about 80 million of its population in India being Moslem. In terms of security, it is inconceivable that we should act against the Moslems in the Empire or against the Arab kingdoms in the Near East.23

The Secretary for Indian Affairs Lord Zetland, told the Cabinet at its meeting on January 27, 1939, that the Moslems in India are constantly pressing for support of the Arabs in Palestine.24 Neville Chamberlain firmly declared on April 20, 1939:

If we must act against one of the parties, it is better for us to act against the Jews and not the Arabs.25

Conclusion

It may be said that the British, though sympathetic to the Jewish Zionist demands for a separate homeland in Palestine, were in no position to fulfill the same despite having all the state paraphernalia (e.g. police, military and judicial organs) at their disposal, and, eventually bowed to the time honoured tenet of political expediency of giving in to Muslim demands and keeping the Jews out, just as in India they had tried to cater to Muslim demands for a separate electorate as a counter-weight to the predominantly Hindu-Congress nationalist demands for independence. This colonial Divide-and-Rule policy was to have serious repercussions in the political and social milieu of both Palestine and India.

Notes and References


2. For a full text of the Balfour Declaration, see Appendix

3. For a map of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, see Appendix


5. Why didn't more Jews leave Europe before the War began? Courtesy: www.yadvashem.org (04.12.05)

6. Ibid.

7. For more details see Kaustav Chakrabarti, *European Jewish Immigrants in India Between the two World Wars*, Priyashilpa Prakashan, Calcutta, 2008


16. *The Jewish Tribune*, Bombay, April, 1940, p. 3


18. http://www.allamaiqbal.com/publications/journals/review/oct91/5.htm (01.01.14)


21. Emphasis Mine


Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

This Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Signature

THE SYKES–PICOT AGREEMENT OF 1916
FOR THE PARTITION OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Source: http://historysilver.weebly.com/sykes-picot-agreement.html (09.08.15)
An Introductory Overview of Colonial Origin of the City of Calcutta

Ranjit Sen*

Problems of Origin and Premising Questions

The origin of Calcutta is shrouded in obscurity. It was certainly pre-British and if surmise is allowed in historical research, it may be said that it was also pre-Mughal. For a long time Kolkata had been a throbbing settlement which was essentially a weavers’ centre with a vivacious thread-mart unmistakably denoted by the name of its adjacent territory Sutanati [variously written as Chuttanutty, Sutanuty; Suta is from Sanskrit Sutra meaning thread; in Bengali thread is Suta]. The weavers had settlements that spread from Sutanati to Barahanagar. In India as elsewhere a riverside settlement had always been a populous settlement and Calcutta had never been an exception to this. Riverbanks harbour fisherman-colonies and a part of the early settlers in Kolkata was certainly fishermen. To what extent these men could grow the potentialities of early urbanization is not known. Urbanization is basically a response to challenges and southern Bengal which for a long time remained to be unprotected because of being in the margin of governance by any powerful ruler and also because of being always devasted by the incursions of the Arakans, Maghs1 and the Portuguese2 did not manifest such challenges. Elements of tradition hearsay, myth, occasional references in administrative manuals and indigenous literature make up the spirit in which notions about a settlement in Calcutta thrived and continued. Certainly Kolkata was a Pithasthan or pilgrim centre-Kalikshetra—which was hallowed by the presence of a Kali temple situated at a place called Kalighat. This pilgrim centre was then surrounded by jungles and it was inaccessible because of beasts and dacoits. Moreover the emergence of Kalighat to prominence was a colonial phenomenon and prior to the coming of the English it did not flourish as a routine centre of visits by pilgrims3. There has been an attempt to push back the antiquity of Calcutta (Kalikata) to the time of the Puranas. But beyond conjecture no historical authenticity can be ascribed to it. There are speculations about the origin of the name of Kalikata which was the original version of the modern name Kolkata. But since all these are wild surmises historical consensus cannot be reached on it.

Basing its opinion on the verdict of a group of experts the Honourable High Court of Calcutta declared that Calcutta had no founder and therefore, has no specific date of

* Retired Professor, Department of Islamic History and Culture. University of Calcutta, Kolkata
E-mail : sen.ranjit2010@gmail.com
birth. This judgement stripped Job Charnock of his links with Calcutta as its originator. 24th August, 1690, the date when Charnock set his feet finally for the third time at Sutanati, lost its status as the date of birth of Calcutta. The historians on whose advice the Honourable High Court of Calcutta acted must have been moved by an urge to find the original roots of Kalikata and to remove from the history of Calcutta's antiquity elements of colonial connection. This was one of the major official attempts in independent India to decolonize an important segment of Indian history, namely a nation's memory.

Admitting the necessity to keep oneself free from inhibitions of a colonized mind the present research has distanced itself from conjectural analysis of the antiquity of this great city of India. On the contrary, it has addressed itself to the study of a colonial town, Calcutta—the town which was essentially an outcome of the growth of the British Empire in the East. After Magadha in the sixth century B.C., Calcutta became the only town in eastern India, which could function as the seat of power of a great south Asian empire. One may argue that Mughal Kalikata provided the nucleus for the colonial town. But that would be a very far-fetched concept because even at the end of the seventeenth century Calcutta manifested no remarkable sign of an early urban take off. Even Job Charnock himself lived in a thatched house. Urbanization depends upon the use of bricks. Stones were not available within a territory at least of fifty miles' radius around Calcutta. Therefore the urbanization of the city seldom depended upon stones. The use of bricks became rampant from the middle of the eighteenth century—the time when because of fire and white ants a search for an alternative of timber as the most fundamental construction material was undertaken. Operating on this knowledge that the origin of Calcutta would be illusive to a researcher the present book has from the beginning set its period of study between the two terminal dates 1698 and 1912—the first date being the one when the three villages of Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindapur were purchased by the English East India Company and the second date being the one when capital was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi.

Given this, the axis of the present book is clear. It shuns conjectural approaches to history and refuses to tread in uncertain areas about which confidence cannot be built without knowledge of scientific records. The authenticity of scientific records is determinable through cross-examinations of other records. Therefore, where scientific records are not available this research has not set its vision. A colonial town, a colonial period and a nearly two-century history of a colonial rule are the specific settings in which the present essay tends to organize itself. It looks into Calcutta not as a town that grew out if its own momentum. It believes that Calcutta was manufactured by the British. It concerns, therefore, with the simple question as to how it was constructed through stimuli given by the empire. What has marked the growth of Calcutta: an imperial stateliness? Or what has stunted its growth: the rulers' miserliness? This question will be discussed in this essay. With the rise of nationalism the question arose in India was the British Empire justified in all the experiments and expenses it made during the course of its rule in India? The answer was
obviously a broad ‘No’. Dadabhai Naoroji\textsuperscript{9} showed that Indian poverty had proved the British rule to be a sham. Romesh Chandra Dutta\textsuperscript{10} showed that the ‘drain’ of Indian wealth had destroyed the \textit{raison d'etat} of the existence of the Empire itself. If an empire finds itself falsified in all its justifications of rule it would be naïve to say that the building up a city in Calcutta represented the stateliness of a group of empire-builders who had no intention to stay here as permanent denizens of colonized settlements and who displayed all intentions to christen their historical duties as ‘brown men's burdens’.

The focus of the research is thus clear. It looks into the question whether Calcutta suffered a stunted growth because of a lack of adequate political will to build it up into an eastern partner of London. Calcutta was the centre of the British Asiatic trade. But it was never given the status of a trade metropolis. Power, command, directions and decisions were all controlled from London. The imperial soul had never invested its majesty to Calcutta and as a result Calcutta did never open up its intrinsic sources of growth and sustenance. Once the capital was shifted from Calcutta,\textsuperscript{11} its glitters dimmed and what once seemed to be an eastern partner of London became a shriveled city threatened with collapse under malafide pressures of the empire.

**Tracing the Birth and not the Origins of Calcutta: The Operation of Geopolitics**

The origin of Calcutta as has already been said is shrouded in obscurity because it is pre-British in all sense of the term. It was certainly as old as the Mughal Empire because its reference is available in the \textit{Ain-i-Akbari}\textsuperscript{12} the administrative manual of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Its mention is also found in the indigenous pre-British Bengali literature. Thus, the origin-part of the history of Calcutta is in the realm of conjecture and virtually in obscurity. I have tried to unearth materials with regard to Calcutta's origin. But source materials are too scarce to crown my effort with success. My main effort was, therefore, to find out the imperial will and the imperial engineering that had gone into the construction of an imperial city. What I mean by 'birth' in my book is the emergence of a Gangetic city Calcutta, which sprang up in record time—say, within the first half of the eighteenth century—in less than six decades' time since the final arrival of Job Charnock in 1690\textsuperscript{13}. In my study I found that this Calcutta was a product of an exigency. In its war with the Mughal Empire (1686-1690) the English East India Company needed a strategic place which would be away from the Mughal capital in Bengal at Murshidabad and the Mughal army headquarters at Dakha and Hughli. The Company also needed a place that would be on the riverside so that a riverine base with an approach to the sea could be used as serving a double purpose—a English trade settlement and a garrison town of the Company. Given this, I engaged myself to look deep into the process of Calcutta’s birth and eventually found that its emergence in the eighteenth century was basically as a garrison town. From this it metamorphosed into a port town and then into the administrative seat of power of a vast empire. Calcutta’s birth in this sense was a strategic phenomenon. In this it had no novelty in itself because a fort-city or a garrison town recalls the aspects of medieval city formations that centered
around castles\textsuperscript{14}—both in Europe and in India. What was new in the case of Calcutta was a combination of three important characteristics of town formation. Calcutta as a garrison town lost its essential glamour to its aspects as a trade centre that performed the functions of a watch-centre as well for keeping vigilance and maintaining an effective control over the seaboarne trade of other European merchants. Also added to this was the newer and other more glittering role of Calcutta as an administrative town\textsuperscript{15}. Its growth as the centre of the British empire superseded its two other roles as a garrison town and a trade centre so much so that other Mughal cities in Bengal looked lusterless vis-à-vis its growing prominence. The first few chapters of my study will approach the historical process of the amalgamation of these three peculiar characteristics of the city so that what we discover in Calcutta’s birth is the emergence of a composite city on the lower banks of the Ganga.

It should be noted that once the Empire started forming itself Calcutta superseded Madras as the eastern halt of the east-moving Britons. Britons moving to the east was not rare after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.\textsuperscript{16} There was blockage at many points in the British economy since the outbreak of the French Revolution leading to the rise of Napoleon and the imposition of the Continental Blockade. Employment avenues were choked and many Britons, vagrants and respectable, moved to the east\textsuperscript{17}. The result was that there was the need to build up an eastern city as a replica of London. The initial planning of the city deeply resembled that of London to give the new-comers from England a sense of confidence in an alien land.

Calcutta was kept insulated from the beginning. The fear that the Nawabi spies would infiltrate into the city kept its early administrators awake almost to the point of war-alert.\textsuperscript{18} The result was that through out the first half of the eighteenth century there was incessant conflict between the Nawabi administration in Murshidabad and Hughli and the Company’s administration in Kolkata.\textsuperscript{19} The Bengal Nawabs did not allow the English in Calcutta to expand their territorial possessions so that till the Battle of Palasi Calcutta’s territorial limits remained confined within the three villages of Kalikata, Sutanati and Govindapur. In 1757 after the fall of Sirajuddaullah and the accession of Mir Jafar to the masnads of Bengal the English got 24-Parganas as their Zamindari\textsuperscript{20}. This lifted the brake on English possessions in Calcutta and the city got a chance to build up its entity within a sprawling space spreading as far south as Culpee near the Sundarbans and the sea. In the north there was boundless freedom of expansion because in no time the Nawabi administration collapsed and the frontiers of Calcutta seemed to be dynamically proceeding far in the north towards Barrackpore. But the English were judicious and they kept the territorial area of the city strictly limited within the proximity of the Fort area so much so that the modern Chowringhee area encompassing the vast maidan (vast sprawling meadows) between the Circular Road and the Esplanade came to form the real city at the time.\textsuperscript{21} The real boundaries of the city were drawn in 1794\textsuperscript{22} at the fag end of the century.

This is in short the geopolitics out of which Calcutta grew. In the entire process of its
geopolitical growth there were three major obstacles, which the city had to overcome. The first was the *Nawabi* hostility. The vigilance of the Bengal *Nawabs* set an invisible fence around the English territory in Calcutta. The Second obstacle was the Maratha invasion in the 1740s. To ward off this invasion a ditch was dug to the northern part of the city which was later called the Maratha ditch. The soil that was raised out of this digging went to fill the low land in the east and south and the east and out of this filling the present circular road was formed. The third obstacle was the competition of the French at Chandernagore. This obstacle was removed at the beginning of the year 1757. Clive in his journey from Madras towards recovering Calcutta bombarded both Hughli and Chandernagore. Thus the *Nawabi* base that was working as the watch-post to keep vigilance both on the English activities in Calcutta and the movement of the seabound reverine trade was crushed. Likewise the potentiality of the French to develop Chandernagore as a centre of trade and military power was also destroyed. In 1632 during the time of Sahjanah, the Portuguese were driven out of the places around Hughli. Now both Hughli and Chandernagore were crushed. No power thus remained in south Bengal to challenge the British might and the British domination of the Bay of Bengal. The entire sea-board between Madras and Calcutta now lay open to the control of the English. One can say that with the battle of Palasi in 1757 the geopolitical issues that shaped Calcutta's emergence into prominence were settled once for all. From 1757 to 1772 when the company decided to stand forth as the Diwan was the period for the inner consolidation of the strategic aspects of Calcutta as a garrison town. The new fort was built in the sixties and the early seventies of the eighteenth century and once that was done the position of Calcutta as a military base for the expansion of the empire was assured. The Empire could take off now.

The fort not only ensured an empire. It also guarded a port. Calcutta was the outcome of this: a combination of a fort and a port. Guns backed trade. Trade fetched an empire and empire created a city. This was how Calcutta was born.

**The Cosmopolitan Crowd of the Port City**

Two things happened in the eighteenth century. Calcutta emerged as a port and the country's power-structure that had governed the entire area between Bengal and Delhi collapsed. Dakha and Murshidabad sank. The tripartite combination of Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal, Shujaudduallah of Awadh and the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam-II was defeated at the battle of Buxar in 1764. The result was that Mir Qasim disappeared into obscurity, Shujaudduallah was humbled and the Emperor was pensioned off. The entire Mughal army that so long guarded the eastern flank of the Mughal Empire collapsed. One generation of administrators and warriors were wiped out. This created a vast administrative vacuum in which new men stepped as collaborators of the English. Hastings admitted them into a new fraternity with the Empire. Later on Hastings also curbed Chait Singh of Benaras and the rugged Afghans of Rohilkhand. The Marathas who made themselves supreme in north India and
brought the weak Mughal Emperor Shah Alam-II under their control also retired after the death of Mahadaji Sindhia in 1794. The result was that the entire Jamna-Ganga basin of north India became so to say a politically free zone for the necessary emergence of this strategic area as the most productive and supportive economic hinterland for Calcutta port. The port had emerged into its status as a substitute of Hughli already in the first half of the eighteenth century. Its flourish came when in the second half of the eighteenth century the entire hinterland of the port became its supportive rear area. After the fall of the Peshwa in 1818-29 there remained no opposition to the English either in west or in north India. The result was that a complete political vacuum was created in the heartland of India. It was here that the English initiated the political thrust for empire building. The growth of the Calcutta port took place as ancillary to this formidable process of empire-building in India. The Calcutta port absorbed two things; the market-bound surplus commodities of the hinterland and the potentially surplus employment-searching man-power of the countries along the course of the river. Calcutta thus grew as an amalgam of two powerful trends of city-formations. On the one hand, there was the urge of an island people to build up their possessions in Calcutta as an eastern halt for the out-moving Britons who would find here a unique resemblance with London. On the other hand there was the native mass who tended to exchange their old-world misery for a new-world solvency available in Calcutta. The town morphology at the initial stage was patterned after London with the Esplanade and the Chowringhee maidan serving to be the sprawling middle around which palaces, mansions and edifices of the white town could be built. The core of the white town was kept insulated from the beginning to preserve its interior privacy from the interference of the Nawabs. This meant that Calcutta was to be an exclusive settlement where the aristocracy of the empire-builders could be preserved. The second trend was completely different from this exclusiveness of the early Britons in Calcutta. It was its growth towards cosmopolitanism. Calcutta was after all the town that served to be the base of a mercantile community—the people of the English East India Company. Traders needed commodities and production centers. Textile products being the major article of Company’s trade in Bengal in no time did it open its doors to the weavers from the native production centers of the country. In the broad aftermath of the Palasi Calcutta witnessed a massive spate of civil construction mainly around the heart of the white town. This needed labour and bands of workers drawn mostly from the peasants of the interior were allowed to flood in. In addition to this the port needed workers to cushion its ever-increasing functions as the most effective commodity-outlet of the hinterland. Sturdy men from the central and northern India flocked in Calcutta. Moreover the Europeans needed the services of the native menials and the compulsions of their life-styles forced them to open the city to the lowly people from places around. Moreover almost every Englishman had a comrade-in-arm, a banian—a skilled and efficient Bengali who supplied him cash at times of need and acted as his secretary and liaison man in all his private and public business. In all sense he was the
Englishman’s secretary who functioned as the keeper of his master’s secrets. Such men banians had their own agents and attendants who arrived in the city and added to the slowly swelling crowd of the town. Men from various other callings also landed at the city. Those who found their treasures unsafe in the countryside transferred them to the city and shifted with their families to the native quarters of the town-kidnapping of young girls in the countryside was very rampant during the rule of the Nawabs. To escape from such hazards solvent Hindu families migrated to the city. Out of this, the town assumed its cosmopolitan character.

What is significant is that the Company’s government in Calcutta had no money to build the infrastructure necessary for the upkeep of a swarming population. As a result in the vicinity of stately structures there invariably grew a belt of lowly dwellings of the native work-force which often took the shape of slums. Land was needed to provide living space to the people. Trees were felled and forests disappeared in the process. An urban settlement needed bricks and bricks were made by burning clay. Therefore, for the making of bricks fuel was required and trees were cut to supply the need of timbers. This affected the ecological balance of the country. Fields were dug to procure mud for brick kilns. This created gutters and holes which caused great inconvenience to the people. Calcutta thus from the beginning balanced two antithetical humanity-rich Englishmen and affluent Indians around them and a miserable mankind consisting of somewhat destitute Indians who lived from hand to mouth. The middle tier between the two—a prosperous middle class—was long conspicuous by its absence in Calcutta. Its emergence took place from the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

During the first hundred years of Calcutta’s emergence as a colonial town in the eighteenth century it acutely suffered the pangs of a capital-short economy. Whatever revenue could be raised from Calcutta was spent for maintaining the Company’s establishment in the city. A trading community on becoming rulers had the propensity to convert territorial revenue into sinews of commerce. This meant that little money was left for Calcutta’s growth in the eighteenth century. For the promotion of the city infrastructure fund was raised through lottery in the last decade of the eighteenth and in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. All important city roads were built with the fund thus raised mainly from residents’ contributions.

As a matter of fact from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth money flowed from the interior to Calcutta. This was because every zamindar in the countryside wanted to possess their own estates in Calcutta. Banking houses and business communities transferred their allegiance to Calcutta so that in the immediate aftermath of the Palasi Reza Khan lamented that business in Murshidabad was like a drop of water while in Calcutta it was like a river. Our evidences show that all the big zamindars in the districts transferred their capital to Calcutta from the middle of the eighteenth century. The Indians who hovered around the various European companies in Calcutta and places
around and acted as the liaison men of the East India Companies of the English, the French and the Dutch amassed money. Jadunath Sarkar says that a capitalist class formed by the Indians grew in Calcutta so that a wealth of native capital found its shelter in the city.\(^{36}\) One reason behind this was that Calcutta as a cosmopolitan settlement gained the confidence of the Indians. In the 1740s when the Maratha invasions took place the scared population of the neighbouring areas rushed to Calcutta for shelter and protection.\(^{37}\) The British gun assured them a security which the Nawabi administration was unable to provide. Moreover, the people had enough experience of the chaos of the decaying Mughal rule and they preferred the settled order prevailing within the English territory to the chaos outside. The flight of Krishnaballav (alias Krishnadas), son of Raja Rajballav, diwan or the finance minister of Dakha to Calcutta with a huge wealth,\(^{38}\) only showed that the leaders of the Bengal Subah had developed a direction towards Calcutta. After the battle of Palasi the Company’s administration extracted £10,731,683 from a shaky Nawab Mir Jafar. Much of this wealth went into personal appropriation and a bulk of it was used to fill the deficit of money required for the official trade of the Company. A part of the wealth lost in personal appropriation was spent in purchasing lands and constructing garden houses in and around the city. The spirit for promoting Calcutta thus gained ground. A new rallying point was now opened to the people.

For an escape from the functioning chaos which the Nawabi administration at Murshidabad then was, people turned to Calcutta where order had settled as a powerful attribute of the Government. For long the people of Bengal had not experienced the kind of a rule of law that the English had been able to establish here in Calcutta. Thus what Calcutta presented to the people at least in the eighteenth century was a picture of administrative confidence vis-à-vis the Mughal decadences around. One thing that the British might had assured to the people was a safe life within all available parameters of a secured existence. It will be wrong to think that Calcutta throughout the course of the eighteenth century or at least in the second half of it was free of dangers and afflictions. It was not for it was going through a transitional phase of its life in the eighteenth century. The Mughal rule was slowly heading towards its end-yielding place to the British. Between the Battle of Palasi and the appointment of Hastings as the first Governor General of the British Empire in India in 1773 Bengal was steadily being converted into a protectorate.\(^{39}\) Although there were Nawabs on the Masnads of Bengal power virtually shifted to a new centre—Calcutta. Governors of Calcutta upto 1772 became masters in an emerging pattern of power that was alien in its character and sudden in its thrust. Truly speaking the thrust became crushing in its impact since the time Clive re-conquered Calcutta at the beginning of 1757.\(^{40}\) Calcutta was recovered by the application of force and a resisting Nawab suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the English. The Nawab was entirely at the mercy of the English and was forced to sign the Treaty of Alinagar (Calcutta) on 9 February, 1757. He had to surrender many marks of his sovereignty under pressure from the English. But what was more
fundamental than a written agreement was the fact that a body of the Nawab's subjects—some alien traders—functioning not above the status of local taluqdars demonstrated their superiority in arms. So long Calcutta was held by the English as a purchased territory subject to the control of the Nawab. Now in 1757 they held it as a conquered territory. It was good of the English that the right of conquest was not proclaimed in 1757. Nor was it formally applied in 1764 when at the battle of Buxar the Emperor of Delhi was defeated and had to bend his knees before the English. In any case the status of Calcutta in 1757 had undergone a revolution. From a purchased property it turned into a conquered one. With this the birth of Calcutta as a colonial town was formally over. The phase when Calcutta was manufactured as an imperial town was to begin now.

**Calcutta Assumes a New Career**

During the first century of British occupation, Calcutta had a checkered story of a rise into prominence. In 1698, it was one among the three purchased villages in south Bengal along the bank of the river. In 1726 the Mayor's Court was set up in Calcutta. This for the first time gave the city a kind of judicial and jurisdictional enclave to the city. Theoretically the Indians were not subject to the jurisdiction of the court but in all practical sense the court became a centre around which the judicial pretensions of the city grew and eventually it vied with the *de jure* authority of the Nawab as the ultimate dispenser of justice. This judicial pretension was reinforced by territorial acquisition in 1757 when because of Clive's victory over the Nawab it became a conquered city under the control of the English. A series of changes then set in. The new fort was raised and power was consolidated. The *diwani* was received in 1765 making possible the union of revenue with trade, territory and power. The combination of revenue and army cushioned this transformation and Calcutta became second to none in the British Empire in the world. A few years later in 1773 it became the seat of an imperial administration with the foundation of two important institutions that eventually determined the character of city, the office of the Governor General and the Supreme Court. The *Sadar Nizamat* and the *Sadar Diwani Adalats* were also transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta. Calcutta became the core of a new paradigm-empire-building. The office of the governor general dwarfed the station of the *Nazim* or *Nawab* at Murshidabad, the Mughal viceroy in the east and eventually laid the basis for putting forward the pretension that the governor general was equal to the Mughal Emperor if not in rank, at least in *de facto* position of power, so that he would not be under any obligation to act as a subordinate vassal of the Emperor. This had relentlessly hurt the status of the Mughal Emperor. As in all times the Emperor's stipend was regulated from Calcutta and Delhi remained under the will of the new rising city of the east.

As these happened some other imperceptible changes took place ensuring Calcutta's rise to prominence and power. Four important Mughal cities—Patna, Hughli, Murshidabad and Dhaka passed into eclipse. The gravity of the English power shifted from Madras to Calcutta for the time being only to be retrieved later. The port character of the city and
the garrison character of the town now merged together in the status of a capital city that became the nucleus of an emerging empire in the east. This was a revolutionary phenomenon. No Indian empire which could properly be called all Indian in character and extent had emerged from the east in the past save the Magadhan Empire in the sixth century B.C. After long two thousand and five hundred years the English were the first who basing their power in Calcutta in the east had introduced themselves as real contenders of an all Indian empire in direct confrontation with the Marathas in the west, the Rohillas and the Sikhs in the north and Mysore in the south. The foundation of Calcutta had, therefore, an intrinsic historical importance in it. The English power was entrenched in the city just as the Muslim power was centrally entrenched in Delhi and locally first in Dhaka and then in Murshidabad. Calcutta became with the English one major centre in the map of conflicting power-distribution in India. Who would inherit the Mughal state? That was the greatest political question that had haunted all pretenders to power in India in the eighteenth century. Calcutta’s potentiality provided the English to be a pretender in this. The momentum to act for pretension was also a gift of the city—in the best of as also in the worst of its times.

Politically Calcutta in the eighteenth century emerged as this: a base from which the English could commission their pretension into a large all India effort to inherit the Mughal state. This political character of the city also matched the character of its planning as an urban centre. The English wanted to model the town as a replica of London so that it could serve as a halt to the east-moving Britons in the eighteenth century. In effect Calcutta did not shed off the characteristics of a congested Mughal town either of contemporary age or of any earlier time. The morphology of Calcutta certainly assumed the apparent get-up of an English town but at heart it remained steeped in the pattern of a tradition-bound Mughal urban settlement. It was in this queer combination of Anglo-Mughal urbanity that Calcutta throughout the course of colonial history found itself being shaped. Within the structure of a paradox, a new phenomenon arose. The indigenous people, the native Hindu Bengali race, promoted their own renaissance in the city. Calcutta thus became a centre of a new cultural upsurge. The people indigenous to the soil built up their own pattern of culture which was essentially Indian in spirit revitalized only by the touch of the West. From the core of this new culture, a new Calcutta emerged. It was this Calcutta; the Calcutta of Indians—which was made a base of nationalism. This nationalism was logically the outcome of the Bengal renaissance inspired by European nationalism in the nineteenth century.

