

Marxist Historiography in Pakistan: An Appraisal

By

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

December, 2017.

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Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that PhD candidate Mr. Muhammad Naveed Akhtar has completed his dissertation titled "Marxist Historiography in Pakistan: An Appraisal" under my supervision. I recommend it for submission in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

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To

My Brothers

Muhammad Waheed Akhtar and Muhammad Saeed Akhtar (d. October 8, 2005).

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Abstract

The nationalist perspective of history, across the world, being befitted by socio-political structures on both the national and international levels, and by appealing to the patriotic sentiments of the people, has become the most popular and conventional discourse than any other. It was the colonial period when the nationalist movements across the world, and particularly in the Third World, reached to their culmination, and the scholars, intellectuals, ideologues and political leaders representing the communities fighting against European imperialism gave expression to their solidarity, problems, interests and demand for liberty by producing nationalistic narratives. In the same vein, the historians presenting the Muslim community of India evolved their perspectives of Muslim nationalism. After independence, Pakistan adopted it as an official ideology and propagated it through academic and research based paraphernalia. Parallel to development of the Muslim, Indian and Hindu nationalistic discourse in South Asia during the colonial era, there emerged another one known as Marxist narrative, fundamentally based on the ideas of the German philosopher Karl Marx, which condemned not only the imperialism, but also communalism, religious orthodoxies, social inequalities, and systems of economic exploitation. The scholars, intellectuals, historians and political leaders representing this school of thought raised voice for progressivism, liberalism, pluralism, and humanism.

After the colonial period, this movement in Pakistan appeared as a leftist movement, becoming highly critical of the Muslim nationalist perspective. The present research work addresses and recounts myriad issues pertaining to the origin, nature, and development of the Marxist/leftist movement in South Asia, and particularly in Pakistan. It provides biographical accounts of various

Pakistani Marxist scholars and introductory details on the literature they produced. However, the major focus in the present research is directed on appraising the works produced by three select Marxist historians, Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed, which narrate the history of medieval India. It explores, analyses and interprets the views of these Marxist historians on historiography and philosophy of history, describing and underscoring the differences of approaches and methodologies they shown towards the Muslim nationalist historians as well as each other. It explores the major themes which the Marxist historians emphasize and incorporate in their narratives on history of medieval Indian, including the role of religion in social and political affairs, political role of the *ulema* and sufis, spread of Islam in India, nature of religio-political and social movements, social exchange and cultural imperialism, social status and historical role of the women, social formation, social alienation, social stagnation, economic structures, and decline of the Muslims society and Mughal Empire in India. It evaluates and discusses how the perspectives and approaches of the Marxist historians on Indian history differ from those of the Muslim nationalist historians.

The study also provides an analysis of the merits and demerits of the Marxist historiography in Pakistan, by highlighting its ontological and epistemological perspectives—i.e. positivism, subaltern and existentialist—in comparison with the idealism adhered to by the Muslim nationalist historians and by describing the methodological strengths and weaknesses of Marxist historiography. It is examined how the Marxist historians significantly contribute to production of historical knowledge with a rationalistic and ideological appeal, but fail to affect the socio-political behaviour of the general masses and political leadership, who in their mind-set and conduct are immensely religious and traditionalist.

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Introduction

1. Statement of the Problem

Besides those myriad social, political, economic and administrative problems that Pakistan inherited just after its creation in 1947, the one was intellectual disagreements on that how the state and society of Pakistan should be envisaged. This intellectual conflict that Sibte Hassan has portrayed as ‘the Battle of Ideas in Pakistan’ was mainly a reflection of two exactly opposite ideological perspectives: i.e. the rightist vs. the leftist; the religious vs. the secular; the orthodox vs. the liberal; Islamic theocratic vs. the social democratic. The scholars and historians representing the right school of thought propounded that as Pakistan came into being in the wake of a long Muslim nationalist and separatist struggle in South Asia, the foundations of the state institutions and those of society must necessarily be laid according to the basic principles and guidance that Islam offers to its followers. The historians adhering to this perspective are called Muslim nationalist historians and they have hence viewed and presented the history of India in accordance with a framework of “Two Nations Theory.”

On the other hand, the leftists in Pakistan who appear through their writings to have been antithetical and critical of Muslim nationalist perspective persuade for the separation of religion and politics in the country. They observe that despite the efforts of clerics to give the law of state a religious color, the institution of state has always been secular. Theocracy, they consider, is the product of feudal culture and instrumental in serving the interests of the elites. In their view, the state’s responsibilities are secular, serving the people without indulging in religious, sectarian, racial, ethnic or gender discriminations. The leftist scholars, therefore, contend that the theocracy develops such social and political conditions which likely make the society extremely religious,

intolerant towards non-Muslim minorities and that it restricts the internationally acknowledged standards of fundamental human rights. They are critical of theocracy, because they argue that it restricts the artistic, aesthetic and literary faculties and potential of the society. The historians representing this school of thought have challenged the dispositions that Muslim nationalist historians have offered in their narratives. Since the leftist historians are also recognized in Pakistan as Marxists, socialists, and progressive historians, they have dominantly employed Marx's conception of dialectic materialism or some of Marxism's variants in their historical studies.

2. Aims and Objectives of the Study

The present study is a historiographical and an academic study that mainly intends to explain and evaluate the historical writings presented by Pakistani Marxist historians. It discusses, in accordance with academic principles of historiography, the Marxist historiographical discourse produced in Pakistan. It identifies and explains the major political, social, economic and cultural themes having been assigned historical significance by Pakistani Marxist historians in their narratives. This study reflects on the methodological, ontological, and epistemological approaches according to which Marxist historians have conducted the task of historiography. The present research does not offer a judgmental view on any of these ideological perspectives, nor does it go into judging the issues which may in anyway be sensitive and sentimental to state and society of Pakistan.

The present inquiry also develops a critique on the Marxist historiography that helps understand its contribution in the knowledge of historiography, and what it offers that its counterpart—the Muslim nationalist historiography—failed to do. This critique sheds ample light on the strengths and weaknesses of Marxist historiographical literature produced in Pakistan and evaluates its

standing in socio-cultural and political environment in Pakistan. The historians' approaches to address historical phenomenon, the methodological issues, the treatment of the historical facts and sources, the problems of interpretations, all these issues become a part of discussion in the critique this study presents.

3. Scope and Significance of the Study

This study confines its scope of discussion to three select Pakistani Marxist historians—i.e. Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed. It nonetheless chooses to focus on merely those writings of these historians which discuss medieval history of India—a period from 711 CE to 1857 CE. In other words, this study mainly focuses on Pakistani Marxist perspective on history of medieval India. The reason to select the said historians is mainly the scope of the study that these are the only Marxist historians of Pakistan who have produced discernable literature addressing the history of medieval India. By referring to Muslim nationalist historiography, this inquiry however, occasionally, highlights how Marxist historiography is different from that of Muslim nationalist, while they both have addressed the same historical themes and issues. Hence, the differences of the opinion shown by the said three Marxist historians have been given attention at length.

The themes on Indian history of medieval period to be discussed by Pakistani Marxist historians and have been given evaluation by the present study include: the state of secularism and theocracy during Muslim rule in India; the nature of state-society relationships in medieval India; the depiction of the Sufism and the status of the sufis in medieval Indian society; the political role of the *ulema* associated to the court of Sultans of Delhi and Mughal Emperors; the dynamics of the socio-religious movement emerged in Indian society; the cultural imperialist policies of the Muslim rulers, the cultural synthesis and syncretism emerged in the wake of Hindu-Muslim interactions. The feudalism and caste system that are major themes of Indian economic and social

history has also been discussed in reference to Pakistani Marxist historiographical literature. The marginal status of women in India society has given greater attention by the Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali, the present study hence evaluates how they have given the treatment to this subject matter. The reason of the decline of the Mughal Empire in India discussed by Pakistani Marxist historians has also been given appraisal. The history of martial culture is relatively a new historiographical trend and is introduced in Pakistan by Mubarak Ali by writing on the culture of the court of Sultans' of Delhi and Mughal Emperors. The present study reflects on it too.

Apart from above discussed main discussions, the many other issues closely linked with Marxist historiography in Pakistan have also been given an ample attention. This study thus goes into explaining the historical background and nature of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels' philosophical thoughts which are said to be Marxism. The genesis of Marxist historiography in Europe has been explained by reflecting upon the different schools of thought within Marxist historiography such as Frankfurt School, Annales School, Subaltern Studies, and Historians' Group of Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). Then, the brief discussions are also made on the development of Marxist historiography in South Asia and Pakistan. In a form of a chapter, an introductory and survey study on select Marxist scholars in Pakistan and their works is made to develop an insight into what sort of issues and themes have been addressed generally by Pakistani Marxist scholars. Although there is a long list of Marxist scholars in Pakistan who have produced literature in every genre of literature pertaining to fiction and non-fiction, this study is however primarily concerned to the non-fictional literature and the scholars who have authored that.

To have a comprehension of the views and dispositions of the Marxist historians, this study intends to review the works of the historians such as Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed. It helps understand the distinct approaches of these Marxist writers on the highly significant

historiographical issues: e.g. portrayal of personalities in historical enterprises; the concept of heroism and consequence of portraying personalities as heroes; the problematic periodization of India's history; objective and scientific outlook of history and its possibility; materialistic conception of history, and the place of social values in historical discourse, and the impacts of venerating the historical figures religiously.

However, it seems worthwhile to add here something on historiographical background and significance of the era and area, i.e. the medieval India, about which the Pakistani Marxist historians' undertaking is the main subject matter of the present study. During medieval times, India was invaded and ruled by different Muslim dynasties. It is often divided into three phases: 1) Pre-sultanate era of Muslim rule in India starting from 711; 2) Sultanate period in which different Turk and Afghan dynasties ruled India till 1526; 3) Mughal period which is sub-divided into two phases i.e. great Mughal period and later Mughal period till 1857. The Muslim rule in India ended in 1857 and the British emerged as the new rulers of India. The historical literature produced on that period of Indian history by the contemporary historians is generally recognized as the court histories, which offers a statist discourse. The European historians on Indian history are known as orientalist and the historical literature they produced on Muslim rule in India had been criticized by the Muslim nationalist historians, since they thought it has presented the Muslim rulers of India and Muslim culture in India negatively. This has led to the communalization of history writing in South Asia. Hence, Muslim nationalist historians by producing their counter narrative defended, advocated and promoted the Muslim rulers and Muslim culture in India. Further, they have portrayed the Muslim community of India as a separate nation different from the Hindu community. This has made their narrative religious and political in nature. Pakistani Marxist historians while revisiting the Muslim nationalist historiographical discourse argue that it

presents the elitist perspective of history and overlooks the problems and plight of the common people. Having been critical of Muslim nationalist historical discourse, they have provided a perspective of history from below, the cultural, social, and economic history in a secular way.

4. Key Questions of Research

To further an understanding of that the present study discusses, it seems appropriate to put here some of key questions raised and addressed in the present study. What is Marxism and what are its major characteristics that Marxist historians have deployed in their historical investigation? What were the socio-political, economic and intellectual factors which somehow had contributed to a larger extent in the emergence and development of Marxism and Marxist historiography in Europe, South Asia and then in Pakistan? What are most influential Marxist historiographical school and what sorts of Marxist characteristics the historians representing those schools have expressed in their writings? What is the rationale of Marxist historiography in Pakistan and that of its counterpart i.e. Muslim nationalist historiography? What are the intellectual grounds on which these both historiographic schools in Pakistan differ from with each other? How did the Marxist historians in Pakistan view and signify the objectives and principles of history writings? What are the historiographical themes as to the medieval Indian history that Pakistani Marxist historians have emphasized in their works? While addressing these themes, what sort of disagreements or the differences of opinion exist between Pakistani Marxist historians and Muslim nationalist historians? Moreover, what is the nature of disagreements or differences of opinion within the school of Pakistani Marxist historians on different social, political, cultural and economic aspects of history of medieval India? While comparing Marxist historiography on medieval India with that of Muslim nationalist, what are merits and demerits that Pakistani Marxist historiography has shown? These questions help understand the rationale, the nature, the context of themes and issues,

the merits and demerits of historiographic discourse on medieval India presented by Pakistan's Marxist historians such as Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed.

5. Review of Literature

The works addressing Marxist historiography in Pakistan are quite rare, and those do not express academic rigour and seriousness. These are written and published mostly by those who somehow represent this very school, and their works aim at admiring, venerating, promoting and defending the positions of Marxist historians. Of course, these works have their own value and significance shedding light on and supplementing the different aspects of the Marxist historiography in Pakistan.

Abdul Rauf Malik's *Sajjad Zahir: Marxsi Danishwar aur Kamyunist Rehnuma* [Sajjad Zahir: Marxist Intellectual and Communist Leader] (2010) is author's memoir that mainly describes the life and times of Syed Sajjad Zahir (1905-1973) who was the founder of All India Progressive Writers' Association and the General Secretary of Communist Party of India.¹ Nonetheless, the book also sheds ample light on other leaders of Communist Party of Pakistan and the writers associated with the Progressive Writers' Association in Pakistan like Syed Sibte Hassan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Mirza Ashfaq Beg.² Moreover, it provides some details on the working of Communist Party of Pakistan and its leaders who had been arrested in the wake of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case.³ As the author of this book has been the General Secretary of the Progressive Writers' Association Pakistan, he has shared an insider perspective on the activities of

¹ Abdul Rauf Malik, *Syed Sajjad Zaheer: Marksist Danishwar aur Kamyunist Rehnuma* (Lahore: Jamhoori Publishers, 2010), 39-70, 127-142, 159-197.

² Malik, *Syed Sajjad Zaheer*, 71-122.

³ Malik, *Syed Sajjad Zaheer*, 57-70, 119, 123-126, 130, 135-8.

Pakistani Marxist writers and the literature they produced before banning of this association and press.

The Director of Pakistan Study Centre at University of Karachi, Syed Jaffar Ahmad during last two decades has shown a greater interest in writing, publishing and republishing many of Marxist historiographical works in Pakistan, primarily by Syed Sibte Hassan. He has produced an anthology of articles titled as *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia: Special Volume in Honor of Dr. Mubarak Ali* (2013). This volume contains the contributions from distinct authors of South Asia on different historical, contemporary, social and historiographic issues of South Asia.⁴ Nonetheless, it has mainly two such articles that are linked to the present study. One is Syed Jaffer Ahmad's article "Mubarak Ali and his Works," which provides an introduction of Mubarak Ali as "people's historian" and then presents a brief overview of many of his historical accounts.⁵ The subtitle of the book speaks volumes about the tone set by the author while addressing the subject matter. The article is highly significant so as to understand how Mubarak Ali's works have presented a prospect of 'history from below' while narrating the history of medieval India addressing the themes like religion, ideology, nationalism, society and culture.⁶

Another article in *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia* (2013) that is relevant to the present study is "History—the State of the Discipline: An Overview" written by Sharif al-Mujahid. The article tells about the state of history as an academic discipline in Pakistan, and examines the problems of syllabi, research, teaching, professional and trained historians, universities and

⁴ Syed Jaffar Ahmad (ed.), *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia: Special Volume in Honour of Dr. Mubarak Ali* (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2013).

⁵ Syed Jaffar Ahmad, "Mubarak Ali and his Works," in *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 21-49.

⁶ Ahmad, "Mubarak Ali and his Works," in *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 21-49.

libraries⁷. It explains what history is and how it is being dealt in Pakistan, and accordingly he has mainly incorporated the discourses of three renowned historians of Pakistan, i.e. K. K. Aziz, Naeem Qureshi, and Mubarak Ali.⁸ This article does not discuss problems of historiography exclusively, but the state of history as discipline in Pakistan by taking an overview.

Having been published in 2013, an anthology of articles written by number of scholars of Pakistan *Tarikh ka Safar: Dr. Mubarak Ali ki Ilmi Khidmat ka Eateraf* [A Journey through History: Acknowledging the Literary Services of Dr. Mubarak Ali] (2013) presents a great tribute to Marxist historian Mubarak Ali for the literature he has produced.⁹ This anthology is compiled and published by Dr. Riaz Ahmad Sheikh. The distinct and distinguished scholars, historians and journalists contributing and acknowledging the scholarly services of Mubarak Ali include Dr. Riaz Ahmad Sheikh, Dr. H. R. Ahmad, Aslam Gurdaspuri, Syed Jaffar Ahmad, Ayub Malik, Farooq Baloch, Khalid Ashraf, Rubina Saigol, Wussat Ullah Khan, Kazi Javed, Ashfaq Saleem Mirza, Ghafar Shehzad, Anwar Kamal, Razi Abadi, Zahoor Chaudhary and many others. These scholars have shared their views about and admiration for Mubarak Ali and his historical works. They have recounted the events and time they spent with Mubarak Ali.¹⁰ They admire Ali's intellect and genius. They sympathize him for hard treatment that the people in his professional life gave him, and for the negligence that the state and institutions in Pakistan have demonstrated to acknowledge his intellectual services.¹¹ They have shared their impressions on Mubarak Ali's works that they

⁷ Sharif al-Mujahid, "History—the State of the Discipline: An Overview," in Syed Jaffar Ahmad (ed.), *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 50-80.

⁸ Mujahid, "History—the State of the Discipline: An Overview," in Syed Jaffar Ahmad (ed.), *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 50-80.

⁹ Riaz Ahmad Sheikh, *Tarikh ka Safar: Dr. Mubarak Ali ki Ilmi Khidmat ka Eateraf* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2013).

¹⁰ H. R. Ahmad, "Germany ki Yaden," in Sheikh, *Tarikh ka Safar*, 13-20; Khatao Mil, "Chand Yadein," in Sheikh, *Tarikh ka Safar*, 144-6; Ijaz Ahmad Qureshi, "Mubarak Ali—Jaysa mein Nay Unko Dekha," in Sheikh, *Tarikh ka Safar*, 199-202; Rafiq Ahmad, "Hyderabad ki Yadein," in Sheikh, *Tarikh ka Safar*, 225-9.

¹¹ Sardar Azeem Ullah Meo, "Mubarak Ali Eik Tabinda Sitar," in Sheikh, *Tarikh ka Safar*, 131-3; Rifaqat Ali Ansari, "Eik Tarikhdan, Eik Insaan," in Sheikh, *Tarikh ka Safar*, 134-8. Ghafar Shehzad, "Natawan Ahd ki Tawana Shakhshiyat—Mubarak Ali," in Sheikh, *Tarikh ka Safar*, 113-7.

have read. This anthology comprising of the articles by many writers, thus, helps understand a lot about the life, thoughts and works of Mubarak Ali.

The work *Sibte Hassan: Shukhsiyat aur Fikr* [Sibte Hassan: Personality and Thoughts] (2016) is an anthology of articles, letters and the papers presented in seminars discussing the personality traits and philosophical ideas of renowned Pakistani Marxist philosopher and historian Sibte Hassan, which are compiled, edited and published by Syed Jaffar Ahmad, director of Institute of Pakistan Study, Karachi University.¹² This work comprises of the writings of the Pakistan Marxist scholars, historians, literary critics, and the poets who through these writings have paid a homage to Sibte Hassan's personality and thoughts. The book is divided into three parts. The first contains the letters and articles by the scholars and historians including: Hamza Alavi, Abdullah Malik, Mubarak Ali, Muhammad Ali Siddiqui, Sehar Ansari, Mazhar Jameel, Muslim Shameem, Kausar Rizvi, Salahuddin Haider, and Syed Jaffar Ahmad. All these writers have expressed their appreciation and praise of his scholarship.¹³ Second part of the book includes the articles of the scholars such as Kaifi Azmi, Hameed Akhtar, Farig Bukhari, Shaukat Siddiqui, Shameem Faizi, Intezar Hussain, Hassan Abadi, Munno Bhai, Anwar Syed, Fakhar Hussain, Zahida Hina, Shaid Naqvi, Noshaba Zuberi, and Saeeda Gizdar. By including the writings of these left-leaning scholars, this part of the book reflects on Sibte Hassan's biographical sketches, personality, character, family life, professional life and political activism.¹⁴ The third and last part of the book presents the poetic homage of the four poets to Sibte Hassan, they are Niaz Haider, Safdar Siddique Razi, Qamar Hashami, and Shahid Naqvi.¹⁵ Although there is nothing critical about his intellectual

¹² Syed Jaffar Ahmad (ed.), *Sibte Hassan: Shukhsiyat aur Fikr* (Karachi: Muktibah-e Daniyal, 2006).

¹³ Ahmad, *Sibte Hassan*, 15-224,

¹⁴ Ahmad, *Sibte Hassan*, 225-338.

¹⁵ Ahmad, *Sibte Hassan*, 338-344.

production, this source nonetheless helps a great deal in understanding the different aspects of his personality, life and works.

A scholar, academician and historian with left-leaning tendencies, Fateh Muhammad Malik rendered a book *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Musanifin: Islami Roshan Khayali ya Ishtraki Mulaiyat* [Progressive Writers' Association: Islamic Progressivism or Communist Orthodoxy] (2016).¹⁶ This account presents the history of Progressive Writers' Association (PWA) and the writers associated with it, and provides an ample understanding of political, ideological, intellectual and literary dimensions of the movement. The author for a long time had also been associated with the progressive movement, he nonetheless have expressed his resentment towards the central leadership of PWA, i.e. Sajjad Zahir.¹⁷ The book divides into two parts: the first of which discusses the PWA during Pakistan movement and the second, PWA after the creation of Pakistan. Malik propounds that the progressive thinking, humanistic approaches in thinking of the writers, the denouncing of orthodoxy and the forces of status quo, all the elements that PWA intended to emphasize have always been given attention by the scholars in South Asia, even before the emergence of PWA and after that it ceases to exist.¹⁸

The second part of the book is quite relevant to understand the history of PWA in Pakistan, the conflict between the leading figures of PWA, the forward bloc in it led by Ahmad Nadeem Qasimi, the turning point in its policy in order to come out of Soviet influence, its self-accountability policy,

¹⁶ Fateh Muhammad Malik, *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Musanifin: Islami Roshan Khayali ya Ishtraki Mulaiyat* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2016).

¹⁷ Malik admires the intellectual and literary genius of the Sajjad Zahir, but criticizes him on political grounds. The author has attempted to prove that Zahir was a communist having links with Soviet Union and All India National Congress' leader Nehru, an atheist biased towards religion and religious persons, a fascist having authoritarian temperament while taking decisions, forming the policy and handling the affairs of the PWA. Further, he regards him as one of those who did not accept Pakistan and its ideological foundations, and contends that he was a hardliner anti-Pakistan. Malik, *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Musanifin*, 11-35, 80.