Spiritually shaped by its own renaissance Calcutta at the end was only this: a city with a soul unmatched with the spirit of the British Empire. How this un-matching city was born is part of the substance of this book. Everywhere in the book, we have stuck to the expression ‘Calcutta’ instead of its modern name ‘Kolkata’. This is because we have discussed the city neither in its pre-colonial nor in its post-colonial perspectives. Our thrust has always been
on the growth of a city patterned by the Empire. The Empire had imposed its will on the city. The city balanced its own will antithetically to that of the Empire. This dialectic of the growth of the city has not been traced in its proper perspectives till now. We do it only to show that a city manufactured by the Empire had its own tryst with destiny. The Empire gave it its own momentum. Its mood was its own. This mood was the only lasting phenomenon in the city, all other parameters being transitory. Her promises of an urban growth were not fulfilled in the long run. Her urbanization had three components—first those of a garrison town: then those of a port and finally those of an administrative town—the seat of the empire. As a garrison town, it lost its supremacy when Madras emerged as a competent base of power against both the French and Haider Ali in the south in the middle of the eighteenth century and Bombay became militarily independent enough to fight against the Marathas with occasional help from Calcutta. As a port, it began losing its sway when the British Empire developed a ring of ports around Calcutta as a part of its measures to control the sea and the vast terrain of Asiatic trade that had flourished on the collapse of the French and the Dutch trade in south Asia. These ports—Penang, Singapore, Chittagong, Madras, Colombo, Bombay and Karachi—were the real competitors of Calcutta and also its cordon. Finally, Calcutta lost its charms as an administrative centre and the seat of power when the capital was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi in 1912. With the turn of the twentieth century Calcutta turned into a tragic figure seething under discontent and looking for retrieving its glamour—this time not as a seat of power but as a seat of revolution.

The Regime of Governance

In the eighteenth century the main motive behind town planning in Calcutta was security. The creation of the new fort in the 1760s (which ended in 1773) underlined the compulsive direction towards which Calcutta could grow. In course of three decades from the fall of Mir Qasim, the Bengal Nawab, in 1764 to the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799 in the south the English in Calcutta had dwarfed the neighbouring powers, contained the Emperor, outdistanced their trade competitors and triumphed over their local sources of fear. Being entrenched in territory and with command over revenue of three eastern provinces in India they now ceased to be mere merchants. Mastering the regional finance of the declining Mughal Empire they now lorded over a wide territory as an absolute satrap whose main concern was now governance necessary for both trade and consolidation. The nineteenth century thus dawned in Calcutta with a new regime charged with governance. Three associate things surfaced as parts of governance: finance as economics of governance, infrastructure as policies of governance and health ensuring life as missions of governance. All these were outcomes of a dire necessity. But they made in substance what may be called in short the municipal governance of the city.

The Charter Act of 1793 gave the municipal governance its statutory basis for the city for the first time and with it the first modern municipal administration dawned in colonial
India. After a trial for a few years, people’s representation seemed to be necessary. In 1838, Raja Radhakanta Deb and Dwarakanath Tagore were appointed Justices of Peace. The native assistance in municipal governance was thus formalized. Promotion of infrastructure and incorporation of native assistance thus came hand in hand showing new orientation of the city. The Lottery Committee came into existence in 1817 twenty-four years after the city was first initiated into lottery. Its tenure was over in 1836. With it the period of intense activity for urban uplift was over. Roads were constructed; ditches were filled; city squares were formed; parks were created; ponds and water bodies were managed. In a word Calcutta was dressed for a new take off. Incorporation of native assistance came at this stage. It was invoked with the turn of new situation—that is after the initial phase of city’s urbanization was over. A new era was being promulgated now with the appointment of the committee for fever and hospital, called in short the Fever Hospital Committee as a successor to the Lottery Committee. This was indeed a transitional moment in the history of the city. From urban constructions emphasis now shifted to urban health. Hospitals now dominated city plans—names floated in official literature such as Native Hospital, Fever Hospital, Police Hospital, General Hospital and finally Medical College. Existing and proposed institutions of health thus crowded planning manuals of the time. Some of these hospitals were going on concerns taking positions along with asylums meant for the lunatics and lepers. The medical topography of the city was being worked with new zeal. Crossing over the phases of security and infrastructure the city now entered a new phase where the primary concern of the government was health. The lottery phase of urban growth in Calcutta ushered in within the semi urban space of Calcutta the first signs of globalization of European architecture and urbanism. The thirties of the nineteenth century—the Fever Hospital Committee phase—similarly saw the implementation of the globalized versions of medical ethics and other functional aspects of science of healing that had come into vogue in the West. With new reforms in the offing more cooperation from the natives seemed to be a necessity and wealthy and influential men in the society were invited to take seats in various committees that were formed to promote the sanitary configuration and health of the city. Drawing the Indians in Western reforms was not an easy task and the thirties of the nineteenth century saw a tussle between the British effort at persuasion and the Indian stamina to hold back.

The Fever Hospital Committee seemed to be concerned with the real uplift of life in the city but no plan in this seemed to be beyond meeting eventualities, which could be called an outcome of sustainable state planning. Miasma, filth, drain, cleanliness, habitation, removal of thatched huts and even fire-proneness of the city were constant parts of deliberations or even reports of the Lottery Committee and the Fever Hospital Committee but state level determination to impose decisions to change was absent. The public will with which Wellesley had steered the city into a career of urban modernism seemed to be lacking in all subsequent efforts once the Lottery Committee had ceased to exist. One reason for
this was that the state had never achieved the economic solvency under the influence of which condition it could plan for long term economic investment in the city as the state in England had done. The result was that all plans in city development for three decades after the winding of the Lottery Committee were patch works being parts of a ramshackle philosophy of public welfare. The continuous embellishment of the white city certainly led Calcutta to glitter as an imperial seat of power but, as Pradip Sinha says, it also led to “further accentuation of the physical differences of the European and Indian parts” of the city.48

It should be noted that the most intensive effort to town-planning was made during the period of the Lottery Committee and the Committee’s “work for Calcutta”, in Pradip Sinha’s words, was “the most systematic work in the 19th century”.49 In any case one may note that from the time of Wellesley’s minute in 1803 to the winding up of the Lottery Committee in 1836 the will of the state to introduce reforms in urban morphology was most effective. The fall of Tipu Sultan in 1799 brought about a new flush of pride for British victory and under Wellesley the pride was twisted into a new diplomatic pattern of control under the name ‘Subsidiary Alliance’. The spirit of the state was now absorbed in the glitters of a new vision of an empire. Old Calcutta was not in keeping with this spirit of the state. Calcutta had to be changed and the change was ushered in in the three decades following the drafting of Wellesley’s minutes. The pride, which the rule of Warren Hastings had caused to instill in British dominations in India created in the aftermath a situation in which the change in the city’s status could be suggested. This was done by the drawing of the boundary of Calcutta and the first raising of finance for the urbanization of the city in 1793. From 1818 a period of peace for thirty years graced the British rule in India. It was in this phase that the first major attempts were made to urbanize the city and propel it to the direction where it could assume its new role as the seat of power. The result was that ‘admirable professional considerations’ were brought into force for all planning programmes of the time.50 Two things happened as a result of the activities of the Lottery Committee. Prices of lands escalated51 and European influx into the city increased. Lottery Committee observations were categorical to this end.52 While the white town was gradually being filled by new waves of white immigrants the black town was steadily passing under the control of rich Indians. One thing the Lottery Committee did was to create a long north-south axis along the present linear thoroughfares of Wellington Square, College Street, Cornwallis Street, Shyambazar (largely made up of ancient Shovabazar)53. In the wide mass of territory between the riverfront and this central axis of the city large properties were purchased by opulent Indians so that as time went on it became difficult for the government to acquire land for the creation of new roads and for the expansion of lanes and by-lanes that had given the city a look of a congested countryside transplanted into a new urban set-up. In any case the Lottery Committee did a yeoman’s service to the city which no previous government could do. A concept of improvement it had instilled into the minds of the Indians. This is where the British Empire fulfilled its role as a modernizer and distinguished itself from
any of the earlier empires of the past. The awareness of improvement occasionally reflected in contemporary journals. A passage in Jnanannesan as late as 1837 tried to draw public attention to the changes around.\textsuperscript{54} It said that diseases had been beaten and three reasons were at the root of it. The town had been improved by the Lottery Committee. An immense progress had been made in Medical science and a change had been contemplated in people’s food habit. It was clear that by the end of 1830s a large part of jungles in and around Calcutta had been cleared and the British Empire set into motion aspects of sanitized living which were absent in medieval Indian town planning. As noted above, four parameters were thus visible in making sanitized living a possibility. First, the town was made free of jungles and was properly dressed up. Its roads and drains were created, water bodies were taken care of, parks for relaxation outside cramped households were in the process of being built and thatched mud huts were replaced by tiled roofs, wooden structures and finally by brick constructions. A dressed town made urban living an enjoyable experience. Secondly, medical science was improved and hospitals were created. Health care became a part of urban living. Efforts to beat miasma were undertaken during the auspices of the Hospital Committee. Thirdly, the food habit and the diet system of the people were influenced and finally, an effective policing of the whole order was imposed from the top, much to the relief of some and disgust of many who preferred living in a traditional world. The Indian world around Calcutta had been in a state of change in the first thirties of the nineteenth century. This was the singular achievement of the Lottery Committee. It is not very clear as to why the Lottery Committee was snapped. Certainly the money market was getting stringent and may be that people’s contribution through lottery in making the city worthy of living was showing signs of decline.

Agency Houses began to collapse and there was a run on the money market. The Company’s government was drawn increasingly into conflict with its own subjects who were now raising protests either for increase in taxations or for more compensation for lands acquired in the name of improvement of the town. The Lottery Committee had truly exhausted its functions. All the preliminaries of town planning had been served and there was no concern for public health. One may say that the first phase of planned uplift of Calcutta was over with the Lottery Committee. The second phase according to A.K. Ray began ‘with the establishment of the Corporation of the Justices in 1871, under Act VI of that year.’\textsuperscript{55} Between 1836 when the tenure of the Lottery Committee was over and 1871 when the second phase of town uplift began a period of thirty-five years intervened during which emphasis had shifted from town planning to more strategic things for the Empire. By the beginning of the 1840s, the role of native capital in promoting trade, industry and banking had come to an end. The fall of the Union Bank in 1848 had ruined the fiscal aristocracy of the city. Within one decade British capital started flowing into Bengal. The age of steamship was ushered in. Coal-fields had been discovered in Bengal. The age of the railways, telegraph and university were in the horizon. With all these imperial economics
were changing and with that also changed the metropolitan mind of the people. Calcutta was left to progress with the century—not very much in tune with the forces of the age but in its own way.

Notes and References
1. Throughout the course of the first half of the eighteenth century the southeastern part of Bengal was under the threat of Magh incursions. It was a legacy from the seventeenth century. Three sets of people led deep incursions into Bengal in the seventeenth century and carried men and women as slaves to be sold to the Europeans either at the coasts of Madras or Orissa or in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, occasionally clandestinely in Calcutta also. These marauders and lifters of men and women were the Arakans (the half civilized tribes of the Chittagong hills and the Burmese of the fringe territories of Burma called Arakan which was then under the rule of a Burmese king), Maghs (the seafaring rugged people from Chatgaon or Chittagong) and Firingis (the Portuguese). Jadunath Sarkar writes:

“The deep channel parting from a bend of the Ganges some distance east of Tamluk and running eastwards to Dacca and Chatgaon was called by the English merchants in that age as the Rogue's River, because 'the Arakanese used to come out thence to rob and sailed up the river Ganges.'”— Jadunath Sarkar, History of Bengal, Vol.II, Dakha University Publication, 1948, second impression 1972, Dakha, p. 378. The statement quoted by Sarkar above was from Streynsham Master's Diary, i, 321, map in i.507.

“The Arakan pirates, both Magh and Feringi used constantly to plunder Bengal. They carried off the Hindus and Muslims they could seize, pierced the palms of their hands, passed thin strips of cane through the holes, and threw the men huddled together under the decks of their ships. Every morning they flung down some uncooked rice to the captives from above, as people fling grain to fowl—They sold their captives to the Dutch, English and French merchants at the ports of Deccan. Sometimes they brought their captives to Tamluk and Balasore for sale at high prices... Only the Feringis sold their prisoners, but the Maghs employed all whom they could carry off in agriculture and other occupations or as domestic servants and concubines.”— cited from the same source by Sarkar, op.cit., pp. 378-79. Sarkar adds: “It was Shaista Khan's task to put an end to this terror”—op.cit. p. 379.

2. The Portuguese were known in contemporary literature as the 'feringis' and the 'harmads.
How the Arakanese, the Portuguese and the Maghs were extirpated from Chittagong, the base of their activities and mobilization, has been beautifully described by Sarkar, op.cit., pp 377-381.

3. For details see Ranjit Sen, A Stagnating City Calcutta in the Eighteenth Century, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 2000, ch. vi, entitled “A Pilgrim Centre: Kalighat”.

4. Magadha in the sixth century B.C. embraced territories around modern Patna and Gaya. It "could boast of powerful chieftains even in the days of the Vedic Rishis and the epic poets"—writes the historian H.C. Raychaudhury in R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Roychaudhuri and K.K. Datta ed. An Advanced History of India, Macmillan, London, p. 55. The pre-Aryan people that lived here were called the Kikatas 'who were noted for their wealth of kine...' In the sixth and fifth century B.C the throne of Magadha was occupied by the rulers of Saisunaga dynasty.
According to the Buddhist writers this dynasty was split into two the earlier one was called by
them as Haryanka. The most important ruler of the Haryanka line was Bimbisara.

5. Straw houses persisted in the city even in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was
because of this straw huts Calcutta became a fire-prone area. See A.K. Ray op. cit. p. 161. Even in the white town straw huts could be seen hiding behind mansions and palatial buildings. In general such mud and thatched houses came under control from 1837. The Act XII of that year enjoined people to provide an outer roof with incombustible material.

6. Stones in Calcutta were normally brought from Rajmahal.


8. Calcutta remained the capital of British India from 1773 to 1911. From the first day of 1912 capital was transferred to Delhi.

9. Dadabhai Naoroji was a Parsi businessman and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. He was elected to the House of Commons to speak for Indian interests in the 1890s. His famous book was Poverty and Un-British Rule, London, 1901.

10. Romesh Chandra Dutt was a Bengali litterateur of the highest calibre. He was an ICS officer who resigned his job to pursue writes B.R. Tomlinson, “his attacks on the revenue administration of Bengal, focused on the distortions to the Indian economy brought about by British rule, and by the impoverishment of the mass of the population through the colonial ‘drain of wealth’ from India to Britain over the course of the nineteenth century.” B.R. Tomlinson, The Cambridge History of India III. The Economy of Modern India 1860-1970, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, First South Asian Paperback Edition, 1998, p. 12. R.C. Dutt’s famous book in which his ‘drain’ theory was unleashed is The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age, London, 1906. His Economic History consists of two volumes. Dutt’s argument was that we produce surplus and it went to benefit England. We raised clouds, he said, but it rained elsewhere.

11. The shifting of capital, it is generally believed, was because of the rise of nationalism in Bengal. Calcutta was the hub of nationalist culture and was giving leadership to both the moderate and the rising radical wings of the Indian National Congress. It should be noted that after the government’s failure to keep up the partition of Bengal in the face of massive agitation by the people of the land the whole show of government had become a sham. Calcutta had emerged as a different city much away from what the British wanted it to be. Calcutta did not participate in the revolt of 1857 but in the immediate aftermath of the revolt it became the centre of a new radical culture which did not seem compatible with the nature and philosophy of the British rule. The coming of the revolutionary terror from 1906 onwards and the use of bomb as an instrument for the radical uplift of revolution created a new atmosphere in which Calcutta lost its raison d’ etat to remain as the capital of the British Empire.

12. In a recent writing the pre-British source of reference to Calcutta has been recorded as follows: “The three villages of Sutanuti, Kalikata and Gobindapur figure in the maps of Vanderbrooke (1600), Valentine (1656), Thomas Bowrey (1687) and George Herron (1690). The name Kalikata found mention in Munasamangal of Bipradas (1595) and in the rent-rolls
of Akbar, the Mughal emperor. The colonial city, which certainly was the product of the English settlers, grew out of its own environs.”—Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty, “Kolkata” in Ranjan Chakrabarti ed. Dictionary of Historical Places of Bengal, 1757-1947, Primus Books Delhi, 2013, p. 365.


14. The urbanization which Europe experienced in the 10th and 11th centuries was in many ways influenced by the need for security. Lewis Mumford observes: “Five centuries of violence, paralysis, and uncertainty had created in the European heart a profound desire for security when every chance might prove a mischance, when every moment might be one’s last moment, the need for protection rose above every other concern, and to find a safe haven was about the most one asked from life.”—The Culture of Cities, p. 14. Because of this need for security in most cases, the cities in the West were castle-centric.

15. Calcutta’s real role as an administrative town began in 1773 when Warren Hastings became the Governor-General and Calcutta became the major seat of administration for the three British Presidencies in India.

16. On 9th March, 1792 the Girondists, who were the war party in France during the time of the French Revolution, formed a ministry, and on 20th April France declared war against Austria. This triggered war in Europe. In July, Prussia joined Austria by declaring war against France. Britain joined later. This war situation did not stop altogether through the revolution and continued even when Napoleon became the Emperor of France. In May 1804 he ‘adopted the rank of Emperor of the French’ and thereafter used the title ‘Napoleon’. In May 1803 Britain declared war on France and European wars continued intermittently till Napoleon’s defeat at the battle of Waterloo on 18 June, 2015.

17. Amales Tripathi in his Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency wrote that the highest influx of the east-moving Britons in Bengal took place in the year 1822-23.

18. “In 1733 some persons who were ‘lurking about the town’ of Calcutta were suspected to be spies and robbers. The zamindar was ordered to ‘turn them out of the town and if they returned again they were to be whipped out’. In 1734 the innkeepers of Calcutta were asked not to entertain any strangers in their taverns without giving timely notice to the Company. The innkeepers failing to comply with this order would themselves be ‘sent directly to Europe.’”—Sukumar Bhattacharya, The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal From 1704-1740, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1969, p. 172. Such vigilance was very frequent in Calcutta in the first half of the eighteenth century.

19. For detail see Sukumar Bhattacharya, op. cit., ch. II.


22. “By the Proclamation of 1794, the boundary of the town was fixed to be the inner side of the Mahratta Ditch.” A.K. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 110, also see Appendix I, pp. 116-119.

23. The vigilance of the Bengal Nawabs was maintained till the time of Sirajuddaullah. This vigilance broke down when there was sabotage from within. For the attitudes of the Bengal Nawabs toward the English and other foreign Companies see (i) Sukumar Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, Ch. II, (ii) K.K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, The World Press private Ltd., Calcutta, 1963 Ch.V, (iii) Brijen K. Gupta, *Sirajuddaullah and the East India Company, 1756-1757: Background to The Foundation of The British Empire in India*, Photomechanical Reprint, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1966, Ch. III.

24. “Between 1742 and 1753 the development of the town constituted chiefly in the rapid increase of native Indian houses, both cutcha and pucks—mostly cutcha, in the outlying parts of the European town within the Mahratta Ditch.” A.K. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 99, The Maratha ditch was thus the boundary of the town of Calcutta.


26. Once the Portuguese were driven out of Hughli the entire seaboard of the Bay remained exposed to the English navy operating from Madras. Their command over the seaboard helped the English to maintain their sway in Calcutta. The removal of the Portuguese also helped the country in another way. The slave trade was reduced. Kidnapping of human beings, particularly of women, by the Portuguese, Mags and Arakans had become a menace in the country. Once the fear of being kidnapped was removed a brake was lifted from the economy of the country. For about one hundred years the economy of Bengal enjoyed stability so far its man-power potential was concerned. In 1740s when the Maratha invasions began to take place the country’s economy once again suffered a jolt. There was a mass exodus from the western part of Bengal to its eastern part. The population of Calcutta increased because it was a safe sanctuary for suffering mankind.

27. For further details see Ranjit Sen, *New Elite and New Collaboration A Study of Social Transformation in Bengal in the Eighteenth century*, Papyrus, Calcutta, 1985, Ch. I , pp. 18-19 and Abdul Majed Khan, *The Transition in Bengal: 1756-1775 A Study of Sayid Muhammad Reza Khan*, Cambridge University Press, 1966, pp. 104-05. About the vacuum on the English side because of the death of English officers after the wars with Mir Qasim Majed Khan writes: “So many losses left too few men even to run the commercial offices properly, especially as those remaining were often junior and inexperienced, heavily dependent on their banians.” (p. 105)

28. “In his dual government Clive envisaged a model of broad Anglo-Mughal partnership under a shrinking canopy of Timurid sovereignty. With this sovereignty waning in a situation that saddled the English in supremacy, such partnership lost its raison d’etre. Hastings understood this and he invited the Indians in subsidiary collaboration with the English, thus, superseding the pattern of Indo-British alignment highlighted by Clive. Clive, the author of all British successes in the south was co-opted into partnership by the power elite of Bengal. After 1765 that elite had dwindled into insignificance. Now it was for the English to co-opt partners. Towards that end, Hastings estimated the worth of friendship with lower men and lesser beings with whom he had many years of intercourse.” Ranjit Sen, *New Elite and New Collaboration*, Papyrus, Calcutta, 1985, p. 17.
The last Peshwa Baji Rao II surrendered to Sir John Malcolm on June 3, 1818. He was defeated in two battles—at Koregaon on January 1, 1818 and at Ashti on 20 February, 1818. After his defeat, writes K.K.Datta 'The Peshwaship, which served as the symbol of national unity among the Marathas even in the worst days, was abolished; Baji Rao II was allowed to spend his last days at Bithur near Cawnpore on a pension of eight lacs a year; his dominions were placed under British control; and 'British influence and authority spread over the land with magical celerity.' " R.C. Majumdar et. al., An Advanced History of India, third edn., Macmillan, London. 1967, p. 702 Percival Spear writes: "It is incorrect to say that the Maratha confederacy was crushed (in 1818), because it had been in dissolution since 1802 and largely by its own act. What really happened in 1818 was the substitution of British authority in central India for no authority at all, and the expansion of paramountcy over the ancient Rajput states." Percival Spear ed, The Oxford History of India By The late Vincent A. Smith, Oxford At The Clarendon Press, (1958), reprinted 1961, p. 572.

A letter from the Court of Directors, Dated January 31, 1755, paragraph 54 says:

“It has appeared to us as very extraordinary that so exceeding populous a place as Calcutta is, and no doubt inhabited by great numbers of weavers, should be of so little immediate benefit to us; the merchants have employed those useful people, and have hither too run away with the advantage which we might with equal ease have obtained. But thanks to the conduct of those merchants which have drove you to expedients which might other ways have been thought of; you now find many sorts of goods are fabricated within our bounds, cheap and of good qualities, and may be had at the first hand as it is evidently for our interest therefore to encourage not only all the weavers now in our bounds, but likewise to draw as many others as possible from all countries to reside under our protection, we shall depend on your utmost efforts to accomplish the same; and shall hope the time is not far off wherein we shall find a great share of your investment made under your own eyes”—Mahadevprasad Saha ed., The Revd. J. Long, op. cit. No. 170, p. 79, under the title “Weavers to be encouraged to settle in Calcutta.”

The English officers in Calcutta developed the lifestyles of a Nabob. Their domestic households were packed with servants of various kinds together with their business assistants. All of them lived around their residential dwellings so that behind and around the splendid edifices on the Chowringhee and the riverside areas mud and thatched houses raised their heads. The Calcutta Committee proceedings of April 27, 1767 contained the following note:

“Mr. Russell, as Collector general, begs leave to represent to the Board that of late years the street by the river side to the northward of the Custom House has been greatly encroached upon by a number of golahs, little straw huts and boutiques that have been indiscriminately reared.

He would further propose that no golahs whatever should be suffered to remain to the southward of this spot, which will relieve the inhabitants from the apprehensions of fire, and of their houses being entirely undermined by rats.

The straw huts, everywhere dispersed throughout the white town, is (are) another grievance, and an innovation of very late, which he would also recommend to the consideration of the Board.”—Long, Selections, No. 945, p. 659.

Every European who was engaged in private trade had his own native business assistants and partners. They were called banians. It was a general practice that at the outset of their career
young English officers opened their trade with funds provided by rich Indian traders who had amassed money by trading with the European Companies. These Indians lent their money to the English officers and the latter in return provided them with protection, official support and political influence. Thus being under the umbrella of men of political authority these Indians acted as secretaries, accountants, market-surveyors, record-keepers, trustees and primary agents in all practical transactions of business of the Europeans in general and the English in particular. The three volumes of N.K. Sinha’s *Economic History of Bengal* are replete with references to *banians*. It was the money of the banians which financed whatever little industry Bengal had till the middle of the nineteenth century. For this reference may be made to Sabyasachi Bhattacharya’s article in *Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol II, ed. by Dharma Kumar, (pp 270-295). See Sinha, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 70, 75, 76, 78, 81, 82, 83, 124, 148, 178, 192, 220, 221, 225, 279. In Bengal, *banians* were not all from the *bania* class. Upper Class Hindu Bengalis, even Brahmins, acted as *banians*. N.K. Sinha defines the term *banian* as one derived ‘from bania or merchant, a term used to designate the Indian who manages the concerns of the Europeans.’ Sinha, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 233. See Somendra Chandra Nandy, *Life and Times of Kantoo Baboo, The Banian of Warren Hastings*, Allied Publishers, 1978.

33. Mud huts and thatched cottages required earth, wood and bamboos for their construction. Since such huts were increasing in the city because of infiltration of lowly men pulled from the peasant societies of the countryside to provide labour for civil constructions soil digging had become a routine phenomenon in the city and around in the eighteenth century.

34. The middle class in Bengal emerged from three elements. First, the *banians* and traders who amassed money in course of the eighteenth century settled themselves in the city of Calcutta and the neighbouring towns to provide the basis of a money elite. Secondly, the Permanent Settlement created a landlord class that had a tendency to reside in Calcutta so that a class of absentee landlords appropriating the wealth of the interior created the base of a new propertied elite in the society. The third element was an educated mankind produced by the Hindu College and the new education that was coming into shape in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. For the economic origin of the Bengali middle class see N.K. Sinha, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 222-229.

35. It is a paradox that in spite of concentration of capital in Calcutta throughout the course of the eighteenth century capital seemed to be in short in the city. This shortage of capital was manifested in public activities of the government, and not in private enterprises. Both the Court of Directors and the city administrators showed a spend-thrift and miserly mind-set in addressing themselves to any public work during the first one century of the British rule in Bengal. There was a real dearth of money in the interior. This was because the last dreg of social surplus was squeezed out from the cultivating people in the form of rent and from the zamindars in the form of revenue without any equivalent return. From 1765 the English East India Company ceased to import bullion from England as the entire territorial revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was at their disposal. The *sarrafs*, the country banking houses, which acted as credit institutions for rural Bengal, were relegated to the background and the house of the Jagat Seths, the biggest banking house of the country and bankers to the state, were made non-functionary. The result was that while in the city of Calcutta there were *banians*
and other trader-collaborators to ensure supply of fund there was no house in the interior to provide credit necessary for the economy to be going. All big zamindars siphoned their wealth to Calcutta and this growing metropolis did not benefit the country hinterland in any major way. In spite of this capital concentration in the city there was little fund to promote its urbanization as a public enterprise. A relief to this stringency came only when the lottery system was enunciated in the nineties of the eighteenth century.