¹⁸ Malik, *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Musanifin*, 7-8, 31-33, 108-112.

the political environment of Pakistan having been unfriendly and uncondusive for the progressive writers, Pakistan's pro-America policy during Cold War, and the McCarthyism in Pakistan which led to the incident of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case (1951) and consequent arrests of the writers, and banning of PWA and liberal press.¹⁹ This book has predominantly made the political, national, ideological and intellectual issues of PWA and its leadership in pre-partition India and then in Pakistan a subject matter of its discussion. Further, to have an understanding of the different sorts of literature having been produced in Pakistan such as Pakistani literature, Islamic literature, Jamat-e Islami literature and progressive literature, the segmental and incidental discussions in the book help a great deal.

Sekular Musanifin: Soqrat sey Sibte Hassan tak [Secular Writers: From Socrates to Sibte Hassan] (n.d. probably 2016-17) is written by a Pakistan Marxist scholar and historian Muslim Shameem.²⁰ It mainly sheds light on the personality and ideas of South Asian scholars, thinkers, politicians, educationists, theorists and poets who according to him have shown secular-progressive conduct and ideas. These include *inter alia*: the scholar-reformer Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898);²¹ the revolutionary poet and thinker Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938);²² the founding father of the Pakistani nation Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah (1876-1948);²³ the socialist-theologian Allama Niaz Fatehpuri;²⁴ the revolutionary leftist-socialist poets like Faiz Ahmad Faiz,²⁵ Kaifi Azmi²⁶ and Khalid Alig;²⁷ the scholar, educationist and literary critic Professor Mumtaz Husain;²⁸ and the

¹⁹ Malik, *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Musanifin*, 95-108.

²⁰ Muslim Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin: Soqrat sey Sibte Hassan tak* (Islamabad: Badalti Duniya Publishers, n.d.).

²¹ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 22-31.

²² Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 32-46.

²³ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 47-60.

²⁴ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 107-23.

²⁵ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 124-38.

²⁶ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 177-97.

²⁷ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 407-20.

²⁸ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 321-6.

Marxist philosopher, historian and journalist Syed Sibte Hassan.²⁹ The book is relevant to the present study, since it helps understand greatly the history of secularism by having insight into the thoughts of western classical philosophers such as Socrates (470-399 BC), Plato (427-347 BC) and Aristotle (384-322 BC),³⁰ and those of the modern thinkers like Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Karl Marx (1818-1883).³¹ Moreover, the discourse in the book provides a profound understanding of socio-political environment in pre-partition India and that of Pakistan; the nature of ideological conflicts in Pakistan; the literary and intellectual activities carried out by leftist, progressive and secular scholars in the country.

In the literature reviewed above, it can be inferred that the personalities and works of Mubarak Ali and Sibte Hassan have somehow attracted the attentions of the larger circles of scholars and historians in Pakistan. Kazi Javed's works, nonetheless, have not been given such attention by the writers so far. Moreover, these writings on the personalities and thoughts of Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali, provide a view with generalizations and paying homage to them, rather than focusing at length on certain features and aspects of their works. Some of the books like *Sekular Musanifin* and *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Musanifin*, are dominantly focused on different literary trends in Pakistan, and the social and political conditions that have evolved certain ideological and literary trends in South Asia generally and in Pakistan particularly.

6. Methodology

The methodology employed in the present study in its entirety is eclectic—a combination of exploratory, descriptive, analytical and critical. Any one methodology frequently dominates over the rest in accordance with the nature of the discourse. The introduction to the writers is given

²⁹ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 436-48.

³⁰ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 61-68.

³¹ Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 89-99.

descriptively. The historical events have been narrated both descriptively and analytically. The nature of discourse in themes focused by the Marxist historians have mostly been compared with those of Muslim nationalist discourse. The differences of opinion shown by the Marxist historians have been explored and analyzed. Pertaining to the themes, methodology, ontology and epistemology of the Marxist historiography produced in Pakistan, the strengths and weaknesses have been evaluated analytically and critically.

In the present study, although an attempt is made to examine the Marxist historiographical discourse by putting the books in chronological order, dealing with the publishing dates of Mubarak Ali's works is quite problematic. This is because his works published by Fiction House does not mention the publication date of the first edition. Therefore, in the present study, while mentioning the books in the text-body the dates given at end of the prefaces of those books have been mentioned. In references, the years of publications are given that the copyright page of the cited source mentions.

7. Organization of the Study

Following introduction, the study is divided into six chapters. Chapter one discusses, adopting mostly a descriptive methodology, goes into discuss Marx's biographic details, the concepts in Marxism, the development of the different Marxist historiographical traditions in Europe, South Asia and Pakistan. Moreover this chapter introduces the Pakistani Marxist historians and their works, who in fact are the focus of present study. Chapter two provides an overall view of Pakistani Marxist writers and their works. This chapter handles the discourse with descriptive methodology and provides a survey study of select Marxist writers in Pakistan. It nonetheless is focused to discuss the writers who produced mostly the non-fiction work. Chapter three describes and evaluates the basic principles, philosophical approaches and methods that the Marxist historians

Sibte Hassan, Mubarak and Kazi Javed have considered highly important while experiencing and reflecting on the historical developments. Chapter four discusses some historical themes on medieval Indian having been given focus by the Pakistan Marxist historians, which include secularism, theocracy, the social status of the sufis and their political role, the *ulema* and their political role, and the explanation and interpretation of the religious movements emerged in medieval India. The differences of the Marxist historians as to these themes have been highlighted in this chapter. Chapter five discusses the social, cultural and economic themes given attention by Marxist historiography in Pakistan, which include the cultural imperialism, cultural syncretism, the social status of women, and the social formation in India, the feudalism and its impacts on Indian society, the dynamics of the wars and its consequences, the history of material culture in the courts of Sultans of Delhi and Mughal Emperors. Chapter six presents a conscientious critique on the Marxist historiography in Pakistan, assessing its major characteristics and describing its weaknesses and strengths.

Chapter One

Introduction to Marxist Historiography

It was during the mid of nineteenth century when Marxism started getting popularized to some extent in Europe, owing to the literary works and political activities of its founders Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. They were among those European intellectuals who envisaged a society where there would be no exploitation and injustice, they called it socialism. Their philosophic ideas inspired politicians, activists, philosophers, social scientist and historians not only in Europe, but across the world. Marxism gradually became a socialist or communist movement as well as an intellectual tradition. Marx's materialist conception of history attracted the historians who made it a framework to analyse the historical developments. In the consequence of criticism on Marxism, or amendments that Marxist scholars and historian felt necessary to be made in classic philosophy of Marxism, or the special focus on any of the classical theories of Marxism, there have emerged various strands within Marxism. All these neo-Marxist schools have made a great contribution in the field of historiography by giving historical phenomenon some new explanations and interpretations—i.e. economic, secular, humanistic and progressive.

This chapter discusses the biographic details of Karl Marx and his philosophical ideas. It sheds light on the origin and genesis of Marxist historiography in Europe, in South Asia and then in Pakistan. It attempts to explain what social, political, economic and international circumstances and developments contributed in originating and popularizing the philosophy of Marxism. It also explains what variants of Marxism emerged after the death of Karl Marx and what sort of the differences and amendments the neo-Marxists expressed and introduced. It thus discusses and examines some of the renowned European Marxist historiographical schools such as Frankfurt School, Annales School, Historian's Group of Communist Party of Great Britain, and Subaltern

School. It explains how Marxism has contributed in extension and interpretation of historical knowledge. The Marxist historiographical developments in South Asia have been given attention and it is explained what sorts of Marxist trends have been introduced by Indian Marxist historians. It also discusses the rationale of Marxist historiography in Pakistan and explains the core historical issues that had attracted the attentions of the Marxist historians of Pakistan. The second part of this chapter discusses the life and times of Pakistani Marxist historians such as Sibte Hassan, Kazi Javed and Mubarak Ali and provides an introduction and examination to the historical works they produced.

1.1 Karl Marx: A Brief Profile

The world's most preeminent and influential philosopher Karl Marx, or Karl Heinrich Marx, was born in May 5, 1818, in Trier.¹ After spending most of his life in severe poverty and in exile, and making his prestigious literary contribution for the people living in poverty, he died on March 14, 1883 in London. Karl Marx is revered as a German revolutionary philosopher, an economist, a theorist, a political scientist, a historian, and journalist. Concisely, he was a more than a blend of all that because of the characteristics and significance of the literature he produced. His philosophy has influenced and revitalized all academic disciplines of humanities, social sciences, art and literature. The ideas and philosophy he produced are called Marxism, the doctrine of communism, and are claimed to be a scientific socialism.² Marxism presents a worldview as well as a philosophy about knowing.

¹ Trier is a town of the Rhine province of Prussia. In English Trier is often known as Treves, which currently regarded as the oldest city of Germany, the old by sixth century BC. Signifying the political and intellectual environment of Treves, Bertrand Russell states that Treves had greatly been influenced by the French during the time of French Revolution and Napoleonic era. It was more 'cosmopolitan in its outlook than most other parts of Germany.' Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1994), 748.

² Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works* (Moscow: Progressive Publishers, 1968), 399-434.

His father was Heinrich Marx and mother, Henrietta. They both belonged to a wealthy middle class. Karl Marx was fifth among nine children of the family. The family was Jew. It nonetheless was because of the anti-Semitic sentiments in his surroundings and the professional constraints that Heinrich Marx had to be baptized in accordance with the tradition of the Evangelical Church. He also changed his own name and adopted a new one, i.e. Herschel Marx.³ He was a lawyer by profession. He was a political activist as well. He was in fact deeply inspired by the revolutionary ideas of Voltaire (1694-1778) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). He participated in agitations demanding for Prussian constitution. In 1817, a year before the birth of Karl Marx, the family was converted to Lutheran Protestant Christianity. The majority of people living there were professing catholic faith.

Karl Marx attended Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium in Treves and received his high school education studying the classics that include mathematics, history, literature and languages, particularly the Greek and Latin. In 1835, he went to Bonn University where he studied law. He gradually grew his interest in philosophy of law and then in the pure philosophy. Marx spent a year in Bonn University indulging in feuds and fighting, partying and drinking, and piling up heavy debts.⁴ Having been disappointed by his activities, Marx's father sent him to Berlin University, Germany where he spent more than four years and acquired PhD degree in March, 1841. The doctoral thesis that he wrote and submitted was on the Epicurean Philosophy.⁵ While studying at

³ Both parents of Karl Marx were descendants of the rabbis-chain. When the Prussian government had published an edict imposing a restriction that Jews were no more eligible to practice in bar, Marx's father thus converted to be a Christian. Marx's biographer David McLellan states that despite the change of religion, the family nonetheless could not completely integrate themselves into the society. David McLellan, *Karl Marx: A Biography* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1995), 17.

⁴ Alex Callinicos, "Life of a Revolutionary," in *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx*, ed. 2nd (Sydney: Bookmarks Publications Ltd., 2004), 14; Encyclopedia of World Biography, "Karl Marx Biography," *Online Encyclopedia of World Biography*. At: <http://www.notablebiographies.com/Ma-Mo/Marx-Karl.html> (accessed on August 7, 2017).

⁵ Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *Karl Marx: A Biographical Sketch with an Explanation of Marxism* (Moscow: Priobi Publishers, 1913), 4.

Berlin University, Marx was greatly inspired by the circle of the scholars demonstrating radical ideas, challenging the socio-political status quo, the state institutions, and the philosophies advocating the status quo, the religious orthodoxy and social ethic. The circle of scholars was known as ‘Young Hegelians’ or ‘Left Hegelians’, they congregated in Berlin Doctors Club.⁶ Karl Marx soon appeared to be a one of prominent members of that club.

So far as his private life is concerned, in 1835 Marx engaged in a romantic relationship with a beautiful young lady, Jenny Von Westphalen (1814-1881). She was the daughter of Ludwig von Westphalen (1770-1842) who was a liberal aristocrat. Marx married Jenny in 1836. She remained devoted to him in rest of the life, even bearing worst, miserable conditions in life. Marx and Jenny lived in severely poor financial conditions. Jenny bore seven children, and three of them could survive up to the age of adolescence.

Professionally, Karl Marx wanted to be a professor. Nonetheless, when he observed government’s reactionary policy of which Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872) and Professor Bruno Bauer (1809-1882) became the victim at Bonn University, he lost his interest in pursuing career in academics.⁷ He, therefore, started his career as journalist and in 1842 became an editor of a newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung* based in Cologne, which used to publish radical ideas. The Berlin government banned the newspaper next year. In 1843, Marx went to France intending to study socialism and then he met with Engels with whom Marx developed a life-long relationship. Marx learnt from Engels ‘the English labour conditions and English economics.’⁸ Owing to his radical ideas and revolutionary activities, he was forced to exile from one state to another. In 1845, he was expelled

⁶ Callinicos, “Life of a Revolutionary,” 15; McLellan, *Karl Marx: A Biography*, 24, 41; Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, 748; Lenin, *Karl Marx*, 4.

⁷ Lenin, *Karl Marx*, 4.

⁸ Russell, *History of the Western Philosophy*, 748.

from France and he settled in Brussel, Belgium where he formed German Workers Party. Belgian government forced him to leave the country and he went to Cologne in 1948 and joined a newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as its editor. Prussian government sacked the newspaper and ordered him to leave the country. He again went to Paris but French government again ordered him to leave France.⁹ He ultimately went to England and spent rest of his life there.

Despite facing exiles several times, living in severely bad economic conditions, bearing the death of his daughter, Marx remained determined to his ideological approach and wrote various books and plenty of newspaper articles. Some of the major works that Marx produced, individually or in collaboration with Engels, include *inter alia*: *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1843); *On the Jewish Question* (1844); *The Holy Family* (1844); *German Ideology* (1845); *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847); *Manifesto of Community Party* (1848); *Class Struggle in France 1848-1850* (1850); *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louise Bonaparte* (1852); *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy* (1857); *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859); *Das Kapital* (1867); *Civil War in France* (1871); *On the Paris Commune* (1871); *Critique of Gotha Program* (1875); and *Eleven Thesis on Feuerbach* (1888). Through his writings and political struggle, Marx attempted to criticize all forms of socialisms proposed by the pervious or contemporary philosophers. He was convinced that human emancipation lies only in overthrowing of the capitalist form of economy and this could only be possible through abandoning the private properties and establishing proletariats' government. That is why he signified his discourse emphasizing on the struggle of oppressed classes and their unity.

⁹ Berlin, Sir Isaiah. *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment*. 4th, Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 133-60.

1.2 Understanding Marxism

Marxism implies the chain of myriad interlinked ideas or philosophies that Karl Marx, individually or in collaboration with Frederick Engels, had proposed. Besides that it offers a radical program for an ideal and classless society, it is one of the most dominant academic traditions. After getting deeply inspired by the socio-political and economic condition which the Europe was going through during the nineteenth century and by being influenced by the pertinent philosophic ideas of the philosopher like G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831), Charles Fourier (1772-1837), Adam Smith (1723-1790), Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872),¹⁰ Marx presented his different version of political and economic framework for the society. He regarded this socio-political and economic program as a scientific socialism, and all others given by the rest of philosophers as utopian socialism. The major philosophic notions upon which Marxism is consisted of include: dialectical materialism/ or historical materialism, the class struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed ones, the labour theory of value, social alienation, and historical naturalism (or positivism of historical knowledge). Marx's conception of historical materialism implies that the evolution of human history took place through 'materialistic aspects of human nature and social conditions.'¹¹ Marx has derived his concept of 'historical materialism' or 'dialectical materialism' from Hegel's ideal dialecticism.¹²

¹⁰ See for details, Tom Rockmore, *Marx after Marxism: The Philosophy of Karl Marx* (London: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); George E. McCarthy, *Marx's Critique of Science and Positivism: The Methodological Foundations of Political Economy*, in *Sovietica*, Vol. 53. At: <http://personal.kenyon.edu/mccarthy/Book4.htm> (accessed on September 3, 2017).

¹¹ Karl Kautsky, *Ethics and Materialist Conception of History* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1909), 5-7, 40, 105-119; G. V. Plekhanove, *The Materialist Conception of History*, Tr. A. Fineberg, (n.p: Wildside Press, 1944); G. Glezerman and G. Kursanov (trans. and ed.), "Historical Materialism as a Science," in *Historical Materialism: Basic Problems* (Moscow: Progressive Publishers, 1968), 7-38; Ernie Thomson, *The Discovery of Materialist Conception of History in the Writings of Young Karl Marx* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2004) 164-6, 174; Will and Ariel Durant, *The Lessons of History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), 52; Berlin, Sir Isaiah. "Historical Materialism," in *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment*. 4th, Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 89-116. Muhammad Abrar Zahoor, "Marxist Historiography: An Analytical Exposition of Major Themes and Premises" *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2. (2013), 27.

¹² Sidney Hook, *From Hegel to Marx: Studies in Intellectual Development of Karl Marx* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); T. Burns and I. Fraser, *The Hegel-Marx Connection* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2000); David MacGregor, *Hegel and Marx: After the Fall of Communism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998); S. H.

G.W.F Hegel explains that the social progress in history could have been possible only due to the struggle between ideas. Karl Marx nonetheless had proposed an antithetical conception of Hegel's view and he considered that the evolution in human history happens in the wake of the struggle between material and economic forces.¹³ He propounds that those are 'modes of production' which bring about change in social relations, human aesthetics, the system of values and thought patterns.¹⁴ In Preface of *The Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) Marx has expressed his stance on historical determinism stating that:

'The general conclusion at which I arrived and which, once reached, became the guiding principle of my studies can be summarized as follows. In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which there arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life-process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness.'¹⁵

The framework through which Marx has interpreted history may precisely be described as 'class struggle.' In *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Frederick Engels have thus stated, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle."¹⁶ This speaks volumes about

Rigby, "Marxist Historiography," in Michael Bentley (ed.), *Companion to Historiography* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 981. R. G. Collingwood, *Idea of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 122-26.

¹³ The idea countering the Hegelian dialecticism that those are the material conditions rather than ideas which alter and determine the course of historical progress was initially offered by Feuerbach, and later on Marx emphasized and popularized it. Feuerbach thus contended that 'the basic reality is not *Geist* but material.' T.C. Luther, *Hegel's Critique of Modernity: Reconciling the Individual Freedom and the Community* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 261; G. Glezerman and G. Kursanov (trans. and ed.), "Social Progress," in *Historical Materialism: Basic Problems* (Moscow: Progressive Publishers, 1968), 308-27.

¹⁴ G. Glezerman and G. Kursanov (trans. and ed.), "The Modes of Production—The Determinative Factor of Social Development," in *Historical Materialism*, 48-76; Also see, S. H. Rigby, "Base and Superstructure in Historical Materialism," in *Marxism and History: A Critical Introduction*, ed. 2nd (New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 175-297.

¹⁵ Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Tr. S. W. Ryazanskaya, (Moscow: Progressive Publishers, 1859), 2. At: <http://www.marx2mao.com/M&E/PL.html> (dated July 18, 2016).

¹⁶ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works* (Moscow: Progressive Publishers, 1968), 35; D.C. Abel, *Fifty Readings in Philosophy* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2004), 463; G. Glezerman and G. Kursanov (trans. and ed.), "The Theory of Classes and Class Struggle and Its contemporary Problems," in *Historical Materialism: Basic Problems* (Moscow: Progressive Publishers, 1968), 82-127.

the human societies. It tells about the binary forces in the societies which came into being when the division of labour took place and the people got dependent on each other. The society was divided into two classes such as slaves and slave-owners, peasants and landlords, labour and capitalists. Marx termed these binary forces of social relations in societies as 'proletarians (working class) and bourgeoisie (capitalist class)'.¹⁷ He further describes them as oppressed and oppressor and finds them struggling against each other in the wake of which the society would transform from bourgeoisie to socialist.

One of consistent themes upon which Marx has emphasized is human alienation. Marx borrows this idea from Hegel and Feuerbach. He explains it as the exchangeable goods necessary for man's survival which are produced by the labour of the workers, but the capitalists who mainly intend to secure the surplus value deprive and alienate the workers from the value of labour they produce.¹⁸ Having been alienated economically, the worker further become victim to social and self-alienation.¹⁹ The universal emancipation of the poor from oppression and deprivation, Marx predicts, would take place at a certain stage in when the excessive industrialist development would take place and the proletariat would bring revolution revolting against their oppressors and they would ultimately establish a communist society.²⁰

¹⁷ Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 36-37.

¹⁸ Karl Marx, "Wages, Price and Profit," in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works* (Moscow: Progressive Publishers, 1968), 200-17.

¹⁹ To know in detail about Marx's theory of the surplus value of labour and the idea of an 'alienated being,' see Nicolas Churches, *Marxism and Alienation* (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1990); Sean Sayers, *Marx and Alienation: Essays on Hegelian Themes* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Bertell B. Ollman, *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Istvan Meszaros, *Marx's Theory of Alienation* (New Delhi: Aakar Books, 2006); Richard Schmitt and Thomas E. Moody (ed.), *Alienation and Social Criticism* (New York: Humanities Press, 1994).

²⁰ Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 46-53; Mark T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians: A Historiographical Introduction*, ed., 5th (New Jersey: Preston Hall, 2003), 47-48; Robert C. Tucker's *The Marx-Engels Reader* (1978), S. H. Rigby, "Marxist Historiography" in Michael Bentley, *Companion to Historiography* (2002), 873-4, 876, 878; Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory* (London: Routledge, 2002), 13-14.

Historical naturalism or positivism is another prominent theme of Marxism, which is more akin to intellectual field than to social and political.²¹ Positivism is ontological and epistemological approach of Marxism. It implies that the reality is material rather than abstract, supernatural, and dogmatic. In this very sense, the positivism corresponds to Marx's concept of historical materialism that material or economic structure is the base which fundamentally have potential to change the superstructure—i.e. the social, political, legal and religious structure of the society. Marx hence regarded matter as reality and propounded that the progress of history takes place because of natural reasons. Marx, like many other intellectuals of the nineteenth century, attempted to make the social knowledge as that of natural science.²² Collingwood defines positivism “as philosophy acting in the service of natural science, as in the Middle Ages science acted in the service of theology.”²³ The intent in acquiring social knowledge according to positivists is based on two things: the one is studying the facts and the second making laws by finding causal connection between those facts.²⁴ The purpose of presenting and adhering to the philosophy of positivism was to draw the social and legal code having universal appeal.²⁵

1.3 Emergence and Development of Marxist Historiography in Europe

The emergence of Marxism was the continuity of the intellectual spirit and traditions that appeared to have been established in the wake of Renaissance in Europe between fourteenth to seventeenth

²¹ Auguste Comte nonetheless signifies it both intellectually as well as socially. Highlighting the significance of the philosophy of positivism, Comte in his narrative *A General View of Positivism* wrote, “Positivism consists essentially of a philosophy and a polity. These can never be dissevered, the former being the basis and the latter the end of one comprehensive system, in which our intellectual faculties and social sympathies are brought into close relation with each other. Auguste Comte, *A General View of Positivism*, Tr. J. H. Bridges, (London: Turbner and Co., 1865), 1; See also: Glezerman and Kursanov (trans. and ed.), “Historical Materialism as a Science,” in *Historical Materialism*, 7-38; George E. McCarthy, *Marx's Critique of Science and Positivism: The Methodological Foundations of Political Economy*, in *Sovietica*, Vol. 53. At: <http://personal.kenyon.edu/mccarthy/Book4.htm> (accessed on September 3, 2017).