37. This was the first major influx of population into the city and the first major event through which Calcutta proved itself to be a sanctuary for the people. This was also the first important situation in which people learnt how superior the British arms were to that of the Nawab. The latter had no money to build up the defence of the state. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes (op. cit. p. 461): “In his financial distress Alivardi put pressure upon the European Companies trading in Bengal. He complained that the English ‘carried on the trade of the whole world; they formerly used to have but four or five ships, but now brought 40 or 50 sails which belong not to the Company.’ He expected the rich merchants and refugees in Calcutta to assist him with a large contribution for meeting his army bill. The English at last settled his claim by paying 3½ lakhs of rupees, besides Rs. 43,500 for his courtiers. The French at Chandernagore paid Rs.45,000.” [Italics ours] About Calcutta’s rise as a sanctuary of distressed people, K.K. Datta writes: “...the ready offer of shelter by the English to some of the ravaged and runaway inhabitants of the plundered areas of Bengal within the bounds of the Company’s settlement in Calcutta, engendered in the minds of these people a feeling of sympathy for, and faith in, the English Company. The English were able to raise a volunteer army, and a certain amount of subscriptions, from the native, the Armenian, and the Portuguese inhabitants of Calcutta, to defend that city against threatened encroachments of the Marathas. This shows that the people reposed some amount of confidence in the support of the English.”—*Alivardi and His Times*, p. 94.

38. For the Krishnadas affair see Brijen Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.


41. The Mayor’s Court has been discussed at length in W.K. Firminger, *op. cit.*, Ch. V, titled ‘The Mayor’s Court’.

42. The *Sadar Diwani* and the *Sadar Nizamat Adalats* were superior courts. One was ‘a court of appeal in civil cases’. And the other was for ‘revising and confirming sentences’. See R.C. Majumdar et. al. *An Advanced History of India*, p. 788.
43. The transforming status of the Emperor vis-à-vis the Governor General has been discussed by Percival Spear in *A History of Delhi Under the Later Mughals*, Delhi, 1988, pp. 39-71.

44. The fall of Patna was indicated by the fall of population in the city in the nineteenth century. The fall has been recorded in the census report thus:

- Census of 1872 population of Patna was 1,58,900
- Census of 1881 population of Patna was 1,70,654
- Census of 1891 population of Patna was 1,65,192
- Census of 1901 population of Patna was 1,34,785

“The reasons for the decline in population are obvious. The frequent famines (1866-67, 1873-74) and epidemics coupled with inadequate relief measures and medical aid were responsible for the waning population. Further, no major economic opportunities emerged to attract new people.”— Surendra Gopal, *Patna in 19th Century a Socio-Cultural Profile*, Naya Prokash, Calcutta, 1982, p. 18. Patna began to slide into eclipse since the second half of the eighteenth century. It started when Mir Qasim with the help of Vansittart removed Clive’s protégé at Patna, Ramnarayan had possessed the resources and treasures of Bihar. Then he shifted his capital to Monghyr thus forcing Patna into a zone of shadow. He spent the resources of Bihar in his wars with the English. In 1759 Ali Gahar (later Emperor Shah Alam II) laid a siege to Patna. He hoped to strengthen his claims to Delhi by acquiring Bihar and Bengal. Ramnarayan successfully defended the city till such time as Clive could send his army. This event opened the eyes of the English who henceforth built up Patna and Bihar as buffers against the turmoil of the west. The fall of the major cities of eastern India indicated a process of de-urbanization. But de-urbanization affected the great cities like Dakha, Murshidabad, Burdwan, Patna etc. and not the smaller ones like Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Kharpai etc. See Dharma Kumar ed. *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. 2: c. 1757 c. 1970, Orient Longman, (1982), 1984, pp. 277-279.

45. For the development of Calcutta as a port see A.K. Ray, *op.cit.*, Ch. XIII.

46. Vide note 4. Of the sixteen *mahajanapadas* in the sixth century B.C. four kingdoms emerged powerful. They were Avanti, Vatsa, Kosala and Magadha. Out of these Magadha which embraced the districts of Patna and Gaya emerged triumphant.

47. The successor states of the Mughal Empire, those of Oudh, Bengal and Hyderabad and also the Sikh empire in the north-west and the kingdom of Mysore in the south had inherited much of the Mughal Empire in their own forms. But the real contest was between the English emerging both from the east and the south and the Marathas from the west. The French effort to curbe an empire from the south and those of the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali from the north-west seemed to be abortive. The Marathas and the Afghans exhausted themselves through their mutual fights as the French had collapsed because of their conflicts with the English unsupported either by their authorities at home or by any local support like immense control of revenue which the British had in Bengal. The Mughal Empire in providing the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English had selected its own successor within the frame of Mughal constitution. As the British Empire succeeded the Mughal Empire from being within the ranks of a talukdar (of the three villages of Sutanati, Govindapur and Kalikata in 1698) and the zamindar (of the Twenty-Four Parganas in 1757) one might say that the Mughal Empire
saved itself from being subverted by any non-Mughal power by force. The English could build their constitutional position from being absorbed in the administrative partnership of the Mughal elite.

51. *Proceedings of the Lottery Committee* (henceforth referred to as *PLC*), July 20, 1820.
52. The officers of the Lottery Committee individually and also collectively noted this development. Early planners’ concerns and speculations were manifested in their observations. Here are some example:

“I have already stated that the value of ground in Calcutta generally rises in proportion to its contiguity to a great thoroughfare and that upon this circumstance rested the possibility of effecting the improvement I proposed.” *PLC*, February 3, 1820.

“Adverting to the increasing European population of this Town we cannot doubt but the greatest part would be purchased in its improved state for the erection of Dwelling Houses at rates which would more than repay previous expenditure” *PLC*, May 4, 1820. See also letter to John Trotter, Esq., Secretary to the Lottery Committee, April 20, 1820.

53. Bordering on the ancient trade route of Chitpur, a pilgrim thoroughfare leading first to the then Sarvamangala Devi temple and then far beyond it to Halishahar, the entire territory between modern Shyambazar and Bagbazar seemed to be very strategic. On the one hand it connected the old Nawabi military station at Dum Dum (subsidiary to the *faujdari* of Jessore) and the ancient trade route to *Kapasia* (region around Dhaka where *Karpas* or cotton was grown) and on the other it provided passage to the newly developed British military stronghold at Barrackpore. Therefore, improving links between this part of the city with the white town where the fort was situated was to the interest of the British rulers in Calcutta.

54. “Lottery Committee O Byadhi O Taar Protikaar” (Lottery Committee and Disease and its Remedy), *Jnanannesan*, October 21, 1837 reprinted in Suresh Chandra Moitra ed. *Selections from Jnanannesan*, Prajna, 1979, Calcutta, p. 59 (Bengali section)
Dispensaries of Unani Medicine in Bengal (1839–1939)

Jahan Ali Purkait*

Introduction

The paper aims at examining the multidimensional role and activities along with medical service played by the dispensaries of Unani medicine in the health and sanitary system of Bengal. It seeks to understand the real objectives of the British behind the acceptance and utilization of Unani practitioners and practice in the different types of dispensaries. The Government policies towards Unani practice in dispensaries and their impacts on the society also come under purview.

‘Dispensary’ means physician’s chamber where patients are treated, medicines are prepared and dispensed to them. The prevalence of the term, in fact, was the product of the British imperialism in India and the object of the British behind the establishment of dispensaries was, thus, undoubtedly imperialist. The records of the General Committee of the Public Instruction obviously express this object:

The Governor General conceives the first object in point of importance to be the efficient supply of Native Doctors to the native regiments ...through their agency of larging an efficient foundation for extending the knowledge and the use of imported medical practice among the native population of the country. In these objects, the establishment in a number of the principal cities of Dispensaries under the immediate superintendence of the local civil medical officer ...to the performance of the vaccine operation and are to be otherwise useful in dressing, in the compounding of medicine and of the such services.¹

Seema Alavi has also found out the imperialist rather than humanist medical object of the British behind the establishment of the dispensaries in India.² David Arnold, Mark Harrison, Hochmuth and Projit Bihari Mukherji have drawn attention to the dispensaries of Bengal. In the studies of the three formers, the discussion on dispensaries, though, came scanty, but Mukharji has presented an outstanding paper on ‘The Nineteenth Century Dispensaries in Bengal’ in which plurality, ethnicity, classism and casteism in the medical culture of the dispensaries have nicely been revealed.³ But, he did not spread his attention to the significant role and activities played by the Unani medicine of dispensaries in the health and sanitary system of the province.

* Teaches History in Aliah University, Kolkata
  E-mail : jahanalipurkait@gmail.com
While Arnold presented the hoaxing of the physicians of the dispensaries, Hochmuth focused their significant role afforded to the ‘indigenous practitioners’. Mukherji comments:

The colonial medical bureaucracy was a multi-layered and hierarchic institution in which dispensary system occupied a unique position.

Sir Henry Burdett comments:

The Dispensary System of India forms the most striking features in its medical history. The Dispensaries not only supplement the hospitals, in many instances, but they are also separate establishments with distinct administrations and possess the attributes of hospitals on a small scale.

Dispensaries and their Activities

According to the amendment of the Dispensary rule in 1880, from the point of view of fund, the dispensaries were divided into two classes—those having an annual income of Rs. 1000/- and over from endowments and those having under Rs. 1000/- annual from similar sources. According to importance and service, the dispensaries were classified into four as I, II, III and IV. The class I dispensaries were independent of financial aid from the Government in any form maintained by endowment, subscription, donation & fees. The class II used to receive money aid from the government in any form whether as salary or otherwise. The class III was entirely supported by the Government. The remaining class was maintained something by Government and something by public fund. The dispensaries were maintained and managed by the District Board, Union Board, Municipality, and Local Bodies under the Government rule and regulation. The change of status of a dispensary, its modification and sanction of aid etc. depended on the consideration of the Government. All the annual income and expenditure of the dispensaries must properly be furnished and sent to the Government monthly. Dispensaries were inspected and supervised by the Civil Surgeons. As per necessities and situation, there emerged out different types of dispensaries such as, Branch Dispensary, Epidemic Dispensary, Cholera Dispensary, Fever Dispensary, River Dispensary, Temporary Dispensaries at fairs, markets and religious festivals etc. Later, in the 1920s, there appeared Thana and Village Dispensaries located at every Village and Thana.

The first dispensary for public was started in 1794 at the building of the Nawab of Hooghly at Chitpore Road, Calcutta. Gradually with the growing needs and demands of the people, the number of dispensaries increased. They stood 142 in 1868, 562 in 1905, 638 in 1913, 760 in 1918, 1342 in 1938, and so on in the subsequent period. In the year 1925-1926, there were 2000 Thana Dispensaries and 2000 Village Dispensaries in Bengal.

The dispensaries maintained the two sections; European and Indigenous. In the European section, the patients willing to be treated by the doctors of European medicine as well as drugs were served, similarly, whereas the adherents of indigenous medicine were
treated by hakims and vaids with prospective medicine. For example, in the Kidderpore Dispensary, most of the patients used to demand Unani medicine and they were treated so. In 1876, the Government for purchasing both the Unani and European medicines expensed Rs. 200. One indigenous physician as Native Doctor used to treat the patients, votaries of both the European and indigenous medicine. There was also Female Ward at this dispensary where the service to child-birth was afforded to the patients. Noteworthy, not only at the dispensaries of Bengal, the hospitals also maintained two sections; Native and European for the same purposes. For example, the Howrah General Hospital and Campbell Hospital can be mentioned. In 1873, it was recorded that from Rs. 1293 to Rs. 2165 were increased in purchasing the indigenous medicine in the hospital. It illuminates the application, acceptance and popularity of Unani medicine in that time even in the hospitals of European medical treatment.

In almost all the dispensaries in Bengal, the indigenous medical practitioners were employed, because, by this single step, multitude purposes of the colonial government were served. Firstly, imperial medicine could be disseminated among the native people through the hands of their native physicians. Thus, the objective of the British to indigenize the foreign medicine could be served. Secondly, they could save money by appointing them at lower salary than the physicians of European medicine. Thirdly, they, in this way, attempted to conceal their failure of producing adequate numbers of physician of European medicine to reach medical relief to the rural masses of Bengal. Due to this, the Government could not produce the qualified medical practitioners more than 12000 till the year 1938.

Most of the time, the native doctors acted as Assistants to the chief medical officer of the dispensary. They registered the names of the patients, took care of their wounds, dressed them and dispensed medicine. Thus, dispensary acted as field of cooperation between the European and Indigenous medical practitioners. Even, sometimes, in diagnosing disease and prescribing medicine for the patients, interaction and consultation between them were made collaboratively for the interests of the patients. Dormant tension also prevailed between the native hakims and allopathic doctors in their professional field. Occasionally, the practitioners of European medicine prescribed the local remedies, doses of medicine, duration and process of its application along with necessary alerts, which they used to learn from their fellow native physicians. Here, Hakims or vaids became the teachers of the European doctors. On the other hand, dispensary acted as teaching or training centre where the apprentices, compounders and even native physicians were taught the European system of medicine by the Assistant or Sub-Assistant Surgeon of the dispensary. There were surgical wards in the dispensaries and minor operations were performed by the ‘Assistant’ or ‘Sub-Assistant’ Surgeon in presence of the apprentices, compounders, native doctors to get them trained in this field.

The British Government was compelled to recruit the hakims (and vaids as well) at the
dispensaries because of their reputation and proficiency in medicine and also because the native people reposed great faith and reliance on their native healers. A. Fleming, the Civil Surgeon of Murshidabad confessed this fact unhesitatively in his letter to G. Saunders, Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, Presidency Division (19th October 1868, Berhampore):

I confess I do not think sending another Native Doctor to Jungipore.... It is always feverish place... rules of sanitation are utterly neglected and the great majority of the Native are so prejudiced in favour of their own Native Kavirajes (common word denoting both hakims and vaids) and their mode of treatment, that I doubt it they would generally avail themselves of the services of a second Native Doctor if he was sent there.

In fact, the British Government had hardly alternatives but to recruit the indigenous practitioners at the dispensaries and the native physicians did not mistake to utilize this opportunity in favour of them.23

Fleming’s letter also reveals the existence of caste and community differentiations at the dispensary, which Projit Bihari Mukharji has also shown in his study. At the time of epidemic fever, in the district of Burdwan, according to the demands of the local people who were mostly from the Hindu Community, the Muslim Native Doctor had to be replaced by a Hindu one.24 Another example of cultural differentiation in the dispensary, ambience was that there were many dispensaries in which two separate kitchens were made—one for preparing the medicines for the patients from the Muslim Community and another for that of the Hindu Community.25

Class-factor was also active in the dispensary culture of Bengal. By all means, most of the common people of Bengal were poor and they used to seek medical help from the dispensaries. The rich patients were generally reluctant to stand with the common mass at the queues and to register their names. Seema Alavi also mentioned the views of Ross and Playfair in favour of the class-issue in the dispensary culture, which also focused a class-based profile of patients in the Northern part of India attending the dispensaries. They found out, the patients were generally poor and from the low class.26 The letter from H.L. Harrison, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary, Government of India, Home Department, February 19, 1968 mentioned that the rich people invited, sometimes at their own means, the physicians of the dispensaries to their homes and got medical service by paying their visiting fees. They were unwilling to fuse themselves with the patients of ordinary status.27 Another example, in favour of existence of class-based profile at the dispensaries was proved from the letter sent by Meer Akbar Ali, the native doctor in medical charge of the Serajgung Charitable Dispensary to the Superintending Surgeon, Dacca Circle (14th June, 1860), which authenticates the payable medical service to the rich at the dispensaries of lower Bengal.28

Ethnicity was also one of the features of the dispensary culture in Bengal. Linguistic
and racial domination on the knowledge system is a universal truth. The British Government preferred those in getting admitted as apprentices of European medicine or as compounders or Native Doctors, who had enough knowledge of English. When the Hindustani language in the Devnagaree and Persian character in the Medical College were adopted as mediums of instruction, the applicants with a prior knowledge of these languages were accorded privileges in respect of their admission. In the field of Unani medicine, this ethnicity factor also acutely active. In fact, the Persian, Arabic and Urdu-knowing people had been dominating this medical system. As most of the dispensaries were controlled and maintained by the local people, importance was given on their views in the field of the affairs and activities of the dispensaries. They could have demanded for the dispensary, staffs or physicians of their own faith and language so that they could easily interact with them. The local people around the dispensary of the Domjoor Division, for example, demanded for a native doctor of Bengali language from the Muslim Community and the government fulfilled their demand. Thus, ethnicity configures as an important factor in the dispensary culture of Bengal. The importance and influence of the native doctors in the dispensary system was noteworthy. A large number of dispensaries were actually managed by them. They used to attend the dispensaries and training schools ever since 1865 for the purpose of affording all medical aids required. They also performed, in absence of Sub-Assistant Surgeon, all duties such as working as medical officer of the dispensaries and training the medical students.

In the dispensaries, Unani mode of treatment and drugs were facilitated to the patients at the indigenous section of it. Behind the introduction and application of Unani (indigenous) medicine in the dispensaries, the following issues were likely to be responsible,

a) comparatively higher cost of the European medicine,

b) faith depended native people were unwilling to accept the foreign medical system leaving of their own so fast,

c) The British were keenly interested in recognizing the local medicinal plants and formularies of medicine with the help of the Native medical practitioners who had to inform the chief officers of the dispensaries and the Government as well of the local drugs.

d) To increase the colonial interest, the Government intended to produce medicines at the cheapest cost from the local medicinal wealth for the local consumers.

e) Last but not the least, the government failed to supply adequate quantity of European medicines to different dispensaries of Bengal.

R. Simson, the Secretary to the Government of the Western Provinces himself acknowledged this failure of the Government of India (Nov. 1, 1867). It also reflected in the letter of A. Fleming, the Civil Surgeon of Murshidabad which confessing thus:
Quinine is the only one of our medicines. Natives have any confidence in for fever, and it is utterly impossible that Government can supply this drug in a quantity anything like commensurate with the demands, I really do not see that much can be done.\textsuperscript{33} So, this was the situation which compelled the British to compromise with the Unani medicine and medical practitioners.

The British Government had already realized the importance and utility of the indigenous drugs in the medical service of Bengal, so it instructed the Charitable Dispensaries to depend in a great measure on the use of native medicines. This freedom to carry on the use of the indigenous medicines increased and enriched the Unani (native) medical practice at the dispensaries of Bengal.\textsuperscript{34} The expertise of the native physicians repeatedly acknowledged by the British officials. Green wrote to W. Thompson, Deputy Inspector General of Hospital, Dacca Circle as follows:

I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the zeal and ability of Meer Akbar Ali, the Native Doctor in charge of Tippera Charitable Dispensary.\textsuperscript{35} The \textit{Dacca Darpan} also praised.

Thus, the dispensaries of Bengal emerged out as the field of multi-moded medical culture in the presence and practice of the Allopathic, Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine at the same time and place. Dispensaries of Bengal also acted as a translatory house where the process of Europeanization of the indigenous medicine was carried on. The native doctors had to translate the vernacular medical texts into English, the English terms of the native drugs, the detailed reports of the dispensaries and its activities in English and to send them to the government. In this way, the medical wealth as well as knowledge of the country was drained out and handed over secretly and silently. So, by appointing the native medical men at the dispensaries, the British provided the natives the freedom to be treated by their own medical traditions, but exploited in turn huge knowledge of the indigenous medical traditions prevailing in the sub-continent.\textsuperscript{37}

The dispensaries of Bengal produced composite culture. The patients from different religious communities such as, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Parsees, Jainees, and Buddhists more or less used to seek medical services from the dispensaries. The reports of the Ayurvedic Committee also established this point that ninety per cent of the population of the province had to seek relief from the indigenous systems of medicine (Unani & Ayurveda). This percentage included the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jews, Parsees etc. communities, though, ten per cent of them used to visit the dispensaries of the practitioners of the European medicine.\textsuperscript{38} The efficacy of Unani as well as indigenous medicine and the efficiency of its practitioners attracted the patients irrespective of caste, colour, creed and culture. They thronged the dispensaries, for the relief of the same sickness with the same medicine and
treatment by the same physician. Socio-cultural interaction and exchange of views within them, that is how, were happened. Thus, the dispensaries undoubtedly become the patron of the composite culture.

**Different Types of Unani Dispensary**

The year 1919 was a milestone in the history of dispensary in Bengal. In this year with the passage the Local Self-Government Act, the Health and Sanitary Department was placed under the management of the provincial governments of the country. Naturally, the provincial government of Bengal took innovative initiatives to meet the demands of the people in the field of health and sanitary systems. The rules of establishing new dispensaries were simplified to some extent by the Government notification No. 1504, dated 30th May 1921. Non-allopathic dispensaries, since then, could be established merely with the consent of the District Board, which could also consider about their grants-in-aid. Subsequently, the Bengal Municipal Act under section 31 empowered the local people to recruit the medical officers at their dispensaries (Non-Government aided), according to their own capacity, necessity and choice. The qualification or registration of the medical officers did not matter. As a result, a sizeable number of Non-allopathic i.e. Unani (Ayurvedic too) dispensaries funded by the local people were set up on the basis of the local requirements.

There were Unani dispensaries such as, the Hasan (Unani) Dispensary in Birbhum, Prince Golam Muhammad Charitable Dispensary of Tullygung in Calcutta which was directed by Hakim Habibullah, Faridpur Unani Dispensary, Tibbi Charitable Dispensary of Saidpur in Dinajpur, Hazi Pore Umeda Khutun Dispensary in Jessore, Mollah Ibrahim Charitable (Unani) Dispensary at Ghosh Pukur in Hooghly, Nesarja Unani Dawakhana in Hooghly, Ukhia Charitable Unani Dispensary in Chittagong, Unani Dispensary of Narkeldanga Main Road, in Calcutta, Basirhat and Barasat Unani Dispensaries, Sir Meer Muhammad Ali Dispensary of Noakhali, Jessore Unani Dispensary, Imam Bara Unani Dispensary of Hooghly to name a few.

Special mention must be made of the two Government dispensaries, i.e. Chitta Ranjan Free Unani Dispensary in Calcutta (1927) and another in Noakhali in the name of Chawmuhani Government Dispensary (1932). Both of them were very famous for their widespread medical services among the common people during their times. Hakim Taj-ul-Islam, the medical officer of the Chawmuhani dispensary, Hakim Nurul Hassan of Chitta Ranjan Dispensary were qualified medical practitioners and famed with their proficient medical practice in and outside of the dispensary. It was known from the letter of F.J. Drury, Inspector General of Civil Hospital, Bengal written to the Governor of Bengal (March 19, 1910) that the Committee of the Prince Golam Muhammad Dispensary at Rassa, Tallygung had proposed to appoint a local hakim as they were unable to pay Rs. 213 per mensum for an Assistant Surgeon at the dispensary. The local hakim had to be paid
Rs. 50/- per mensum. Similarly, most of the dispensary committees which had to secure their own funds recruited local medical practitioners of their own medical systems.  

The dispensaries which facilitated the patients both the indigenous and European medicine produced professional jealousy, rivalry and tension between the practitioners of indigenous and European medicine. Both of them tried their best to prove their medical skill and proficiency as well as the efficacy of their medicine. For instance, in the Kidderpore Dispensary, there was more demand of the Unani medical practitioners and medicine than that of the European. The hakims achieved acceptance, prestige and popularity more than the European Doctors of the dispensary because of their medical proficiency and efficacy of Unani medicine.

Dispensary Policy of the Government

By the Section 252 of the Bengal Municipal Act (1884) and Section 368 of the Calcutta Municipal Consolidation Act (1888), the Government declared some provisions relating to the dispensaries, compounders serving them and drugs compounded and dispensed by them. Both the acts put emphasis on the competency of the compounders and claimed their qualification mandatory. The rule No. 9 of the education and examination of compounders (1895) proclaimed:

Any person now has for seven years... acted as compounder in any shop or place of kind... shall on producing a satisfactory certificate to that effect be exempted from producing any certificate either of training or of age and previous education.

In spite of this declaration, the government did not include the Unani hakims, in general, (except a few) in this category, who had a lot of experience for long period in compounding medicine on the pretext of having unsatisfactory certificate.

In the CMC Act of 1888, 'drug' was defined to be all medicines for internal and external use. But, the government did not include the Unani medicine in it. The section 368 of the act clearly mentioned,

Nothing in this section contained shall be construed to apply to sale of drug used by the practitioners of indigenous medicines, when such drugs are not sold in a shop or place where medicines are dispensed upon prescriptions.

By this statement of the section, it has been revealed that the act was made to be applicable only for the Allopathic medicine, though the Unani and Ayurvedic dispensaries were directly involved with compounding, dispensing and selling the drugs. It might also be true that the British Government did not regard the indigenous drug as ‘drug’. The section of the act also declared:

No shop or place shall be kept for the retail sale of drugs not being also articles or ordinary domestic consumption, unless the same shall have been registered in the office of the commissioner and directed that no person shall compound, mix, prepare, dispense or sell...
any drug in any such registered shop or place, unless he be duly certified as a fit person to
be entrusted with such duties under rules made for that purpose by the local government.

In fact, the act deliberately excluded the indigenous medical traditions, so as to consolidate
the base of the Allopathic medicine in India by protecting and empowering it through laws
and legislations and by denying legitimacy of the indigenous medical traditions.

Apart from these, there may be some more arguments made against the acts. Firstly,
in India, most of the European drugs were available as indigenous products. Thus, there was
no reason to make distinction between the European and indigenous drugs. Secondly, there
were many Allopathic dispensaries such as, in Chandney and Burro Bazaar where
prescriptions were not dispensed, but European medicines were sold singly. Therefore, they
should not come under the operation of this rule. Thirdly, the patent medicines which were
compounded were either made in India or were imported from foreign countries. Though,
they were prepared in accordance with certain secret prescriptions, yet they should not have
been included under the rule. Fourthly, Homeopathic medicines were sold singly with
prescriptions. They were not dispensed in compounded form. Thus, they also avoided the
rule. Fifthly, the Unani (and Ayurvedic also) medicines were compounded as per prescription
and they were generally indigenous drugs. But they did not come under the rule. Nobody
could say that Unani hakim did not dispense medicines without prescriptions. The Unani
practitioners used to compound, mix and prepare medicines according to their own recipes.
Though, they did not rely on prescriptions made by others than themselves, still they used
to prepare medicines suggested and applied by all other practitioners of their kind. On the
one hand, the act exempted the drugs used by the practitioners of indigenous medicines,
on the other hand, the British pharmacopoeia again not only included the indigenous drugs
in it, but almost all the medicines recommended by it were indigenous. These acts
prevented the Unani hakims from sitting in the compounder examination and also deprived
them from having the permanent job at the government dispensaries in Bengal. This partial
and paradoxical policy of the British Indian government towards the Unani (as well as
Ayurvedic) medicine prepared the ground for the movement against the Allopathic system
supported by the British.

Conclusion

The introduction of the dispensary system in India around 1839 by the British served both
purposes— to establish the British suzerainty over the Indian society and to spread and
consolidate British imperialism. In fact, researches have already proved that the British
dispensaries acted as the agencies to popularize and disseminate the British medical system
in the indigenous society. By passing legislations, the dispensaries were empowered
repeatedly, by which their legitimatization was secured, on one side, while they could pose
a threat and challenge as well to the dispensaries of indigenous medicine like Dawakhanas
or Shifakhanas (of Unani Hakims) and Ausodhalaya (of Ayurvedic Vaidys), on the other.
It was neither the responsibility of the Raj nor the duty to the Indian subjects; it was the imperialist interest of the British which was foremost behind the establishment of dispensaries and their activities.