²² Collingwood, *Idea of History*, 126-7; Michael Burawoy, “Marxism as Science: Historical Challenge and Theoretical Growth,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 55, No. 6 (Dec., 1990), 775-93.

²³ Collingwood, *Idea of History*, 126.

²⁴ Collingwood, *Idea of History*, 126-8.

²⁵ See Comte, *A General View of Positivism*, 1-3.

century and then the French Revolution in 1789.²⁶ Apart from that, to apprehend the emergence of Marxism and Marxist historiography, it would be more plausible to see the various social, political, intellectual and international developments taking place in the nineteenth century. Those included *inter alia*: the rise and fall of the national powers; the Industrial Revolution; the competition among European nations to colonize Asian, African, and American countries. Further, the developments that the European countries made in the fields of economics, science, technology and industry also played a vital role in the emergence of Marxist philosophy and historiography. Moreover, Marxism may be conceived as the depiction of intellectuals' humanistic concerns being inspired by nineteenth century's growing economic stratification particularly in Western Europe, the socio-political revolutionary movements, and the civil wars taking place for demanding the favorable terms for marginal classes of the society.²⁷

Karl Marx was one of those philosophers in Europe who after the French Revolution were proposing the different sorts of socialism to lay down the foundations of a new society. Besides Marx, the others socialist philosophers were *inter alia*, Saint Simon (1760-1825),²⁸ G.W.F. Hegel

²⁶ Jean Jaures, "Introduction to 'Socialist History of French Revolution,'" Tr. Mitchel Abidor, *Histoire Socialiste de la Révolution Française*. Paris, Éditions Sociales, 1968. *marxist.org* 2010.

At: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/jaures/1901/history/introduction.htm> (accessed on August 9, 2017).

²⁷ Sibte Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, ed. 16th (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2012), 183.

²⁸ Saint Simon proposed a socialism in which capitalists and technocrats should govern the society. Through his writings, he endorsed the replacement of military oligarchy with industrialists as 'temporal power,' and clergymen with scientist as 'spiritual power.' Mary Pickering, "Auguste Comte and Saint-Simonians," *French Historical Studies*, Vol., 18, No., I (spring, 1993), 211-236. Also see, Arthur John Booth, *Saint-Simon and Saint-Simonism: A Chapter in the History of Socialism in France* (London: Tylor and Co., 1871).

(1770-1831),²⁹ Robert Owen (1771-1858),³⁰ Auguste Comte (1798-1856),³¹ Charles Fourier (1772-1837)³² and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865).³³ Marx and Engels thus suggested their own view of socialism regarding that scientific, and described the framework of action for the preliterate to achieve the goal of socialism by writing a radical narrative *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848).

After the death of Marx, Marxism has acquired various interpretations and explanations. Moreover, many Marxist and non-Marxist philosophers have raised various sorts of the criticism on the ideas of Karl Marx and F. Engels. Hence, Marxism by acquiring different interpretations, amendments, or the focus on some specific aspect of the Marx's ideas appeared to have produced a variety of Marxisms, which in their individual position or collectively are known as neo-

²⁹ Hegel in his accounts *The Philosophy of Right* (1896) has offered his philosophy about the social and political institutions and structures of the society. He has reflected upon the institution of state, the constitutional reforms, the concept of authority, individual and social freedom, the relinquishment of property and ownership, the ethical system and morality. See, G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, Tr. S.W. Dyde, (Canada: Batoche Books, 2001). In his other writings on politics and society which supplement *The Philosophy of Right*, Hegel rendered his political and social thoughts which in their core speak about "the concepts of freedom, reason, self-consciousness and recognition." IEF, "Hegel: Social and Political Thought," *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. At: <http://www.iep.utm.edu/hegelsoc/#SSH6c.iii> (accessed on August 9, 2017).

³⁰ Robert Owen believed that "human nature is not fixed but formed." He thought that the negative attributes of human beings like selfishness, depravedness, and viciousness is only because that the social conditions in which they live have made them so. He hence considers that by changing the conditions, the people can be changed. If people are taught 'to live and work together in harmony,' and they will respond accordingly.' Owen was a rich industrialist and so as to prove his assertion, he initiated 'a model of social organization' in 1825, which was known as "New Harmony." He purchased land in the U.S. state of Indiana for a self-sufficient and cooperative community. There the property was commonly shared by the people. Owen's model 'New Harmony' failed and could not last even for a few years. This took most of Owen's fortune. He nonetheless attempted to promote social cooperation by forming trade unions and cooperative businesses. Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 188-95. *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy* At: <http://www.iep.utm.edu/hegelsoc/#SSH6c.iii> (accessed on August 9, 2017).

³¹ See, Comte, *A General View of Positivism*.

³² Fourier thought that the institutions like marriage, the patriarchic family, and the competitive market have made the people engage in consistent labour. This have restricted the role of the people in life. The competition for profit making and the market particularly have frustrated the desire for harmony. Fourier therefore propose a model of society that would have been more appropriate as to 'human needs and desires.' Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 195-204. Also see, Richard Dagger and Terence Ball, "Socialism," *Britannica Encyclopedia Online*. At: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/socialism> (accessed on August 10, 2017).

³³ Robert Graham, "General Idea of Proudhon's Revolution," *The Anarchist Library Online*. At: <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/robert-graham-the-general-idea-of-proudhon-s-revolution> (accessed on August 10, 2017).

Marxism.³⁴ The neo-Marxists through amending or incorporating new intellectual traditions have developed distinct historiographical frameworks of analysis such as Frankfurt School (a scholarly approach known as Critical Theory),³⁵ Annales School (the historiographical conceptions like ‘total history,’ ‘history from below’ and ‘people’s history’)³⁶ and the Subaltern history (a revisionist perspective of post-colonial historiography),³⁷ Historians’ Group of Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).³⁸

³⁴ To know more about genesis of neo-Marxism and critical debates on it, see: Lambert M. Surhone and et al (ed.) *Neo-Marxism* (Betascript Publishing, 2010); Lucas Abraham Van Wyk, *The Influence of Neo-Marxism on Economic Development* (Pretoria: Unit for Development Analysis, 1990), and Robert A. Gorman’s *Neo-Marxism: the Meanings of Modern Radicalism* (Green Wood Press, 1982).

³⁵ Founded in 1923, Frankfurt School is the group of those scholars and social scientists who attempt to develop ‘a theory of society based on Marxism and Hegelian philosophy.’ They interpret social phenomenon by incorporating multidisciplinary approaches in their studies. The different approach to social knowledge, they seek to employ, are psychoanalysis, sociology, existentialist philosophical approach and many other axillary sciences. These scholars attempt to view the social relation in reference to capitalist economy. They have made myriad issues of capitalist economy a subject of their criticism. They have developed as critique on larger corporations, monopolies in economic markets, role of industrial goods and technology and individuals alienation. This approach to historical and social studies is regarded to be a “Critical Theory.” This group of scholars is associated with Institute for Research based in Frankfurt, Germany. The eminent representative of this group are T.W. Adorno, Erik Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin, and Antonio Gramsci. See, George G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 65-76.

³⁶ This distinguished historiographical school was founded by Marc Bloch (1886-1944) and Lucien Febvre (1878-1955). Annales School is developed in France by a peculiar literary tradition of a journal that Bloch and Febvre launched, which is entitled as *Annales: Economies, Societies, Civilizations*. Annales School has made a great contribution in changing historiographic trends. The introduced the historiographical conception such as ‘cultural history,’ ‘peoples history,’ ‘the history from below,’ ‘regional history’ and ‘total history.’ Instead of the rulers and great personalities, they have emphasized on exploring the social aspect of ordinary people’s life. They have averted the historiographical trend of studying wars, diplomacy and politics. They hence have shifted the focus of their studies on demographic, commercial, industrial and communicational aspects of the social and cultural life of the societies. By developing the concept of ‘total history,’ the historians associated with the Annales School have produced celebrated works on village history as well as the regional history. The historians who represent this school of thought include Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel, Pierre Goubert, Jacques Le Goff, George Duby and Robert Mandrou. See, George G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, 51-64.

³⁷ Subaltern is the term which originally was practiced by the British military officers for their subordinates. A group of historians, mainly South Asian historians, who view that the colonial powers like Britain, France, Spain and other ones have left the countries they have colonized independent, but those are still ruled by them through economic, cultural and technological means and influence. This post-colonial perspective of cultural imperialism is challenged by the historians and they term their discourses as Subaltern Studies. The issues on which the Subaltern historians hence have mounted the criticism are *inter alia*: racism, slavery, cultural imperialism, free market economy—a policy pursued by the major powers in international community, and the hegemony of the west over academics and knowledge production. The scholars who have promoted a perspective of Subaltern Studies through their works include: Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, Dipesh Chakrabarti, Gyan Prakash, Eric Stocks, David Arnold, Antonio Gramsci and Edward Said. See, Malyashree Mandal and T. Karunakaran, “Origin and Historiography of Subaltern Studies from the West to East,” *Langlit*, Vol. 1, No., 1 (August, 2104), 183-94.

³⁸ Communist Party of Great Britain was established in 1920, Communist Party Historians’ group was its sub organization which came into being in 1947 and ended in 1991 when the party was banned. The renowned historians

Marx's materialistic conception of history has thus discernibly furthered various historiographical trends which include: secular history, social history, feminist history, regional history, economic history, history of material culture, and also stimulated inter-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary approaches in historical research. Despite the fact that they are less or more critical of classical Marxism, the neo-Marxists however share 'similarities of ideas at certain philosophic and ideological points and the use of common jargon, terminology, phraseology and lexicon and they all, somehow, are said to be Marxists.'³⁹

1.4 Origin and Development of Marxist Historiography in South Asia

Marxist intellectual tradition in India and Pakistan is termed with myriad clichés such as Marxist, progressive, liberal, communist, secular, leftist, and socialist. The writers showing these tendencies are addressed with these inter-changeable terms. Generally, it is recognized that the tradition of writing literature with progressive and liberal approach, challenging the social and religious stereotypes, started in India with distinguished writings of Sir Syed Ahmad (1817-1898) and those of other scholars demonstrating same tendencies at the Aligarh University.⁴⁰ Some scholars like Kazi Javed has considered Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1762) as the one who presented the concept of social evolution and economic reason of social injustice a century before Marx.⁴¹ In his account *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik Pakistan Mein: Islami Roshan Khayali Ya Ishtraki Mulaiyat*,

associated with this group were Eric Hobsbawm, Rodney Hilton, Christopher Hill, and E. P. Thompson. These historian has put submental influence on changing the historiographic trends and methodologies as well. The key Marxist conceptions they have emphasized are 'the history from below, class struggle analysis, cultural history and the place of ideology and theory in historical studies.' See, Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The House of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth Century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 33, 39-42; Harvey J. Kaye, *The British Historians: An Introductory Analysis* (New York: 1984) Review William Roseberry *American Ethnologist*, Vol., 14, No. 2 (May, 1987), 386-387.

³⁹ Muhammad Naveed Akhtar, "Nature of Muslim Rule in India: A Study of Marxist Perspective in Pakistan," *Journal of Asian Civilization*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (December, 2016), 132.

⁴⁰ Saeed Ahmad, "Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik ka Adabi-o Fikri Asas," *Urdu Research Journal*, No. 6, (July, 2015). At: <http://www.urdulinks.com/urj/?p=562> (accessed on July 20, 2017).

⁴¹ Kazi Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* (Lahore: Idara-e Saqafat-e Pakistan, 1977), 221, 223-24; Kazi Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2009), 139-40, 144-8, 154.

Fateh Muhammad Malik nonetheless propounds that the progressive movement had gained momentum many years before the establishment of All India Progressive Writers' Association. He states that Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), Maulana Hasrat Mohani (1875-1951), and Munshi Premchand (1880-1936) were the scholars who, before the establishment of PWA, had been emphasizing upon different aspects of anti-imperialism and humanism.⁴² Dr. Saeed Ahmad contrarily makes the point that the progressivism shown by Sir Syed Ahmad and the scholars at Aligarh University was in the wake of certain social and political circumstances to which they responded. The progressive attitude emphasizing on the concepts of socialism, communism and writing up purposive literature was introduced and brought to its culmination by Progressive Writers' Association.⁴³ This can however be observed that the writing literature making progressivism, humanism, secularism and anti-imperialism the themes of the discourse was started mainly by those who somehow had the exposure to western education. The factors that contributed socially, politically and economically to the emergence of Marxist trends in knowledge production include revisionism to orientalist's perception of India, British imperialism in India, the religious and communalist social environment of India, and dissemination of modern ideas through western education. Besides these indigenous factors, some of international developments also influenced the scholars of India, such as the Russian Socialist Revolution 1917, the fascist regime in European countries like Italy and Germany, economic depression of late 1920s and revitalization of Marxist scholastic activities across the world and particularly in Europe.

Apropos of the Marxist historiographical tradition in India, the earliest historical writings by Indian historians were the depiction of nationalism which must only be apprehended in the context to

⁴² Fateh Muhammad Malik, *Taraqqi Pasand Musanifin*, 7.

⁴³ Ahmad, "*Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik ka Adabi-o Fikri Asas*," At: <http://www.urdulinks.com/urj/?p=562> (accessed on July 20, 2017).

anti-imperialist approach towards British Raj in India. These historians put their emphasis on mainly two elements: 1) glorification of India's past which they think the orientalist have portrayed negatively; 2) India's economic exploitation by the British.⁴⁴ Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901) and Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848-1909) were those early historians who popularized the fashion of 'national economic ideology.' They attempted to unravel 'the structure of colonialism and colonial economy.'⁴⁵ The accounts of these writers, S. M. Mukhopadhyay explains, though lack sophistication, those appear to have exposed 'the stark realities of Indian poverty and tragic consequence of colonial economy' on India.⁴⁶ Highlighting the trend of 'cultural history' introduced and promoted by these nationalist historians, an Indian historiographer E. Sreedharan comments that "Indian nationalist historiography has unearthed so vast a corpus of information relating to the multifarious facets of Indian life and culture as to suggest a new approach to India's past."⁴⁷ Having been produced during pre-partition India, the books criticizing the British imperialism and its colonization of India include the works of Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928): *Young India: The Nationalist Movement* (1916)⁴⁸ and *England's Debt to India* (1917).⁴⁹ In these books, Rai has construed a nationalist discourse and levelled criticism on the British imperialism recounting its economic impacts on India.

Nonetheless, the history writing deploying Marxist framework—i.e. the Marxist conception of historical materialism—exploring and interpreting the relationship between social organization

⁴⁴ Y. Ramesh, "Schools of Thought on Indian Historiography: An Interpretation," *Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, Vol. 2, No. 6, (2016), 241.

⁴⁵ Subodh Kumar Mukhopadhyay, *Evolution of Historiography in Modern India: 1900-1960* (New Delhi: K. P. Bagchi & Co., 1981), 70-103; E. Sareedharan, *A Text Book of Historiography: 500 BC to AD 200* (New Delhi, Orient Longman, 2000), 436-7.

⁴⁶ Mukhopadhyay, *Evolution of Historiography in Modern India: 1900-1960*, 70.

⁴⁷ Sareedharan, *A Text Book of Historiography: 500 BC to AD 200*, 436-7.

⁴⁸ Lala Lajpat Rai, *Young India: The Nationalist Movement* (New York: B.W. Huebche, 1916).

⁴⁹ Lala Lajpat Rai, *England's Debt to India* (New York: B. W. Huebche, 1917).

and that of economic, was started by Manabendra Nath Roy's narrative: i.e. *India in Transition* (1922).⁵⁰ The same trend was pursued and reflected by Rajani Palme Dutt (1894-1974) who produced *India Today* (1940) and by A. R. Desai (1915-1994) who authored *The Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (1959).⁵¹ These historians explored different dynamics of the nationalist movements, and described the role of Gandhi in its evolution by 'awakening the backward mass with nationalist consciousness.' Nonetheless, they also criticized the role of Gandhi, as he restricted the revolutionary tendencies and promoted a liberal bourgeois nationalism.⁵²

The historical accounts produced by Muhammad Habib (1895-1971) and K. M. Ashraf (1903-1962) on the history of medieval India are highly important mainly for two reasons: first, they explain the history focusing upon relationship between the social and economic organization, and secondly, they deconstruct the religiously constructed historical myths and heroism in Indian history.⁵³ Accordingly, Muhammad Habib's work *Mahmud of Ghaznin* is worth mentioning for its revisionist perspective of Indian Muslims' historical stereotypes. He also wrote the Preface to the second volume of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (1952), in which he has analysed the Indian social condition deploying the framework of historical materialism. Similarly, K. M. Ashraf's undertaking *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan 1200-1500* (1935) unravels 'the status, the habits and standards of different classes of people' living in India during the Sultanate period.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ M. N. Roy, *India in Transition* (n.p.: Geneve, G. B. Target, 1922).

To know about M. N. Roy's anti-imperialist revolutionary personality and character, and his 'leading position in Socialist Party of Mexico', see, Dushka H. Saiyyid, *Exporting Communism to India: Why Moscow Failed* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1995), 26-43.

⁵¹ R. Palme Dutt, *India Today* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1949); A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, ed. 6th (New Delhi: Popular Prakashan, 2005).

⁵² Ramesh, "Schools of Thought on Indian Historiography," 442-3.

⁵³ See, Sareedharan, *A Text Book of Historiography: 500 BC to AD 200*, 452-4.

⁵⁴ Sareedharan, *A Text Book of Historiography: 500 BC to AD 200*, 454.

Indian Marxist historians during the post-colonial period contributed a lot to materialist historiography. Some of them are D. D. Kosambi (1907-1966),⁵⁵ Ram Sharan Sharma (1919-2011), Bipan Chandra (1928-2014); Romila Thapar (b. 1930), Irfan Habib (b. 1931), K. N. Panikkar (b. 1936), and Sumit Sarkar (b. 1939). Besides these historians, there is also a distinct category of Marxist historians, this is, Subaltern historians. They have presented their studies on post-colonial history of India and make the point that despite the fact that European colonial powers have left the countries in Asia, Africa and America granting them independence, they still continue to rule their colonies through economic, technological and cultural means.⁵⁶ They choose some peculiar themes to have incorporated into the historical studies, including *inter alia*: racism, slavery, gender based marginalization, and cultural imperialism. They have made the multinational corporations working in the third world a subject of their criticism. They have also criticized the economic policies of industrial countries like free and unrestricted access to the markets of the poor countries. They have also critically viewed the west's academic hegemony and importation of knowledge from advanced countries to backward ones. The Indian historians who have focused on similar themes include Ranajit Guha (b. 1923), Gyan Pandey (b. 1949), Aravind Das (1949-2000), N. K. Chandra, Dipesh Chakrabarty (b. 1948), Ramachandra Guha (b. 1958) and Gautam Bhadra (b. 1948).⁵⁷

⁵⁵ While acknowledging D. D. Kosambi's contribution to Marxist historiography, Irfan Habib comments that he 'profoundly redefined the message that Marxism had for historians.' Irfan Habib, "D. D. Kosambi: The Man and His Work," *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol., 43, No., 30, (July 26, 2006). At: <http://www.epw.in/journal/2008/30/d-d-kosambi-man-and-his-work-special-issues-specials/kosambi-marxism-and-indian> (accessed on August 12, 2017).

⁵⁶ Vinay Lal, "Subaltern Studies and Its Critics: Debate over Indian History," *History and Theory*, Wesleyan University, Vol., 40, No. 1, (2001), 135-48.

⁵⁷ See, Sareedharan, *A Text Book of Historiography: 500 BC to AD 200*, 492-6.

1.5 Historical Background and Development of Marxist Historiography in Pakistan

In 1947, Pakistan came into being in the wake of communal tensions and the evolving separatist Muslim nationalism in South Asia.⁵⁸ The political and intellectual forerunners of the nation of this newly born state, keeping in view that historical background and people's aspiration evolved during freedom movement, adopted Islamic or Muslim nationalist ideology as an officially declared one. Furthermore, Pakistan through adopting Objectives Resolution in 1949 and subsequent three constitutions, that conceded and declared the sovereignty of Allah Almighty and that no law of the state repugnant to Quran and Sunnah would be enacted, succeeded in gaining religious importance legally and constitutionally.⁵⁹ The same ideology therefore became a dominant character of the citizens of Pakistan in each and every domain of social and political life. All the state institutions and the officials have been held responsible to defend and promote this ideological stance that became the *raison d'être* of Pakistan's existence. The ideology hence became the only version of the text books of history and social sciences that were the compulsory for the children to learn at schools and colleges.⁶⁰

Nonetheless, all of this historical, ideological, political and intellectual process became and is still continued to be controversial in Pakistan owing to the voices raised by those who are called as the liberals, the seculars, the progressive ones, the socialists, the leftists, the Marxists, the

⁵⁸ As to the socio-political and religious factors that caused Pakistan movement and its creation, see, Khalid bin Saeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1947*, ed., 2nd (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3-176; Lawrence Ziring, "Formation of Pakistan," in *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 23-53; Rafi Raza, "Introduction: Genesis of Pakistan," in *Pakistan in Perspective 1947-1997* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), xv-xxiii; Ian Talbot, "The Pakistan Movement: its Dynamics and Legacy," in *Pakistan: A Modern History* (Karachi: Vanguard Books, 1999), 66-94; Safdar Mahmood, "Pakistan Movement: A Historical Perspective," in *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-35.

⁵⁹ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, ed. 2nd, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 57-63; Also see, Rafi Raza, *Pakistan in Perspective 1947-1999*, 4, 28-31, 238, 299, 309-12; Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 136-9.

⁶⁰ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Nesabi Kuttab* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2016), 9-14, 68-74; Mubarak Ai, *Tarikh aur Siyasat* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005), 21-25. Mubarak Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012), 267-270.

communists. These were the people most of whom before the creation of Pakistan had been associated with the All India National Congress, or Communist Party of India, or with some of these political organization's literary wings. Or, at least, they believed in secularism and non-communalism.⁶¹ Nor did founding father of the nation Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Marxists argue, wanted to make Pakistan a theocratic state.⁶² They advocate separation of politics and religion in Pakistan, considering that the ideology the leaders of the nation adopted would lead the state to establishment of theocracy.⁶³ They think it would create such a social and political environment in Pakistan wherein the non-Muslim minorities would get marginalized,⁶⁴ wherein the women would be reduced to a depressed segment of society,⁶⁵ wherein the religion would become a tool to exploit those who do not have a good religious knowledge and education. They argue that religious ideology would create conditions due to which the society would get excessively fascist, chauvinist and intolerant towards the non-Muslims minorities in Pakistan.⁶⁶ They fear that this ideological adaptation would also put restriction on the people's artistic and aesthetic attitudes and activities.⁶⁷

The historians belonging to this school of thought, therefore, have challenged and revisited the historical discourse presented by the Muslim nationalist historians. As the public sector educational institutions are supposed to have teach and promote the officially adopted ideological position, the Marxist historians are most those who are not associated with public sector

⁶¹ Malik, *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Musanifin*, 71-92; Malik, *Syed Sajjad Zaheer*, 149-53; Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 437.

⁶² Sibte Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* (Karachi: Pakistan Publishing House, 1986), 182-91; Mubarak Ali, *Quaid-i-Azam: Kaya Thay Kia Nahi Thay* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2014), 10-11, 78, 116-20, 124, 125-8.

⁶³ Sibte Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 7-18, 23, 184-8, 182-91; Sibte Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, ed., 17th (Karachi: Maktaba-e Daniyal, 2011), 29, 60-61, 69, 156-63; Shameem, *Sekular Musanifin*, 30, 35, 49, 55-59, 300, 345; 402; Mubarak Ali, "Pakistan Shenakht ki Talash, in *Tarikh ki Talash* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012), 48-83.

⁶⁴ I. A. Rehman, "Human Rights," in Rafi Raza (ed.), *Pakistan in Perspective*, 309-12.

⁶⁵ Rehman, "Human Rights," 309-12.

⁶⁶ Rehman, "Human Rights," 309-12

⁶⁷ Rehman, "Human Rights," 309-12.

institutions.⁶⁸ They mostly are the journalists, the politicians, the activists, and those who are associated with some non-governmental organizations.

1.6 Pakistani Marxist Historians

One of the most significant traits of Marxism is that it has developed a strong intellectual tradition for its scientific outlook. It provides a concept of historical materialism or dialectical materialism that laid the principle methodological foundation for a social inquiry. As a framework of an intellectual discourse, it appeals to academic spheres to reach on concrete conclusions. On the other hand, Marxism has become a political philosophy, activity and movement. Marxist politicians, campaigners and activists have also produced rich literature highlighting and propagating their viewpoints. By writing such accounts, they motivate political works associated with the movement and justify a cause of their struggle. So, the histories incorporating the Marxist conceptions and framework can be divided into two types: the first is the works produced by professional historians and second is those of politicians and activists.

Marxist historiography has largely been a privileged exercise of activists and campaigners than professional academic historians and social scientists in Pakistan. There are many historians in Pakistan who produced works by applying Marxist framework for analysis and interpretations. Generally, these historians can be mentioned as: Sibte Hassan, Dr. Mubarak Ali, Bari Alig, Lal Khan, Hamza Alavi, Mir Gul Khan Naseer, Azizuddin, Tariq Ali, Kazi Javed, Eqbal Ahmed, and Mubarak Haider, etc. However, in fact, only Dr. Mubarak Ali is a professionally trained historian who has been associated with same discipline in academics also. Besides him, there are journalists, political campaigners, activists, sociologists, philosophers, but not professional historians. They have, however, attempted to produce works on history. Only few of them have taken the issues up

⁶⁸ Kazi Javed, "*Tarikh aur Pakistani Muakaqaf*," in *Islam aur Maghrib* (Lahore: Fiction House, 201), 160-4.

right from pre-modern history of Indian subcontinent. Most of Marxist writers in Pakistan appear to be interested in colonial and post-colonial history of South Asia. Given a focus in the present study, the Marxist historians Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed and the literature they have produced are going to be introduced in the next pages.

1.6.1 Sibte Hassan

A journalist, a historian and an intellectual, Syed Sibte Hassan (1916-1986) is regarded as one of those leftist veterans who pioneered the socialist movement in the subcontinent. He was born on July 31, 1916 at Ambari that is a village of Azamgarh District in Uttar Pradesh, a state of India.⁶⁹ He is revered by the literary circles of Pakistan as a high calibre philosopher, a socialist scholar, a political activist and a trend-setter journalist. On April 20, 1986, he was coming back to Pakistan from India, after attending a Golden Jubilee Conference of Progressive Writers' Association (PWA) held in New Delhi, when he felt cardiac arrest and was died.⁷⁰ He is buried in Karachi. Syed Jaffar Ahmad states that in his later years of his life he was one of the central figures who worked for the renaissance of the PWA. It was the time when Golden Jubilee Celebrations of PWA were being arranged in Karachi, New Delhi and London.⁷¹

Sibte Hassan graduated from Aligarh University and then went to United States of America from where he did his Masters degree in the discipline of political science from Columbia University New York.⁷² There, he became a victim of 'McCarthyite witch hunt [sic],' as it was the time that Cold war has been initiated. He was arrested and deported.⁷³ During the third and fourth decades

⁶⁹ Raza Nadeem, "100 Years with Sibte Hassan," *The News*, Sunday, July 31, 2016; Zahida Hina, "*Jurat-e Inkar*," *Daily Express*, Sunday, August 14, 2016; Zahid Hina, "*Roshan Khayali kay Charag: Sibte Hassan*," *Daily Express*, Tuesday, Nov 15, 2016; Zahida Hina, "*Akhri Fateh Insan ki Ho Gi*," *Daily Express*, Wednesday, May 25, 2016.

⁷⁰ Syed Jaffar Ahmad, "*Arz-e Muratab*," in Sibte Hassan, *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs: Sajjad Zaheer*, (Karachi: Maktaba-e Danial, 2016), 8.

⁷¹ Syed Jaffar Ahmad, "In Pursuit of Enlightenment," *The News*, Sunday, July 31, 2016.

⁷² Raza Nadeem, "100 Years with Sibte Hassan," *The News*, Sunday, July 31, 2016.

⁷³ Nadeem, "100 Years with Sibte Hassan."

of twentieth century, India witnessed a vibrant movement against British imperialism having far-reaching impacts on the social life. It largely inspired the educationists, academicians and public scholars of India to put their focus on production of purposive art and literature.⁷⁴ Having been influenced by the movement, they attempted to produce the literary works by emphasizing upon some sort of enlightened themes such as the social freedom, the condemnation of the religious orthodoxy, the equality of humankind and social justice. It was the time when Indian students abroad were coming back passionately to join the ‘ranks and cradle’ of that movement.⁷⁵ Sibte Hassan hence was one of those students who returned to India and he thus became the part of Progressive Writers Association as well as the Communist Party of India.⁷⁶

After returning to his homeland, Sibte Hassan pursued his career in journalism and started working for *Bombay Chronicle*. Syed Abdullah Barelvi was publisher and editor of this newspaper. In 1963, Sibte Hassan on the instructions of Maulvi Abdul Haq (1872-1961)⁷⁷ went to Hyderabad and started working with Qazi Abdul Ghaffar (1862-1956)⁷⁸ who had been publishing a newspaper titled *Payam*. Hassan states that he worked under the subordination of Ghaffar as his pupil and learnt a lot about the fundamentals of journalism. While living in Hyderabad, Hassan also learnt a great deal about the social life, the language, and the discrete values of the city. In his memoir *Shehr-e Nigaran*, he while reflecting upon the traits of the city narrates that Hyderabad then was a thriving city owing to its unique civilizational character. Hassan was greatly inspired by

⁷⁴ Ahmad, “*Taraqqi Pasand Tehrik ka Adabi-o Fikri Asas*,” 42-46.

⁷⁵ M. Sarwar, “An Esteemed Teacher and Leader,” *Medical Gazette*, Karachi (June 1, 1985), 1-2, 11.

⁷⁶ Sarwar, “An Esteemed Teacher and Leader,” 1-2.

⁷⁷ Maulvi Abdul Haq was a leading spirit in the literary circles of Aurangabad in those days, after the partition of India he migrated to Pakistan. For his literary works, activities, achievements and demand for recognizing Urdu as national language of Pakistan, he is recognized as Father of Urdu Language.

⁷⁸ Following Maulvi Abdul Haq, Qazi Abdul Ghaffar had been the sixth General Secretary of *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Hind*, formerly known as *Shoba-e Taraqqi-e Urdu* under the banner of All India Muslim Educational Conference in 1886.

progressive thinking and kind personality of Qazi Abdul Ghaffar. Having been associated with Abdul Ghaffar and the newspaper *the Payam*, he found the opportunity to interact with important personalities, the popular poets and writers of the city.⁷⁹ While living in Hyderabad, he joined the literary circles and a dramatic society like *Bazm-e Tamsil*, formerly called as *Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Drama*, both formally and informally.⁸⁰ Briefly, he also informally worked for the radio broadcasting at Hyderabad by writing articles for it.⁸¹

Syed Jaffar Ahmad states that Sibte Hassan belonged to semi-feudal class, but he declassified himself thoroughly. From 1940s to 1960s, Hassan had heavily been engagement in revolutionary and radical activism and consequently he had to face great hardships and sufferings. He was imprisoned and sometimes had to go underground. In 1948, he was forced to exile from India to America where he lived shortly. Having been deported from America on the suspension that he was involved in some anarchist activities, he along with Sajjad Zaheer, Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Ashfaq Beg returned and settled in Lahore.⁸² There he started writing for some renowned left-leaning newspapers and magazines including *Layl-o Nihar*, *Amrooz*, *Naya Adab*, and *Pakistan Times*.⁸³ He endowed these newspapers and magazines with his intellectual depth and writing dexterity. During this period he got engaged in some clandestine revolutionary activities, so he remained under surveillance of the state agencies. This was the very reason that he wrote many of his writings either anonymously or by the pseudo name of Arshad.⁸⁴ When the Government of

⁷⁹ Sibte Hassan, *Shehr-e Nigaran*, ed. XVI, (Karachi: Maktaba-e Daniyal, 2008), 48-57, 63, 66-86.

⁸⁰ Hassan, *Shehr-e Nigaran*, 53.

⁸¹ Hassan, *Shehr-e Nigaran*, 54-55.

⁸² Nadeem, "100 Years with Sibte Hassan."

⁸³ Ahmad, "In Pursuit of Enlightenment."; Nadeem, "100 Years with Sibte Hassan."; Muqtada Munawwar, "*Sibte Hassan ki Yad*," *Daily Express*, Sunday, Nov 20, 2016.

⁸⁴ The details provided in the paragraph are mainly based on the documentary presented by a television channel, ARY News, in which the persons such as: Ghazi Salahuddin, Dr. Jaffar Ahmed, Dr. Muhammad Ali Siddiqui, Mujahid Bareilvi, and the Noshaba Zuberi (Sibte Hassan's daughter), and Hooriya Noorani participated recounting the life and time of the Sibte Hassan. The documentary was the fourth episode of ARY's program titled as "*Titliyan*" went on air

Pakistan in the wake of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case (March, 1951) started a crackdown on leftist activists and scholars in March 1951, Hassan too was detained on suspicion of being involved in the conspiracy.⁸⁵ He nonetheless got released after six months. On July 24, 1954, the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) was banned by the Government of Pakistan and Sibte Hassan once again was taken into custody by the police.⁸⁶ He had been arrested and detained several times. When Hassan felt that his detention would not take place again, he devoted himself until his last breath only to literary and intellectual activities.⁸⁷

Sibte Hassan was a man of an impressive personality and dynamic character. His cronies described him with quite poetic and fictional parlance. In the introductory note on his book *Shehr-e Nigaran* (2008), Mirza Azfar al-Hassan describes an incident showing how he was an attractive personality and a popular celebrity.⁸⁸ He therefore states that “the few girls of Hyderabad were engaged in gossip. They were curious to know from one of their friends, who recently visited Lucknow, that which food and personality in Lucknow is so popular that if one misses them to eat and meet, the tour to Lucknow would remain incomplete. The girl replied, “There I ate Laila’s fingers and Majnu’s ribs.” Another of them asked, “Haven’t you seen Sibte Hassan in Lucknow?” “No,” replied she. The rest of the girls shouted and exclaimed, “*Haye Allah!* If you haven’t seen Sibte Hassan, your visit is damn deficient!”⁸⁹

on March 15, 2011, at 7:30 pm (PST). Accessed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jwGFIXPqu2s> (accessed on September. 8, 2012).

⁸⁵ Tahir Kamran, “The Historian-Activist,” *The News*, October 30, 2016.

⁸⁶ ARY’s program titled as “*Titliyan*” went on air on March 15, 2011, at 7:30 pm (PST). Accessed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jwGFIXPqu2s> (accessed on September 8, 2012).

⁸⁷ ARY’s program titled as “*Titliyan*” went on air on March 15, 2011, at 7:30 pm (PST). Accessed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jwGFIXPqu2s> (accessed on September. 8, 2012).

⁸⁸ Hassan, *Shehr-e Nigaran*, 10.

⁸⁹ Hassan, *Shehr-e Nigaran*, 10.

After describing this incident, he refers to Sardar Jaffari who has also provided a novel description of Sibte Hassan's personality, stating that,

“... [He] was a paragon of heart-throbbing beauty from head to toe. He was like a prince of the fantasy world, who used to bring up to him the sleeping beautiful princesses residing in the royal hypnotic castles and fortifications. He had a beautiful and charming face. He always dressed up smartly and decently. His lips were carved skilfully. He had curious broad eyes. His speech was fraught with decency and attraction. The contemporary poets were not his friends, but his disciples; even they were his courtiers.”⁹⁰

1.6.1.1 Literary Production by Sibte Hassan

The many of the pieces of literature produced by Sibte Hassan, during the period when he had to hide his identity, are still anonymous. As a journalist and an editor of the newspapers, he wrote plenty of articles on distinct social, cultural, political and economic issues of the colonial and post-colonial period (approximately from 1935 to 1986). The admirable aspect of his journalistic writings is that he has analysed the contemporary issues in the light of a broader historical spectrum. Further, the Marxist conception of 'historical materialism' has become an essential tool and a distinguishing feature of his analysis. The books authored by Sibte Hassan are in Urdu language except the one *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* (1986) that is in English. His books include: *Mazi kay Mazar* [The Graveyard of History] (1969);⁹¹ *Mosa sey Marx tak* [From Moses to Marx] (1976);⁹² *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* [The Cultural Evolution in Pakistan] (1975);⁹³ *Inqalab-e Iran* [Iran's Revolution] (1982);⁹⁴ *Navid-e Fikr* [Herald of Intellect] (1982);⁹⁵ *Shehr-e Nigaran* [A City of Gallery] (1984);⁹⁶ *Sukhan Dar Sukhan* [The Discourse after Discourse]

⁹⁰ Hassan, *Shehr-e Nigaran*, 10-11.

⁹¹ Sibte Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar* (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2011).

⁹² Sibte Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak* (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2011)

⁹³ Sibte Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* (Karachi, Kutab Publishers, 1975).

⁹⁴ Sibte Hassan, *Inqalab-e Iran* (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 1982).

⁹⁵ Sibte Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr* (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2011).

⁹⁶ Sibte Hassan, *Shehr-e Nigaran*, ed. 16th, (Karachi: Maktaba-e Daniyal, 2008).

(1987);⁹⁷ *Roshan Khayali* [The Progressivism] (1993);⁹⁸ *Mughanni-e Atish-e Nafs* [A Singer of Agony] (2005);⁹⁹ *Marx aur Mashriq* [Marx and the East] (2009);¹⁰⁰ *Pakistan kay Tehzibi-o Siyasi Massa'el* [The Cultural and Political Issues of Pakistan] (2005);¹⁰¹ *Afkar-e Taza* [The New Ideas] (2005);¹⁰² *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* (1986);¹⁰³ and *Adab aur Samaji Amal* [The Literature and Social Action] (2016).¹⁰⁴ Some of these books have however been published posthumously. Since he left behind himself some incomplete works, those nonetheless have gone through the compiling, editing and publishing process by his friends like Syed Jaffar Ahmad and Ahmad Salim.¹⁰⁵ Some of Sibte Hassan's work got banned having controversial debates on sensitive political or social issues, irreconcilable with ideological perspective of the state. He has nonetheless republished them after bringing omissions and changes into them.¹⁰⁶

Sibte Hassan's enterprise *Mazi kay Mazar* (1969) reconstructs history of ancient world through the religious texts and archaeological evidences. It unravels myriad complex issues of the ancient societies which include the social evolution, means of productions, life patterns, human struggles for survival, human creativity and aesthetic aspects of the art and architecture, and more importantly religions and the belief system of the society. Hassan observes a historical phenomenon that many civilizations originated and developed their distinct cultural, linguistic,

⁹⁷ Sibte Hassan, *Sukhan Dar Sukhan*, ed. 2nd, (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2009)

⁹⁸ Sibte Hassan, *Roshan Khayali*, Ahmad Saleem (ed.), (Lahore: Fiction House, 1993).

⁹⁹ Sibte Hassan, *Mughanni-e Atish-e Nafs* (Karachi, Daniyal Publishers, 2005).

¹⁰⁰ Sibte Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq* (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2011).

¹⁰¹ Sibte Hassan, *Pakistan kay Tehzibi-o Siyasi Massa'el* (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2009).

¹⁰² Sibte Hassan, *Afkar-e Taza* (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2005).

¹⁰³ Sibte Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* (Karachi: Pakistan Publishing House, 1986).

¹⁰⁴ Sibte Hassan, *Adab aur Samaji Amal* (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2016)

¹⁰⁵ Syed Jaffar Ahmad is Director of Pakistan Studies Center in Karachi University has published most of Sibte Hassan books. He has edited and compiled some of Sibte Hassan's manuscripts and published in book forms. Such posthumously published books are *Afkar-e Taza*, *Adab aur Smaji Amal*, and *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs*. Similarly Ahmad Salim, an archivist, has published Sibte Hassan's articles and editorials in a book form giving it a title *Roshan Khayali*. Sibte Hassan, *Roshan Khayakli*, (ed.) Ahmad Salim, (Lahore: Fiction House, 1993).

¹⁰⁶ Sibte Hassan, *Shehr-e Nigaran*, 12-13.

technological, religious and economic characteristics. All those civilizations nonetheless witnessed declined somehow. All the newly emerged civilizations, Hassan makes the point, originate from the debris of the previous ones, and embody their various characteristics.¹⁰⁷

Accordingly he states:

The nations succumb to their end. Those nonetheless leave far-reaching impacts on the socialization, the industry, the technology, and the ways of thinking, the art and literature, everything belonging to the new generations. The languages come to an end, but their words, metaphors, idioms and similes enter into the newly emerged languages and become their part. The rule of old beliefs ends, but the every feature of the new religion incorporates the characteristics of the previous. The civilizations end but their traits can easily be found in those civilizations that replace the previous.¹⁰⁸

It is a principle of human survival and the empirical judgments of the society, according to Hassan, that have played an essential role in constructing religious rituals and customs. His *Mazi kay Mazar* talks about different stages of the evolution in human civilizations. It explains what sorts of challenges nature offered to human beings and how they responded to them and overcame their difficulties by getting an understanding of natural forces and resources. Explaining the progress of human civilization and that of urbanization, it describes how the tools of labour have been important in shaping the distinct nature of social life at its different stages.¹⁰⁹

One of the chapters of *Mazi kay Mazar* is devoted to the discussion on the status of women in ancient societies. Hassan observes that the ancient societies were predominantly matriarchic. To explain his viewpoint, he discusses the ancient scripture, sculpture and other archaeological relics, particularly figurines of the pregnant females. By those archaeological evidences, he infers that the female were assumed in those ancient ages as sacred, as a symbol of fertility of land, and as a

¹⁰⁷ Sibte Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, ed. xvi (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2011), 1-2.

¹⁰⁸ Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 1-2, 10-14, 15-32, 40-41, 43-44.

symbol of economic prosperity of the society.¹¹⁰ He adds that there nonetheless was a strong connection between the religious dogmas, magical rituals, and pertinent conventional wisdom or intellect. All this, he contends, was based on life experiences.¹¹¹ He sheds light on the belief systems of the prehistoric societies such as those of Mesopotamia, Egypt, China, Aryana, Palestine, and the later on historic societies like those of Christian, Jew and Muslim worlds.¹¹² He explains the dogmas evolved in those societies about the creation of universe. The construction of the beliefs to him is not a static phenomenon but a progressive one. He asserts that the human beliefs are subject to change, and there are various factors responsible for this modification such as the interactions among different societies, social mobility, migrations, and consequent acculturation. He adds that the peoples' dependency on nature for survival and to fulfil the material needs are also the factors that compel the societies to change the ideals, dogmas and belief systems.¹¹³ According to Hassan, those are the social and material realities in the wake of which human beings had formed their gods and goddesses, certain kinds of religious rituals and customs, superstitions, myths, religio-mystical and magical practices. All these social and cultural elements of the societies, he maintains, are subject to change with the passage of time and the peoples' material needs thus play a vital role in bringing about those changes.¹¹⁴

Sibte Hassan's narrative *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa (1975)* is mainly inspired by the controversy over the civilizational association of the people of Pakistan, so to say Pakistan's identity crisis. Hassan has however given evaluation of different viewpoints that discuss, either

¹¹⁰ Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 46-55.

¹¹¹ Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 50-55.

¹¹² Hassan quotes a long epic story of Sumerian heroic myth of Gilgamesh, the epic deciphered on some ancient tablets belonging to the period Third dynasty of Ur, in 2100 BCE. He finds many of the characters of this epic similar to those described by some popular Jewish, Christian and Islamic traditions. See Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 267-398, 399-404.

¹¹³ Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 1-3, 26-27, 178, 180, 399-401.