The lack of adequate number of allopathic physicians, the object of appropriating the knowledge of indigenous plants and their properties and of saving high expenses of purchasing European medicine by utilizing the indigenous drugs prompted the British Government to recruit the Unani hakims in the dispensaries of Bengal.\textsuperscript{63} They worked there as mere subaltern staffs under the British medical officers and, thus, they felt themselves inferiors and neglected in respects of both honour and honourarium\textsuperscript{64}. Their proficiency in medicine, their popularity and the faith and reliance, the hakims acquired from the common people were utilized by the British Government in favour of intrusion of Allopathic medicine into the Indian body. In the dispensaries, the hakims were not only trained in the European medicine, but their minds were also influenced; so that they could convert the thought process of the Indians towards the acceptance of European medical system\textsuperscript{65}. The dispensary culture of the British Government encouraged casteism and classism and harmed the balance of the Indian Society\textsuperscript{66}. The British policy also brought discrimination among the donors of the dispensaries, according to the amount of their contributions and, thus, created distinction and difference among them\textsuperscript{67} and explicitly serve, thus, as the part of the British imperial hierarchy.

Notes and References

1. General Committee of the Public Instruction, Correspondence and Proceedings, Books of Circular, 1826-41, No. 25, p. 41.


4. \textit{Ibid.}

5. \textit{Ibid.}


8. Water lands have acquired a large area of Bengal, particularly in the Eastern districts. Innumerable Rivers and Canals flew through the populated areas. So, to reach medical service to the people inhabited in these areas, Floating Dispensaries were set up in the River-Canal influenced areas of Bengal. But later the scheme was stopped. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, Financial Department, Medical Branch, December, Nos. 45-46, 1925, p. 17.
12. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Financial Department, Medical Branch, September 1914, p. 73.
13. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, Financial Department, Medical Branch, August, 1919, p. 71.
17. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Municipal Department, Calcutta, June, Nos. 94-95, 1876, p. 19.
19. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, General Department, Medical Branch, February, 1878, pp. 2-5.
21. GCPI, *op. cit.*
25. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, General Department, Medical Branch, February, No. 53, 1878, p. 54.; see also proceedings of the Government of India, Home (Public) Department, Nos. 78-91, March-12, 1870, p. 2.
29. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Medical Department, Fort Williams, April, No. 1, 1867, p. 1.
30. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Medical Department, Fort William, October, No. 17, 1868, p. 11.

32. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Medical Department, Fort William, March, No. 8, 1869, p. 5.


34. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, General Department, Medical Branch, December, No. 56, 1864, p. 47.


39. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, Medical Branch, November, No. 1, 1933, p. 3.

40. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, November, Nos. 234-235, 1933, p. 28

41. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, Medical Branch, February 20, Nos. 82-83, 1925, p. 17.

42. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, Medical Branch, Nos. 365-67, 1930.

43. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, Medical Branch, February, Nos. 321-323, 1939.

44. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, Medical Branch, February, Nos. 327-328, 1939.

45. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, Medical Branch, March, Nos. 317-320, 1940.

46. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, Medical Branch, April, Nos. 362-369, 1942.

47. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, LSG Department, Medical Branch, June, Nos. 184-86, 1941.

48. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, Public Health and Local Self-Government Department, Medical Branch, April, Nos. 285-286, 1944.


53. Ibid., LSG Department, Medical Branch (Quarterly) January to March, Jan 21, Nos. 373-374, 1924, p. 23.


56. Ibid.

57. Proceedings (B) of the Government of Bengal, Municipal Department, Medical Branch, April, Nos. 97-99, 1910.

58. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Municipal Department, Calcutta, June, Nos. 94-95, 1876, p. 17.


60. Ibid., No. 46, pp. 152-153.

61. Ibid.


63. General Committee of Public Instruction, Correspondence and Proceedings, 1826-47, No. 25, p. 41.


Silver Coins of Bengal Sultanate: An Archaeometallurgical Analysis

Mohammad Abu Al Hasan*
ASW Kurny#

Introduction

In recent years, Archaeologists, Historians and Numismatists have gathered much information about the medieval period of Bengal through historical documents, stone/metal inscriptions and coins. Coins are the most important and most authentic artifacts to line up the disorderliness of chronology of the Bengal sultans. As there is a lack of contemporary written documents of the sultani period in Bengal, coins are the only elements to identify the monetary history, currency circulation pattern and economy. Till now most of the researchers have tried only to rebuild and diminish the confusions in the history of Bengal sultans. Some researchers have also come forward to study the metallurgical aspects of the currency system of the Bengal sultans. The minting technology, purification process of metals, mixing of different other elements with the metals for making the strength etc. can be discovered from Archaeo-metallurgical analysis of a coin.1 As a pioneer, Monwar Jahan of Bangladesh National Museum attempted to determine the metallic composition of thirteen silver coins including eleven coins of Bengal sultans.2 Later, Pranab Chattapaddhay elaborated Jahan’s work and tried to find the sources of trade route of silver as a core element of striking coins3 Jahan’s work is important as a first step, but the sum of the percentages do not add up to 100%, he also didn’t mention whether there were more elements4 Recently, John Deyell has reported analysis of 33 silver coins of independent Bengal sultans but his results show only the percentages of silver, not of any other elements.5

The present authors made an attempt to explore, through non-destructive testing methods, the composition of sultani coins to see if the non-destructive techniques could be used to investigate the composition of a large number of sultani silver coins effectively and precisely. One coin of Ghiyath Al-din Mahmud Shah of AH 933 issued from ‘Da’ mint was analyzed by both X-ray diffraction and EDS.6 In continuation of that study, the analyses of four silver coins of four different mints have been analyzed by X-ray diffraction analysis and EDS.

---

* M Phil Researcher, Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University,
E-mail: hasan1182001@yahoo.com
# Professor, Department of Materials & Metallurgical Engineering, Bangladesh University of Engineering & Technology (BUET)
Descriptions and Experimental results of the Coins

Sample 01

Sultan: Fakhr Al-Din Mubarak Shah, Date: 738AH, Mint: Hadrat Jalal Sunargawn.
Diameter: 24.687mm, Thickness: 02.80mm, Weight: 10.7g

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate 01</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obverse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fakhr Al-Din Mubarak Shah was the first sultan of Bengal who declared independence from Sunargawn against Delhi Sultanate and ruled over the eastern part of Bengal for over a decade. Although, Karim mentioned the starting date of Fakhr Al-Din Mubarak Shah as AH7397, but both gold and silver coins bearing his name and minted in AH 734/1334 ACE8 have been found. However, no coin minted in between AH 735-736 has been found. All the coins of this sultan were issued from mint Sunargawn.9 He always used epithet ‘Hadrat Jalal’ (Honourable City) before the mint name in his coins.10 A coin dated AH 738/1337ACE (Plate 01) has been taken as a sample to understand the metal composition of the early independent sultan of Bengal at the initial stage of his rule.

X-ray Diffraction Pattern of Sample 01 (Plate 2)
The XRD pattern (Plate 02) shows approximately 74% silver, with an upper layer of Silver Chlorargyrite (AgCl). No other element has been detected.

The EDS data of the sample 01

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Ag</th>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>Al</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Cu</th>
<th>Na</th>
<th>Au</th>
<th>Si</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>Pb</th>
<th>Ge</th>
<th>Ru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>86.70</td>
<td>03.32</td>
<td>02.11</td>
<td>02.62</td>
<td>01.44</td>
<td>01.09</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only three digits after decimal have been counted. The sum may not be 100%.

Sample 02

Sultan: Shams Al Din Ilyas Shah, Date: 754AH, Mint: Satgawn.
Diameter: 26.095 mm, Thickness: 02.415 mm, Weight: 10.5g

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate 03</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shams Al Din Ilyas Shah was the first independent sultans of Bengal who conquered all most all parts of Bengal and ruled over it. As recognition, he was titled as ‘Shah-e-Bangala’ or ‘Shah-e-Bangalian’ (Sultan of Bengal). He issued coins from Firuzabad in AH 744\(^{11}\) and then he issued coins from Satgawn in AH 747.\(^{12}\) A coin of Satgawn with the date AH 754 (Plate 3) has been taken as a sample because Satgawn was the most south-western mint of Shams Al Din Ilyas Shah and that will allow knowing the metallic pattern of the coins of distant part of Bengal sultans.
XRD of Sample 02 (Plate 4)

The XRD data (Plate 4) showing the peak of silver 88.10% approximately, with an upper layer of Silver Chlorargyrite (AgCl). No other element has been detected.

The EDS Data of the Sample 02

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Ag</th>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>Al</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Cu</th>
<th>Na</th>
<th>Au</th>
<th>Si</th>
<th>Zn</th>
<th>Pb</th>
<th>Ge</th>
<th>Ru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>88.06</td>
<td>01.46</td>
<td>02.48</td>
<td>02.48</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>01.36</td>
<td>01.18</td>
<td>01.95</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>0.035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Only three digits after decimal have been counted. The sum may not be 100%.

Sample 03

Sultan: Nasir Al Din Mahmud Shah, Date: 84(?) AH, Mint: Arsah Chatgawn.
Diameter: 30.28mm, Thickness: 02.074mm, Weight: 10.4g

Plate 05

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Obverse Legend Image" /></td>
<td>Nasir Al-dunya wa'l din Abu’l Mujahid Mahmud Shah Al-sultan</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Reverse Legend Image" /></td>
<td>Al-mu’ayyad bi-ta’yid Al-rahman Khalifat Allah bi’l hujjat wa’l burhan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nasir al Din Mahmud Shah ruled over Bengal independently for the longest period of time (AH 837-864). An inscription of Gaur indicates that he transferred capital from Firuzabad to Gaur. He issued coins from Khazanah, Dar-ul-Darb, Firuzabad, Satgawn, Nasirabad, Dakhil Banjalia, Khalifatabad, Muazzamabad, Muhammadabad, Sabtahara and Dakhil ba-takhtgah. He also issued coins from Chatgawn, the most south-eastern mint of Bengal. As the mint's location is completely opposite to the previous sample and nearly hundred years of difference, we have chosen a coin of 74(?) from Chatgawn mint.

**XRD of Sample 03 (Plate 6)**

The XRD data (Plate 6) showing the peak of silver 87.3% approximately, with an upper layer of Silver Chlorargyrite (AgCl). No other element has been detected.

**The EDS Data of the Sample 03**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Ag</th>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>Al</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Cu</th>
<th>Na</th>
<th>Au</th>
<th>Si</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>Pb</th>
<th>Fe</th>
<th>Bi</th>
<th>Ge</th>
<th>Ru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>91.24</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.042</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Only three digits after decimal have been counted. The sum may not be 100%.*
Sample 04
Sultan: Nasir Al Din Mahmud Shah, Date: 846AH, Mint: Khalifatabad
Diameter: 23.985mm, Thickness: 02.957mm, Weight: 10.5g

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate 07</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nasir Al-dunya wa’l din Abu’l Muzaffar Mahmud Shah Al-sultan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Al-Mu’ayyad bi-ta’iyd Al-rahman Khalifat Allah bi’l hujjat wa’l burhan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Khalifatabad appeared as a mint on coins during the region of Sultan Nasir Al Din Mahmud Shah. Till now the frist date found from mint Khalifatabad is AH 846. This mint town has been identified with the ruins of Khan Jahan in Bagerhat District. Khalifatabad was the most remote mint town surrounded by Sundarbans, that’s why it has been taken as a sample (Plate 7) to identify the metal composition of this mint during the middle period of the independent sultanate of Bengal.

XRD of Sample 04 (Plate 8)

The XRD data (Plate 8) showing the peak of silver 89.3% approximately, with an upper layer of Silver Chlorargyrite (AgCl). No other element has been detected.
The EDS Data of the Sample 04

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Ag</th>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>Al</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Cu</th>
<th>Na</th>
<th>Au</th>
<th>Si</th>
<th>Pb</th>
<th>Ge</th>
<th>Ru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>87.63</td>
<td>01.14</td>
<td>02.94</td>
<td>02.55</td>
<td>02.03</td>
<td>01.04</td>
<td>01.05</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.056</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Only three digits after decimal have been counted. The sum may not be 100%.

Comparative Metal content of the Five Coins

A comparative compositional analysis of elements of four silver coins of the Bengal sultans of three different rulers from four different mints from eastern to the western part of Bengal along with previously analyzed coin of Ghiyath Al-din Mahmud Shah of AH 933 from ‘Da’ mint (Hasan et al. 2015) is given below:

Chart: A (Shown Data in the continuation of time for both Eastern and Western Mint)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements</th>
<th>Sample 01 Sunargawn AH 738</th>
<th>Sample 02 Satgawn AH 754</th>
<th>Sample 03 Chatgawn AH 84(?)</th>
<th>Sample 04 Khalifatabad AH846</th>
<th>Ghiyath Al-din Mahmud Da (B’dr Shahi type) AH 933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentums (Ag)</td>
<td>86.70</td>
<td>88.06</td>
<td>91.24</td>
<td>87.63</td>
<td>94.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chlorine (Cl)</td>
<td>03.32</td>
<td>01.46</td>
<td>01.32</td>
<td>01.41</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aluminum (Al)</td>
<td>02.11</td>
<td>02.48</td>
<td>00.52</td>
<td>02.94</td>
<td>03.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stannum (Sn)</td>
<td>02.62</td>
<td>02.48</td>
<td>02.66</td>
<td>02.55</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper (Cu)</td>
<td>01.44</td>
<td>00.77</td>
<td>00.905</td>
<td>02.03</td>
<td>00.273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sodium (Na)</td>
<td>01.09</td>
<td>01.36</td>
<td>00.83</td>
<td>01.04</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurum (Au)</td>
<td>00.90</td>
<td>01.18</td>
<td>00.316</td>
<td>01.05</td>
<td>00.989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potassium (K)</td>
<td>00.69</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>00.73</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silicon (Si)</td>
<td>00.69</td>
<td>01.95</td>
<td>00.953</td>
<td>00.79</td>
<td>00.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead (Pb)</td>
<td>00.354</td>
<td>00.13</td>
<td>00.102</td>
<td>00.447</td>
<td>00.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron (Fe)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>00.218</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>00.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bismuth (Bi)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>00.142</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinc (Zn)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>00.06</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanium (Ge)</td>
<td>00.043</td>
<td>00.05</td>
<td>00.0193</td>
<td>00.056</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruthenium (Ru)</td>
<td>00.043</td>
<td>00.03</td>
<td>00.0420</td>
<td>00.043</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barium (Ba)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>00.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesium (Cs)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>00.042</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparative Analysis

Deyell reported that silver tanka of Bengal sultans are almost pure silver containing from 96-99%\(^1\) but he arrived at this conclusion by misinterpreting incomplete analysis chart of Jahan's thesis\(^2\) cited from another source, which we have reported in our previous paper.\(^3\) The XRD data of each coin shows the presence of Silver Chlorargyrite (AgCl) on the surface, which is normally caused by corrosion. The presence of AgCl proves that the coins didn't go through any heating process in modern period and has preserved its original features.\(^4\) That's why EDS analysis of each coin shows the presence of Chlorine in small percentage.

Silver Percentages

EDS analysis shows that percentage of silver in the coins of Bengal sultan has increased over the years (Graph 1). In Sample 01, the percentage of silver is little low. Fakhr Al-Din Mubarak ruled over only the eastern part of Bengal. In his early period of ruling, he stroked coins hastily, that may be the reason of his coins containing less silver. This hastiness has been reflected on the calligraphic pattern of the coin. In continuation, Bengal was independent for next 200 years. So, it can be assumed that the stability of the political situation encouraged trade and commerce and increased the economic wealth of the country. It developed trade relations with other kingdoms of the east and imported silver as a surplus in overland and sea trade from places like Yunnan in the south-west, the northern Shan states of China, and eastern Burma where silver mines existed and silver was produced, refined and exported.\(^5\) In medieval period, price of silver against cowries decreased in Bengal; the price of silver in Bengal was even five times less than the price in Malacca; on the other hand, price of gold in Bengal was six times higher than Malacca.\(^6\) Sample 03 from the eastern mint Chatgawn contains over 90% silver which indicates our previous assumption of having higher percentage of silver in eastern mints than westerns.\(^7\)

Graph 1: percentage of silver of the coins from early to later period of Bengal sultans

Percentages of Lead and the presence of Aluminum

The percentage of Lead are present in all five coins but in very low quantity (Chart A), less than 0.5%. In south and south-east Asia, silver is refined from lead ore. In mediaeval
period, for purifying silver a quantity of adulterated material was put together with a proportionate amount of lead. According to Ain-i-Akbari, one-fourth of lead was put on the top of silver in a hole to make silver bullion for coinage. If the same method was applied during sultani period, then coins should contain a remarkable amount of lead. But all the five coins from our experiment showed only a very less amount (Graph 02) of lead which perhaps came as a primary element of ore with silver.

**Graph 02: percentage of Lead in the silver coins of Bengal sultans**

It is interesting to have a good percentage of aluminum in all the coins (Graph 03), 0.52-3.36%. Aluminum does not exist as a major or minor element in any of the natural sources of silver of south-east China and Burma. Silver is a soft metal and its need to mix up with other material to increase its hardness while making any object. So, it demands special concentration to re-investigate about the intentionally added material with silver in minting process because the major natural sources of silver like galena and Sphalerite do not contain aluminum.

**Graph 3: percentage of Aluminum in the silver coins of the Bengal sultans**

**Presence of other elements:**

The coins contained (Sn), copper (Cu), gold (Au), sodium (Na), potassium (K), silicon (Si), iron (Fe), bismuth (Bi), zinc (Zn), germanium (Ge), ruthenium (Ru), barium (Ba), cesium (Cs). Silver mainly produced as a byproduct of gold, copper, zinc and lead refining. So, these elements can present in a low percentage in the purified silver. Germanium (Ge) and tin (Sn) is minor elements of sphalerite. Copper is found in galena as a minor element. There
are many natural sources of galena and sphalerite in Burma and south-east China but individual data of those mines is not present or out of our reach.

Conclusion
Although it is not possible to arrive at a conclusion about the metallurgy of the coins of Bengal sultans by metallurgical analysis of only five silver coins, these data has indicated that more elaborate investigation with a large number of coins could be helpful to arriving in a conclusion.

Notes and References
5. Deyell John, New Metallic Assays of Bengal Sultan Silver Tankas, Numismatic Digest, Nasik, Vols. 34-5, 2010-11, pp. 119-133.


**Acknowledgement**

The authors are thankful to Dr. Abdul Gafur (SSO) and Rakibul Qadir (Engineer) for their help in the X-ray diffraction analysis of the coins. The authors are also thankful to Mr. Noman Nasir, a dedicated & passionate person of Numismatics for providing the sample coins.
History Writing of the Muslim Savants in Medieval Times: An Appraisal

AKM Yaqub Ali*

Backdrop

The question of history is interlinked with the creation of man. It portrays before us the realistic aspects of human society since the very embryo of its existence. So starting from individual life and crossing the various tiers of human society history as a discipline steps forward in the vast spectrum of the universe.\(^1\) With the growth of perceptive faculty creeps in the mind of a child thousand of questions which his/her parent or close relations are to answer to quench the infant’s thrust for knowledge. All age group of human species share the same feeling. In this way ground is prepared for the perception of the variegated complexities of man’s activities with pertinent consequences, and this factor in cumulative way creates the backdrop of history. In spite of variegated upheavals the study of history cannot be sliced off from the main stream of upcoming events for the interest of human existence.\(^2\)

Without much debate on the definition and objectives of history it is better to say that it aims at tabulating the events that occur in man’s life either individual or corporate in relation to the society and environs he lives in.\(^3\) The main objective of the study of history is to find out the truth from the heap of materials clustered round an occasion or on any point of thematic problems of human race. But practically in many cases the facts are distorted, and the truth remains hidden from the notice of the seekers. The historians with their unprejudiced mind could play fair role in scanning diverse and conflicting materials of any event to reach the point of truth or at least to be near of it. Not being sure of expected results an inquisitive man searches out the answer of his queries in the events that roll in day to day’s life. It is, therefore, reasonable to advocate that the study of history is a prerequisite for the multidimensional developments of human species in society.

Subject-Discourse

To dive deep into the main theme it is pertinently pointed out that the discourse will spread over mainly on the contents of Islamic History and Culture as a self contained discipline of study without being cut off from the running stream of history. Studied not from religious, but from historical point of view it is asserted that Islam had its start with the birth of

* Emeritus Professor, Dept. of Islamic History and Culture, Rajshahi University, Bangladesh, E-mail : akmyaqubali@yahoo.com
Prophet Muhammad (sm) at Makkah of the Jaziratul Arab or the Arabian Peninsula in 570 C.E.⁴ It is, therefore, assumed that thenceforth-Islamic history with all concomitants went on expanding to reach this present state of advancement in the context of globalization. During the lifetime of the Prophet spread of Islam was confined within Arabian Peninsula. But after his demise, during the times of Khulafa Rashidun or the Righteous Caliphs (632-661), with the conquest of two mighty empires i.e. the Byzantine and the Persian, Islam spread over a vast tract of land in Asia and Africa well known for the glorious civilization of the past.⁵ Under the dynastic rule of the Umayyads (661-750) the wave of conquest expanded to the north-west of the Indian sub-continent in the east and to Andalus or Spain of Europe in the west.⁶ The credit goes to the Arabs for this tremendous expansion. This long period starting from the Prophet’s time and ending in the year 750 C.E (the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate) may be regarded as the first phase in the history of Islam in respect of territorial expansion, the politico-hierarchical setup and the cultural synthesis of diverse racial origin of the contemporaneous people coming in the fold of Islam.⁷ In the name of the Caliphate under the dynastic rule of the Umyyads the Arab domination was noticeable in all spheres of social fabric and administrative organs. The Arabicization policy of caliph Abdul Malik b. Marwan (685-705 C.E.) resulted in making Arabic as the court language with all steps for its flourishing and in stabilizing the Umayyad rule all over the conquered land on that line.⁸ The government was unitary in form and monarchical in character on the traits of the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) monarchs. The dhimmis (non-Muslims) in general and the mawali (non-Arab Muslims), in particular having been denied of their due share in the society and state, were disgruntled to the Umayyad rule. To steam the tide of their autocratic measures in the statehood the Abbasid Movement originated, and for a continuity of years with the support of the mawali, particularly the Persian neo-Muslims the Movement having received enormous casualties gained success in bringing fall to the Umayyad dynastic rule in 750 C.E.⁹

With the fall of the Umayyad dynasty the Abbasids under the halo of the Caliphate came to power in 750, which continued till the year 1258 C.E. when the heathen Mongal hoard under the leadership of Halaku Khan devastated Baghdad and captured the seat of the Caliphate.¹⁰ This long span of time more than five hundred years is regarded as the second phase in the history of Islam. Though the Persian elements were largely introduced in the state and society, yet its international character was of high order. More attention was given to the flourishing of culture in its multidimensional aspects than to the expansion of the territorial jurisdiction. Statecraft took a new turn and the central authority (the caliph) as de jure sovereign took positive step to grant autonomous power to the provincial heads and sultans of various sundry dynasties that sprang up in the east and west of the Abbasid Caliphate.¹¹ The rulers of this dynasty in general encouraged the education to flourish and the technological advancement to continue throughout their conquered territories. The Dar
al-Tarjamah of al-Mansur (754-775), the Bayt al-Hikmah of al-Mamun (813-833), the Madrasah al-Nizamiyyah founded by Nizamul Mulk Tusi (in 1065-1067) and Astronomical Observatory near Shamsiyyah gate, all in Baghdad are cases in point. The study of humanities, science and technology in totality reached the zenith under the Abbasids. Retaining Arabic as the court language the Persian as well as other languages received patronization at the hand of the rulers to get them flourished. The Alif Lailah wa Lailah compiled under Harun ur Rashid (786-806) bears testimony to the cultivation of romantic Arabic literature in one hand and to portraying the life-style of various shades of people in other.

In continuation of the trend it needs to be pointed out that history-writing in methodical way made great stride during the Abbasid period. Starting from biographical sketch it brought under its canvas the regional, national, universal and such other fields pertinent to the study of man in society. Siratu Rasulillah of Ibn Ishaq (704-768), a complete biography of the Prophet (sm) in biographical history, Tarikhu Baghdad of Khatib al-Baghdadi (1002-1071) and Tarikhu Damisq of Ibn Asakir (1105-1175) in urbanization based regional history, Futuh al-Buldan of al-Baladhuri (d. 892) in ummah's history and Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk of al-Tabari (838-923) in universal history are examples to put for the above subjects. Materials for conquest, consolidation, statecraft, urbanization, demography, ethnicity and climates etc. could be sought in these encyclopedic works of the scholars. Al-Masudi (d.956) considered to be the Herodotus of the Arabs, in the monumental work Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Precious Stones) has revealed his master mind in the analytical approach of historical study covering a vast expanse of human habitation. However, from these citations it suffices to say that history-writing and the study of history occupied a key point in the prolific attainments of the Muslim scholars under the Abbasids. Though Persian study was encouraged under the Abbasids, yet all public and private records were written in Arabic, and history-writing was not excluded from this truck. Though of later time the Kitab al-Ibar wa Diwan al-Mubtada wa al-Khabar fi Ayyam al-Arab wa al-Ajam wa al-Barbar (Book of Instructive examples and the Register of subject and predicate dealing with the history of the Arabs, Persians and Berbers), the monumental work of Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) produced in Arabic in the Magharib i.e. west needs mentioning, particularly for its Muqaddamah (Prolegomena) which expounds various theories on the study of history and also on the sociological interpretation of historical phenomena. In such interpretation he may be regarded as the precursor of the 19th century sociological thinker, Buckle. A study of their works shows that Buckle wrote his History of Civilization on the model of Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddamah after a lapse of five hundred years. In estimating the multidimensional contributions of Ibn Khaldun Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University (USA) ranks him high as a historian and founder of sociology.
On the fall of the Abbasids in 1258 the Mongol Ilkhans (1258-1335) stationed in Baghdad as winter residence had their rule spread over Persia, and in the place of Arabic Persian was made the court language. Pertinently it is to be mentioned here that pagan Halaku’s descendant Ghazn, the ruler of Ilkhan dynasty though pagan like his predecessor, but in 1294 he accepted Islam with all his retinues and armed forces, and adopted the name Ghazan Mahmud Khan. He was a great patron of learning, literature, art and such other subjects of people’s need. As a chief minister of this benevolent monarch Rashid ud-din helped him to make tremendous progress in all branches of statecraft, learning and urban-habitation. In the successive dynastic rules of the Timurids (1369-1506) and the Safavids (1502-1736) besides being the court language, Persian was richly studied all over the territorial expanse of Persia. History-writing in Persian got much impetus from all corners. Jami al-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din (1247-1318), the chief minister of Ghazan Mahmud Khan as referred to above and Rawdat al-Safa of Mir Khand (d.1498) could be cited as well reputed historical works of the time in Persian.

The ascendancy of the Central Asian Turks to the power-politics of the time in question is considered the third phase in the history of Islam. The Uthmania Turks (the Ottoman Turks) established their authority in Asia Minor i.e. Turkey, and the nomenclature of Ottoman empire (1300-1924) expanded their sway over a vast land of Asia, Africa and Europe. During this long span of time tremendous development was made in art, architecture, diplomatic tactics and in all branches of humanities and technological studies besides the science of statecraft. History-writing and archival records were done in Turkish language (in Arabic letters till the abolition of the Khiafat by Kamal Ataturk in 1924). On the other hand, the Persianized Turks of Central Asian origin under various tribal affiliations entered the Indian sub-continent at the early 13th century C.E. and established dynastic rules over this land. Persian was adopted as state language, and history writing along with archival records kept speed in that language.