¹¹⁴ Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 5-14.

logically or sentimentally, the culture and cultural background of the people of Pakistan and explain the reason why Pakistan came into being.¹¹⁵ Those thus are:

- 1) The fundamental principle for which Pakistan came into being was Islam. Those who adhere to this viewpoint urge that the non-Islamic practices—such as idol carving, music, dance and many other forms of art—be prohibited in the state of Pakistan.
- 2) Those who maintain that the *raison d'être* of Pakistan was “Two Nations theory” suggest to extricate all the reminiscences of the Hindustani civilization, or so to say Hindu civilization, from the national character of Pakistan.
- 3) Some assert that Pakistan is a unique entity in which the people do have common religion, common language, and common civilization, but those are the parochial identities which appear to have been hazardous to national integrity and solidarity.
- 4) Nonetheless, some explain that the indigenous and parochial cultures form the state’s unique and distinct character. The national identity therefore is not beyond the parochial identities.
- 5) The socialist scholars however view Pakistani society with the lens of class struggle and hold that the Pakistani society is divided into two classes: i.e. the privileged class and the downtrodden. The earlier includes the capitalists, feudal lords, industrialists, the *vaderas*, the *nawabs*, and the *Rais*; and contrarily, the latter comprises of the poor peasants and labourers. The socialist scholars question that whose culture should have been preserved and protected, after all.

¹¹⁵ Sibte Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* (Karachi: Kuttab Publishers Ltd., 1975), 7-9.

- 6) There is also a faction of the scholars who, Hassan explains, believe that this is the age of capitalism and industrialization. They think that for the progress and prosperity of the country Pakistan needs industrialization but its social and economic structure should be evolved on the principles of socialism.¹¹⁶

These different viewpoints explained by Sibte Hassan are nonetheless represent two broadly defined school of thoughts in Pakistan, i.e. the Muslim nationalists and the leftists. Hassan defines his own framework explaining how the different orientation of a culture and a nation constitute. First, he explains a difference between the state and the nation. The state he maintains is a geographic and political entity, and the nation however is a social entity. The boundaries of the state and the nation can undoubtedly be different, as it has been the case with Germany, Korea, and Vietnam.¹¹⁷

In his work *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Hassan however positively explains four fundamental factors that have played a vital role in the formation of a culture. Those are: 1) the physical or geographical conditions; 2) the tools and instruments of labour; 3) the cognitive system of society; 4) and the social values of the society.¹¹⁸ Having explained this framework as to formation of culture and cultural developments in the society, Hassan links the culture of Pakistani people with that of Indus Valley and other civilizations emerged afterwards under the myriad ruling dynasties. He therefore suggests that the culture of Pakistan at present, in fact, embodies the characteristics of various pre-existing cultures of India including Indus Valley civilization, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism, Arab culture, Persian culture, Turkish culture, Afghan culture and that of the

¹¹⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 7-9.

¹¹⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 11-12.

¹¹⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 25-57.

West.¹¹⁹ He suggests that the culture of the people of Pakistan has a long historical legacy. It originated in this very region and went through many phases accepting and adopting many of the cultural impacts of myriad invaders and settlers from distinct parts of the world: the Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe. This is how Hassan revisits the Muslim nationalists' claim that the culture of Pakistan is merely the demonstration of Islamic or Muslim culture.

Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa presents a discernibly systematic study of prehistoric, ancient and medieval period of the region currently known as Pakistan, by considering the archaeological evidences and scriptural sources. It examines the Neolithic culture in Soan Valley, the village culture of Quetta, Murree, Naal, Zhob, Kuli and the urban culture or city states of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.¹²⁰ By considering the Vedic literature, the author describes the history of Aryan's invasion of Indus Valley and the resistance showed by the two upper classes of native *Asorias*, i.e. *Viritar* and *Panari*.¹²¹ It discusses the settlements of Aryans in Indus Valley and the historical developments taking place after their settlements. It was the climatic or geographical changes, Aryans' nomadic life and their lack of administrative skills that ultimately caused the decline of the Indus Valley civilization.¹²²

This study provides at length discussions on the cultural life of the Indus Valley civilization after the decline of Dravidians and the rise of Aryans. It sheds light on the emergence of India's religions such as Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. It discusses the rise and fall of the Gandhara's ruling dynasties of different origins and cultural backgrounds like the Bactrian, the Mauryans, Sakas, Kushanas, and Huns and explains that these dynasties contributed a lot in enriching the culture of

¹¹⁹ The cultural exchange, adaptation, and syncretism in north western part of India, currently known as Pakistan, is the main thesis that Sibte Hassan attempts to explain in his narrative *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*.

¹²⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 61-66.

¹²¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 75, 85.

¹²² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 66-80.

this region.¹²³ They blended the local art and architecture with theirs. Admiring Buddhism for its humanist philosophy and commenting on the decline of Buddhism in these regions, Hassan states that the period between sixth and seventh century CE was the darkest age in the cultural history of Pakistan.¹²⁴

Sighting *Chachnama*, Sibte Hassan describes the economic prospects of Arab invasion of Sindh, in 711 CE. He asserts that despite the fact that Arab rule in India extended over a period of three and a half centuries, the changes they brought in the social and economic structures of India were not so deep.¹²⁵ Though he admires Arab administration in India, he contends that the real objective behind that administrative setup were imperialist, i.e. to generate revenue.¹²⁶ Hassan thus explains that Hajjaj ibn Yusuf (the then Governor of Khurasan, indirectly controlling conquered Indian territories) was merely concerned with the economic benefits from this land. This was also the very reason that he granted Indian masses complete social and religious freedom.¹²⁷ Hassan explains further that whatever changes in the social life took place during the Arab rule could only

¹²³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 123-148.

¹²⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 148.

¹²⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 164-65.

Sibte Hassan considers that “Arab by virtue of their socialization and culture affected every sphere of social life.” Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 165. On the other hand, he appears to be severely critical of that they brought no structural change in social formation of India. Explaining the reason of that the social relations in the society of Sindh had not been changed, Hassan state the social change is dependent on the change in tools of production (the tools of labour). As the Arab brought no change in tools of production, the society Ali contends remained as it was before. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 178.

¹²⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 152.155-7.

¹²⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 156-7.

be observed in the urban centres, not in the rural areas.¹²⁸ Hassan states that during the Arab rule in India, only the upper classes came into power.¹²⁹

Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa discusses the political and cultural developments taking place during the Ghauri, Ghaznavi, Sultanate and the Mughal periods.¹³⁰ Accordingly, it explains that Muslim rulers adopted the policy of religious tolerance towards non-Muslim communities of India. The political role of the *ulema* (religious scholars or clerics) and their attitude towards the non-Muslims of India has received a severe criticism of the author. Sibte Hassan discusses at length the *Qaramati* Ismailis,¹³¹ the sufis, and the exponents of Bhakti movement who played an important role in bring harmony, equality and justices in the society.

As to the cultural achievements of Akbar and Shahjahan's reigns, often venerated by historians as the golden age, Hassan views this cultural development as the continuity of the Sultanate period.

¹²⁸ Apropos of the Arab-Indian interaction and the exchange of the trade, the commerce, knowledge, medicine, music, language, art, and architecture, Sibte Hassan observes that both, the Arab rulers and the Indian subjects, had been the beneficiaries of this interaction. Hassan states that the breaking of the lingual stagnation of India, and introducing the magnificent architecture in Mansurah and Bhambore were the major development under the Arab rule of Sindh. Arabs nonetheless made no improvement in the means of production of India, nor did they took any measure to break social structure formation of Sindh, i.e. the caste system. The author however propounds that the developed cities and their architecture had no use for the poor or the lower class of India. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 178-79, 181-82.

¹²⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 178.

¹³⁰ Hassan describes that after the declines of Arabs, the Persian culture put the long lasting imprint on the soil of Indian subcontinent. This culture began asserting influence on India when Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi (997-1330 AD) invaded India and brought with him several sufis, scholars, poets, artists and intellectuals, who settled in Lahore, then the capital of Ghaznavi Empire. In 1193 AD, the Qutubuddin Aibak, the successor of Sultan Shihabuddin Ghauri, captured Delhi and laid the foundation of Muslim sultanate in India. Thereafter, the five dynasties ruled India for 333 years (1199-1526 AD). The Persian, the Turks, and the Afghans had been the main political actors during the period but Persian culture dominated as the culture of court and urban areas. On the other hand, the Afghans were the military force of the sultanate of Delhi.

¹³¹ The *Qaramatis* were a sub-sect of Ismaili Shias, a sect of Islam. They gradually penetrated their influence among the local people of Multan. In 964 CE, they under the leadership of Jalm ibn Shuban, an Ismaili missionary, fought against the Arabs and hence defeated them. They captured the city of Multan and Mansura. Over the historians' negative treatment of Qaramatis, Sibte morns and regarded their narration about them as biased. Sibte Hassan states that the *Qaramati* movement was fundamentally a movement of lower classes. The objectives of their activities were economic as well as political. They presented their ideals by using the religious jargon which was an apt way of communication to approach the general public during the medieval period. In 1010 CE, Ismaili rule however lasted after being defeated by Mahmud Ghaznavi.

In the book he admires the role of the peasants, labourers, architects, artists and artisans for given this culture a grace and magnificence. He becomes highly critical of the ruling classes for their harsh and inhumane treatment of the working classes. He criticizes the rulers' indifference towards the prosperity of those who laboured to ensure their luxurious and comfortable lives.

The last chapter of the book discusses the causes of the decline of Mughal Empire and the rise of the British as political hegemon in South Asia. It argues that India's social stagnation, feudalism, caste system, least developed means of production, all these factors were the main causes of the decline of the Mughal Empire, and the British who were relatively advanced in all these terms made India a part of the British Empire.¹³²

Among all of Sibte Hassan's undertakings, *Mosa sey Marx tak* (1976 and 16th ed. 2011) is the most celebrated works. This is said to be a bible of Marxism or Communism and all the progressive literary circles and young students in Pakistan inclined to revolutionary activism regard it a compulsory reading for their intellectual training. There are three notable aspects one can find in the book. First, it provides the history of Communism by discussing the primitive communism exhibited in tribal societies and by describing the occasional efforts made throughout the course of history for the establishment of communist societies.¹³³ Second, it offers the biographic accounts of renowned western philosophers who proposed different varieties of socialisms, and the distinct models for the establishment of a classless society, and further they have proposed the solutions as to how the oppression and exploitation can be eliminated from the society. Third, it offers the biography of Marx and the abridged description and analysis of his philosophical ideas given in

¹³² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 372-77.

¹³³ Sibte Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, ed. xvi, (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2011), 11-35, 39, 42-45. 63, 72-96.

his myriad writings.¹³⁴ It also discusses his concepts of “Asiatic mode of production” and “oriental despotism” in context of India’s political economy in pre-modern periods.¹³⁵

Mosa sey Marx tak unravels the history of Communism initiating the discussion from the period of Prophet Moses and end it up on the event of the establishment of Paris Commune in France. Setting out from the history of the man’s social evolution, the author describes the Darwin’s theory of ‘biological evolution’ based on ‘nature’s selection,’ and the struggle for survival against the rivals in the nature.¹³⁶ It explains how the struggle for survival brought about physical changes in the bodies of animals.¹³⁷ He analyses the evolution in human societies that gradually took place from the Stone Age to the Iron & Bronze Ages, and thereafter when the civilized society came into being. This study unfolds how a classless society gradually developed classes. It mentions various tribes living across the world as the example of primitive communist societies, which include Tasaday,¹³⁸ Semang,¹³⁹ Paiute and Blackfeet,¹⁴⁰ Yokaghir,¹⁴¹ Yoruba and Boloki,¹⁴² and Eskimo.¹⁴³ It further states that the examples of such societies can also be witnessed in India and thus mentions the Indian castes like *Goondh*, *Bhail*, *Sunthal*, *Khaasi*, *Moong Pandey*, and *Maree*,¹⁴⁴ which can be considered the earliest forms of human societies that still live their lives by practicing the principles of primitive communism.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁴ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 224-421.

¹³⁵ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 374-94.

¹³⁶ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 12-15.

¹³⁷ Hasan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 14.

¹³⁸ Tasaday is a tribe living in the Island of Philippine.

¹³⁹ Semang is a tribe that is found in mountainous forest of Malaya.

¹⁴⁰ The Blackfeet is a nomadic American Indian tribes.

¹⁴¹ Yokaghir tribe lives in Siberia and Russia.

¹⁴² Yoraba and Boloki are the two tribes living in Nigeria.

¹⁴³ The Eskimo tribal is an ethnic group of people who reside in glaciers extending from Finland to Canada.

¹⁴⁴ *The Maree* is a Baloch tribe in Pakistan.

¹⁴⁵ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 16-23.

By quoting stories from the Old and New Testaments, Sibte Hassan's *Mosa sey Marx tak* reconstructs the history of Communism. It tells the history of Israelites, how Prophet Jacob had taken Israelites from Palestine to Egypt, as in the native land they had to face many sufferings including hunger and famine. After living there for a long time, the Egyptian aristocratic class started the persecution of the Israelites. Prophet Moses gathered his people and told them his revelation that God promised him the old native land where they once lived, only if the Israelites observed His commandments. The Israelites thus conceded and followed what Moses said to them. They consequently were blessed with the victory that God promised. After resettling there in the native land, Moses told them to lay the foundation of a new society according to the commandments revealed by God to him. Those commandments, according to Sibte Hassan, reflect the basic principles which might rightly be regarded as those of a communist society.¹⁴⁶ This is how Sibte Hassan interprets the canonical sacred text and stories to show that the ideal of Communism was materialized by the prophets and the social reformers.

The concept and practice of acquiring the private ownership is conceived by Sibte Hassan as the fundamental cause of all sorts of social inequalities and injustices, but some of the rulers, reformers and philosophers tried to eradicate it. He discusses the political system of Southern Greek state, i.e. Sparta where its rulers like Lycurgus (800-700 BCE)¹⁴⁷ and Agis IV (r. 244-241 BCE) established such a government that ensured the law of sharing the properties for mutual benefits.

Sibte Hassan appreciates the ideas of philosophers like Plato (470-399 BCE), Xenophon (430-350 BCE), and Plutarch (46-120 AD) whom he finds presenting such ideas reflecting the characteristics of Communism. Hassan considers that they evolved the philosophies based on the precedent of

¹⁴⁶ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 24-35.

¹⁴⁷ Lycurgus after being the ruler of Sparta he divided the agricultural land among 39,000 peasants, which before that was the property of few families. Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 44.

Sparta's communist political structure.¹⁴⁸ He highlights the endeavours made by the governments in Palestine and Lipari—a region that comprises of Islands located near the north-west of Sicily—for abolishing the practice of personal property.¹⁴⁹ In *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, Hassan talks about Christianity and states that Prophet Jesus never told about what kind of a political order should be. Nor did he speak against the class system and the ruling classes. His disciples led an ascetic life and they were extremely critical of the private property. They believed that everything except the wives be shared.¹⁵⁰ Hassan's account thus reports that this religious variant of Communism sustained until the aristocratic class in the Roman Empire came under the fold of Christianity. Hitherto, Europe witnessed an alliance between the State and the Church, which sustained for a long time but ultimately turned over when the European reformers like Martin Luther (1483-1546) raised vehement opposition against this alliance.

The book discusses at length the thoughts of Western philosophers such as Thomas Moore (1779-1852), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Rousseau (1712-1778), F. N. Babeuf (1760-1792), Mabali (170-1785), Saint Simon (1760-1825), Robert Owen (1771-1885), Charles Fourier (1772-1837), Charles Hall (1740-1820), William Thompson (1785-1835), Thomas Hadgskin (1783-1869), John Grey (1799-1850), John Francis Bray (1809-1897), and John Goodwyn Barmby (1820-1881).

Hassan becomes slightly critical of these philosopher stating that though they were sincere in their efforts for proposing different kinds of socialist models, whatever they presented was but the utopian concepts of socialism. He argues that the liberal democratic capitalist states have incorporated their policies with all that they have proposed, but have failed to establish any

¹⁴⁸ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 44.

¹⁴⁹ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 45-47.

¹⁵⁰ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 72-93.

egalitarian society. He thinks that Babeuf was the real predecessor of Karl Marx, as he offered the concept of ‘scientific socialism.’

After setting the background by discussing the history of Communism and its utopian philosophies, the book goes into describing the history of Marx and Engels, and their doctrines and philosophies which are said to be Marxism. It thus sheds light on major concepts of Marxism including the concept of social alienation, historical materialism, and surplus value. One of the chapters is devoted to discussion on the writings of Marx on India. Methodologically speaking, the writer provides a descriptive narration of Marx’s observations on historical issues of India than evaluating them critically. This presents that Sibte Hassan is but an adherent and an advocate of what Marx has said.

Pakistan kay Tehzibi-o Siyasi Masa’el (1979) is based on his select articles published in *Lail-o Nihar*. Divided in four parts, the first deals with the initial so-called democratic phase in the political history of Pakistan (1947-1958),¹⁵¹ the second political developments of Ayub regime, third Yahya’s Martial Law and its implications.¹⁵² The fourth and last part of the book contains select articles published in a monthly Urdu magazine *Pakistani Adab*, between November 1974 and October 1977.¹⁵³

Hassan’s enterprise *Navid-e Fikr* (1982; 17th ed., 2011) is a compilation of assorted research articles focusing on themes such as theocracy vs. secularism in the West, Islamic World and India, the concept of an Islamic state, secular education, and the political role of the sufis in India.¹⁵⁴

The author argues that religions like Christianity and Islam do not provide political code of

¹⁵¹ Sibte Hassan, *Pakistan kay Tehzib-o Siyasi Masa’el*. (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 1979), 21-241.

¹⁵² Hassan, *Pakistan kay Tehzib-o Siyasi Masa’el*. 242-77.

¹⁵³ Hassan, *Pakistan kay Tehzib-o Siyasi Masa’el*. 278-362.

¹⁵⁴ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 3-166.

conduct, but the social and moral. He holds that the basic sources on both Christianity and Islam are silent on what kind of political order the society should evolve.¹⁵⁵ These religions, therefore, do not instruct their followers to establish any theocratic state. Hassan levels a severe criticism on the political exploitation of religion and this, he thinks, is a characteristic of feudal societies. The scholars who have provided justifications to theocracy have also received his stern criticism.¹⁵⁶

Sibte Hassan's *Shehr-e Nigaran* (1984; 16th ed., 2008) is his memoir. *Shehr-e Nigaran* provides the details about his career in Journalism while living in Hyderabad Deccan, and sheds ample light on his professional experiences, and social and culture life of Hyderabad city.¹⁵⁷

The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan (1986) is the only book that Sibte Hassan produced in English language and it was published in the year he died. It mainly addresses the ideological conflicts between the rightist and leftist scholars. In rather an apologetic tone, this book attempts to convince that secularism is the only best form of government that ensures democracy.¹⁵⁸ Secularism, it explains, does not mean a negation of religion, but it implies separation of religion from politics. It proposes and advocates for a social and political environment where the people belonging to any religion may live enjoying equal rights.¹⁵⁹ This account by Sibte Hassan discusses and responds to the issues raised by those who falsify the idea of secularism, such as Altaf Gauhar.¹⁶⁰ It explains the developments of secularism in the ancient world arguing that the state is not a divine institution, but a man-made one. *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* sheds light on the ancient societies which once were existing in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Indus Valley, Athens, and Rome, and tells that the states

¹⁵⁵ Hassan states that "none of the prophets mentioned in Holy Quran had been instructed [by Allah] that establishing a Islamic state is their responsibility and requirement of their position." Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 49.

¹⁵⁶ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 20-23, 29, 57-59, 157.

¹⁵⁷ Sibte Hassan, "Dekkani Tehzib ki Jhalkiyan," in *Shehr-e Nigaran*. 46-86.

¹⁵⁸ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 1-9.

¹⁵⁹ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 7-14.

¹⁶⁰ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 14-25.

evolved there were not established by any priestly class but by the warriors. It tells about the growth of secular ideas over the course of history by explaining the social, natural conditions and constraints of human societies.¹⁶¹ With quiet a larger spatial and temporal scope, it discusses the attempts of the rulers and scholars in the East and the West at promoting secular ideas and establishing such societies.¹⁶² One of the chapters in the book is dedicated to the discussion on secularism in Indian subcontinent. Here, the author argues that the European introduced secularism in India, but there had been number of personalities, the saints, the rulers, the reformers who always challenged the orthodoxies of the priestly classes.¹⁶³ Apropos of Pakistan's freedom movement and its social and political setup, Hassan argues that the founding father of the nation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah 'pleaded for Muslim state [Pakistan] purely on secular grounds,'¹⁶⁴ and thus criticizes Jama'at-e Islami for its attempts to make Pakistan a theocratic state.¹⁶⁵

Both Sibte Hassan and Faiz Ahmad Faiz were close friends, having common ideals. They worked and struggled together to materialize their ideal of socialism in Pakistan. Together they went through the ups and downs of life. They both present highly admirable scholarship: Hassan by writing non-fictional literature and Faiz by remarkable revolutionary poetry. Hassan's *Sukhan Dar Sukhan* (1987: 2nd ed. 2009) is the book that provides a commentary on the poetry of Faiz. He appreciates and evaluates his poetry in connection with the international and national historical developments.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 26-65.

¹⁶² Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 66-102.

¹⁶³ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 136-56.

¹⁶⁴ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 175-8.

¹⁶⁵ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 178-89.

¹⁶⁶ Sibte Hassan, *Sukhan Dar Sukhan* (Karachi, Daniyal Publishers, 2009).

Sibte Hassan's *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs: Sajjad Zaheer (2005)* is his memoir about the communist leader, the founder of Progressive Writers' Association, and General Secretary of the Communist Part of Pakistan (CPP), i.e. Syed Sajjad Zaheer. It shares details on his personality, character, education, ideology, thoughts, and political activities.¹⁶⁷ It also elaborates the ideological concerns of Progressive Writers' Association and the political activities of Communist Party of India. It tells about the literary, political and revolutionary ventures that the author and Sajjad Zaheer jointly undertook. It sheds light on Sajjad Zaheer's political vision and mission,¹⁶⁸ his activities as General Secretary of CPP,¹⁶⁹ and his detention in the wake of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case.¹⁷⁰ It also includes two such chapters that introduce and evaluate Sajjad Zaheer's books titled as *Roshnai*,¹⁷¹ and *Zikar-e Hafiz*.¹⁷²

Marx aur Mashriq (2009; 2nd ed., 2011) by Sibte Hssan has been published posthumously by acquiring a greater contribution of Syed Jaffar Ahmad, regarding both text and references.¹⁷³ It primarily presents a discussion on political and intellectual relationships between the East (Asia) and the West (Europe).¹⁷⁴ One of its most striking facets is that it tells with quite balanced and objective approach about how the East benefited from the West as to knowledge production, and *vice versa*. It further tells about the changing international political circumstances and the balance of power and its impacts on the emergence and prevalence of the ideas and the transformation of knowledge.¹⁷⁵ This account is divided into two parts. The first deals with the history of the

¹⁶⁷ Sibte Hassan, *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs*, ed. Syed Jaffar Ahmad (Karachi: Muktaba-e Daniyal, 2009) 68-80.

¹⁶⁸ Hassan, *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs*, 73-80.

¹⁶⁹ Hassan, *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs*, 77.

¹⁷⁰ Hassan, *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs*, 72.

¹⁷¹ Hassan, *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs*, 81-90, 91-93.

¹⁷² Hassan, *Mughanni-e Atash-e Nafs*, 94-104.

¹⁷³ Sibte Hassan, *Marx Aru Mashriq*, Syed Jaffa Ahmad (ed.), Ed. 2nd (Karachi: Daniyal Publishers, 2011), 5-13.

¹⁷⁴ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 17-40.

¹⁷⁵ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 17-40.

conquests by Greeks and Romans, and their intellectual influence on Arab region where Islam emerged as a political power. It also casts light on the Muslims' intellectual influence on the social life of Europe during the medieval period.¹⁷⁶ The second part of the book presents randomly compiled articles written by Sibte Hassan, which address issues like the fundamentals of socialism, its universality, comparison between the utopian and scientific socialism, and the last but not the least, Soviet foreign policy towards Muslim countries.

By elaborating orientalist's positivist views on biological and social evolution, *Marx aur Mashriq* explains the reasons why Asia, particularly India, had witnessed a social stagnation over the course of its history.¹⁷⁷ The themes, it discusses, include: 'oriental despotism' (the views of European intellectuals on Asian governments), the feudal character of Asian societies, and the capitalist developments in India driven by European colonialism.¹⁷⁸ It explains Marx's model of Asiatic mode of production by highlighting a context of the culture of rural societies, the nature of Indian feudalism, and the issues as to the ownership of land, caste system, and system of revenue collection.¹⁷⁹ Hassan has taken these themes under consideration by providing historical context of India and has given the different scholarly interpretations on India's social stagnation. In addition to that, it provides Karl Marx's biographical details, and discusses his writing on Muslim world, and analyses how the socialism presented by Marx is scientific, and how it is different from those presented by many other philosophers. One of its chapters is written responding to the critics of socialism in Pakistan who maintain that the socialism for the people of Pakistan is an imported

¹⁷⁶ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 17-38.

¹⁷⁷ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 39-47.

¹⁷⁸ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 49-73.

¹⁷⁹ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 57-65.

idea, and thus it is unpractical here. Hassan argues that the most of the ideas and philosophies which are quite popular in South Asia, somehow, are imported.¹⁸⁰

1.6.2 Mubarak Ali

Dr. Mubarak Ali (b. 1941)¹⁸¹ is a professionally trained historian, and academician. He was born in April 21, 1941,¹⁸² in Tonk, a town in Rajasthan in United India. He received his early education by learning how to recite Holy Quran. His earliest teacher was Hafiz Banney Khan at Dar al-Ulum Khaliliyya, in Tonk. He could not get formal education while living at Tonk, as his father showed no interest in bringing up his child by providing formal education.¹⁸³

In 1952, Mubarak Ali along with his family migrated to Sindh, Pakistan and settled in Hyderabad city. He then got admission in fifth class in Khalid Memorial School where he began writings essays in school magazine, titled *Khalid*.¹⁸⁴ He first passed *Adib* in 1956, and then matriculation examinations by appearing only in the exam of English language, in 1957. He then got registered

¹⁸⁰ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 173-79.

¹⁸¹ Mubarak Ali has narrated two memoirs: *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye* [A Humiliated Being] (1996) and *Meri Duniya* [My World] (2014). *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye* provides the details about the different aspects of author's personality, family background, education, professional life and social experiences, till the period of 1990. It tells about Mubarak Ali's sufferings that he confronted during his struggle in life. It is a poor man's life-account, the man who was born to a poor or lower-middle class family of Tonk, India. Thus, he has been a self-made person and has got fame internationally through his writings, but could not secure a fair status in his own country. The autobiography tells his struggles for honorable survival, and discrete individuality of thinking on the one hand, and systematic barriers, disgrace, and social injustice confronted to him on the other hand. It tells the tale of sensitive young boy whose family migrates from one country to another without its will or in reluctance, but it had to move anyway. This boy passes through his childhood to youth, and to old age, but it seems as if he never overcomes nostalgic feelings of his childhood. This memoir describes the story of Mubarak Ali's endeavor to acquire education despite crucial economic condition of his family, and he earns money doing various kinds of jobs to continue his education. Pertaining to his professional experience, Ali discloses the politics inside universities where there are structural hindrances, and that the university authorities neither show their concern with the employee's problems nor facilitate their progress. Mubarak Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

Ali's second memoir *Meri Duniya* (2014) supplies some new details with different perspectives and a thematic arrangement. Its time scale is more than the previously published autobiographical account has offered. It tells about the personality of the author, his view of the society and social issues, his travels, education, literary interests, profession life, relations with a circle of scholars around him, and also sheds light on some of the issues having national and international importance. Mubarak Ali, *Meri Duniya* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2014).

¹⁸² According to Ali, his parents did not know the exact date of birth, so the date is fictitious.

¹⁸³ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 12-39.

¹⁸⁴ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 51-53.

in Oriental College Hyderabad, where he prepared to participate in debate competition held at colleges in Lahore, Lyallpur, and Bahawalpur.¹⁸⁵ For his tough economic conditions, he started teaching in a primary school to earn Rs 40 per month.¹⁸⁶ Later on, he worked as office secretary subordinating his teacher Wasi Muzaffar Nadavi, in the office of *Majalas Tahafuz-e Akhlaq-e Aamah*, i.e. a sub-organization of Jama'at-e Islami.

Mubarak Ali joined City College Hyderabad attending the evening classes. Taking part in student politics, he contested elections and held an office of Vice President in 1961.¹⁸⁷ He did MA with first position in general history, from Sindh University in 1963. There he got profoundly inspired by liberal secular approach of his teacher Dr. Ahmed Bashir who was a specialist on Akbar's religious policy.¹⁸⁸ After completing MA degree, Ali began teaching at Jamiah Arabiah College, but soon he was appointed as junior lecturer in University of Sindh at Jamshoro.

Between 1963 and 1970, Mubarak Ali extensively studied Marxist historical literature. At the University, he acquired the cooperation of his colleagues and friends from various disciplines, and formed a Study Club.¹⁸⁹ He soon became dissatisfied with University environment, when he found the people inclined towards status consciousness and that the junior lecturers were not treated well. This motivated him to accomplish PhD by securing some scholarship. He acquired his doctoral degree from Ruhr University of Bochum, Germany,¹⁹⁰ being supervised by Professor Heribet

¹⁸⁵ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 55, 58-59.

¹⁸⁶ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 57.

¹⁸⁷ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 60-61.

¹⁸⁸ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 68-69.

¹⁸⁹ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 81-83.

¹⁹⁰ Pertaining to his efforts to do PhD, Mubarak Ali describes that he once attained a scholarship to study in Spain, but the Vice Chancellor Hassan Ali Abdur Rahman refused him to grant a leave. When Ghulam Mustafa Shah was appointed as Vice Chancellor of the university, he took many initiatives, one of which was granting of about 26 scholarships as well. But Mubarak Ali could not be selected, and therefore decided to do his PhD by means of self-support. He applied in Queen Mary College of London University and got enrolled, and travelled to London in Oct, 1970. While living in London, he nonetheless had to work in a factory and a general store to earn his livelihood. Consequently, it became difficult for him to work for earning and to continue his studies at the same time. Thus, on

Bosse and submitting a dissertation titled as *Mughal Court*. Meanwhile, Ali married Zakia, a girl among his relatives from Shadadpur.¹⁹¹ In September, 1972, Ali completed his doctorate degree, and returned to Pakistan with his wife and two daughters, Attiya and Shehla. He went to rejoin Sindh University, but the incumbent authorities refused his joining saying that he availed more time than the granted study leave. He argued to justify his position which was considered a contempt and consequently he was suspended from services.¹⁹² The matter however was resolved by the interference of his colleagues and the education minister of Sindh, Pir Aftab Jilani.¹⁹³

In late 1980s, the political environment of the campus and the violent ethnic clashes, led to intense social chaos in Hyderabad city and the police declared curfew. This made Ali highly upset and he decided to leave Hyderabad for Lahore.¹⁹⁴ The university authorities nonetheless refused his request for early retirement for some administrative reasons. Eventually, on deputation, he went to join University of the Punjab, Lahore in 1989, which refused to appoint him for his controversial scholarship.

Ali after being refused by Punjab University started working for the ‘Mishal Publishers’, and then the Goethe Institute, Lahore as the Director of its Lahore office, and then for the NGOs such as Action Aid and Aurat Foundation.¹⁹⁵ He soon left the NGOs finding that working for them had restricted his intellectual freedom. The scholars who work for NGOs or other sort of organizations,

being informed that German universities could provide him free education he moved to Germany. Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 85-86.

¹⁹¹ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 113.

¹⁹² Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 124.

¹⁹³ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 124.

¹⁹⁴ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 134-5.

¹⁹⁵ Ali, *Dar Dar Thokar Khaye*, 136-8; Ali, *Meri Duniya*, 47-48.

Ali states, have to produce restricted writings by following an agenda based framework. That kind of literature cannot be regarded as an intellectual work.¹⁹⁶

1.6.2.1 Writings of Mubarak Ali

Mubarak Ali is an author of more than eighty books on history, historiography, and philosophy of history, and myriad historical issues pertaining to social status and plight of the common people. He perhaps is the only professionally trained historian in Pakistan who applies Marxist framework to the study of history. He is acknowledged to be ‘a people’s historian.’¹⁹⁷ He has written books on history for the common people, viewing it from their viewpoint. He urges the historians that the poor, the downtrodden, and the deprived be given a fair treatment in the historical discourse. The language he has made a medium to disseminate the knowledge of history, primarily, is Urdu. In his writings, all the cognitive elements, e.g. tone, diction, phrases and argumentation aptly match to the comprehension and cognizance of the common person. He has produced a jargon-free literature, avoiding the complex terms frequently practiced in the discipline of history. He respects the conventional wisdom, and composes his writings accordingly.

Mubarak Ali’s works can be divided into five categories: 1) those on Indian history from ancient to modern era; 2) works on the history of Sindh; 3) on historiography and philosophy of history; 4) on the history of oppressed classes; 5) and the works on the social and cultural history of Pakistan and some miscellaneous works.

1.6.2.1.1 Mubarak Ali’s Works on Indian History and Ancient Civilizations

His books discussing the ancient and medieval history of India include *inter alia*: *Achhut Logon ka Adab* [The Literature by Downtrodden People] (1990);¹⁹⁸ *Akhari Ehd-e Mughliyya ka*

¹⁹⁶ Ali, *Meri Duniya*, 45,

¹⁹⁷ Syed Jaffar Ahmad, *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia: A Special Volume in Honour of Dr. Mubarak Ali* (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2013) 7-8.

¹⁹⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

Hindustan [India during Later Mughal Period] (1992);¹⁹⁹ *Jagirdari* [Feudalism] (1992);²⁰⁰ *Historian's Dispute* (1992);²⁰¹ *Tarikh aur Aurat* [History and Women] (1993);²⁰² *Ulema aur Siyasat* [The Theologians and Politics] (1993);²⁰³ *Tarikh aur Siyasat* [History and Politics] (1993);²⁰⁴ *Almiya-e Tarikh* [Tragedy of History] (1994);²⁰⁵ *Sindh Khamoshi Ki Awaz* [Sindh: A Voice of Silence] (1994);²⁰⁶ *Mughal Darbar* [Mughal Court] (1997);²⁰⁷ *In the Shadow of History* (1998);²⁰⁸ *Bartanvi Raj* [The British Rule] (1999);²⁰⁹ *Tarikh Ki Talash* [In the Search of History] (2003);²¹⁰ *Tarikh Ki Awaz* [The Voice of History] (2003);²¹¹ *Essays on History, Politics and Culture: A Page from History* (2004);²¹² *Essays on the History of Sindh* (2005);²¹³ *Tarikh aur Tehqiq* [History and Research] (2005);²¹⁴ *Tehzib Ki Kahani* [The Story of Civilization] (2009);²¹⁵ *Hindustan Ki Kahani* [The Story of Hindustan] (2009);²¹⁶ *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashary ka Almiya* [A Tragedy of Muslim Society in India] (2012).²¹⁷ Some of these books thoroughly discuss the history of India and some include the chapters on it.

On Indian history, Mubarak Ali's works also include edited and translated ones: for instance, *Sindh Observed* (1993) is an anthology of the articles compiled and edited by him. The books like *Crow's*

¹⁹⁹ Mubarak Ali, *Akhari Ahd-e Mughaliyya ka Hindustan* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁰⁰ Mubarak Ali, *Jagirdari* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁰¹ Mubarak Ali, *Historian's Dispute* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1992).

²⁰² Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁰³ Mubarak Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁰⁴ Mubarak Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁰⁵ Mubarak Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁰⁶ Mubarak Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁰⁷ Mubarak Ali, *Mughal Darbar* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁰⁸ Mubarak Ali, *In the Shadow of History* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1998).

²⁰⁹ Mubarak Ali, *Bartanvi Raj* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1999).

²¹⁰ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²¹¹ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²¹² Mubarak Ali, *Essays on History, Politics and Culture: A Page from History* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2004).

²¹³ Mubarak Ali, *Essays on the History of Sindh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005).

²¹⁴ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Tehqiq* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005).

²¹⁵ Mubarak Ali, *Tehzib ki Kahani* (Islamabad: National Book Bank Foundation, 2009).

²¹⁶ Mubarak Ali, *Hindustan ki Kahani* (Islamabad: National Book Bank Foundation, 2009).

²¹⁷ Mubarak Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

Account of Sindh (2004); *The English Factory in Sindh* (2005) are abridged and edited by him. His account *Jahangir ka Hindustan* [Jahangir's India] (1997) is the translation of Francisco Pelsaert's travelogue *Jahangir's India*, originally written in Dutch language, and in English it was translated by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, published in 1925.

Mubarak Ali's *Jagirdari* (1992) unravels the history of feudalism in India. At the outset, it provides a comparison between the nature of feudalism in India and that of the West. It argues that there were myriad reasons for which the societies had evolved a feudal system.²¹⁸ By referring to the views of Indian Marxist historians such as Harbans Mukhia, R. S. Sharma, and Irfan Habib, he adduces that the forms and practices of feudalism in India had been different in many ways from those of Europe.²¹⁹ He examines the reasons how feudalism originated in India and went through different phases.²²⁰ The nature of feudalism in Indian, according to Mubarak Ali, was different from that of Europe, as Indian feudalism was not based upon the individuals' ownership of land and the coercive labour of the peasants.²²¹ He explains that during the sultanate and Mughal periods there had been three forms of lands: 1) *khalsa* was the land possessed by the king and the royal family; 2) *iqta* was the land grants awarded by the rulers to the military officers and nobles; 3) *milk*, or *inam*, or *waqf*, or *mafroz*, or *idrar*, were allotted for religious purposes and for the social welfare of the society.²²²

Exploring the reason why India adopted such kind of feudalism, Mubarak Ali states that the *iqtadari* system in India was introduced by the Sultans of Delhi Sultanate, who used to offer their soldiers land grants and assign the responsibility to collect revenue from those lands—i.e. farming

²¹⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Jagirdari* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²¹⁹ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 9-21.

²²⁰ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 46-59.

²²¹ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 61-65.

²²² Ali, *Jagirdari*, 68.

tax. They had borrowed this system from land reforms introduced by the rulers of al-Buwayid and Seljuk dynasties.²²³ In *Jagirdari*, Ali describes the plight of the Indian peasantry working on *iqta*, and states that they lived in acute poverty, hunger and humiliation. The larger part of the production produced by the peasant were taken away by the feudal lords. After paying *lagan* or agricultural tax, the amount of money left with them was too insufficient to feed themselves and their families. The Mughal rulers continued *iqtdari* system until Emperor Akbar replaced it with *mansabdari* system.²²⁴ The author explains that the *mansabdars* were, in fact, military officers and civil servants. They were granted lands on the basis of their personal merits and their services to the court. The peasants were not legally bounded to serve the *mansabdars*.

Mubarak Ali's undertaking *Jagirdari* examines the decline of the *Mansabdari system* and subsequent decay of peasants' social lives.²²⁵ It goes into the etymology of the various locally used terms for Indian feudalism, which help comprehend the peculiar nature and structure of Indian feudalism. It also discusses the developments pertaining to the practice of feudalism during colonial period and in post-independence Pakistan.²²⁶ This study is immensely significant to understand how feudalism forms the social culture—i.e. the culture of ruling classes and that of working class—and how the historically deep-rooted culture of feudalism has affected the politics of Pakistan.

Mubarak Ali has written four exclusive books written apropos of Mughal's reign of India i.e. *Akhari Ehd-e-Mughaliya ka Hindustan* [India during Later Mughal Period] (1992); *Mughal Darbar* [Mughal Court] (1997); *Jahangir ka Hindustan* [Jahangir's India] (1997); *Akbar ka*

²²³ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 66-67. Seljuk were the Turkish dynasties that ruled Asia Minor from 11th to 13th centuries. They successfully launched invasions on Byzantine Empire and defended 'the Holy Land against the Crusaders.'

²²⁴ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 74-75.

²²⁵ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 89-94.

²²⁶ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 167-170.

Hindustan [Akbar's India] (2012). The account *Akhari Ehd-e Mughliya ka Hindustan* (1992) is an original work of Mubarak Ali on the political decline of Mughal Empire and its societal degeneration. The discourse of the book suggests that from the reign of Emperor Babar (r. 1526-30) to that of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707), Mughal Empire was not overburdened with the Mughal aristocracy, which made the rulers able to freely exercise fair administrative policies by incorporating and coordinating with the local aristocrats. This, of course, resulted in fostering the high morals of and progress in the society.²²⁷ The book suggests that the decline of the Empire took place due to many factors, e.g. the increase in number of Mughal aristocrats, the internal political intrigues, the feuds and conspiracies in the Mughal court, the plundering of wealth by Europeans and local aristocrats. It adds further that the mishandling of administration and consequent civil wars, gradually increasing political and economic role of British East India Company were the factors that accelerated the decline of the Mughal Empire.²²⁸

The account *Akbar ka Hindustan* is the travelogue or memoirs of Father Monserrate written originally in Latin language, this manuscript was published in 1906. It was translated into English by J. S. Hoyland titled as *The Contemporary of Father Monserrate, S. J., on his Journey to the Court of Akbar* (1922).²²⁹ Mubarak Ali translated it from English to Urdu, editing and omitting some of its text and discussions which ridiculed the religion. Father Monserrate was invited by the Mughal Emperor Akbar to be familiarized with the missionary teachings of Christianity.²³⁰ The narrative however expresses Monserrate's observations of different traits of Akbar's personality, culture of Mughal court, and political and social circumstances of India at the moment.

²²⁷ Mubarak Ali, *Akhari Ehd-e Mughlia ka Hindustan* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²²⁸ Ali, *Akhari Ehd-e Mughliya ka Hindustan* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²²⁹ J. S. Hoyland, *The Contemporary of Father Monserrate, S. J., on his Journey to the Court of Akbar* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922).

²³⁰ Mubarak Ali (trans.), *Akbar ka Hindustan* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2102).

Ali's book *Jahangir ka Hindustan* (1997) is another translation of one of the primary sources on the Mughal period. This book is a voyage account. A Dutch factory employee of the Dutch East India Company, Francisco Pelsaert (1591-1630) wrote it in Dutch language and is translated into English as *Jahangir's India: the Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert* (Cambridge, 1935) by W. H. Moreland and P. Gyel.²³¹ Pelsaert was instructed by the East India Company to submit a project making a review of Indian society and its economic condition. By acquiring such details, the Dutch East India Company wanted to pursue its economic interests in Indian subcontinent. It offers the geographic details of Indian cities and provinces, the political culture in the Jahangir's court and the palaces of the aristocratic class. This work is an important source to examine the illegitimate, immoral, and coercive means the ruling class adopted to snatch and accumulate the wealth produced by the working classes.²³²

Mughal Darbar (1997) is the PhD dissertation written by Dr. Mubarak Ali, which has been published in both Urdu and English languages from the Fiction House Publishers.²³³ This book is highly systematic and well researched discourse on the Mughal *Darbar*, 'the centre of Mughal culture and civilization' and 'the source of the administration.'²³⁴ It discusses the theory and practice of kingship exercised in the Mughal court.

The book is one of those few accounts by Mubarak Ali on the history of India, which are based on a wider range of the primary and secondary sources. It provides details on Mughal court rituals, the symbolism expressed through the objects of the courts, and the status and hierarchy of the

²³¹ Mubarak Ali (trans.), *Jahangir ka Hindustan* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²³² Ali, *Jahangir ka Hindustan*, 14-17.

²³³ Mubarak Ali, *Mughal Darbar* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1997).

²³⁴ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*. Also see, Mubarak Ali, "Past and Present: The Mughal Court," *Dawn, In-page Magazine*, October 10, 2010.

officials, courtiers, nobles and aristocrats.²³⁵ It also attempts to dig out the details on the origin and source of almost all ceremonial, ritualistic and symbolic culture that the Mughals adopted to glorify them. It provides an analysis of the social, psychological, economic, and political dimensions of the relationships between the state and society.²³⁶ The author holds that all grandeur of Mughal court was dependent on its political and economic strength, and it nonetheless faced its decline when the rulers became politically destabilized, and the royal treasury, empty.²³⁷ It is different from other works Ali has produced, on the account that its discourse presents much neutral and dispassionate descriptions and analysis that academic narratives are supposed to acquire.

Tehzib Ki Kahani (2009) is an anthology of three books on the prehistorical period: *Pathar ka Zamana* [Stone Age],²³⁸ *Kansi ka Zamana* [Bronze Age];²³⁹ and *Lohey ka Zamana* [Iron Age].²⁴⁰ This anthology is a prototype of a text book designed to provide the students with basic knowledge about the origin and development of ancient civilizations. This anthology is appreciably well-articulated work illustrating the historical facts and issues by drawing charts, tables, and paintings. It provides an appropriate factual arrangement and visual impressions.

The first of these books, *Pathar ka Zamana* defines what is history, and explains its usefulness for the individuals and the societies. It educates the students about the responsibilities of a historian and the issues in historiography like selection of facts, and technique and principle according to which history should be written. It elaborates the history of origin and evolution of human

²³⁵ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 7-54.

²³⁶ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 128-157.

²³⁷ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 152-157.

²³⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Pathar ka Zamana*, in *Tehzib ki Kahani* (Islamabad: National Book Bank Foundation, 2009).

²³⁹ Mubarak Ali, *Kansi ka Zamana*, in *Tehzib ki Kahani* (Islamabad: National Book Bank Foundation, 2009).