The Turko-Afghan rule of Delhi Sultanate consisting of Mamluk (1206-1290), Khalji (1290-1320), Tughlaq (1320-1414), Suri (1538-1556) and Ludi (1451-1526) started at the beginning of the 13th century and ended in 1526 with the foundation of the Mughal dynasty by Zahir al Din Muhammad Babar. Thenceforth the Mughal rule continued over the sub-continent till the year 1858 (though theoretically) when the British Crown took over the power with the banishment of Bahadur Shah 11 (1837-1858), the last scion of the Mughal dynasty to Ranggon. Persian was the court language of both the Sultanate and Mughal dynastic rules in this sub-continent. Though they differed in some points of their administrative policies, yet the country flourished in her multidimensional aspects with great stride. Art, architecture and urbanization progressed unabated. Historiography shedding light on panegyric, politico-hierarchical and socio-cultural aspects of the dynastic rules of both the streams thrived to the height. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj Siraj (b.1193), Tarikh-i-Firuz
Bengal sometimes equated with Eastern India in medieval times formed the nucleus of hierarchical, socio-cultural and politico-economic advancements in the territorial expanse of the Muslim rule in this sub-continent. It gets its corroboration from the epigraphic source where its synonymous Arabic word *mulk ush sharq* to the Lakhnawati kingdom i.e. Bengal in the early phase of the foundation of Muslim rule in this area. Even the governorship of Bengal was considered to be a lucrative assignment of the sultans of Delhi to the competing officials till the establishment of Independent Sultanate by Shams al-Din Ilyas Shah (1338-1359) with the conquest of three well defined administrative units of Lakhnawati, Satgaon and Sonargaon in about 1352. The sultans of Delhi had always a covetous eye to the occupation of the territorial jurisdiction of Bengal (consisting of modern Bangladesh and West Bengal of India) since she emerged as an Independent Sultanate. However, starting from the conquest of Lakhnawati by Ikhtiyar al-Din Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji in 1204 till its annexation with the Mughal empire by emperor Akbar in 1576 Bengal had been an affluent country.

Urbanization spread over her territorial expanse as capital cities, mint-towns, emporium of trade and commerce, religious sanctuaries and other minor organizations. Agricultural and industrial products mitigating the need of the people were exported to the neighboring countries, and the people lived in communal harmony. Architectural edifices of various types with a synthesis of Transoxian and indigenous elements grew up in the capital cities and other important places of the country. Besides Persian, the court language other local languages especially the Bengali language and literature were patronized to flourish by the sultans and their deputies in the period under study. The Jami mosques and the institutions of learning that sprang up in the various parts of the country testify to the rulers’ aptitude for the dissemination of knowledge and learning among the people of the contemporary time. Pertinently it is to be mentioned here that except a few chronicles written in Delhi like *Tabaqat Nasiri* of Minhaj Siraj due to the paucity of written historical works of the cotemporaneous time the study of the history of medieval Bengal in her multidimensional aspects depends greatly on the hagiological literature, the ballads of Bengali literature, and on the coins and epigraphs of the period in question. But really it is good tiding for us that the hurdles which stood on the way of the study of medieval Bengal are no more due to the extensive and intensive research in her multidimensional aspects.
Conclusion

It is evident from a brief discussion cited above that in the hey days of the Muslim rule of medieval times the Muslim scholars contributed richly to each branch and point of civilization, and there is wide scope to study each of the branches vertically and to a greater depth. In this regard history-writing is such a discipline which needs to be given careful attention in marshalling the entire picture of the events with unprejudiced mind so that it could produce fair results deemed beneficial to the people and humanity at large. Some Muslim savants are of opinion that history is the third source of knowledge after al-Quran and hadith (traditions) of Prophet Muhammad (sm). Hence the philosophy behind it is to present the facts with accuracy without giving vent to any emotional bias as to ensure the maxim that "history is the mirror of people and society".

Notes and References


2. Nisar Ahmad Faruqi, Early Muslim Historiography Delhi, Idarit i Adabiyat i Delhi, 1979, pp. 2-3; Abdul Hameed Siddiqi, A Philosophical Interpretation of History, Lahore, Kazi Publications, 1979, pp. 1-2.

3. Itihas Charcha, p. 3.


7. Ibid, pp. 185 ff.


21. H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, see vols. III, IV, VII for the respective historical works.
Relation between the Caliphate and the Delhi Sultanate

Jamil Ahmed*

Introduction
The major debate regarding the proximity between the Caliphate and the Delhi Sultanate have been noticed among the scholars. The Delhi Sultanate was never an apex body of the Caliphate. In spite of it some similarity had been grown out between the two administrations. Some of the scholars consider the Delhi sultanate was formed on the principle of the caliphate. Practically, the formation of the Delhi Sultanate was for political pursuits. Under this circumstance, the nature of the Delhi Sultanate would be examined with the Caliphate in the backdrop of whether the Delhi Sultanate was a purely Islamic regime in India.

The Caliphate (632-661 C.E)
‘Khalifah’ (caliphate) is an Arabic word which means a successor; a lieutenant; a vice regent, or a deputy. The word is used in the Holy Quran for Hazrat Adam, as the vice regent of the Almighty Allah on the earth. It says: “And the Lord said to the Angels, I am about to place a vice regent (khalifah) on the earth”. (Surah ii: 28). Hence, Adam was the vice regent of Almighty Allah—Khalifah-tul’lah. On the other hand Hazrat Abu Bakr was the vice regent of the Prophet; he became the vice regent or successor of the Prophet Hazrat Muharamed, ‘Khalifah-tur-Rasul’. So the beginning of ‘Caliphate or Khilafat’ came into existence to meet certain religio-political problems arising after the death of Prophet Muharamad.2

With the death of the Prophet of Islam Hazrat Muhammad(sm) in 632 C.E. Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique (632-634) was elected as the successor or khalifa of the Prophet on the suggestion of Hazrat Omar Farooque. His election was accepted by the popular oath of the people of Medinah and thus the Caliphate was founded in Islam in 632 C.E. The period of the four caliphs is known as pious caliphate, which covers a span of 632 to 661 C.E. Caliph Hazrat Abu Bakr was the first among them, the second caliph was Hazrat Omar, the great (634-644); the third caliph was Hazrat Usman (644-656) and the last of the pious caliphs was Hazrat Ali (656-661). The whole period from 632 to 661 is considered with veneration as the purely ‘Islamic regime’ and may be called as a democratic state based on theocracy.

* Associate Prof. and Head, Dept. of Islamic History & Culture, Maulana Azad College, Kolkata
E-mail : jamilahmedmac@rediffmail.com

115
The Umayyads (661-750 C.E)

With the coming of the Umayyads the very democratic nature of Islamic regime had gone as there started the system of nomination of the successor. The followers of Prophet Muhammad (sm), particularly in Medinah, did not welcome the first nomination of Yazid, the son of Ameer Muawiyah, by the founder of the Umayyad dynasty Ameer Muawiyah. This constitutional problem regarding the nomination of successor mainly occurred the tragic battle of Karbala (680 C.E) between Hazrat Imam Hussain, the youngest son of Hazrat Ali and the grandson of the Prophet and Yazid, the second caliph of Umayyad dynasty (son of Muawiyah). In this unequal battle Hazrat Imam Hussain was martyred with all his male members of his family except teen-aged Imam Zainul Abedin. Such cruelty of Yaid made him unpopular in Islamic world.

However, Al-Walid, son of Abdul Malik, became the caliph in 705 C.E, and he mooted the expansion policy of his empire. During his rule Mohammad Bin Qasim invaded Sindh in 711/712 C.E. This was the first political invasion of the Muslims in Indian sub-continent. At the same time Spain came under the administration of the Muslims. After a rule of ninety years the Umayyads met to the fall in 750 C.E at the hands of the Abbasids, who revolted against the rule of the Umayyads taking supports by the Shias, the Persians and the Khorasanids.

The Abbasids (750-1258 C.E)

The founder of this dynasty was Abu Abbas Saffah (750-754C.E). He was proved to be so cruel that he earned the title of ‘saffah’. According to K.Ali, “such wholesale butcheries cast into the shade anything the previous dynasty had ever been accused of.”3 After his death, the brother of the deceased Khalifah, Jafar- al- Mansur (754-775C.E) took the charge as Khalifa. He is considered as the real founder of the Abbasid dynasty. Justice Ameer Ali says:

They devoted themselves to the building of the new cities, to the construction of roads, caravanserais, fountains, the stimulation and protection of the letters, and the promotion of commerce and all arts of peace.4

He shifted the capital from Damascus to Baghdad. The Syrians lost their influence in the royal court of the Abbasids. Mansur not only suppressed the internal rebellions but provide a stable Muslim rule of the then world.

The glorious period of the dynasty began with the accession of Caliph Harun-al-Rashid (786-809 C.E). He was the greatest Khalifa of the Abbasids dynasty and one of the greatest rulers of the world.

The ninth centuries opened with two important names standing supremacy in world affairs —‘Charlemagne in the West and Harun in East’. Of the two, Harun was undoubtedly the more powerful and represented the higher culture.5 “No khalifah either before, or after, displayed such energy and activity in various progress whether for pilgrimage, for administration or for war. But what has chiefly made his khilafat illustrious is that it ushered
in the era of letters". The name of Harun was so noised throughout the East and West that emperor of China and the Frankish emperor, Charlemagne sent envoys to the court of Harun. He also presented gifts to them. In brief, “weigh him as carefully as you like in the scale of historical criticism, Harun-al-Rashid will always take rank with the greatest sovereigns and rulers of the world.”

Next to the caliph Harun the most distinguished figure of the house of Abbas was Caliph Al-Mamun (815-833 C.E.). His regime is contemplated as the golden period of the Abbasid dynasty. He was not only a brave soldier but also a good administrator. In all branches of intellectual field, we find a great advancement. Mathematics, astronomy, medicine and philosophy made an extraordinary progress during this period. “His reign was the revival of learning both in the East and the West. At his court were munificently entertained men of science and letters, poets, physicians and philosophers.” He is credited for the preservation of the Greek philosophical works, Sanskrit works and mathematical works of the world being translated into Arabic language. According to William Muir:

It was through the labours of these learned men that the nations of Europe, then shrouded in the darkness of the Middle Ages, became again acquainted with their won proper but forgotten patrimony of Greekian science and philosophy.

Thus, we can safely say that the rule of al-Mamun was most glorious part in the Muslim history and may be called the Augustan Age of Islam.

After the regime of caliph al-Mamun the glorious period of Abbasids ended. The caliphate of this house continued until 1258 C.E. but the caliphs after Al-Mamun proved to be inefficient and incapable to cope with the dynasty. The later caliphs became the puppet in the hands of their nobles on the one part and at the same time a parallel government of the Seljuqs (1037-1092 C.E.) continued on the other part. Malik Shah proved himself as the great administrator of the Seljuq’s regime. “The Saljuq domination over the caliphate, which began with al-Qasim in 1055, lasted till 1194 during the reign of al-Nasir.” This was the proof of powerlessness of the later Abbasids caliphs. With the other causes for the decline of the Abbasid caliphate, the invasion of Halagu, a grandson of Changiz Khan, who devastated the city of Baghdad on such a large scale that, “for three years the streets ran with blood and the water of the Tigris was dyed red for miles along the course,” was one of the great causes of their downfall. The last khalifah, al-Mutasim (1242-1258 C.E.) was killed by him and his family was massacred. Devastation was on such great scale that “for the first time in its history the Moslem world was left without a caliph whose name could be cited in the Friday prayers.”

It may be mentioned here that within the six years (756 C.E) of the establishment of Abbasid dynasty, Abdur Rahman I, a member of the Umayyads, able to establish Umayyad rule in Spain. Thus Spain was disintegrated from the domain of Abbasids. On the other hand, the Fatimids who claimed themselves as the direct descendants of Hazrat Ali and Fatima,
the daughter of the Prophet were successful to found the Fatimid rule in North Africa in 909 C.E. Thus, it may be said that three Muslim powers were running at the same time in three continents within three hundred years of the death of Prophet Muhammad (sm).

Though the Abbasids ruled for about four hundred years after the regime of Caliph al-Mutawwakil, the tenth Abbasid caliph, but the original rule was in the hands of the others as they were the caliph in the name only. Those who were ruling in the name of the Abbasids caliphs were-the Turks, the Buwaids, and the Seljuqs etc. Under the Turks’ supremacy (861-945 C.E) there were eleven Abbasid caliphs came to the throne of Baghdad. During the Buwaids (944-1074 C.E) we find five Caliphs on the Baghdad throne and under the Seljuqs (1031-1160 C.E) there were six. Lastly, seven caliph came to power from 1135 to 1258 C.E. Caliph Muqtafi (1135-1160) was under the supervision of seljuqs, the rest of them tried to remain free from other supremacy, but their rule had been in and around Baghdad. Finally they were devastated by the Mongol leader Halagu on 13th February 1258 as described earlier.

In Delhi Qutubuddin Aibak (1206-1210 C.E), established an independent Muslim Rule in 1206, when the Abbasids lost their glorious power and prestiges. It is to be noted that the Turks had a great relation with the Abbasids from the very beginning of Abbasid rule. Jafar al Mansur, the real founder of the Abbasid dynasty did not relied very much on the Arab elements as he considered them to be dangerous for him. It was mainly responsible for the Abbasids’ dependence and reliance on the Persian and then on the Turks. With the predominance of the Persians, the Arab elements gradually receded into the background. Again the Persian domination was also gradually replaced by the Turks. Onwards the time of caliph al-Mamun (813-833) Turkish troops began to close with the caliph and by the time of caliph Mutasim (833-842) they gained complete influence over the Abbasid caliphate. As Mutasim being a child of a Turkish mother he relied much on the Turkish elements and employed them in such a large numbers that “Baghdad became too small for them”. In the later days the Turkish guards soon became so powerful that they began to make and unmake the Caliphs at their sweet will.

The Delhi Sultans

It was Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1210-1236), the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate in India, received a robe of honour for the first time as an Indian Sultan from the Caliph of Baghdad. Certainly, “It not only fastened the fiction of Khilafat to the Sultanate to Delhi, but legally involved the recognition of final sovereignty of the Caliph” Iltutmish took the title of ‘Nasir Amirul Muminin’ means the helper of the Khalifa. The title had a symbolic meaning of the glorious past of the Turks, when they proved themselves as the helper of the Caliphs. In true sense, they were free from any legal binding.

The Sultans of Delhi always paid respects to the Caliphs than to earn a formal recognition of their kingship from the Caliphs. In Tabquat-i-Nasiri, an actual relation between the
Sultans and the Caliphs of Baghdad was noticed. The caliphate of Baghdad was destroyed by the Mongol leader Halagu in 1258 and even the persons of Caliph were not spared by him, yet we find that when the emissaries of Halagu visited India within two years of ransack of Baghdad a very hearty welcome was extended to them. They were not treated as enemies of the caliph at that time rather they were welcomed as a guest of the sultan of Delhi. This treatment seemed to be above the sentiment than more political need of the time.

During the period of the Mamluk Sultans (1236-1290), i.e. Iltutmish and his successors Rukunuddin Firoz Shah (1236), Razia Sultan (1236-40), Bahram Shah (12240-42), Alauddin Masud Shah (1242-46) the names of caliphs were mentioned on the coins as Amirul Momenin. This tradition was followed by Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-66), Ghiyasuddin Balban (1246-88) and Kaiqubad (1288-90). Under the Khaljis this tradition of mentioning the name of caliph on the coin after the death of khalifa was continued. Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-96), the founder of the Khalji dynasty continued the previous legacy. The legends found on the coins of Alauddin Khalji as 'Sikandar-us-Sani', 'Yamin-ul-Khilafat' 'Nasir Amir-ul-Momnin'. By the time of Alauddin such titles had become almost a traditional matter of boasting rather than having real significance.

In administration, the sultans of Delhi adopted the administrative pattern of the Abbasids, the Ghaznavid and the Seljuks. They always preferred a monarchical rule assisted by a council of ministers. Hence, we find that some departments of the government and the officers also took new names replacing old one. However, the Turks in India were also able to evolve a number of new institutions and concepts, which provided a basis for centralization of power, and authority of a type which had not existed in India earlier. The administration of the Sultanate was divided into two parts; Central Government and Provincial Government. According to a number of thinkers, the nature of Sultanate organisations was unIslamic. The original Islamic concept of the government was democratic in nature, and the head of the state was chosen by the citizen of the domain. The collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate led to the rise of sultans who were only secular leaders. In course of time the head of the state began to be elevated. Being a head of the state all power was vested to sultan. He was the supreme authority in the state. He was in fact the law maker as well as law breaker. He was the supreme authority to design the power of his ministers and wazirs. The important departments under the sultan were Wizarat (office of the Prime minister), Diwan-i-Arz (Defence ministry), Diwan-i-Insha (Royal Correspondence) and Diwan-i-Risalat (Foreign Affairs). The provincial administration was placed under the governors. They were responsible to maintain the local government.

Nature of Delhi Sultanate

Regarding the character of Delhi Sultanate the scholars have expressed their divergent opinions. Scholars like Dr. R.P. Tripathi, Dr. Ishwari Prasad, Dr. A.L. Srivastava, and others consider it as a ‘Theocratic State’. On the other hand, Prof. I.H. Quraishi, Prof. Mohammed
Habib, Prof. Satish Chandra considered it as a ‘Non-theocratic State’. According to Prof. Satish Chandra, the Turkish state in India was militaristic and aristocratic.21

The author would like to support the opinion of the later group of the scholars. The Sultans of Delhi came to India to fulfill their political ambition, not for preach of Islam. Accordingly, the population of the Muslims during the period were in the minority status. Most of the sultans did not observe Islamic Law (Shariah) in day-to-day affairs as well as in administration. Sultan Iltutmish nominated his daughter Razia Sultan as his successor instead of his sons. The nomination of Razia was very much against the Shariah (Islamic jurisprudence) as according to the Shariah a female cannot be the head of the state. Was Sultan Iltutmish unaware of Shariah regarding nomination? An example may be cited here:

Hazrat Bakhtiyar Kaki (R.A) was a great Sufi of Chishti silsilah at that time. He wrote in a sealed paper that only the person who did not accept ‘haram’ in any position and had never left the ‘sunnah’ of Asar prayer (gair muak-kadah / not compulsory) may only lead his ‘Namaz-i-Janaza’ (funeral prayer) after his death. No one dare to come to lead the funeral prayer. Finally a teary-eyed Iltutmish come out of the congregation saying that he (Iltutmish) did not want to reveal his inner-self to everybody but the will of Khawaja Bakhtiyar Kaki (R.A) would be fulfilled by him. His funeral prayer was finally led by Sultan Iltutmish as he was the only person who fulfilled and adhered to the contents of the will of Khawaja Bakhtiyar Kaki (R.A).22

This incident simply informs us that Sultan Iltutmish was a pious man and acquired the knowledge of Shariah law. In his personal life he followed the Islamic tenets; but not in the matter of politics.

Sultan Balban, on the other hand, introduced ‘Sajda’ and ‘Paibos’ system in his court. This was very much against the Islamic principles. Sultan Alauddin Khalji ordered the Ulema of his court not to mix religion with politics and administration. He declared that the heart of Sultan was the repository of Allah. Alauddin Khalji never preferred sharia law. The Delhi Sultanate did not follow the Islamic system of punishments. During the time of Jalaluddin Khalji when some thugs were brought to him he ordered to release them and said them to leave Delhi. No evidence of forcefully conversion was noted during that period. As a result, the Muslims were minority and the majority was the non Muslims in Indian Sub-continent. It is however true that sultans like Firoz Shah Tughlaq and Sikander Lodi who wanted to champion Islam in every aspect. Simultaneously, Firoz Tughlaq is compared with Akbar by the historians for his benevolent works for the welfare of the people.

Conclusion

In short it can be said that the relation of the Delhi Sultans with the caliphs of Muslim world was purely political and ephemeral. The Delhi Sultanate was founded (1206 AD) in such a time when the decline of the Abbasid dynasty was set in. The fall of Abbasid dynasty happened in 1258 when India was under Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-86). After the
slave dynasty there were four other dynasties; i.e. the Khaljis, the Tughlqs, The Sayyids and the Lodis, who ruled over India till 1526. It may be concluded with the above mentioned facts that the Delhi Sultanate had no direct connection with the Caliphs, but the earlier sultans paid respect and maintained cordial relations with the caliphate of Baghdad as a sovereign Muslim ruler in Indian Subcontinent.

Notes and References
The Medina Charter (622 AD): A Quest for Redefining Approach

Md. Zakaria*
Md. Monirul Islam#

Introduction
The Medina Charter (622 AD) promulgated by Prophet Muhammad (sm) for the multi-religious ten thousands strong citizens of the city-state of Medina is one of the remarkable documents of political-constitutional history of the world. The Medina charter is most important in the sense that it was the first written constitution for a plural society giving equal rights to every citizen as well as giving them a say in governmental matters. It had given human’s rights to the multi-coloured Arab society. The main features of the Arabian tribes were firstly, the chief and his family; secondly, the group of the tree families who acknowledged him; thirdly, the mawali and attached members; and, finally, the slaves. The tribal system prevailed in the towns as well as in the less settled regions. These tribes were violently at enmity with one another. This confrontational situation required careful handling, and as soon as he (Prophet) felt sufficiently well established to achieve his purposes Muhammad (sm.) drew up a charter defining the position with regard to rights and duties of each party in his small state. The charter of Medina made by Prophet Muhammad (sm.) realized the rights and duties of citizens as lucidly pointed out in 'secularism'—the widely regarded doctrine of modern age, which includes human rights, rule of law, democratic standard and participation, pluralism, egalitarianism and peace etc. The study is an attempt to identify compatibility of the principles of Medina charter with the mostly accepted modern theory ‘secularism’.

Concept of Secularism
Secularism as dominant and widely recognized doctrine draws the attention of pundits, theorists, politicians, civil society etc. due to its mesmerizing empirical aspects in the state as governing mechanism. Myriads of viewpoints are well apparent in terming secularism. But almost all theorists view in a unique point to separate religious values from the politics of the country. Proponents of secularism have often seen it as the best means to promote

* Assistant Prof., Dept. of Islamic History and Culture, University of Dhaka, Dhaka, Bangladesh
E-mail : mzakariadu@gmail.com

# Assistant Professor (Political Science), Bangladesh Islami University, Dhaka, Bangladesh
tolerance, pluralism and fairness in a society in which government is not dominated by any one religious ideology. In modern societies, we seek various goods and the three in particular (echoing the trio of goods expressed in a familiar slogan) that remain relevant to secular aspirations are, the liberty of worship, the equality of different faiths, and finally, more than just equality, we need to give each faith a voice in determining the shape of the society, so there must be fraternal relations within which negotiations, with each voice being equally heard, is crucial. Rawl’s for starting with certain ideals such as human rights, equality, the rule of law, democracy rather than anti-religious (or for that matter, religious principles), and then proceeding to consider the question of secularism to be in line with them. Ramadan believes that embracing secularism and an open society is not a betrayal of Muslim principles for it enables all citizens to live together and the necessary condition for religious freedom for Muslims and others. As Abdel Wahab Elmessiri writes:

Secularism is no longer a mere set of ideas that one can accept or reject at will, it is a world-outlook that is embedded in the simplest and most innocuous cultural commodities, and that forms the unconscious basis and implicit frame of reference for our conduct in public and in private. The state, far from operating exclusively in a few aspects of public life, has actually dominated most, and at times all of them, and has even penetrated to the farthest and deepest concerns of our private lives.

So, to sum up his explicit motivations for seeking this more capacious definition of secularism: there is the importance of the state maintaining a neutrality and equal distance from each religion. There is the importance of a society allowing the democratic participation of all religious voices in shaping its polity's commitments. And as the part of redefining approach, there is the need to turn one’s focus away from just religion to acknowledging and respecting wider forms of cultural diversity and a variety of intellectual positions, including non-religious ones.

Background of Medina Charter

Muhammad (sm.) had become a Prophet, reciting God’s revelations to his fellow-Meccans, for twelve years before he and his followers migrated to Yathrib, two hundred and ten miles to the north of Mecca. It took another ten years to complete the delivery of the Divine message to the Arabs and to mankind. In his way of dissemination of Divine messages i.e. Prophetic mission, he had to, in the year 622, attach his concentration to the Yathrib (later Medina) through migration and Yathrib was later known as “The City of the Prophet” or simply Medina. The reason for the migration was the growing opposition of the Quraishy aristocracy to teachings and the receptive attitude shown by some Yathrib pilgrims to Mecca at this time. Ibn Hisham, in this regard, tells that the same year, harassed tormented by the Meccans, the small body of the Muslims, with their great teacher, moved to Yathrib, henceforth named the City of the Prophet, or shortly the city, al-Medina, there to build the superstructure of that great brotherhood of Islam which was to know no racial, linguistic
or geographical distinctions, by the masterly institution of the *Muwakhat*, under which each Migrant form Mecca (*Muhajir*) was to be in *loco fraternalis*; like a brother to one of the helpers (*Ansar*) of Medina (Sherwani, H.K., 1945). In Madinah the Muslims had to deal with the native Jews, and the infant State had not only to take account of them but to protect them as well as the Muslims of the City. The great foresight and political acumen of Muhammad is to be seen in the Charter he granted to the Jews in which, among other things, it was declared they were as much the citizens of the new State as the Muslims themselves, that the two branches of the men to Yathrib were to form one composite nation, that the guilty would be punished whatever their faith, that both would be called upon to defend the State when need arose, and that all future disputes would be decided by the Messenger of God. Most scholars comment that after reaching Yathrib, Muhammad (sm.) promulgated the charter or constitution to manage disputes among tribes of Medina with regard to building a peaceful Medina state.

**Compatibility of Medina Charter with Secularism**

In the social sciences, one of the commonest theses is the secularization thesis, which runs as follows. Under conditions prevailing in industrial-scientific society, the hold of religion over society and its people diminishes. By and large this is true, but it is not completely true, for there is one major exception, Islam. In the last hundred years the hold of Islam over Muslims has not diminished but has rather increased. It is one striking counter-example to the secularization thesis. Although there is the lucid restriction to follow religion in state and politics with secular standpoint, Islamic values especially historical Prophetic issues and events predominantly the charter of Medina has notable phenomena for public welfare which are also existed in the modern concept 'secularism'. From this point, the study deserves its aptness in the contemporary political analysis.

**Pluralism and Ummah**

Pluralism and *Ummah* are unique in terms of their elaborated meaning and empiric connotation. And scholars often amalgamate to conceptualize both of these terms belonging to resembled applied etiquettes. Although the concept of pluralism has rational appreciation among secularist and liberalist scholars for the success of democracy worldwide, *Ummah*—the religious-universalistic approach, has taken by Muslim philosophers and other concerns as magnetism for leading democratic Islamic state.

A leading theorist of political pluralism, Robert Dahl stressed the role in politics played by associations, groups, and organizations. Pluralism, in political science, the view that in liberal democracies power is (or should be) dispersed among a variety of economic and ideological pressure groups and is not (or should not be) held by a single elite or group of elites. Pluralism assumes that diversity is beneficial to society and that autonomy should be enjoyed by disparate functional or cultural groups within a society, including religious
groups, trade unions, professional organizations, and ethnic minorities. This framework of pluralism is massively encouraged by secularist in doctrine-set up of states’ perspective. ‘It would be exactly right to say, as Taylor does, that secularism should be adopted in pluralistic society on the basis of an overlapping consensus’. In fact, theorists of secularism opine that ‘consensus orientation’ or ‘overlapping consensus’ may keep continue the society of pluralism in modern state. The concept of *Ummah* in charter of Medina was the spirited endeavor for awarding place of pluralism as secularism vehemently emphasizes on.