²⁴⁰ Mubarak Ali, *Lohay ka Zamana*, in *Tehzib ki Kahani* (Islamabad: National Book Bank Foundation, 2009).

civilization in Stone Age, dividing it into three phases i.e. Palaeolithic,²⁴¹ Mesolithic,²⁴² and Neolithic.²⁴³ It analyses how human societies transformed from one social structure to another and what role human actions played in it.

Kansi ka Zamana is the second book in said anthology, which tells about the Bronze Age and explains how the discovery of bronze helped the societies develop earliest forms of urbanizations,²⁴⁴ and civilizations in different parts of the world such as the Mesopotamia (Sumerian and Babylonian Civilizations), Indus Valley, Egypt, and China.²⁴⁵ The third book *Lohey ka Zamana* elaborates the discovery of iron and its significant role in the development of the civilizations. It states that during this age the tools and instruments were made up of iron that were more refined and useful than those of previous ages. The coins were minted. The states were formed to regularize social conduct. The society then got divided into classes.²⁴⁶ Regarding Vedic Civilization of India, the book provides brief discussions on the Aryan invasion of India, the religious teaching and literature including the books like *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Parana*, *Mahabharata*, *Bhagavad Gita*, and *Ramayana*. It sheds light on caste system, political

²⁴¹ In *Pathar ka Zamana*, Mubarak Ali discusses the man's struggle for survival by providing every basic orientation about nature and earliest form of means of production. The social advance and discoveries in result of human activities like the hunting, food gathering, nomadic life, caves or rock-shelters, the inventions of tools and weapons utilizing stones and bones, discovery of fire—all this the distinct features of the Paleolithic age are discussed by the author. Ali, *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 31-50.

²⁴² The Mesolithic age can be differentiated from its previous one on some obvious developmental grounds like production of food rather than accumulating it, and settling in forest for hunting, establishing of hamlets for agrarian purposes, and use of fire for baking meat. Ali, *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 51-56.

²⁴³ The Neolithic age according to Ali is characterized with the advancement of new objects of labour and the refinement in the older ones. The man of Neolithic age learnt from natural circumstance, his surroundings and new challenges confronted to him. The people of Neolithic age established village culture, tamed the animal, formed myth and superstitions, constructed concrete and relatively comfortable houses, learnt and applied methods and technology for agriculture, not only for agriculture but for hunting and construction also. The different sort of instruments, tools, and weapons were made to deal with discreet form of labour. Thus, the book provides easily perceptible and comprehensive elementary details on the origin and genesis of human civilization passing through gradual phases of development. Ali, *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 57-77.

²⁴⁴ Ali, *Kansi ka Zamana*, in *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 11-20.

²⁴⁵ Ali, *Kansi ka Zamana*, in *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 23-90.

²⁴⁶ Ali, *Lohay ka Zamana*, in *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 16-20.

organization, and the emergence of native religions of India like Buddhism and Jainism.²⁴⁷ Some other ancient civilizations such as Chinese civilization, Greek civilization and Roman civilization of Iron Age have also been discussed.²⁴⁸

Hindustan Ki Kahani (2009) is another anthology comprising of three books: 1) *Qadim Hindustan* [Ancient India];²⁴⁹ 2) *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* [Medieval India];²⁵⁰ 3) *Bartanvi Hindustan* [British India].²⁵¹ This anthology is also some kind of a text book with elementary, precursory and fundamental details on the proto-historic, historic, medieval, and colonial period of Indian history. *Qadim Hindustan* partly concerns with the conceptual discussion on ancient history, the etymology of the name of Hindustan,²⁵² and discusses the literature and the source that should necessarily be consulted to write the ancient history of India. The book describes the dynastic rule in India and the formation of first empire by Mauryan Dynasty, and the salient features of it like the politics and wars, the military and defence, the municipality and administration. It also tells about the rise and fall of smaller kingdoms of India that emerged after the decline of Mauryan Empire under dynasties such as Shung, Kin, Shuk, Huns, and Kushanas, which have however been discussed just in passing than providing in-depth details. The Mauryan and Gupta's dynastic rule is given a focus at length.²⁵³ Similarly, the history of the archaeological sites of Mehrghar, Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, and Gandhara civilization, and the caves of Ajanta and Ellora are given providing the insight into the socio-religious and cultural development depicted in their art and

²⁴⁷ Ali, *Lohay ka Zamana*, in *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 21-48.

²⁴⁸ Ali, *Lohay ka Zamana*, in *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 49-128.

²⁴⁹ Mubarak Ali, *Qadim Hindustan*, in *Hindustan ki Kahani* (Islamabad: National Book Bank Foundation, 2009).

²⁵⁰ Mubarak Ali, *Ehd-e Wasta ka Hindustan*, in *Hindustan ki Kahani* (Islamabad: National Book Bank Foundation, 2009).

²⁵¹ Mubarak Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, in *Hindustan ki Kahani* (Islamabad: National Book Bank Foundation, 2009).

²⁵² Ali, *Qadim Hindustan*, 10-11.

²⁵³ Ali, *Qadim Hindustan*, 41-56.

archaeological remains.²⁵⁴ To him, the societies of Ancient India were divided into different classes.²⁵⁵ The social status of women was lower than men, they were marginalized segment of the society owing to the religious and economic constraints.²⁵⁶

The second book in the anthology *Hindustan Ki Kahani* is *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* is divided in two parts. The first part deals with the Arab conquest of Sindh, the invasions carried out by Mahmud Ghaznavi and Muhammad Ghauri in north-west of India and the impact of those invasions on Indian politics and society.²⁵⁷ The second part of the book addresses Mughal period, mainly discussing first three rulers of the Mughal dynasty: Babar, Humayun and Akbar. It discusses the ruler's policy of religious tolerance, theory of kingship, feudalism, and the culture of the Mughal court.²⁵⁸ It also discusses the social status of myriad forms of the working classes in the rural and urban area during Mughal period, which include peasants, artisans, soldiers, servants, and women.²⁵⁹

In the anthology *Hindustan Ki Kahani*, the third book *Bartanvi Hindustan* reflects on the history of European capitalist interests for which they colonized India.²⁶⁰ It also tells about the social, educational, and administrative developments introduced by the British after bringing India under their political and administrative control.²⁶¹ It unravels historical issues like social life the British

²⁵⁴ Ali, *Qadim Hindustan*, 57-62.

²⁵⁵ Ali, *Qadim Hindustan*,

²⁵⁶ Ali, *Qadim Hindustan*, 68-69.

²⁵⁷ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 13-53.

²⁵⁸ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 55-96.

²⁵⁹ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 97-104.

²⁶⁰ Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 9-32.

²⁶¹ Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 43-53.

living in India,²⁶² the revolts and the War of Independence 1857, and the social, political and administrative reforms that the British introduced in India after 1857.²⁶³

1.6.2.1.2 Mubarak Ali's Undertakings on the History of Sindh

Mubarak Ali has also produced some works on history of Sindh, some of which are original, others are edited anthologies of the research articles. *Sindh Observed: Selection from the Journal of Sindh Historical Society* (1993) is an anthology of some research articles. However, *Essays on the History of Sind* (2005) is his original work containing essays on the distinct historical subject matters, but they lack chronological order.²⁶⁴ It reveals that the history of Sindh has not been treated justly and fairly, mainly for the two reasons: the paucity of sources,²⁶⁵ and biased interpretations and distortion of facts given in the available sources.²⁶⁶ It argues that the works on history of Sindh generally provides conquerors' perspective, and defend their contingent vested political and economic interests, such as those of Arab, Sultans of Delhi, the dynasties like Kalhora and Talpur, and the Europeans.²⁶⁷

Mubarak Ali's enterprise *Sindh Khamoshi Ki Awaz* [Sindh A Voice of Silence] (1994) is a revised and updated Urdu version of *Essays on the History of Sind*. The contents and text are revised with further study, additional argumentation, and improved chronological and logical sequences. This book is divided into two parts: the first discusses the period from Arab invasion of Sindh to the

²⁶² Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 53-60.

²⁶³ Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 60-75.

²⁶⁴ The book offers ten chapters. As to their chronological disorder, it can thus be noticed that the fifth chapter deals with Portuguese economic activities in Sind, whereas discussion on "Reinterpretation of Arab Conquest of Sind" comes in ninth chapter of the book.

²⁶⁵ The author reports that the dynasties like Arghuns and Turkhans, after coming into power, wiped out the source material on the history of Samma dynasty and the available sources are deficient of providing enough details on the local ruling dynasties such as Summa and Soomro. Ali, *Essays on the History of Sindh*, 15.

²⁶⁶ Mubarak Ali, *Essays on the History of Sindh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005) 10, 15, 16, 133-35.

²⁶⁷ Ali, *Essays on the History of Sindh*, 7, 10, 17-27.

end of Sultanate period,²⁶⁸ and the second from Mughal to the British Raj in India.²⁶⁹ This book sheds light on the social, economic, political and geographical conditions of the Sindh. It sheds light on the state and society relationship pointing out that the rulers developed the urban centres of Sindh along with the banks of the rivers.²⁷⁰ It states that the rulers remained indifferent to the problems of the general public. Their role in development of the society as whole has therefore been brought by the author under his stern criticism.

Becoming increasingly critical of the ruling classes, Ali explains that the majority of the ruling dynasties were foreign invaders and the local dynasties also attempted to associate their origin outside Sindh rather showing their affiliations with the people of the land. The dynasties like Turkhan, Arghun, Mughal, and Talpur came to Sindh as invaders, whereas the Soomro and Samma dynasties were local, but they claimed to be the descendants of the Arab tribes.²⁷¹ Similarly, the Kalhoras were also locals, but they claim to be the descendants of the Abbasids.²⁷² Ali describes that it was owing to the tyranny of the foreign rulers towards the locals that the people belonging to the land of Sindh could not express their nationalism and remained apologetic for their own identity.²⁷³ Explaining the gap between state and society, Ali states that the developments that rulers of Sindh carried out remained merely confined to the urban centres, and the rest of the Sindhi population remained unaffected by them. In the wake of that, the people living in the peripheries of the urban centre kept the Sindhi culture intact and consequently they preserved it.²⁷⁴ Mubarak Ali also criticizes the Mughal rulers, for that they did not bring any fundamental change into social

²⁶⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012), 11-110.

²⁶⁹ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 111-229.

²⁷⁰ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 147-68.

²⁷¹ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 23-25, 169-80, 228

²⁷² Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 169-176.

²⁷³ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 169-176.

²⁷⁴ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 147-152.

and economic structure of Sindh. Accordingly he recounts the social status and economic conditions of the peasants and workers and states that the plight of the common people remained the same as it was during the reign of Arghuns and Turkhans dynasties.²⁷⁵

Crow's Account of Sindh (2004) is a narrative of Nathan Crow who was a civil servant of the government of Bombay during the rule of the British East India Company, which is edited and published by Dr. Mubarak Ali. The account helps understand the political scenario of Sindh and the working and the manoeuvring of the Company while pursuing its commercial and political interests in India. Crow stayed in Sindh for very short span of time, i.e. from 1799 to 1800,²⁷⁶ while serving the Company and recorded all his observations about Sindh. He describes the political scenario of Sindh when it was ruled by the Mir Fateh Ali of Talpur dynasty, after ousting the Miyan Abd al-Nabi, a Kalhora ruler, and tells that Sindh then had been paying tribute to Afghan ruler Zaman Shah.²⁷⁷

Nathan Crow was assigned this project and he succeeded in opening two factories, one in Thatta and another in Karachi. Nonetheless, many factors—the spying activities of Crow, business interest of Hindu merchants of Karachi, fear of Zaman Shah's invasion, and consequent restoration of Miyan Abd al-Nabi—compelled Mir Fateh Ali to order for the closure of the factories. Crow was called, insulted, humiliated, and ordered to leave Sindh.²⁷⁸ His account that he wrote after leaving Sindh is comprised of two parts. The first discusses the brief history of Sindh, the

²⁷⁵ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 147-152.

²⁷⁶ Crow was sent by the East India Company to meet the Mirs of Sindh and open a factory there. He visited Sindh two times and succeeded each time. He took permission by Mir of Thatta Ghulam Ali to open a factory in Thatta in 1799. In 1800, he succeeded to open factory in Karachi. As the Hindu community and merchants put pressure on the Mir Ghulam Ali not to allow the British to get access to the Karachi port and order them to close the factory, Mir Ghulam Ali in 1800 order Crow to close the factory and leave Sindh. Crow hence stayed in Sindh for seventeen months. He narrated an account on the Sindh telling about the social, political and economic circumstances of Sindh in those days. Ali (ed.), *Crow's Account of Sindh*, 3-7.

²⁷⁷ Ali, *Crow's Account of Sindh*, 2-3.

²⁷⁸ Ali, *Crow's Account of Sindh*, 6-7.

geographical and cultural details of the land, boundaries, fertilities, climate, soil, fruits and vegetables, the river Indus, animals, inhabitants, population, language, dress, occupation, revenue, military forces, fortification of Hyderabad and Karachi. The second part of the account contains the record of correspondence between Jonathan Duncan and Nathan Crow. This narrative offers significant insight into the British's concerns and efforts to take hold of Sindh as well as the political and societal context of Sindh at the end of eighteenth century.

Ali's work *Sindh ki Tarikh Kiya hai?* [What is the History of Sindh?] (2004) sheds light on the history of Indus Valley Civilization, Arab invasion and conquest of Sindh, socio-cultural and economic issues, Sindhi-Muhajar conflicts raised after 1947. It also addresses some important issues regarding the historiography of Sindh.²⁷⁹

His work *A Social and Cultural History of Sindh* (2005) describes the socio-cultural history of Sindh by recounting the details from the accounts European travellers who visited Sindh.²⁸⁰ It narrates the details on social history and material culture of Sindh, bring in light the geography, land, rivers, agriculture, dresses, food, climate, industries, manufactured goods, society, culture, cities, and rulers in the medieval period, political and administrative systems, and the problems of the people of Sindh. The book is translated in Urdu language by Sardar Azeem Ullah Khan, titled *Sindh ki Samaji-o Thaqafati Tarikh* (2015).²⁸¹

1.6.2.1.3 Mubarak Ali's Works on Historiography and Philosophy of History

Mubarak Ali asserts that the history of India is written from the points of view of rulers' activities and achievements. Such way of history writing enhanced the sense of inferiority and deprivation of marginal classes of the subcontinent. To highlight the problems, weaknesses and deficiencies

²⁷⁹ Mubarak Ali, *Sindh ki Tarikh Kiya ha?* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2004).

²⁸⁰ Mubarak Ali, *A Social and Cultural History of Sindh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005).

²⁸¹ Mubarak Ali, *Sindh ki Samaji-o Thaqafati Tarikh* (Lahore: Tarikh Publishers, 2015).

of literature on the history of India, he wrote some books on the historiography as well as the philosophy of history. Those include *Historian's Dispute* (1992);²⁸² *Tarikh aur Falsafa-e Tarikh* [History and Philosophy of History] (1992);²⁸³ *Tarikh Shanasi* [Recognizing History] (1993);²⁸⁴ *Tarikh aur Danishwar* [History and Intellectuals] (1995);²⁸⁵ *Tarikh kay Badaltay Nazriyat* [The Changing Concepts of History] (1997);²⁸⁶ *Badalti Hoi Tarikh* [The Changing History] (1997);²⁸⁷ *Tarikh aur Siyasat* [History and Politics] (1998);²⁸⁸ *In the Shadow of History* (1998);²⁸⁹ *Tarikh aur Mu'ashra* [History and Society] (1998);²⁹⁰ *History on Trial* (1999);²⁹¹ *Tarikh ki Talash* [In the Search of History] (2003);²⁹² *Tarikh aur Nisabi Kuttab* [History and the Textbooks] (2003);²⁹³ *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya* [History and Contemporary World] (2005);²⁹⁴ *Gumshuda Tarkih* [The Lost History] (2005);²⁹⁵ *Tarikh aur Nesabi Kuttab* [History and Textbooks] (2005);²⁹⁶ *Tarikh ki Aaghi* [An Apprehension of History] (2009);²⁹⁷ *Tarikh Ki Daryaft* [The Discovery of History] (2009);²⁹⁸ *Tarikh ki Roshani* [The Light of History] (2012);²⁹⁹ *Tarikh ki Baten* [The Discourse of History] (2012),³⁰⁰ and *Tarikh kay Naye Zaviye* [The New Angles of History] (2012),³⁰¹ *Tarikh ka Beyaniya* [The Description of History] (2016).³⁰² Besides these works, he has also published an

²⁸² Mubarak Ali, *Historian's Dispute* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1992).

²⁸³ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Falsafa-e Tarikh*, ed. 2nd (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996).

²⁸⁴ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2002).

²⁸⁵ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Danishwar*, 2nd, Ed., (Lahore: Fiction House, 2004).

²⁸⁶ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh kay Badaltay Nazriyat* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996).

²⁸⁷ Mubarak Ali, *Badalti Hoi Tarikh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1997).

²⁸⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Siyasat*, 4th, Ed., (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005).

²⁸⁹ Mubarak Ali, *In the Shadow of History* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1998).

²⁹⁰ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Mu'ashra* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁹¹ Mubarak Ali, *History on Trial* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1999).

²⁹² Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁹³ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Nisabi Kuttab*, 4th, Ed. (Lahore: Fiction House, 2016).

²⁹⁴ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005).

²⁹⁵ Mubarak Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005).

²⁹⁶ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Nesabi Kuttab*, 4th, Ed., (Lahore: Tarikh Publishers, 2016).

²⁹⁷ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ki Aaghi* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁹⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ki Daryaft* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

²⁹⁹ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ki Roshani* (Lahore, Fiction House, 2012).

³⁰⁰ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ki Baten* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

³⁰¹ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh kay Naye Zaviye* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

³⁰² Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ka Beyaniya* (Lahore, Tarikh Publishers, 2016).

anthology comprising upon the lectures and articles of Dr. K. M. Ashraf that is titled as *Tarikh aur Mu'arikh* [History and Historian] (2002).³⁰³ Moreover, another book on historiography produced by Mubarak Ali, *Jadid Tarikh* [A Modern History] (2000),³⁰⁴ is translated and compiled work based on the articles written by different western scholars. In these accounts, the historiographical themes that Mubarak has made a subject of his criticism include *inter alia* the political use and abuse of history, problematic periodization of the Indian history, biased terms used by the historians giving history a religious colour, writing of history in accordance with ideological orientation, the state-dictated discourse in the text books, veneration of the historical personalities, concept of heroism in history, overlooking of the role of common people in historical development, unfair depiction of the role of women in historical narratives, the concept of golden age and what not.

1.6.2.1.4 Mubarak Ali's Works on the History of Oppressed Classes

Although the entire literature produced by Mubarak Ali's has made the plight of the common people a consistent theme to be discussed, he has produced some works giving them a title making oppressed classes a peculiar subject matter of the discussion. Regarding that, there are three such books: *Tarikh aur Aurat* [History and Women] (1993);³⁰⁵ *Achhut Logon ka Adab* [The Literature by Downtrodden People] (1994);³⁰⁶ *Ghulami aur Nasalparsti* [Slavery and Racism] (1998).³⁰⁷

Mubarak Ali propounds that if the history had been written according to the perspective of common people, this would have certainly contributed in developing a sense of human rights, and consequently the positive change, progress and prosperity in the societies. He has hence made

³⁰³ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Mu'arikh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2002).

³⁰⁴ Mubarak Ali, *Jadid Tarikh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005).

³⁰⁵ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005).

³⁰⁶ Mubarak Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

³⁰⁷ Mubarak Ali, *Ghulami aur Nasalparsti* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1998).

certain attempts to produced discernible literature giving voice to the marginal classes of the society. A few of the titles of his works are particularly in line with the Marxist themes. His book *Tarikh aur Aurat* (1993; and ed., 6th, 2005) is an investigation into feminist issues including the role of women in social evolution, matriarchal societies, chauvinistic development in society, and social cultural values that restrict the women to take part in political and economic life. Further, it discusses the different dynamics and dimension of male and female relationships. It also critically examines that the role of the women in historical narratives is not given a fair treatment.³⁰⁸ It describes the status of women in India society, and thus offers stern criticism on social values of the Indian culture and society, and makes the Hindu religious texts like *Manusmitri* and *Ramayana* a subject of criticism for that these text have vitally played a role in confining the social freedom the women.³⁰⁹

In *Tarikh aur Aurat*, Ali critically discusses the Muslim scholars and the sufis' views about the women and their social role.³¹⁰ He denounces the role of church in Europe to confine the freedom of women and regarding them impure.³¹¹ Some of the other issues include the concept of ideal woman, social status of prostitutes, status of the ladies who used to live in *harems* of the kings or the aristocrats, and the status of women in industrial societies.

A small scale study, *Achhut Logon ka Adab* (1994) by Mubarak Ali examines the origin and development of caste system in India. The social division on the bases of professional distinctiveness was reinforced gradually by religious assertions and justifications.³¹² It explains

³⁰⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, ed. 6th (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005), 42, 48-49, 60-63, 75-81.

³⁰⁹ Ali propounds that *Mahabharata* manifest by describing the character of Daropadi that then Indian society was completely matriarchic, as the polyandry then was not perceived as negative custom. Nonetheless, it was during the period of *Ramayana* that the social status of the women was totally changed and collapsed. So he thinks is depicted through the character of Sita. Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 42-49.

³¹⁰ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 59-64.

³¹¹ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 51-58.

³¹² Mubarak Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012), 9-10, 16-20.

that the caste system was a result of feudalism and the monopolization of the means of production. Later on, the caste system was given religious justification by Brahmins, which has been and is continued to be a privileged segment of Hindu society and is assumed to be responsible for performing religious practices. Describing their role in introduction and perpetuation of the caste system in India, Ali critically states that those were the Brahmins and Kshatriyas who after attaining power and social privileges regarded the lower caste as impure.³¹³ He also criticizes the text of Hinduism like *Vedas* and *Manusmitri* for that it played a great deal role in establishing that the caste system, and accordingly making the division of labour a matter of faith. It is *Manusmitri* that describes that the lower caste is responsible for performing menial jobs.³¹⁴

Ali holds that during medieval period the Muslim rulers who religiously confessed the equality of mankind took no measure to bring out the society from this heinous social formation. Rather, they considered it necessary to serve their political interest.³¹⁵ Mubarak Ali nonetheless accredits British Raj in India for taking considerable measures to bring change in the social structure of India. He contends that it was in fact an introduction of the technology, scientific knowledge, and large scale infrastructure of communication that facilitated the social mobilization and structural change in Indian society.³¹⁶

The most part of *Achhut Logon ka Adab* is a discussion on the Dalits' movement in India, known as *the Dalit Panther*. The Dalits are one of the untouchable communities of India and their movement aims at securing an honourable social status for them in Indian society. This movement is struggling against the class system, the atrocities carried out by Hindu religion and that of

³¹³ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 16.