This is a charter of Muhammad, the Prophet (applicable) amongst the believers and Muslims of the Quraysh and of Yathrib (Medina), and amongst those who follow them and attach themselves to them and fight along with them. They are one *Ummah* (community) over against mankind. The outstanding difference is that *Ummah* was based on religion and not on kinship. The idea is nowhere given theoretical expression, but it is everywhere implied or assumed. It was implied when the *Ansar* accepted Muhammad as a messenger from God. If Muhammad is a messenger, there must be a message, and a message in turn implies that God is giving directions to the *Ummah* in practical affairs of life. In many matters of principle Muhammad, does not act of this own accord, but merely announces what God commands? Thus God is the head and director of the *Ummah*. In the constitution (Clause 15) the security enjoyed by members of the *Ummah* and groups attached to it is regarded as coming from the *dhimmah* of God, that is, His compact or guarantee of security.

What we learn from the Qur’an may be supplemented from the constitution of Medina. The article 1 stated that the believers, Muslims of Quraysh, and Yathrib are one; and this community presumably includes also ‘those who follow them.’ The *Ummah* is thus the complex community at Medina to which Muhammad believed himself to be sent. The later article 25 which showed that certain Jews ‘are an *Ummah* along with the believers’, though it could conceivably mean that they constituted a community parallel to that of the believers, presumably means that they are included on *Ummah*.14

When *Ummah* is first used in the Holy Quran it is hardly to be distinguished from *qawm*; every beast and bird is even to be an *Ummah* (Al-Qura’n, 6:38). Mostly, however, the *Ummah* is a community to which a Prophet is sent; ‘each *Ummah* has a messenger’. Gradually, however, *Ummah* comes to mean more and more a religious community. Thus the Muslims are told that they have been made an *Ummah* which aims at doing right. Surely the Constitution of Medina provides valuable information on the founding of the *Ummah* and its nature. There is nothing in the document concerning the *Ummah* which contradicts what the Quran says. The two sources are mutually confirmatory in many respects, and they supplement each other. The constitution spells out in greater detail than the Quran the political structure of the Medinan community and they agreed upon military aspects of life, such as neighbourly protection, blood-wit, alliances, clients, and so on. The religious nature of the *Ummah* is, of course, to be learned above all from the Quran, but the
practical detail needed for a fuller picture must come from other contemporary documents.\textsuperscript{17} This written covenant between Muhammad and his followers, including those who were not Muslims, provides the possibility of examining the principles which formed the core of Islamic government at its conception and which, given the status of Muhammad as exemplar for present-day Muslims, arguably establishes a legitimate basis for an authentically Islamic constitutional paradigm.\textsuperscript{18} The very existence of this agreement and the details contained therein (its layout, for example, explicit expectations of the duties of various tribes and their rights to the benefits of society, and a vision of the rule of law) indicates that practicing Muslims and non-Muslims in Islamic states have codified and negotiated the various challenges of government from the earliest days of Islam, albeit within the framework of a transcendent law \textit{i.e} sharia.\textsuperscript{19}

Secular outlook focuses the legitimacy of government based on whatever process a particular state belongs to Prophet Muhammad (sm.), through promulgating the constitution of Medina, became the legitimate authority without any dispute in multi-ethnic society. In a plural society, he acted as like as guardian who dealt with all affairs of Medinatic people. The charter of Medina made the people duty-bound in the perspective of being conscious about their rights and responsibilities whichever the constitutional paradigm contains. The case of rights and responsibility is the major concern in the contour of secularism. Rule of law and communal cohesion secularism as the people-oriented doctrine espouses in its full-length and the charter of Medina, in this regard, confirmed these principles vehemently among all sectarian people in the state of Medina. The charter of Medina and secularism, in all these perspective, integrate both the pluralistic and \textit{Ummatic} concepts to satisfy the people in society.

\textbf{Egalitarianism and Peace}

People are peace-seeker. The only desire of the people of the world is to live in a conflict-free society because most part of the world especially Muslim countries witness a formidable confrontational scenarios produced by both internal and external forces. Secularism talks about conflict management process in which people are treated as same category as well as entity in terms of privileges concerning economy, politics, culture and societal affairs. It is noteworthy that Medina charter provided equality to its members and protected them against oppression (Clause 16). The state proclaimed the brotherhood of believers and gave each one a right and support to give protection to any individual, excepting an enemy (Clause 15). It prohibited help or refuge to be given to a murderer (Clause 22). Egalitarianism is the main prerequisite of keeping peace in the society. If the people are protected from the oppression triggered by enemy or other groups and financial solvency is secured, this symbolizes egalitarianism, which carries peace in the society as prescribed in the secular values. And these are also existed as aforementioned clauses of the charter of Medina revealed. Dr. Muhammad Yunus, the noble laureate in
peace said that poverty is the key instrument for the breach of peace. If poverty is eradicated, peace would be kept in the society. Prophet (sm.)’s assertion was gone towards peace through making people solvent, which is the key tool for peace. Medina charter extended help to its members in debt or in financial difficulties in regard to payment of ransom or blood-money (Clause 12). In alleviating poverty or assuring solvency of people, the charter assisted people through paying debt in financial crises. Indivisible peace (financial solvency) for all sects was secured in the charter of Medina. The charter revealed that:

The peace (ṣlim) of the believers is one; no believer makes peace apart from another believer, where there is fighting in the way of God, except in so far as equality and justice between them (is maintained) (Clause 17).

So fair treatment for all is advocated herein regard of peace and tranquility in society.

Human Rights

Human rights refer to the ‘basic rights and freedoms’ to which all human beings are entitled.20 All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood (UDHR, 1948). In the charter of Medina, people of different communities were treated as human beings so as to become the part of Ummah are called brotherhood. All human beings as inhabitants of Medina state were given the rights of practicing their own religions. One of the most important human rights is given in Clause 25 where freedom was guaranteed for each community to practice its own religion. The implication of this clause is that each individual was also free to choose his or her religion, in line with the clear teachings of the Quran21. The freedom of religion in secularism is taken into account as the significant ingredient of state-building where people will lead life with cohesion irrespective of creed, color, religion race etc. Although secularism negates to incorporate religious values in governing state, it has bold voice to observe religion in individual life as well as freedom of religion for each individual in society.

Democratic Standard and Parliamentary System

Secularism talks about freedom of speech and exchanging views on whatever someone thinks in concern fields in which an individual or individuals are engaged in collective as well as institutional framework. All these principles (freedom of speech and exchanging views) are appropriate not only in individual affairs but also in state affair. In a state affair, freedom of speech is institutionally focused in the parliament or parliamentary session where the representatives of people take decision through participating in debates, discussions etc. It’s the modern democratic standard to debate or consult in a parliamentary session in taking decisions on crucial issues related to the interest of state and its people. That’s why; parliamentary form of government has been one of the standard forms of governing countries all over the world. Another important principle of statecraft in the Medina charter
was consultation with the people in all matters. This is stated in Clause 37(a) that 'Between them is sincere friendship (nas'hwana-nasihah), and honorable dealing, not treachery'. Clause 46 also emphasized on honorable dealings and discussion in this way:

The Jews of al-Aws, both their clients and themselves, are in the same position as belongs to the people of this document while they are thoroughly honorable in their dealings with the people of this document honorable dealing (come) before treachery.

On a major issue, secularism is very much compatible to modern democracy that people's voice is heard here. In the charter of Medina, voxpopuli (the voice of the people) regardless of whether that voice represents right and truth or not, is to be measured in giving the highest value. That means in the charter, right and true voice of people were given the highest priority. Another important principle of just governance is that no quarter is given to an injustice or wrong-doing. In the charter, this is stated in Clause 47 that 'A person acquires it only against himself. God is the most upright and truest (fulfiller) of what is in this document. This writing does not intervene to protect a wrong-doer or traitor. He who goes out is safe, and he who sits still is safe in Medina, except whoever does wrong and acts treacherously'. Secularism for a just society or justice does not tolerate the evil-doers but encourages those who, with following the system of mutual consultation, take decision for the welfare of the people.

**Redefining approach to the Study of Secularism**

Application of religious values comes from the core of the believer and this character is vehemently traced out among the people of Muslim countries in the world. So, critics of secularism suggest incorporating alternative mechanism in terms of building nexus between religion and secularism. It is a good idea, as Taylor suggests, starting with certain ideals that do not mention religion or opposition to religion, and then move on to talk of political and institutional arrangements involving the role of the state and its stances towards religion. So, just because it is what is most familiar to us in our tradition of political theory and philosophy, let us start within a liberal framework, let us start with some basic ideals and the fundamental rights and constitutional commitments that enshrine them, just as Rawls and Taylor propose.22

There might be suggested some non-arbitrary stipulations as characterization of secularism which contains that we should live-in a religiously plural society; secularism requires that all religions should have the privilege of free exercise and be evenhandedly treated except when a religion’s practices are inconsistent with the ideals that a polity seeks to achieve (ideals, often, though not always, enshrined in stated fundamental rights and other constitutional commitments) in which case there is a lexical ordering in which the political ideals are placed first. Secularism advocates the incorporation of moral values in all spheres of life except political life of man. The moral values derive from religious principle. Due to dearth of moral values, corruption becomes the ultimate consequence in public life. So,
religion-based moral values may eradicate corruption from the state and society. Since secularism forbids incorporating religious values in public life especially politics, it is usually amassed with corruption. In this regard, moral values of religion might be placed in the constitution not in the name of religious values; but in the name of liberal or moderate aspects of democracy. In this case, major people-oriented clauses of Medina charter might be incorporated in the constitution of modern democratic state. Thus, there will be no question to appear between Medina charter's principles and secular principles.

Concluding Observations
During the Western Middle Ages, the Church ruled supreme in the name of God, and God's name was, of course, much misused by hypocrites and opportunists. The modern Western practice of replacing God with the people has not helped matters very much. Under circumstances, Prophet Muhammad promulgated Medina Charter to control the ill-politics and restore peace and tranquility in society for all. The Medinan period occurred after intense persecution of Muhammad and his followers in Mecca which forced them to uproot and settle elsewhere. Having heard of his gift of Prophecy, he was invited to Medina to act as a judge (Hākim) to mediate disputes between the various clans and clan chiefs. Secularism in the contemporary state-affair is dominant to resolve the crises of people. But how much it has been triumphed is question to all? But Prophetic endeavor fully managed the confrontations among the tribal peoples of Medina state and all sects of people obeyed his loyalty. It was at Medina that Muhammad was able to put into practice his teaching that Islam must take precedence over all other loyalties. The major principles of secularism as suited to the charter of Medina promulgated by Muhammad (sm.) will give the solution of recent crises of human kind such as oppressions, wars, colonialism etc. The success of Medina charter the entire communities of the then Medina experienced a lot as an epoch-making practical aspects. As Prof. Hamidullah rightly stated:

...this new constitution ...brought with it very important, and to Arabia at least very revolutionary change and improvement, by providing the people with a central public institution for seeking justice, in place of everyone seeking it with the power of his own hand or, at best, that of his family. This epoch-making innovation ... brought an end for all times to the chaos of tribalism and which laid the basis for a wider institution viz-state.

Therefore, the Medina charter is still relevant in global politics and society in connection with co-existence, peace and secularism.

Notes and References


15. Al-Qura’n, 10:47-48

16. Al-Qura’n, 5:66/70


19. Ibid.


21. Al-Qura’n, 2:256


The Abbasid Rulers: Lifestyle and Culture

Md. Abul Kalam Azad*
Mohammad Shafiullah Kutubi#

Introduction
Following the golden era of the ‘Khelaphat-e-Rasheda’ (632-661AD), the dynasty of the Umayyad and the Abbasid are widely remarkable for various reasons in the early history of the Muslim regime. Although it cannot be compared to ‘Khelaphat-e-Rasheda’, but the regime of Abbasid was regarded as the glorious era of good governance in terms of peace, affluence, security, communications infrastructure, socio-economic development, revolutionary advancement in knowledge and culture and comprehensive development of people’s lives. Therefore, the Abbasid era is recognized as pro-people regime providing the safety of people’s life and property, ensuring justice, improving law and order situation, developing skilled administrative management and social advancement in education and culture. However, the Abbasid rulers set up an unique instances of culture by adopting very luxurious life style ignoring the path of Prophet Muhammad (sm) and simplicity of the ‘Khelaphat-e-Rashidun’ or the first four caliphs.

Inception of the Abbasid Dynasty
After the fall of the Umayyad regime, the Abbasid dynasty (750-1258 AD) came into existence and thirty-seven Abbasid rulers ruled for 508 years. The founder of the Abbasid dynasty was the Caliph Abu-Al-Abbas-Al Saffah (750-54), the 5th descendant of Hazrat Abbas (R), who was an paternal uncle of Hazrat Muhammad(sm). In this regard P.K. Hitti said:

This Al-Saffah became the founder of the most celebrated and longest-lived Arab dynasty in Islam, the third, after the orthodox (Rashidun) and the Umayyad. From 750 to 1258 the successors of Abu-al-Abbas reigned, though they did not always rule.

However, Hitti identified the regimes from caliph Al-Saffah to caliph Mutawakkil as the golden era of the Abbasid dynasty.

* Assistant Prof., Communication and Journalism Dept., University of Chittagong, Bangladesh. E-mail : azad2008_media@yahoo.com
# Assistant Professor, Arabic Department, University of Chittagong, Bangladesh.
The First Ten Abbasid Caliphs

Al-Saffah (750-54 AD)
Al-Mansur (754-75 AD)
Al-Mahdi (775-85 AD)
Al-Hadi (785-86 AD)
Al-Rashid (786-809 AD)
Al-Amin (809-13 AD)
Al-Mamun (813-33 AD)
Al-Mutasim (833-42 AD)
Al-Wathiq (842-47 AD)
Al-Mutawakkil (847-86 AD)

Administrative office of The Abbasid Rulers

The history of Baghdad and the chequered history of the Abbasid regimes can be narrated in a parallel way. It was almost customary that Muslim rulers transferred the existing capital in another location or made their own capitals in different places for their safety and security. During the period of prophet Mohammad (sw) Medina became the main working centre of Prophet Muhammad, after ‘Hijrat’. In the course of time the city became famous as the central capital of Islamic administration. After Prophet, the Muslim rulers continued Medina as the capital of them for a long period. Hazrat Ali (R) transferred his capital at Kufa, when he ascended to the post of caliph. Because the people of Kufa claimed that they loved much Banu Hashim and Ahal-e-Bait, and considering this matter, he shifted the capital from Medina to Kufa. However Hazrat Ali had to pay cost for this decision.

Shifting the Capital to Damascus

After the period of Khelaphat-e-Rashedeen, Ameer-e-Muabia (R) was the first ruler who built a magnificent green palace for himself in Damascus. He founded a chamber of Khelaphat imitating the style of the Romans. He appointed sentry in the palace and built a separate compartment in the mosque for himself. Abdul Malek Ibn Marwan constructed a similar magnificent palace in Baitul Mokaddas in 691 AD (72 Hijri) and a mosque named Masjid-e-Aksa in the south of Baitul Mukaddas that was considered as the largest mosque after Haramain. After the fall of the Umayad dynasty, the Abbasids used Damascus as their capital. From the very beginning of the Abbasid dynasty, Abul Abbas-as-Saffah built Kasrul Hashemiah (Hashem Building) in the name of Hashem at the region of Anbar in Iran. It was situated at the east bank of the Furat river and near the ‘Isa’ river. Saffah lived in that palace till his death. The next Abbasid ruler, Abu Jafar Mansur, built another palace in the same name after the demise of his own brother. People identified it as ‘Kasra-Hashemiah Sani’ or the Second Hashemi Building. According to some historians the ‘Hashemiah Sani’ was situated between two palaces named ‘Hira’ and ‘Kufa’ facing to the Furat river.
Baghdad: Emerged as the Capital City

The weather and environment of the city Baghdad attracted Caliph Abu Jafar Mansur and he decided that he would develop this city as the capital. According to some historians ‘Bagh’ means garden and ‘Dad’ denotes the owner of the garden. Some others think that Bagh was the name of a king of China. When the robbers of China presented the plundered goods before the king in the guise of merchants, they started to address the king as Baghdad to satisfy him. They meant that they had occupied so many riches because of the good fortune of the king. According to the historians, the meaning of the word ‘Bagh’ is idol and ‘Dad’ means donated. So Baghdad means the God gift city. As the meaning of idol laid in the name of the city, the Caliph Mansur named it as ‘Darus Salam’. According to Ibn Kasir, as the Dajla River was also called Salam Valley, the name of Baghdad was renamed as ‘Darus Salam’. However, the people accepted the name ‘Baghdad’ at last.

During laying the foundation of the city, Abu Jafar Mansur uttered the following words:

I commence with the name of Allah and all praises are due to Allah. The sovereignty of the world is only for Allah who gives the power to whom He wants. However, good fortune belongs to pious.

Abu Jafar Mansur arranged a pompous festival to inaugurate Baghdad as the capital city. On that occasion, the members of royal family, their ministers, the governors and other military and civilian high officials were invited for participation to make it grand success. Mansur drew a map in detail of Baghdad prior to its establishment. According to that map, Baghdad was furnished as a well-planned city. Panaha, the city of ‘Khareji’, had four entrances. Inside each entrance gate, there was another gate too. The name of an entrance was Babul Kufa. It was at the east-south edge of the city. A gate made by Kahlid Ibn Abdullah Kasri was placed on it. The second entrance was named as ‘Babul Basra’. It was at the east-south edge of the city. The name of third entrance was ‘Babul Khurasan’ that was situated at the north-east edge near the bank of the Eufratis River. It was possible to reach that entrance with large ships across the waterway. ‘Babul Khurasan’ was called ‘Babul Dawla’ too. The name of fourth entrance was ‘Babus Sham’. It was situated in the north-east boarder. It was possible to reach that gate through the way of Anbar. One military officer along with one thousand general soldiers were appointed for ensuring security for each of the entrance of the city.

In real sense, during the Abbasid regime, Baghdad became the city of palaces. The palaces were not built with bricks and irons but with marble stones. The architectural beauty was almost as such as that of Damascus. The luxurious facilities and aesthetic standard of architecture of palaces of Baghdad city took unparalleled form which would be compared to those of Iran. The curtains of silk, which designed with gold and silver for the doors, windows, etc, created a supreme aristocracy. Every item of rooms of palace was decorated in an attractive way that the visitors sometimes treated those as art galleries. The eye-catching
rooms of the royal palace were decorated with diamonds and pearls reflecting fascinating beauty. The river flown along the middle of the city enhanced the loveliness of the city. The houses of the aristocrat persons and high officials were built in the both sides of the river which were surrounded by green gardens.21

A Human Habitation on the outskirts of Baghdad

Caliph Abu Jafar Mansur constructed dwelling houses for the government officials outside the main city. There were two objectives behind allocating spaces for the bureaucrats outside the city: First reason was to decrease the settlements in the city and another one was to give them sufficient cultivable lands for consuming facilities as remuneration of serving the state. The Bungalow houses and the villages for the government officers were named in the names of inhabitants. Furthermore, the Abbasid caliphs allocated spacious lands for the Turkish leaders. The Turkish leaders (sardars) sent rents as gifts to the caliphs for the allocated lands. Mutasim Billah allocated a large area to a Turkish leader Ashnas. Following him, Caliph, Wasik Billah also allotted almost the whole area of Egypt to a Turkoman Etas'. Thus, the government and their subordinate leaders imposed taxes on the people in the name of development. Due to such taxes policy of the Abbasid rulers, the rate of poverty was increased.22

In 762 AD (145 Hijri), Abu Jafar Monsur built a palace named ‘Kasre Harb’ at Nasib and started to live there. Jubaida Binte Abu Jafar was born there. This palace was very comfortable and lovely in terms of excellent natural climate and atmosphere. Till today some wonderful relics of this palace remain for us.23 In the year of 770 AD (154 Hijra), Abu Jafar Mansur ordered his son Mahdi to build ‘Rafiah’ palace.24 Thinking the security of the palace, Mahdi built a wall around it and dug a furrow towards Kufa.25 In 768 AD (151 Hijra), ‘Kasre Rusfa’ was built by the advice of Hazrat Kasam Ibn Abbas Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abbas.26 Firstly, Rusafa was built in the shape of an army camp and later it turned into habitation for the people. It was also known as the East Baghdad.27 It was situated at the opposite side of middle bridge built on the Uffatis River. Shamasia Village was situated in the East of Rusfia which was extended to ‘Bab Al Khurasan’ of the East Baghdad that was just to the opposite of the village Ramibia.28 Because of the hostile political circumstances, Abu Jafar Mansur was anxious about his own security. He apprehended that the soldiers deployed in ‘Bab Az-Zahab’ could kill him at any time collaborating with anarchists. He developed security zone of the city. He built there Kasre Rosafa for his son, Mahdi.29 He deployed a large number of soldiers in the city after building this palace. Many business centers had been shifted from Madinatul Monsur to another places during the reign of Mahdi and as a result ‘Rusafa’ became more aristocratic and gorgeous.30

Kasre Khuld: Symbol of Outstanding Architecture

Abu Jafar Mansur laid the foundation of ‘Kasrul Khuld’ at the place named ‘Kharkh’, nearby ‘Bab-al-Khurasan’ on the western bank of the Taigris River in 773 AD (Hizra 157). This
magnificent palace was named as 'Kasre Khuld' due to its awesome prettiness. In the course of time, the whole area was renowned in the name of the palace. The doors and the windows of the palace were differently engraved with gold and silver. A clearly visible platform named Majlishul Ameer was placed here. The floor of it was made of marble stone. The leaves of gold were set up in different places of it. There was a royal seat like tomb placed in the middle point of the conference room of Ameer where he used to take seat, which was ornamented with an artistic frame of gold. In front of royal palace, there was a rectangular courtyard called 'Murabba'. The observation of soldiers, receiving reports and inspecting those including different activities had been performed from there. At night, this avenue was illuminated with the lights of different color. Standing before the dais, Abu Jafar Mansur, wearing military dress, used to receive the reports on the activities of the soldiers. However, Harun-or-Rashid, Mamunur-or-Rashid, and Mutasim Billah evaluated different things of the soldiers on foot or riding a horse.

In the low land of Kasre Khuld, a palace, named 'Kasrul Karar' was built partly high from 'Kiranus Sirat'. About this naming, it is said that there was a stream along with the palace and its water was completely standstill and waveless. In Arabic language, 'Karar' means still or motionless. That is why, the palace was named as 'Kasrul Karar'.

The Description of Royal Dresses: Reflection of Persian Culture

It is noticed that the Abbasid rulers had accepted the Persian or Iranian culture in their personal and collective life. It may be in place, state building, as well as in costumes and food habits. As for example, the Iranian dresses achieved the honor of national dress. Abu Jaffar Mansur declared first the black hat of Iranian design as a part of military uniform. Following the predecessors, there was a special honor for Iranian dress and fashion to the people of this region during the regime of Hadi and Harun-or-Rashid. In this era, Iman Abu Yousuf proposed to make separate dress and turban for Muftis, Judges and wise men. Nevertheless, there was no practice of separate uniforms for them. During the period of caliph Mamun, advancement in dress and style was noticed. Iranian fashion was accepted in aristocratic circle because majority ministers were belonged to Iranian origin. The dresses of princes, ministers, government high officials during Abbasid era wore long and wide trouser, shirt, waist coat, gown, kuba, cap and cloak (long skirted loose outer garment). Usually they wore socks that were mostly made of silk, cotton and sometimes of skin. The name of these stocks was 'Muzaz'.

In the Abbasid era, the generals of army wore a small Iranian cloak whose another name was 'Aaba'. The soldiers used boot compulsory, but sandals were not allowed in any situation. At that time the persons appointed for secretarial duty wore waistcoats. During the reign of the caliph Harun-or-Rashid, his wife Jubaidah brought an excellent innovation in clothing. She created such a new design that had a huge response among modern and elegant girls. In this case, she used to lead very luxurious life. An example of her such
grandeur was that once she bought an attractive embroidered cloth with the price of 50 thousand dirham. At that time, aristocratic girls wore scarf and handkerchief engraved with different kinds of ornaments. Precious golden necklaces wreathed with valuable pearls were also shown on their necks. Imitating the Iranian culture, the girls of Baghdad wore anklets and bangles on legs and hands respectively.

Local girls of lower classes wore long-wide wrapper and shirt, some parts of which were open from necks. In winter, a small wrapper, shawl and scarf were compulsory used. The women, wearing a long and large wrapper on their body, used to go out of the house. Moreover there was a scarf for females from head to neck and it was tied with neck.

Royal Feast
Abbasid caliphs were very much epicure for special dishes. Caliph Mansur occasionally had ignored the advice of doctor for his favourite foods. Unfortunately, this type of food habit became the cause of his an incurable disease and death. Once he went to visit his uncle where he arranged delicious meals for the caliph. Roasted meats, eggs and different types of bird's meat were served for him. At that felicitation, he consumed excess food ignoring the prohibition of his personal doctor. Except Mansur; several Abbasid caliphs were fond of fruit juice. He often jokes with his chef:

You will take away the legs of cows-goats-sheep but you have to bear the cost of fuel wood and spices.

Like Abu Jafar Mansur, caliph, Harun-or-Rashid was very much fond of rich foods. The daily cost of his kitchen charges was ten thousand dirham. He had a habit that he took hot items first and then liked to take the cold items. Ibrahim Ibne Mahdi described:

Once Harun-or-Rashid was invited in a feast where several kind of foods were cooked with one hundred kinds of fishes heads and one thousand dirham was spent for the dish. He spent lion's share of his income in cooking. He awarded the chef regularly for his delicious and innovating cooking.

Royal Functions and Processions
The Abbasid Caliphs were much advance than the Umayyads for gorgeous and luxurious functions and processions. In procession, the status of the officials and aristocrat peoples were maintained seriously. The rulers were present with armed sentries. Keeping the fleet of soldiers in front of procession, the elite people moved riding over horses and the caliph remained behind them riding on a white horse along with the councilors of the first grade. In such a procession, caliph appears wearing black cloak with an aristocratic ornamental cup on head. There was a turban twisting with the cap. The valuable diamonds and pearls were embedded with the turban. The walking stick and the ring of the prophet (sm) he used in his hands. He wore a thin chain on the neck with different kinds of pearls.

Among royal processions, the Hajj pilgrimage was especially noteworthy. The people
who were intended to go to Hajj gathered in Baghdad from Islamic countries during the Hajj period. Therefore, Bagdad became one of the popular Hajj centres. The people started to set arrange the vehicles of journey, camels, dried fruits, essential stuffs and clothing from Baghdad. For the safety of journey, a group of soldiers accompanied the pilgrims. In front of the pilgrims, the leader of the Hajj was seated on a camel decorated with embroidered clothing. When the flute was played a little after rising the sun the people could realize that the caliph rode on vehicle for performing Hajj.

Casual Activities of Caliphs

During the Abbasid era, the socio-economic conditions of people of the country were prosperous. The pomp and aristocracy of the rulers were noteworthy. Some magnificent palaces and large hall rooms were made to arrange the party of social activities and recreation etc. At that time, the people were very liberal and they were most interested for enjoying their lives. In the palace of ministers, cabinets and governmental high officials, the pompous and splendor function parties were arranged with musical instruments through the participation of singers, artists and famous performers' regularly. Passing particular time with singers and artists was included in the daily routine of their activities. Caliph Saffah used to give the artists a large amount of gifts. He opined that they deserved for rewards because they entertained the people. Like predecessors, Mamun-or-Rashid also preferred to pass time through various types of recreations like songs, dances etc. He had high veneration for the artists. The caliph Wasik Billah learnt music and became a connoisseur of music. He composed more than one hundred melodies, rhythms with tunes.

Development in Culture and Education

Abbasid rulers brought cultural changes in all spheres of life including education, science, art and architecture. Therefore, Abbasid rulers immensely patronized for the advancement of knowledge in science, philosophy and religion. Caliph Mamun established ‘Baitul Hikmat’, a center for higher education. At that time libraries at mosques played an important role for spreading education in all strata of society. As Hitti mentioned, “These mosque circles bring to mind another type of coterie, chiefly literary, which met in the homes of the aristocracy and cultured society under the name of majlis al-adab.” Mosques were the centers of excellence for some cultural activities like poetical contests, religious debates and literary conferences.

At that time book markets developed with immense popularity. Many literary persons bloomed up because of those markets. Notable Muslim scientists and philosophers emerged during Abbasid dynasty as Baghdad city was regarded as knowledge center patronized by caliphs. A massive development was noticed in Muslim society in different branches of science and medicine. During Abbasid period, Abu-Bakr Muhammad Ibn-Zakariya Al Razi, Ibn Sina were great physicians who are still remembered with profound honour. Apart from Ibn Sina and Al Razi, Jabir Ibn Hyan, Al Khawarizmi, Al Biruni,
Al Farghani,\textsuperscript{59} Al Farabi,\textsuperscript{60} and Al Gazzali,\textsuperscript{61} all were great intellectuals who significantly contributed in science, philosophy and literature.\textsuperscript{62}

Many of Abbasid rulers patronized art and music. Caliph Mahdi regularly invited Siaad, the great musician of Arab, to his chamber. Caliph Harun-or-Rashid approved monthly ten thousand dirham for another great musician Ibrahim. Caliph Harun was not only famous for patronizing science, philosophy, literature and religion but also reputed for inspiring music and art.\textsuperscript{63} Al Razi and Al Farabi were reckoned as the greatest writers of music in medieval age. Apart from this, books on music written by Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd were regarded as documentary text of music in the Western Europe for many years.\textsuperscript{64}

**Conclusion**

Though the Abbasid rulers regarded themselves as caliphs, but they were not puritan like the calips of the earlier period. During this period a major change in cultural aspects was noticed. The modified lifestyle of the Abbasids took a breakthrough in Islamic pattern of living standard. However, they are still remembered with gratitude for their royal patronage for the exercised of multi culture in personal and court life. Nevertheless, the Abbasids occupied a significant position in early Arab history for their unique life style and multi-cultural assimilation in polity and society.

**Notes and References**

3. Ansari, Musa, *ibid*.
20. *Ibid*, p. 76
34. *Ibid*, p. 73.
54. Ansari, Musa, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
Secession of Singapore from the Federation of Malaysia: An Analysis

Mohammad Siddiquur Rahman Khan*
Mohammad Amranul Islam#

Introduction
Sir Thomas Stanford Raffles¹ of the English East India Company founded Singapore in 1819. That year, Stanford Raffles established Singapore as a trading post. It also was recognized as the starting point of Singapore’s modern legal system. Enjoying internal self-government since 1959, Singapore’s government played an active part in bringing into the federation of Malaysia in 1963.² It merged with Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak to form the Federation of Malaysia. It has actively propounded the slogan and the idea of “Malaysia for the Malaysian” with Singapore as a constituent part. However, this political union proved to be short-lived as Singapore was ousted from the federation of Malaysia in 1965 due to political, ethnic, economic and other differences factors.³ From 1963 to 1965, this federation experimented with extreme violence.⁴ The resulting stigma of separation has convinced to shadow over Singapore–Malaysia bilateral ties. This event shook Lee Kuan Yew⁵ and his leadership to the core. Lee faced the daunting challenge of building a nation against seemingly impossible odds. Due to extraordinary quality of Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore became free from hostile power. He also established economic prosperity and internal stability. A national identity had seen changed. It had also been developed in Singapore within the multilingual, multi-racial and multi-cultural society. On the other hand, Malaysia has achieved its development and prosperity in the every sector especially in economic development in South and Southeast Asia. In this paper, there is a humble attempt explore the circumstances leading to the secession of Singapore from the federation of Malaysia vis-a-vis these countries’ development in the Southeast Asian nations.

Overview of Singapore and Malaysia
The modern history of Singapore started in 1819 when Sir Stanford Raffles from British East India Company arrived on the island at the southern tilt of the Malayan Peninsula.

---

* Professor, Dept. of Islamic History & Culture, Dhaka University, Dhaka, Bangladesh, Former General Secretary, Bangladesh Itihas Parishad.
E-mail: s_rahman_khan@yahoo.com

# Lecturer, Dept. of Islamic History & Culture, Savar University College, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
In 1826, an English Act of parliament was passed to enable the crown to make provision for the administration of justice in Singapore and Malacca. By act of parliament in 1826, the Strait Settlements were set up uniting Penang, Malacca and Singapore under a single presidency operating from Penang. Control was transferred to Bengal in 1830, when Singapore became the administrative center. In 1858, the Straits Settlements became subject to the Bengal presidency. In 1859, the British East India Company was abolished and the Strait Settlements came under the new Indian government. Singapore was made the administrative center. The Strait Settlements remained largely under the Indian office until 1867. In 1867, the Strait Settlements were separated from the Government of India. It was transferred to the colonial office in London and became a crown colony of the Queen of England. Singapore was occupied by the Japanese in 1942 and ruled according to Japanese rules and regulations till 1945. After the Japanese surrendered in 1945, the British resumed control of Singapore till March 31, 1946. The Repeal Act 1946 disbanded the Strait Settlements. Singapore was established a separable Crown colony and formed the Malay Union. In 1948, the Malay Union was replaced by the Federation of Malaya. In 1959, Singapore achieved internal self-government and the colony became state of Singapore. In 1963, Singapore merged with Sarawak, North Borneo and existing states of the Federation of Malaya to form the Federation of Malaysia. In 1965, political and other differences between Singapore and the federal government led to Singapore’s expulsion from the federation and on 9 August, 1965, Singapore became an independent republic.

Form of Federation of Malaysia

After arrival of Sir Stanford Raffles in Singapore, by the Parliament Act, English East India Company set up the Strait Settlements in 1826 uniting Penang, Malacca and Singapore under a single Presidency operates from Penang. In 1867, it was transferred to the colonial office in London and became a crown colony of the Queen of England. In 1946, Singapore was established a separable Crown colony and formed the Malay Union. In 1948, the Federation of Malaya replaced the Malay Union. On 28 May, 1958, the Constitutional agreement was signed in London. In 1959, Singapore achieved internal self-government and the colony became state of Singapore.

In May 1959, the first general election of Singapore was held and People’s Action Party (PAP) gained a majority of seats in the Legislative Assembly. The first Government of Singapore was sworn in on June 5, 1959, with Lee Kuan Yew as Singapore’s first Prime Minister. The PAP came to power in a United Front with communist to fight British colonist. The communist controlled many mass organizations especially of workers and students. The Alliance wanted to get hold of full independence for Singapore. But tension between the two fractions worsened from 1960 and it led to an open split in 1961. The other player of Drama was the Malayan who agreed to Singapore’s merger with Malaya in 1961 as a part of a larger federation.
Malayan Leaders, especially Prime Minister Tunku Abdur Rahman, were initially hesitant to admit Singapore into the federation. But pro-communist activities on the island and pressure from the English East India Company led Tunku Abdur Rahman to change his mind in 1961. The PAP leaders worked with Malayan towards a merger solution and ultimate independence for Singapore. Then, on May 27, 1961, the Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdur Rahman proposed close polity-economic co-operation between the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei in the form of a merger. The main terms of the merger, agreed on by Tunku Abdur Rahman and Lee Kuan Yew, were to have central government responsibility for defense, foreign affair and internal security. In November 1961, Tunku Abdur Rahman went to London to negotiate for the Federation with British government. This government opined in favour of this plan but suggested to survey the people of the Borneo territories. To establish his plan, Tunko had consulted with Prime leaders of Singapore, Borneo territories, Brunei and Sarawak. Later on, Lee Kuan Yew met with Tunku Abdur Rahman to draw up a preliminary agreement on the matter of politics, economic, labour, education policy, equality of recruitment in the civil service, internal security and seats for Singapore in the House of Representative. However, a referendum on the terms of the merger held in Singapore on 1 September 1962 showed the people's overwhelming support for PAP's plan.

There was a revolt in Brunei against the Federation of Malaya in December 1962, which had to be suppressed by British military action. This revolt was staged with Indonesian support. Up to revolt, Tunku Abdur Rahman then arranged the stage for making the meeting with the Philippines' president Mecapagal and Indonesian president Dr. Sukarno in Manila. In August 1963, a United Nations team, accompanied by the Philippines, Indonesian and Malayan observers, toured the Borneo territories and cheeked on the validity of the elections of December 1962 in North Borneo and also elections of June 1963 in Sarawak. In both elections, the supporters of Malaysia had won large majority. On 13 September, the United Nations team reported in favour of the federation of Malaysia. Three days later on 16 September, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo (named Sabah) made formal declarations of independence and membership of Malaysia. Under the Malaysia Agreement which signed between Great Britain and the Federation of Malaysia Britain would enact an act to relinquish sovereign control over Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo. This was accomplished through the enactment of Malaysian Act 1963. On the following day, Tunku Abdur Rahman formally proclaimed the formation of new state as from 16 September 1963. Brunei opted out. Indonesia and the Philippines opposed the merger. President of Indonesia and the Philippines worked actively against it and took the 'policy of Confrontation' to Singapore from Malaysia.

**Genesis of Singapore secession from Federation of Malaysia**
The Leaders of Singapore, Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak signed the Malaysia agreement on
July 9, 1963, under the Federation of Malaysia scheduled to come into being on August 31, 1963. Tunku Abdur Rahman changed the date and prolonged it to September 16, however, to allow the UN time to complete its survey. On September 14, UN mission had reported that the majority of the people of Sabah and Sarawak were in favour of joining Malaysia. Singapore was particularly hit by the loss of into Indonesian barter trade. Because, Sukarno (1945-1966), the president of Indonesia, immediately broke off diplomatic and trade relations with Malaysia. Indonesian terrorists bombed the Ambassador Hotel on September 24, 1963 and aimed at communal unrest in Singapore. The propaganda campaign was effective among Singaporean Malays who desired that Federation of Malaysia would bring them the name preferences in employment and abstaining business licenses. The PAP government refused to grant any economic advantages rather than financial aid for education. The extremist UMNO Leaders whipped up anti-government sentiment, squeal and religious tension. On July 21, 1964, during a Muslim procession on the occasion of Prophet Mohammad (SM)'s birthday, conflict between Malaya and Chinese youth erupted into racial riots. In this conflict, 23 people were killed and hundreds were injured. In Singapore among its various ethnic groups astound and disbelief followed in the wake of the violence. Both Lee Kuan Yew and Tunku Abdur Rahman toured the Island in an effort to restore calm and avoided wrangling over sensitive issues for two years.

The first year of Malaysia Federation was also disappointing for Singapore in the financial arena. No progress was made toward establishing a common market. Each side accused the other of delaying on carrying out the terms of the agreement. In December 1964, Kuala Lampur demanded a higher percentage of Singapore's revenue. It also threatened to close the Singapore branch of the Bank of China, which handled the financial arrangements for trade between Singapore and China as well as remittances. On the other hand, UMNO ran candidates in September election of Singapore in 1963, PAP challenged MCA Alliance candidates in the Malaysian general election in April 1964. In this election, UMNO was unable to win any seats and PAP won only one seat on the peninsula. This result increased suspicion and animosity between UMNO and PAP along with their respective leaders. In April 1965, the four Alliance Parties of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak merged to form 'Malaysian National Alliance Party' The following month, the PAP and other four opposition parties from Malaya and Sarawak formed the Malaysian Solidarity convention in which most of members were ethnic Chinese. In the following months, the situation worsened increasingly.In 1965, Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdur Rahman forced Singapore to withdraw from the Federation fearing that the ethnic problem would spread. On 9 August 1964, Singapore became an independent state within the commonwealth and in December 1965, it became Republic of Singapore.

Factors of the Secession of Singapore from Malaysia Federation

Singapore's secession from the Federation of Malaysia can be traced back to the long-drawn out and acrimonious proceedings leading to the formation of Malaysia 1963. The
seeds of discontent from the disagreements between the two governments sprouted into major crises during the short-lived federation. The fundamental issues like social, economic, political and racial that played the brawny role to detach Singapore from Malaysia Federation in 1965. These factors are discussed below.

1. Political issues were involved in causing the separation of the two nations. Singapore’s PAP advocated meritocratic, non-communal form of government sought to treat everyone equally and rewarded them based on their merit, rather than their race or religion. The dominant political parties in the Malayan Peninsula had believed the Malaya and deserved special privileges over the Chinese and Indians. On the other hand, the constitution stipulated that Singapore was entitled to 15 seats when they were supposed to get 24 seats in the Malaysian Federal Parliament. Singaporeans also could not vote in Malaysian election and Malays in Singapore did not have special privileges. In 1963, Tbnku wanted PAP to work together with the Singapore Alliance. He told PAP to not compete with Singapore Alliance for the election. Because he wanted to check communist influence in Singapore. But Lee Kuan Yew refused so Singaporean Alliance did not win any seats in the election. Even the Singapore Branch of UMNO did not win any seats in the predominant Malay constituencies.

2. In the social sphere, differences worsened in the 1964 election because PAP took part in the federal elections in 1964. Tunku disliked and PAP criticized MCA as they did not represent the Chinese. On the other hand, UMNO and federal government were unhappy because PAP aimed for a non-communal politics. So, some UMNO leaders played communal politics by focusing on Malay poverty in Singapore and Singapore resettlement. So, actions by both parties only served to worsen the acrimonious relation between Singapore and Malaysia Federation.

3. Economically, the lack of progress in establishing a common market also served to dilute the appeal of a union with Malaysia. A common market was set up and it was supposed to allow goods to be bought and sold without taxes. Singapore had to give 39% of its yearly revenue. However, this was not fulfilled because of several reasons. Firstly, the federal general government wanted Singapore to develop Sabah and Sarawak. Not only that Kuala Lumpur also proposed Singapore to increase its contribution from 40% to 60% yearly revenue. Singapore rejected the proposal as it would cripple Singapore’s economy. These decisions were seen as unfair to Singapore. Secondly, the Situation was worsened by the attempt of the Federation of Malaysia to close down the Bank of China. It made Singapore unhappy because the Bank of China helped to promote trade and commerce between Singapore and China.

4. Racial harmony is of great important because there are four main races living together in Singapore. But social tensions increased dramatically within a year and were fuelled by Barisan Socialist’s tactics of stirring up communal sentiment. Specifically,
the Chinese in Singapore disdained being discriminated against by federal policies of affirmative action which granted special privileges to the Malays under Article 153 of the constitution of Malaysia. Racial sentiments were aroused in Singapore in various days. On 12 July 1964, UMNO held a convention of about 150 Malay organizations in Singapore. It was chaired by Syeed Jafar Albar. He said that Malays in Singapore had not been treated fairly by the PAP government. He urged the Malays to unite to overcome this unfair treatment. The Utusan Malayu, a Malay Newspaper also constantly adapted a communal line in their publications, accused the PAP of humiliating the Malay community in Singapore.

5. Malays increasingly feared that Singapore wanted to dominate Malaysia. The PAP to join forces with the major ethnic Chinese opposite party in Peninsular Malaya, in order to gain a majority of the seats in the federal parliament. They feared changes major in privileges for the Malays. Lee Kuan Yew was personally shattered by the exit of Singapore from Malaysia Federation. Singapore economy was so closely linked to that of Peninsular Malaya that economic prosperity depended on these links continuing. Singapore feared that its economy was too small and too vulnerable to anti-Chinese feeling among neighboring Indonesians and Malays to stand alone. So, the two leaders had not trusted each other accurately in the various affairs of the Federation of Malaysia.

6. The root cause for Singapore’s expulsion was in fact Lee Kuan Yew, the great politician of Singapore. There’s never any doubt Lee Kuan Yew was super intelligent, a double starred first class honours from Cambridge University, Tunku was also aware of his covert intention to replace MCA in the Perikatan. The Malay right wingers were getting so heated up with Lee Kuan Yew that Tunku thought a cooling period, via ‘a temporary’ expulsion of Singapore, would be good for everyone. Tunku imagined that Singapore outside of Malaysia would be so helpless alone by itself that Lee Kuan Yew would come crawling back, though this time on Tunku’s terms. That was Tunku’s plan.

7. The Philippines objected to the formation of the Federation, claiming North Borneo was part of Sulu, and thus the Philippines. The Philippines also made a claim for Sabah, arguing that it had historic links with the Philippines through the Sulu archipelago. In early 1962, the Philippines government under President Macapagal also voiced opposition to the Malaysia Federation on the grounds that North Borneo properly belonged to the Philippines. The Philippines wanted to put forward an alternative scheme in which Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya would be grouped on a loose association called ‘MAPHILINDO’. So, it disputed the sovereignty of east Malaysia through their claim on Sabah. Thus they broke off diplomatic relations with Malaysia.
8. Due to formation of Malaysia Federation, Indonesia announced a policy of 'Knofrontasai' (Confrontation)\(^{24}\) against Malaya on 27 July, 1963. President Sukarno\(^{25}\) declared that he was going to crush Malaysia (Indonesia Ganyang Malaysia). He argued that Malaysia is British puppet state with implications for Indonesia’s national security. Besides, Sukarno saw the formation of Malaysia as an obstacle to his dreams of MAPHILINDO. Indonesia viewed that Malaysia represented form of neocolonialism. This was Indonesia’s political and armed opposition to the creation of Malaysia. In 1965, there were several Indonesian operations into west Malaysia albeit without military success. This period of Konfron-tansai referred to as an economic, political and military confrontation lasted until the downfall of Sukarno in 1966. This policy of Indonesia played the strong role to exit Singapore from Malaysia.

9. On the other hand, the PAP continued crying for a 'Malaysian Malaysia' the fair and equal treatment of all races in Malaysia rather than the Malay races. Another was the economic dominance of Singapore’s port would inevitably shift political power away from Kuala Lumpur to Singapore. The situation escalated to such intensity that talk soon broke down and abusive speeches along with writings became rife on both sides. UMNO extremists called for the arrest of Lee Kuan Yew.

Thus, there have been several causes and factors which ultimately led to the secession of Singapore from Malaysia Federation in 1965, the memorable event of history of Malaysia.

**Separation in Action**

Singapore’s profound interest to join Malaysia did not last long time. Various internal events occurred and affected Singapore’s stand regarding her membership in Malaysia.\(^{26}\) For the first four months of 1965, relations between Singapore and Malaysia Federation were marked by disputes with more and more leaders’ joining in the fray. Nobody made any genuine effort to improve the situation. On 27 April 1965, Singapore announced a convention to form a 'United Opposition Front', with the aim to fight equality of rights. Subsequently Lee Kuan Yew started his Malaysia for Malaysia campaign underlining that “no community in Malaysia was more native than other communities”. The Malays considered this statement as a direct challenge to their status. PAP slogans heighten Chinese unity against the Malays after the conversion on 9 May 1965.

The situation grew increasingly critical after UMNO extremists under Jaafar Albar. He reacted against Lee Kuan Yew’s ‘Malaysia for Malaysian’ campaign with the call ‘Malays unity’. Meanwhile, MCA Leaders began to express a feeling of uneasiness over Singapore’s behavior. Tan Siew Sin and T.H. Ton the MCA leaders who suggested that Singapore ruptured away from Malaysia. No effort was made repeatedly from June to August to find a solution. All attempts were failed because Singapore continued to make worse situation.\(^{27}\) By July 1965, the tension between central government in Kuala Lumpur and the Singapore government had reached breaking point. A decision was made that Singapore should
disaffiliate from the Federation of Malaysia. Faced with demands for the arrest of Lee Kuan Yew and other PAP leaders by UMNO extremists and fearing further outbreaks of Communal violence, Tunku Abdur Rahman decided to separate Singapore from Malaysia Federation. Informed of his decision on August 6, 1965, Lee tried to work out some cost of compromise without success. On August 7, Lee Kuan Yew and Tunku Abdur Rahman signed the “Separation Agreement” for the separation of Singapore from Malaysia Federation. On 9 August, 1965, Parliament passes the Separate Act favouring preparation 126 to 0 votes without an attending of Singapore delegates. This event shook Lee Kuan Yew and his leadership to the core. They had devoted their careers to winning independence for a united Singapore and Malaysia. Now separation from Malaysia had been thrust upon them. Lee told Singaporeans in his announcement address:

For me, it is a moment of anguish, all my life, my whole adult life, I have dream in merger and unity of the two territories.

In a devised press conference, Lee declared Singapore a sovereign, democratic and independent state. On 9 August 1965, Malaysia expelled Singapore from the federation.

Impact on Singapore

Singapore started on an independent development trajectory when it was ejected from Malaysia in 1965. The vulnerability of Singapore deeply felt the threats from multiple sources and faced uncertainties. Besides issue of sovereignty, the pressing problems were unemployment, housing, education, and lack of natural resources, sanitation, proper infrastructure and adequate water supply etc. Much of the city states three million people were unemployed. The territory was sandwiched between two large and unfriendly states in Malaysia and Indonesa. However, under the effective leadership of Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore was able to curb the unemployment problem, raise standard of living of people and provide housing facility for the entire people.

In the late 1960s, the need to create employment and sustain economic growth was a paramount requirement. The role of the Singaporean government institution was crucial at this time. One of the first initiatives was to establish the Economic Development Board (EBD) in 1961 with the main purpose of attracting foreign capital to enter in Singapore market. Implement of national economic strategies and development of manufacturing sector, industrial estates were set up and foreign investment was attracted to the country with tax incentives. This manufacturing transformation produced higher Value added goods and achieved greater revenue. It also attracted big oil companies like SHELL and ESSO to establish oil refineries in Singapore. Singapore became the third largest oil-refining center in the world. During the 1980s, Singapore began to upgrade to higher-technology industries. These industries found international markets easily and cheaper prices for raw goods.

So, in the 1970s through the 1990s, Singapore experienced sustained economic growth. Along with Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan, it was called one of the ‘Four Tigers’
of the Asian economic prosperity. Despite all the success, there have been threats to Singapore's continued prosperity in recent years. The Asian financial crisis in 1997, the SARS outbreak in 2003, the H1N1 flu outbreak in 2009 and the crisis caused by the collapse of Lehman Brothers in 2009 had significant impact on the country economy. But Singapore has always managed to rebound and has put her in good stead for future challenges. Since the day Singapore officially gained sovereignty on 9 August, 1965, its politics has been dominated by the people's Action Party (PAP). The political situation in Singapore was stable. The PAP had a 15-year monopoly in parliament during 1966 to 1981. Under the leadership of the PAP, Singapore possesses a distinct political, culture such as authoritarian, pragmatic, rational and legalistic. Its power structure is highly centralized and characterized by a top-down style. Though there are many opposition parties in Singapore, only a handful are more notable. These include the Worker's Party of Singapore, the Singapore Democratic Party and the Singapore Democratic Alliance etc. Although all three parties have won seats in the general election before, the PAP still without doubt the most dominant party in Singapore.

Singapore's policy on social security and welfare in clearly reflected in the people of Singapore. The Central Provident Fund (CPF) is the main instrument of social development in Singapore. This scheme allowed members to use their savings for a variety purposes such as Home Ownership Investment, Insurance and others welfare activities. It contributed to set up Housing Development Board (HDB). Huge building projects sprang up to provide cheap, affordable public housing to resettle the squatters hence removing a serious racial problem. So, the multiracial Singapore society has progressed rapidly to join the ranks of developed nations. More than ninety percent of population of 4.2 million is homeowners. Despite many advertises Singapore has succeeded in many areas of social provisions, housing, healthcare, education, family and community life. Besides Singapore economic development, social developments strategic are vital to enhancing the quality of any human society.

The lack of national identity and unity posed possible problems of Loyalty, reliability and possibility of further racial riots. It is a policy to create national identity through education in schools and flag rising. Lowering economic was implemented. The Singapore national pledge was introduced in 1966 emphasizing national fraternity and unity among the people regardless of race, language or religion. Singapore did able to create strong unity among the people of Singapore. The system of justice and law in Singapore was reformed. This legal system is based on the English common law systems. Certain Singapore statutes are not based on English enactments but on legislation from other jurisdictions. Sometimes Indian law is consulted in the interpretation of the Evidence Act and Penal Code that were based on Indian statutes. Certain laws such as the Internal Security Act and the Societies Act that were enacted during the rule of British Malaya.

The lack of national security was also felt in Singapore. Lee quickly sought international
recognition of Singapore's independence. He declared a policy of neutrality and non-alignment, following Switzerland's model. In 1965, Goh Kong Swee, the interior and defense Minister formed the National Defense Force which called Singapore Armed Forces. Singapore was especially interested in Israel's model of national service. This policy meant that Singapore could quickly mobilize enough defense forces to deter any invasion. National service was made compulsory for men and women between the ages of 18 and 45. The creation of national service policy is thought to aid the strengthening of national and racial ties since there is a sense of unity.

Singapore's sole resource is its people. The highly achievement oriented government placed utmost importance on education right from the beginning. Its education policy sought to incorporate all provident public schools, the direct state funding or generous grants in aid. So, education had become a major industry in Singapore. For example: in the first year of independence, the Singapore government allocated 59 percent of annual budget on primary education, twenty seven percent on secondary education and 14 percent on higher education. Primary educations were made compulsory in 2003. This style of educational policy was still extremely competitive and favoured those that did well initially and tended to ignore the suffering students, in the process of streaming. So, Singapore government emphasized on the all kind of educational sectors such as literacy, numeracy, bilingualism, science, mathematics, arts, medical and technical education etc. Today, Singapore Institute of Technical Education plays a vital role in preparing young Singaporean with the technical knowledge and skill to service the wide-range of industries. On the other hand, Singapore took the step of nationalizing companies such as Singapore Power, Public Utilities Board, Sing Tel and Singapore Airlines (SIA) etc. Recently, the government has taken steps to privatize the previous monopoly companies that these are now publicly listed limited liability companies. In August 1966, the Singapore parliament passed the Adulteration of Muslim Law Act (AMLA). The Singapore's Muslim Religious Council (MUIS) was constituted under the act that inaugurated in 1968. There is a Minister in Charge of Muslim Affairs who acts as a liaison between the Muslim community and political leadership. In fact, Singapore is a Chinese majority, secular state located in the Malay-Muslim World of South East Asia.

Singapore also developed the Tourism sector. The main activities in the tourism sector are hotels and restaurants services. Tourism Management in Singapore has sought to be adaptable to the changes in the wider socio-economic environment. In 2003, the tourism sector contributed to about 1.9 percent of total GDP. In recent year, the Singapore Tourism Board proposed the Tourists over the Tourism 21 vision which aims for Singapore to be the tourism capital of East Asian region and the destination of Business Tourism Center as well as tourism hub for South East Asia. Thus, Singapore developed every sides of post-independence Singapore. Singapore flourished the water resource policy for raw water in industry, cultural phenomena, media, industry, transport and communications (business
services, financial services, wholesale and retail trade) commercial services, construction, manufacturing such as electronics, chemicals, engineering, bio-medical manufacturing etc. On the other hand, Singapore made world-wide relations although its foreign policy has been dominated by its own policy. It has strong relations with ASEAN, the great regional organization of South-east Asia. It has also maintained strong political and military links with more distant allies including USA. Particularity, Singapore made the bilateral relations with Malaysia and Australia for the main purpose of trade and commerce along with socio-polity-cultural stability. She also made the good relations with South and Southeast Asian countries. But In 2002, relations with Indonesia become worsen due to terrorist affairs. On the other hand, she builds up the good relations with USA, UK, European Union, Middle East, African countries and other Asian countries. But it has strong relations with China in the affair of trade and commerce, socio-economic and politico-cultural stability etc. Thus Singapore became a member of ASEAN, APEC, ESCAPE and the Colombo plane. It also became a member of the UN in 1965, WTO in 1965, G-77, ILO, NAM etc. At last it has been evaluated that today Singapore is the strong economic power of South East Asia especially in the ASEAN countries.

Impact on Malaysia

After the breaking up of Federation of Malaysia, the Alliance government could divert its attention away from the all-engrossing political battles with PAP to resume the urgent task of creating a genuine unity among the remaining members of the Federation. The inclusion of Sabah and Sarawak had made the task much more difficult even though the Alliance had adopted realistic goals toward them by proving long periods of time to influence on the policies in Malaya. Granting concession to the two Borneo territories to encourage their entry into the Malaysian Federation. It also gave then far greater autonomy that exercised by the peninsular states. Nonetheless, the central government was wary of a further dismemberment of the federation and intervened to prevent the rise of any political group which would threat to the national unity. In 1966 and 1967, Sabah and Sarawak were brought into line with the policies of the central government of Malaysia under the leadership of Tunku Abdur Rahman. Malaysia got the permanent settlement of confrontation with Indonesia and the Philippines in 1966. The solution led to make the plan for the future and mould new Malaysian citizen, whose loyalty would be to the nation instead of particular state or ethnic group. This new citizen would be Malaya's traditional culture, heritage and language.

On the other hand, the national language question was a crucial aspect of this general debate. In Malaysia, a national language bill was passed on 3 March 1967. This bill typically represented a compromise solution with the Alliance government. The Borneo states were to enforce Malay language after entry into the Federation. Subsequently Sabah and Sarawak got it as a prime language when English had been dropped. Malay became the national language. Only after the riots of the 1969, Malay became usage in wider spread in
government including the parliament and the courts. In 1965, the government announced major changes in education policy. All students of Chine and India had to learn Malay and study on the base of an agreed Malayan curriculum. It conducted the entry examination to the University of Malay. In primary, secondary and higher level, the central government on the Malaya and British tradition has ascertained education system. The building of national education system in Malaysia had made the treats with the fundamental problems of language, culture, social change, economic and politics, which confronted society. So, the creation of a modern, national, integrated society and country was the output of post-colonial education policy of Malaysia.

Many Chinese began to despair of the MCA's ability to ensure the preservation of Chinese interest. Among the Chinese and Indian communities, the MCA and the MIC were increasingly seen as ineffectual. In the campaign of the 1969 Federal elections, there was widespread response to the promises of a new party formed in April, 1968 the "Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia" (Malaysian People's Movement). Besides this, many parties have been formed such an Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS), The Democratic Action Party (DAP) and Peoples Progressive Party (PPP). In May 10, 1969 general elections, the ruling alliance coalition headed by UMNO suffered a large setback in the polls. The riot ignited the capital Kuala Lumpur and the surrounding state of Selangor. A nationalize state of emergency and accompanying curfew were declared. 196 people were died, 149 were wounded and many women rapped. An estimated 6,000 Kuala Lumpur residents 90 percent of Chinese were made homeless. The government formed a Department of National Unity to formulate a national ideology and new social economic programs. In 1977, government took the policy of assimilation and accommodation of various communities to gather all citizen as a save community. Mahathir bin Mohammad declared that identity of Malaysia was mandatory for every citizen of Malay. He also said that there has no need to convert Christian into Muslim, European into Asian and Chinese into Muslims or Malays. Thus, the racial stability had been established in Malaysia.

After 1965, Malaysia is one of the fasted growing economic in the world and in many ways, a third world success story. Its long-term economic planning with the express aim of restructuring society and creating a genuine unity among its people was a new experience for Malaysia. By 1966, Malaysia had become the world's largest producer palm oil, timber, iron ores and manufacturing which also contributed to the grouping export. Since independence, the Malaysian economic was based on agriculture. After 1965, government established Federal Land Development Authority (FEDA). It provided planning schemes of agriculture and land development. Government provided loans and rural credits of reasonable rates. In 1969, Federal government therefore set up the Agricultural Bank of Malaysia to strengthen and co-ordinate public sector credit programme for agriculture. Thus, Farmer's Association 'FAMA' (Federal Agriculture Marketing Authority) was established for the agriculture fishing farms and other developments.
The government of Tun Tunku Abdul Rahman was severely criticized for its gradualist approach to Malay economic development. Malay was unhappy with policy of liase-faire. At the Second Bumiputra Economic Congress, Malay businessmen, politicians, bureaucrats called for a reorganization of the economic system along with the lines of the Japanese industrial system. So, a new economic initiative was thus launched for ensure long-term economic growth in Malaysia. It is known as New Economic Policy (NEP). This was implemented over a period of twenty year from 1970 to 1990. Under the new development policy, there was a dramatic increase in the state’s involvement in the allocation of public resources as well as public sector ownership and control of business enterprises. Through the NEP Policy, Government took four development Malaysian planes. By the end of the first Malaysia Plan (1971-78), there was some improvement in the employment pattern. The government created the several public enterprises such as MARA, PERNAS, SEDCs, UDA and MIDF etc. Specially, the rapid growth of Malaysia economic had been increased from 1980s to the mid 1995s. Under the Leadership of Mahathir bin Mohammad, government utilized greater state intervention to promote heavy industrialization and also set up a slogan that looks east to emulate Japan and South Korea. Government made the significant economic policy reversals including fiscal reforms, public expenditure cuts, preparation, deregulation and financial liberalization etc.

Within two decades, the implementation of the NEP has successfully created and expended the Malay Middle class and new rich along with active corporate players in the country and global world. The expiry of the Malaysian New Economic Policy (1971-70) gave the opportunities to outline his economic vision for Malaysia. In 1991, Malaysia has embarked along with the path of rapid industrialization in order to become society by the vision 2020. Industrialization was the corner stone in the New Economic Policy (1971-1990). As a NEP’s successor, New Development Policy (1991-2000) had been introduced in Malaysia. NDP designed to increase economic wealth for all Malaysian rather than just Malays. Through this policy, many major manufacturing projects had been established in 1990s such as Multimedia Super Corridor for Information Technology Industry, Development of Putrajaya for Malaysia’s Public Service and Hydro-electronic Project Bakum Dam in Sarawak for producing electricity. The infrastructure development become stronger that contributed to develop rapid economic growth of Malaysian lived in poverty and income inequality had narrowed.

After 1997, Malaysia recovered the financial crisis very soon. Government increased spending and fixed the ring to the US dollar. The result confounded its international critics specially IMF. So, the economy of Malaysia has shifted from agriculture to other economy based on manufacturing and industry in areas such as computers and consumer electronics. In first 21st century, Malaysia got other notable projects on the base of Manufacture, which led to introduce Modern Malaysia such as Patroness Twin Towers, KL International Airport (KLIA), the North South Expressway, the Sepang International Circuit etc. Thus, Economic Management of Malaysia resorted to unorthodox countercyclical recovery
and curtain growth in the face of more adverse international environment. Now a day, Malaysia became the Great Asian Economic Tiger in the world. Through the Economic Transformation Program (ETP) that was launched in October 2010, the country has been set on a path towards becoming a high-income economy by 2020. Since 1957, Malaysia political system was based on a parliamentary democracy. The political leadership of the country has been focusing on two key long-term goals: cementing national unity and economic development with equity. After 1980, political culture became increasingly centralized and authoritarian. Government believes that multiethnic Malaysia could only remain stable through controlled democracy. National front other political parties have rights to practice their politics. Now, National Front especially UMNO party is playing the important role in the politics of Malaysia since 1957.

Based on the constitution, Islam is the official religion and it lies within the state structure. Islam is not expected in national character of the state, except at the symbolic and ritualistic levels. As a Muslim state, Malaysia subscribes to a western economic system while adhering to some form of Islamic principle in its development programmers and governing pluralist societies. Malay education is a complex interaction between expanding secular training and increased government efforts to advance Islam in every sector. So, the government has placed special quotas and subsides on the Malays to excel in science, business and engineering. Specially, the National Front leader maintains its position on the sole protector of Malay-Islam. The Malaysia government has promoted rapid social change to integrate a national society from its ethnic divisions. Since poverty, eradication was an aim to control social welfare efforts. Social stability and equality gradually has consolidated in the Malaysian society. On the other hand, the Malaysian military's most striking characteristic is that there has never been a military coup in the country. The military is composed of Malaya ethnic groups. The Malaysian armed forces have been very active in United Nations Peace specially including the Congo, Namibia, Somalia and Bosnia. On the other hand, Malaysian foreign policy is premised on established close and friendly relations with the countries in the community of nations. Since Malaysian independence in 1957, the vision of foreign policy remains consistent that is to safeguard Malaysia's national interest as well as contribute towards a just and equitable community of nations.

Since 1965, Malaysia made the foreign relations on anti-communism and socialism. Gradually, it also made the relations with QIC, NAM, ASEAN. After 1981, the nation's foreign policy began adopting much greater economic orientation in the country's external relations. Malaysia persuades a regionalist and pro-south policy with anti-western rhetoric. He also affiliated with United Nations, UNESCO, World Bank, IMF, IAEA, GATT, APEC, D-8, ADB, PDA-5, South Center and Atlantic Treaty etc. Malaysia has disputed with China, the Philippines, Taiwan, Vietnam, Brunei and other countries. It also has trade and commerce relations with Singapore, Indonesia, Asian Countries, UK, USA, EU, SAARC Countries, Africa and Many European countries along with bad relations with Australia in
the several matters. At last, Malaysia will continue to maintain close relations with all countries in the world and work with linked minded nations in pursuing national interest.

**An Assessment**

Malaysia achieved remarkable success in changing Malaysian society from one characterized by widespread poverty income inequality and race as an important determinant of a rapidly industrializing modern economy. By 1990, Malaysia had dismantled the predominantly rural colonial economy and had in its places vibrant economy praised for full industrialization. Since 1965, besides economic development, Malaysia absolutely developed socio-politics, culture, religion, industry, foreign relations, internal and external problems of Malaysia very well. However, it was highly challenged to fill up the vision 2020 in future along with economic milestone as well as other resources of prosperous countries. Malaysia can still progress rapidly in the catch up mode for 20-50 years. But it will have to be flexible and adaptive to do so. Already it is moving out of the cheap-labour phase although labor migration policy will determine fast this occur. China, India and Indonesia should dominate markets for labour intensive goods. So, countries like Malaysia will have to continue moving up-market to more capital and technology intensive lines, a process that it has already begun.

After secession from the Federation of Malaysia in 1965, Singapore faced many problems and challenges but it had recovered these challenges and problems through the rapid economic and other developments. The wonders of the Singapore economic achievement since 1960s have its roots in the hard work of the government and the people of Singapore. It has done well over the last 40 years and become as one of the Asian tiger. Besides the economic development, Singapore developed its political stability, socio-cultural development, industrialization, tourism, mining and manufacturing, transportation, telecommunications, good governance, administrative reforms, mass media development, foreign relations, National security, military reforms, Medicine, Health care, anti-terrorism activities etc in Southeast Asia. These developments have achieved through the balanced leadership of Lee Kuan Yew and his successors. But the next couple of years present Singapore with a totally different set of new challenges and yet the Singapore government is still optimistic about the use of their human capital country on the strategy into the future.

**Conclusion**

Singapore’s separation from Malaysia federation was the outstanding fact, which led to the making of modern economic developed countries in the Southeast Asia: Malaysia and Singapore. Specially, Singapore was not well position in economic and others sectors. Facing severe unemployment, housing crises, Singapore embarked on a modernization programmer. This focused on establishing a manufacturing industry, developing large public housing estates and investing heavily on public education. Singapore grew from being a developing country to one of the most developed nations in Asia despite its small population, limited land space and lack of natural resources. Since independence, Singapore’s economy has
grown by an average of nine percent each year. By the 1990s, the country had become one of the world’s most prosperous nations with a highly developed economy, strong international trading links, politics, social, culture, manufacturing, internal securities and the highest per capita gross domestic product in Asia outside of Japan. By the beginning of the twenty first century, it will be among the three or four most prosperous societies in the world. All problems and issues are saluted and developed properly but the Singaporean government still worries about national identity within the multi-lingua, multi-racial, multicultural society that was Singapore.

On the other hand, Malaysia also becomes most industrial and economic development country in the Southeast Asia. After the separation of Singapore, Malaysia developed her socio-politics, cultural structure, infrastructure, agriculture, trade and commerce, internal security along with mitigation of racial riots among the people to accomplish its goal. It had reformed every sectors especially economic development. Malaysia took the New Economic Policy (NEP), Vision 2020, manufacturing and other industries development planes which led Malaysia to ascertain its golden future and make modern Malaysia. After 1965, Malaysia and Singapore played strong role in South and Southeast Asian economic development. For that Malaysia and Singapore are known as two strong 'Asian Tigers'. On the other hand, Malaysia became as a regional power of economic and politics in the Southeast Asian. Consequently, it is concluded that the separation of Singapore from Malaysia Federation in 1965 was an epoch-making chapter in the history of Malaysia and Singapore.

Notes and References
1. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, FRS (6 July 1781-5 July 1826) was a British statesman, best known for his founding of the city of Singapore (now the city-state of the Republic of Singapore) and the London Zoo. He is often described as the “Father of Singapore” and “Father of London Zoo”. He was also an amateur writer and wrote a book titled History of Java (1817).
2. Lyon P. March, War and Peace is South-East Asia, 1969, p. 98.
5. Lee Kuan (born Harry Lee Kuan Yew, 16 September 1923), is a Singaporean politician. Often referred to as the Father of Singapore or by the initials LKY, he was the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore, governing for three decades. He is also widely recognized as the founding father of modern Singapore. As the co-founder and first Secretary-General of the People’s Action Party (PAP), he led the party to eight victories from 1959 to 1990, and oversaw the separation of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965 and its subsequent transformation from a relatively under-developed colonial outpost with no natural resources into a “First World” Asian Tiger. He is one of the most influential political figures in Asia.


8. The Malayan Union was a federation of the Malay states and the Straits Settlements of Penang and Malacca. The Union became the Federation of Malaya in 1948. The Federation of Malaya became the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, following the admission of Singapore, Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak to the new federation. Singapore was seceded from the federation and became independent in 1965.


10. The People's Action Party (abbrev: PAP) has been Singapore's ruling political party since 1959. It is one of the two major parties in Singapore, the other being the Workers' Party. Since the 1963 general elections, the PAP has dominated Singapore's parliamentary democracy and has been central to the city-state's rapid political, social, and economic development. However, it has been criticized for the passing of laws that suppress free speech and other civil liberties. In the 2011 Singapore general election, the PAP won 81 of the 87 constituency elected (99 total) seats in the Parliament of Singapore while receiving 60.14% of total votes cast, the lowest share garnered since independence.


16. The Malaysia Act 1963 (1963 C 35) was an Act of Parliament in the United Kingdom. It came into operation on 31 July 1963. The Act made provisions for the federation of states of the Federation of Malaysia. As a result of the Act, the Federation of Malaya was renamed Malaysia on 16 September 1963. Singapore ceased to be a state of Malaysia on 9 August 1965, becoming an independent state instead.


18. Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) is a uni-racial political party in Malaysia that represents the Malaysian Chinese ethnicity. It is one of the three major component parties of the ruling coalition in Malaysia called the Barisan Nasional (BN) in Malay, or National Front in English. MCA performed poorly in the last two elections, securing only 15 seats in 2008 and decreasing its share to only 7 seats in 2013. This, along with continued factionalism has raised concerns over the party's relevance in the Malaysian political arena.
19. Barisan Nasional (BN) (Malay historically National Front) is a major political party in Malaysia, formed in 1973 as the successor to the Alliance (Perikatari). Along with its predecessor, it has been Malaysia’s federal ruling political force since independence. The coalition’s headquarters is located in the nation’s capital, Kuala Lumpur. Since 2008, the coalition has seen its non-Malay component parties virtually wiped out in the Peninsula, with the Malaysian Chinese Association no longer represented on the federal cabinet.

20. Utusan Malaysia (literally translated from Malay to English as the “Malaysian Courier”) is a Malay language newspaper in Malaysia. It serves as the unofficial mouthpiece of the ruling party, the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), which owns it.

21. The Sulu Archipelago is a chain of islands in the southwestern Philippines that forms the northern limit of the Celebes Sea. It is considered to be part of the Moroland by the local rebel independence movement. The archipelago is not the remains of a land bridge between Borneo and the Philippines.

22. Diosdado Pangan Macapagal (September 28, 1910 to April 21, 1997) was the ninth President of the Philippines, serving from 1961 to 1965, and the sixth Vice-President, serving from 1957 to 1961. He also served as a member of the House of Representatives, and headed the Constitutional Convention of 1970. Under Marcos, Macapagal was elected president of the Constitutional Convention which would later draft what became the 1973 Constitution, though the manner in which the charter was ratified and modified led him to later question its legitimacy. He later died of heart failure, pneumonia and renal complications at the age of 86.

23. The Greater Malayan Confederation, or MAPHTLINDO, was a proposed, nonpolitical confederation of the three Southeast Asian countries such as Malaya, the Philippines, and Indonesia. The original plan for a united state based on the concept of the Malay race was attempted by Wenceslao Vinzons during the Philippines’ Commonwealth Era.

24. The Indonesian-Malaysian Confrontation during 1963-1966 was Indonesia’s political and armed opposition to the creation of Malaysia. It is also known by its Indonesian/Malay name Konfrontasi. The confrontation was an undeclared war with most of the action occurring in the border area between Indonesia and East Malaysia on the island of Borneo (known as Kalimantan in Indonesia).

25. Indonesian world leader Sukarno was born on June 6, 1901, in Surabaja, Java, and Dutch East Indies. Like many Javanese people, he went by one name. In 1927, he became the leader of the Indonesian Independence Movement Party and fought for the country’s independence from the Netherlands. In 1945, Sukarno became the first president of the new Republic of Indonesia, a position he held for almost 21 years. Sukarno died on June 21, 1970.

countrystudies.us/Singapore/28.


32. The high value-added products refer the electronics chemicals.

33. Shell Oil Company is the United States-based subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell, a multinational oil company (“oil major”) of Anglo-Dutch origins, which is amongst the largest oil companies in the world. Approximately 22,000 Shell employees are based in the U.S. The U.S. head office is in Houston, Texas. Shell Oil Company, including its consolidated companies and its share in equity companies, is one of America’s largest oil and natural producers, natural gas marketers, gasoline marketers and petrochemical manufacturers.

34. Esso Oil Company is an international trade name for Exxon Mobil and its related companies. The name is a phonetic version of the initials of the pre-1911 Standard Oil and as such became the focus of much litigation and regulatory restriction in the United States in 1972. In most of the world, the Esso brand and the Mobil/brand are the primary brand names of Exxon Mobil. This brand name is still in used only in the USA along with Mobil.


36. The society of Singapore is a melting pot of mainly Chinese, Indian, British, and Malay cultures. It is a reflection of its immigrant history. Singapore has a diverse populace of nearly 5 million people which is made up of Chinese, Malays, Indians, Caucasians and Eurasians (plus other mixed groups) and Asians of different origins, which is in line with the nation’s history as a crossroads for various ethnic and racial groups.


41. Sabah is one of the 13 member states of Malaysia, and is its easternmost state. It is located on the northern portion of the island of Borneo. It is the second largest state in the country after Sarawak, which it borders on its southwest. The capital of Sabah is Kota Kinabalu. Sabah is often referred to as “The Land below the Wind”, a phrase used by seafarers in the past to describe lands south of the typhoon belt.

42. Sarawak is one of two Malaysian states on the island of Borneo. Known as Bumi Kenyalang (“Land of the Hornbills”), Sarawak is situated on the northwest of the island, bordering the
Malaysian state of Sabah to the northeast, Indonesia to the south, and surrounding Brunei. It is the largest Malaysian state.


45. The Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) is a Malaysian political party and is one of the founding members of the ruling coalition, Barisan Nasional, previously known as the Alliance, which has been in power since the country achieved independence in 1957.

46. The United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), is Malaysia's largest political party. A founding member of the National Front coalition, which has played a dominant role in Malaysian politics since independence. The UMNO emphasizes as its foundation the struggle to uphold the aspirations of Malay nationalism and the dignity of race, religion and country. The party also aspires to protect the Malay culture as the national culture and to uphold, defend and expand Islam. Up to this day, UMNO is the longest continuing ruling party in the world. UMNO is widely considered as backbone of Alliance Party (Malaysia), ruling coalition since 1951 and its successor since 1973, Barisan Nasional.

47. The Federal Land Development Authority (more commonly referred to as FELDA) is a Malaysian government agency initially founded to handle the resettlement of rural poor into newly developed areas and to organize smallholder farms growing cash crops.


50. Wawasan 2020 or Vision 2020 is a Malaysian ideal introduced by the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir bin Mohamad during the tabling of the Sixth Malaysia Plan in 1991. The vision calls for the nation to achieve a self-sufficient industrialized nation by the year 2020, encompasses all aspects of life, from economic prosperity, social well-being, educational excellent, political stability, as well as psychological balance. In order to achieve Vision 2020, Mahathir lamented that the nation required an annual growth of 7% (in real terms) over the thirty-year periods (1990-2020), so that the economy would be eightfold stronger than its 1990 GDP of RM115 billion. This would translate to a GDP of RM920 billion (in 1990 Ringgit terms) in 2020. Wawasan 2020 is also the title of an article by William Greider about globalization in Malaysia.


Indian subcontinent witnessed several reformist movements in the form of *jihad* by the Islamists against their rulers. In this connection few names like Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Aziz and above all Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi may be mentioned here. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi started popular outcry blaming the Mughal emperor Akbar that he had been insinuated Islam in different ways. Hence, he claimed himself as a *mujaddidalfsani* to save Islam and raised slogans among his devotees that ‘Islam has become impure at the hand of Akbar’. After the death of the emperor Aurangzeb, the Islamic reformation movement gained momentum under the shadow of political unrest, religious degradation and cultural subversion. During this period, Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz emerged as reformist leaders who noticed that Muslims were facing downfall at the hands of the British and the Sikhs after having a glorious existence. They unanimously felt that the spirit of Islam had been decaying due to social corruptions and lack of proper political leadership. Under this situation they opined that *jihad* was the only way out from all the evils and hindrance prevalent among Indian Muslims. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi designated himself as *amirulmuminin* and launched a revolutionary Islamic movement which was called *tahriq-i-muhammadiyah*. On the basis of the doctrine of *tauhid*, the transcendent unity of God which denounced all the un-Islamic practices and beliefs (*bida* and *shirk*) as adopted as popular Islam in Indian perspective. Apart from that, he wanted to establish an Islamic rule on the main principle of *sharia* in India replacing the English and Sikh kingdom. It is said that he borrowed the idea and the spirit of this movement from Muhammad Abdul Wahab of Arabia. The aim of Muhammad Abdul Wahab was to set free the Arab society of evils and to establish an Islamic state guided by *sharia*. Though, their objective was same but different pattern of actions of movements between the two were noticed. However, the movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi in Indian history is generally known as Wahabi movement.

A strong debate among the scholars regarding the nature of the movement led by Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi may be noticed. Divergent opinions have been expressed on the movement. In 1871, William Hunter, a British civil servant in Bengal, published his famous book *The
Book Review

*Indian Mussalmans*, in which he raised questions about the loyalty of the Muslims to the British government and referred to the earlier military campaigns of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi as anti-British to reestablish Muslim rule in India. The pioneer researcher of Wahabi movement in India, Qeyamuddin Ahmad remarked that the Wahabi movement was almost remorselessly anti-British movement, which characterized the political history of India in the second half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. However, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan took Hunter’s remarks very seriously and vehemently criticized its contents by publishing a review in *The Pioneer* and in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* refuting William Hunter’s contentious ideas. In the review, he argued that the movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi and his followers was directed solely against the mis-rule of the Sikh ruler in the Punjab and that it had nothing to do with the British government in India. He tried to convince the English readers and the British authorities that the accounts of William Hunter about the followers of Sayyid Ahmad and their movements were not based on facts.

It is a fact that after 1871, the momentum of movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi had diminished gradually owing to some factors. The Muslim mindset on *jihad* began to change after the series of trials of *mujahidins*. The orders of Ambala trial (1864), Patna trial (1865), Rajmahal trial (1870) and Malda trial (1870) resulted in the transportation and exile of the *tariqah* leaders in the Andamans, which brought about a significant change in the attitude of the urban Muslims towards the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* movement. The contemporary Muslim leaders of India began to follow the new political strategy which was based on applying the principles of reconciliation and co-operation with the British government. In this context the efforts of Nawab Abdul Latif Khan, Maulavi Karamat Ali, Sayyid Amir Hussain, and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, are worth mentioning. They took a leading part in denouncing the concepts of *dar-ul-harb*. They tried to convince both the British authorities and the Muslims that according to the Islamic law, *jihad* against the ruler was unlawful because the Muslims were now *mustamin* or protected under the British rule.

In view of the above-mentioned change in the Indian Muslim psyche, the book ‘Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi: His Movement and Legacy from the Pukhtun Perspective’, written by Altaf Qadir may be evaluated. It is basically a case study of the Barailvi movement in the backdrop of Pukhtun polity, society and culture. The book grew out from the Ph.D. thesis of the author. The book, in fact, has made an in-depth study of the society and politics of Pukhtun community during the period of the *imarat* movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi in North West regions preceding the battle of the Balakot (1831). The author has diligently collected materials from official government records kept in archives, contemporary Arabic, Persian, Pukhtu and English sources both manuscripts and literatures, secondary books and articles, newspapers and periodicals, folk traditions, personal interviews of political as well as social personalities of the subject. In fact, amassing a plethora of information from diverse sources and making a thorough scrutiny of social and political trends, Altaf Qadir has come to the
conclusion that Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi did not properly study the situation or denied the geo-political environment, traditional beliefs, values and tribal psychology of the heterogeneous Pakhtun Muslim society of North Western Frontiers before the application of the state of *imarat* there. As a result considerable number of independent Pukhtun leaders from different communities antagonized the reforms initiated by Sayyid Ahmad, when the *mujahidins* forcefully imposed alien and rigid ideas like taxes and *sharia* society replacing the customary tribal set up and family traditions in the name of *jihad*. These types of drastic reformations in Pukhtun societies by Barailvi created some unmanageable situations which may be considered as one of the principle cause for the fatal failure of the *mujahidins* in Balakot battlefield.

The book confirms that in spite of the inherent weakness of the *imarat* declarations, the charisma of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi certainly inspired the Pukhtun society in different ways. The legacy of the Barailvi movement still remain in traditional Pukhtun religion, society, literature, commerce and polity also. The author asserted the view that the present day militant attitude of the Pakhtun region may be accepted as the legacy of the *jihad* movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi.

Actually, the researcher has focused his attention on the areas, which so long have not been traversed. His analysis and interpretation of facts and study of interplay or interaction of social and political forces within a given period not only have made the book interesting but provided ample scope for new elucidation of pattern of history in micro-level which needs further cultivation by future researchers.

Kazi Sufior Rahaman