³¹⁴ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 18-22.

³¹⁵ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 25-26.

³¹⁶ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 26-30.

capitalism. Reflecting upon the history of the Dalit community, Mubarak Ali mentions that the Dalit like other lower castes of India have no history. Their history is the history of social stagnation that encompasses over a course of centuries. They acquired no education, and they demonstrated no protest or revolt; their history is therefore a history of silence.³¹⁷ Since nineteenth century, the change nonetheless has occurred and now the Dalits seems to have a voice.

The second part of the book comprises of the poetry produced by some Dalit poets. This poetry Ali states is not some sort of standard genre of poetry, as it lacks the techniques and technicalities of the standard poetry. This poetry hence is regarded by Mubarak Ali as a voice of Dalits that expresses their pain, their agony, their suffering, and their miseries.³¹⁸

Another work of Mubarak Ali is *Ghulami aur Nasalparasti* (1998),³¹⁹ which is divided into two parts: the first discusses slavery and second racism. In the first part, it reviews the history of slavery in several distinct parts of the world such as America, Africa, European and Australia. The Indian society is discussed only incidentally. It sheds an ample light on the nature, forms, causes and the repercussions of the institution of slavery. Mubarak Ali asserts that both slavery and racism are inevitably associated with colonialism or imperialism.³²⁰

Indian society Ali states never witnessed slavery as the rest of the world did. However, racism according to Mubarak Ali has been a dominant feature of the Indian society. It exists in the form of caste system, tribalism, and ethnic divisions.³²¹ He states that all the foreign rulers of India who

³¹⁷ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 39-41.

³¹⁸ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 73, 75-82.

³¹⁹ Mubarak Ali, *Ghulami aur Nasalparasti* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1998).

³²⁰ Ali, *Ghulami aur Nasalparasti*, 7.

³²¹ Ali, *Ghulami aur Nasalparasti*, 8.

came of Central Asia and Europe were fraught with superiority complex and they marginalized the Indian masses on the grounds of racism.³²²

1.6.2.1.5 Mubarak Ali's Works on Issues of Pakistan and Some Miscellaneous Works

Although Mubarak mostly writes on the history of pre-partition India, he has also produced two books on the socio-cultural and political history of Pakistan. Those are *Pakistan in Search of Identity* (2009)³²³ and *Pakistani Mu'ashara* [Pakistani Society] (2012).³²⁴ The narrative *Pakistan in Search of Identity* unravels the issue of Muslim identity in South Asia during pre-partition India, and later on it became the ideology of Pakistan. Mubarak Ali contends that during the Sultanate and Mughal periods, religion was not the priority of the ruling classes, as they were more conscious about their ethnic identities. He further argues that these rulers never considered the Indian convert Muslims equal to them.³²⁵ It was the colonial period when Indian Muslims went into political crisis and Muslim ideologues developed the identity consciousness among them. It was fostered during the Khilafat Movement. He suggests that the Muslim elite exploited the issues of Muslim identity to serve their interests. He thus states,

“... [The] consciousness of Muslim identity was exploited by the leadership not so much for a religious cause but for achieving political goal. The leadership was privately secular, but in public they greatly emphasized religion and its values. It is here that the foundations of hypocrisy in appeals to religion were laid...”³²⁶

Explaining the need of ideological identity for the state of Pakistan, Ali mentions that the appeal for Pakistan ideology was developed after the decline of Ayub Khan and East Pakistan's demand for autonomy, as they participated in the freedom movement on the basis of linguistic and ethnic

³²² Ali, *Ghulami aur Nasalprasti*, 9.

³²³ Mubarak Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity* (Karachi: Pakistan Study Center, 2009).

³²⁴ Mubarak Ali, *Pakistani Mu'ashra* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

³²⁵ Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity*, 1-4.

³²⁶ Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity*, 13.

Bengali nationalism.³²⁷ He views the process of Islamization of the law, institutions and the culture of the state in the same context.

Mubarak Ali's undertaking *Pakistani Mu'ashara* discusses the political, social and culture problems of Pakistan, which include the elitism, feudalism, crisis of leadership, bad governance, instability of the political process, poverty, literacy, and undemocratic behaviour of the leaders and general public.³²⁸ It describes how all these problems are interconnected and have their roots in the past. One of the chapters of the book offers criticism over role of Pakistani media.³²⁹ Mubarak Ali suggests that the only way to come out of these problems is to resist all forms of social values that cause inequality and injustice in the society.³³⁰

Mubarak Ali wrote a book on Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah titled *Quaid-i-Azam: Kiya Thay Kiya Nahi Thay* [Quaid-i-Azam: What He Was and What Not?] (2014).³³¹ It was written in a response to Dr. Safdar Mahmud's newspaper article, in which Mahmud has criticized Mubarak Ali for not presenting correct image of Jinnah. Mubarak Ali attempted to prove that Quaid-i-Azam was fundamentally a secular Muslim leader and he was not confident enough of the abilities of his fellows in the Muslim League.³³²

Some of the Mubarak Ali's books discussing varied themes are *Tarikh, Khana aur Khanay kay Adab* [History of Dinning and Manners of Dinning] (1995);³³³ *Lutfullah Ki Aabbiti* [An

³²⁷ Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity*, 16.

³²⁸ Ali, *Pakistani Mu'ashra*, 15-68.

³²⁹ Ali, *Pakistani Mu'ashra*, 82-88.

³³⁰ Ali, *Pakistani Mu'ashra*, 70-71.

³³¹ Mubarak Ali, *Quaid-i-Azam: Kiya Thay Kiya Nahi Thay* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2014).

³³² Mubarak Ali argues that owing to serve their political interests, the political parties, the factions and the individuals have blurred the historical stature of Quaid-i-Azam. Instead of raising criticism on the personality and thought of Jinnah, the religious parties have portrayed Jinnah's character according to their own whims. Doing so they have coined the factional stories about him, which presented the distorted picture of Quaid-i-Azma's personality. Ali, *Quaid-i-Azam*, 9-12.

³³³ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh Khana aur Khanay kay Adab* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1995).

Autobiography of Lutfullah] (1996);³³⁴ *Mulhid ka Overcoat* [The Overcoat of An Atheist] (1996);³³⁵ *Tarikh, Thag aur Daku* [History, Thugs and Robbers] (2012).³³⁶ These books of Mubarak Ali particularly show his interest in social and cultural history. *Tarikh Khana aur Khanay kay Adab* expresses how the dining manners demonstrate the evolution of human culture and history of civilization. The books such *Lutfullah Ki Aabbiti* and *Mulhid ka Overcoat* are the books translated by Mubarak Ali.³³⁷ The earlier is a translation of *Autobiography of Lutfullah: A Mohammdon Gentleman and His Transactions with His Fellow Creatures* edited by Edward B. Eastvich. The book *Mulhid ka Overcoat* is originally written by German poet and playwright Bertolt Brecht (b. 1898) and is translated in Urdu by Mubarak Ali. Mubarak Ali's *Tarikh, Thag aur Daku* is the book that sheds light on the social status of the thieves, plunderers and the fraudulent people, and explains some of the historical characters in South Asian history having these characteristics.³³⁸ Those include *inter alia* Jumah thag, Amir Ali thag, Sultana Daku, Pholun Devi, Baqadir Shah daku and Muhibb Rashidie daku. The book describes how the society think about the people, and how such people live in the society. It states that they are punished by the law when they have been caught. It explains how they develop relations with the feudal lords, the Police, and the common people so as to create goodwill among them and protect themselves.

1.6.3 Kazi Javed

A leftist scholar, an existentialist philosopher-historian and an author of various books, Kazi Javed (b. 1976) was born in Lahore on February 7, 1956. His father Qazi Afzal Hussain served University of the Punjab as a support staff. He is the eldest of his three brothers and two sisters. Raised in a

³³⁴ Mubarak Ali, *Lutfullah ki Aabbetti* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996).

³³⁵ Mubarak Ali, *Mulhid ka Overcoat* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996).

³³⁶ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh, Thag aur Daku* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012)

³³⁷ Mubarak Ali (trans.), *Lutfullah ki Aabbiti* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996).

³³⁸ Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh Thag aur Daku* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2012).

religiously liberal family environment, he attained his early religious education by learning the recitation of the Holy Quran from his mother, who was a school headmistress.³³⁹ He married Tanzeem Javed in 1977, they have a son Jaffar Javed and two daughters Aqsa Javed and Sonia Javed.

Kazi Javed took his formal education till class five from M. C. Primary School Chok Nakhuda, Lahore and did matriculation studying at Islamiyah High School Misrishah, Lahore. He passed his intermediate examinations and also acquired BA degree while studying at Islamiyah College Railway Road, Lahore.³⁴⁰ He secured his Masters degree in philosophy from University of the Punjab, Lahore. Between 1975 and 1976, he taught philosophy at that very university. He worked as a research scholar at the Department of Philosophy in University of the Punjab from 1947 to 1985.³⁴¹ He worked with *Daily Amroz* as a journalist and later as its editor. From 1989 to 2009, he was the Resident Director of Pakistan Academy of Letters.³⁴² It is since 2009 that he is working as Director of Institute of Islamic Culture, which is a non-governmental organization publishing the research works on Islamic culture and history with liberal interpretations.

Kazi Javed has popularly intimated and socialized himself interacting with the literary circles in Lahore, which include Pak Tea House, *Halqa-e Arbab-e Zauq*, *Punjabi Adabi Sangat*, Pakistan Philosophical Congress and *Falsafa Society*.³⁴³ His memoirs *Mandali* [The Shared] (2009) is perhaps the only documentary source to be acquainted with his personality and views. This memoirs present the personality sketches of twenty-five renowned literary figures representing both rightist and leftist figures of literary circles of Lahore. Some of the renowned personalities

³³⁹ Interview with Kazi Javed, dated July 12, 1016.

³⁴⁰ Interview with Kazi Javed, dated July 12, 1016.

³⁴¹ Interview with Kazi Javed, dated July 12, 1016.

³⁴² Interview with Kazi Javed, dated July 12, 1016.

³⁴³ Interview with Kazi Javed, dated July 12, 1016;

discussed in the book include Khawaja Ghulam Sadiq (1912-1971), C. A. Qadir (1909-1987), Dr. Muhammad Ajmal, Sajjad Baqir Rizvi (1928-1992), Abdullah Malik (1920-2003), Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi (1916-2006), Ashfaq Ahmad (1925-2004), Mirza Adeeb (1914-1999), Munir Niazi (1928-2006), Ali Sardar Jaffari (1913-2000), Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911-1984), Alys Faiz (1915-2003), and Eqbal Ahmad (1933-1999). In *Mandali*, Javed describes the personality traits, the key characteristics of some of their literary works, achievements and failures, social backgrounds and stature. Art of sketching character presented in the book shows author's keen observation and deep understanding of these personalities. This memoirs is a worthy source to know about author's own personality, social background, professional life, social relationships, and his understanding of the world around him. He describes the intellectual life, trends and activities at Lahore and how the scholars were ideologically motivated, how they responded to national and international social, political and intellectual developments. He thus states:

Those were the days when the existentialism was getting popular among the intellectual circles in Lahore. Karl Marx although was our intellectual leader, Marxism was becoming much conventional and misleading philosophy. This happened when the edited English edition of Marx's philosophic and economic draft of 1844 having Erich Fromm's explanations reached Lahore. Those explanations were drawn from the straight interpretations of *Das Capital* and *Communist Manifesto* as well as the explanations of Engels. Some of us thought that it was Engels who diverted Marx from the right direction.

There is no denying that orthodox Marxists were also with us. Perhaps, they were in majority. They used to defend the traditional interpretation of Marxist ideology of the dialecticism and historical materialism. They were critical of new interpretations [or ideas]. They considered that the writings Marx wrote in his early life were his romanticism; later on, he himself rejected those. That is why those writings of Marx are not so significant [to understand Marxism exactly].... This new interpretation, however, was reinforced by existentialism, particularly the writings of Jean Paul Sartre. Sartre hence was [our] new guru.³⁴⁴

³⁴⁴ Kazi Javed, *Mandali* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2009), 106-7.

1.6.3.1 The Intellectual Works by Kazi Javed

Javed is profoundly inspired by the writings of French philosopher and literary critic Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) as well as those of British philosopher and logician Bertrand Russell (1872-1970). Being inclined to existentialism, he produced various books on the very subject matter, which including *Falsafa, Saqafat aur Tiseri Duniya* [Philosophy, Culture and the Third World] (1975);³⁴⁵ *Insan Dosti, Liberalism, Jamhuriyat* [Humanism, Liberalism and Democracy] (1993);³⁴⁶ *Jadid Maghribi Falsafa* [The Modern Western Philosophy] (1997);³⁴⁷ and *Wajudiyat* [Existentialism] (2015).³⁴⁸

Kazi Javed is a prolific writer; his works are, however, mainly on philosophy, social and cultural history, and history of philosophy. His books on the modern western philosophers and their philosophical undertakings are *Russell kay Mazamin* [The Essays by Russell] (1994);³⁴⁹ *Rousseau: Youropie Roshan Khayali ka Nama'ainda* [Rousseau: A Representative of Progressivism in Europe] (2001);³⁵⁰ *Voltaire: Youropie Roshan Khayali ka Nama'ainda* [Voltaire: A Representative of Progressivism in Europe] (2001);³⁵¹ *Friedrich Nietzsche: Hayat-o Afkar Eik Mutalia* [Friedrich Nietzsche: A Study of His Life and Thoughts] (2004);³⁵² and *Jadid Maghribi Falsafa* [A Modern Western Philosophy] (2010).³⁵³ Among these, *Russell kay Mazamin* (1994) is translation of the essays written by Russell. His books *Voltaire* (1694-1778) and *Rousseau* (1712-1778) are the small studies which discuss the life and times, and works of these French philosophers. Shedding light on the political circumstances and historical changes in the wake of which the intellectual life in

³⁴⁵ Kazi Javed, *Falsafa, Saqafat aur Tiseri Duniya* (Lahore: Meyri Library, 1975).

³⁴⁶ Kazi Javed, *Insan Dosti, Liberalism, Jamhuriyat* (Lahore: Mishal Pakistan, 1993).

³⁴⁷ Kazi Javed, *Jadid Maghribi Falsafa*, ed. 2nd (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010).

³⁴⁸ Kazi Javed, *Wajudiyat* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2015)

³⁴⁹ Kazi Javed, *Russell kay Mazamin* (Lahore: Mishal Pakistan, 1994).

³⁵⁰ Kazi Javed, *Rousseau: Youropie Roshan Khayali ka Nama'ainda*, ed. 2nd (Lahore: Fiction House, 2007).

³⁵¹ Kazi Javed, *Voltaire: Roshan Khayali ka Nama'ainda* (Lahore, Fiction House, 2007).

³⁵² Kazi Javed, *Friedrich Nietzsche: Hayat-o Afkar Eik Mutalia*, ed., 2nd (Lahore: Fiction House, 2007).

³⁵³ Kazi Javed, *Jadid Maghribi Falsafa*, ed. 2nd (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010).

Europe became revolutionized, his account *Insan Dosti, Liberalism, Jumhoriyat* (1993) discusses the separation between politics and religion, and subsequent emergence of myriad modern philosophical ideologies, i.e. humanism, secularism, liberalism and democracy. It is Mishal Publishers that has sponsored all these enterprises by Javed on the Western philosophy, calling this project a *Jadid Falsafa Series*.

Kazi Javed produced works giving evaluations to the thoughts and philosophies of the Indian Muslim intellectuals surviving in medieval and colonial periods. In so far as the works he produced are *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* [An Intellectual Evolution in the Subcontinent] (1977);³⁵⁴ *Hindi Muslim Tehzib* [Hindi Muslim Culture] (1983);³⁵⁵ *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat* [The Sufi Tradition in Punjab] (1993);³⁵⁶ *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* (2009) [The Thoughts of Shah Wali Ullah];³⁵⁷ *Tarikh-o Tehzib* [History and Culture] (2010);³⁵⁸ *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar* [The Sufi Intellectuals of Punjab] (2010);³⁵⁹ and *Sir Syed sey Iqbal tak* [From Sir Syed to Iqbal] (2010).³⁶⁰ These books shed light on the evolution of Muslim philosophy in India, unravelling the social, cultural and political challenges the Muslim community faced in India, and consequent responses by the Muslim intellectuals.

His undertakings like *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, *Tarikh-o Tehzib* and *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar* analyse the struggle between liberal and orthodox forces in society and politics during medieval India, and how these effected the social, cultural, and political life. The major historical issues

³⁵⁴ Kazi Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* (Lahore: Idara-e Saqafat-e Pakistan, 1977).

³⁵⁵ Kazi Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib* (Lahore: Vanguard Book Ltd., 1983).

³⁵⁶ Kazi Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 1993).

³⁵⁷ Kazi Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2009).

³⁵⁸ Kazi Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010).

³⁵⁹ Kazi Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010).

³⁶⁰ Kazi Javed, *Sir Syed sey Iqbal tak* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010).

focused in these books include: the conflicts between theocratic and secular tendencies in the courts of Delhi Sultans and Mughal Emperors; religious orthodoxy among the Muslim *ulema*; liberalism of the Muslim sufis; and Hindu-Muslim syncretic culture evolved in the wake of socio-cultural and intellectual interactions between the Hindu and the Muslim communities. These further reflect upon the orthodox and religious tendencies of Indian Muslim rulers and their impact on Indian Muslim community, native non-Muslims of India, and on the sustainability of their own rule as well.³⁶¹ The nature and dynamics of the sufis' associational and confrontational relationship with the rulers during the Sultanate and Mughal eras have also been brought under discussion.³⁶²

These works identify and explain the myriad mystical tendencies shown by the Muslim sufis, which, the author portrays, emerged as reactions to their peculiar social political environment. He observes that the sufis associated with the Chishtiyya *silsilah* demonstrated, advocated and preached the ideas of humanism, secularism and liberalism; and thus they helped the Hindi-Muslim syncretism be evolved.³⁶³ Contrarily, he observes and depicts the sufis belonging to Naqshbandiyya and Suhrawardiyya *silsilahs* critically, finding them inclined towards the puritan Islam and promoting the idea of Muslim separatism.³⁶⁴ Reflecting upon the approaches adopted by Qadiriyya sufis, he explains that they demonstrated a moderate attitude and attempted to reconcile the religious orthodoxy and mystic liberalism.³⁶⁵ The said accounts by Kazi Javed provide quite comprehensive discussion on sufi philosophies of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* and *Wahdat-*

³⁶¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 94-96, 132, 142, 147-8; Javed, *Hind-Muslim Tehzib*, 33-36, 41-80; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 14-26; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 9-23, 32-56.

³⁶² Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 18-19, 21 -23, 25-30, 39, 44, 48-53; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 325-31, 334; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 20-22, 27, 51 -52; Javed, *Tareekh-o Tehzib*, 14-16; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 54, 62.

³⁶³ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 17-53; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 325-333; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 21-31.

³⁶⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 54-55, 132-63; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 334-38; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 33-45.

³⁶⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 167-180; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 82-133;

us-Shahud, evaluating the discernible impact these ideas had on the Indian Muslim society as well as the Hindu-Muslim relationships.³⁶⁶ He venerates the rulers, sufis and intellectuals who had shown religious tolerance and flexibility towards the non-Muslims, and those who had promoted the ideas of love for humankind, liberalism and secularism. He, nonetheless, expresses fieriest criticism on the figures who adhered to religious orthodoxy and fanaticism, and widened ideological gulf and alienation between Hindu and Muslim communities of the Indian subcontinent.

Kazi Javed's historical accounts *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, and *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat* deal mainly with the period starting from the advent of Islam in South Asia (711 CE) to the end of the reign of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1707 CE). His undertaking *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* (2009) is an extensive study on the period when Mughal Empire and Muslim society in India had been moving gradually towards their decline, and Muslim scholars like Shah Wali Ullah strived to arrest this downfall by reforming them. Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1763) is perceived by Kazi Javed as the first Indian Muslim scholar and reformer who identified that the reasons of Indian Muslim society's degeneration and Mughal Empire's downfall were fundamentally economic. He offers an in-depth evaluation to the thoughts of Shah Wali Ullah and describes how his thoughts share commonality with those of some distinguished western scholars including Aristotle (d. 322 BCE), Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), Daniel Defoe (1660-1731), Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), R. W. Emerson (1803-1882), and Karl Marx (1818-1883).³⁶⁷ He also explains how Shah Wali Ullah's philosophy differs from that of Hegel and his adherents, by which he means the philosophers who think that some

³⁶⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 100-7, 128, 130, 132, 148-63; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 217-8, 227-30. Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 71, 78.

³⁶⁷ Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 139-54.

supernatural or divine forces play a definite role in occurring of the events and in shaping the human destiny.³⁶⁸

Despite expressing great veneration to the ideas of Shah Wali Ullah, Kazi Javed nonetheless has brought the pragmatic approach of Shah Wali Ullah under his severe criticism. He states that the reasons of the decline of Mughal Empire and the degeneration of the society that Shah Wali Ullah had described philosophically were economic, but he practically found the solution in religion as he encouraged the activities of *Jihad* or holy war. He criticizes Shah Wali Ullah for his invitation to the ruler of Afghanistan Ahmad Shah Abdali to attack India.³⁶⁹ Shah Wali Ullah considered a local community of India i.e. Marathas as enemies and the foreign invaders, the friends. His attempt to invite Ahmad Shah to attack India is regarded by Javed an error of judgement, because this resulted in nothing but to weaken India. Moreover, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* also raises criticism on Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed who initiated Jihadist activities against the Sikh rule in Punjab. It describes them as “narrow minded religious scholars,” as they instead of improving the economic conditions of the society, went into jihadist activities.³⁷⁰ They too, like Shah Wali Ullah, instead of declaring the British East Indian Company as the enemy of India, acquired the financial support from it to fight against the Sikh Empire in Punjab. They indirectly facilitated the East India Company in materializing its imperialist objectives.³⁷¹

Kazi Javed’s *Sir Syed sey Iqbal tak* (1998) unravels the Muslim intellectuals’ engagement with challenge of colonialism and subsequently emerging ideas of modernism during the nineteenth

³⁶⁸ Javed describes that the states objective according to Shah Wali Ullah was not merely to assert its authority but the value of its objective is greater than that, and that is the welfare and prosperity of the society. See, Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 150.

³⁶⁹ Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 102-3.

³⁷⁰ Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 164-5.

³⁷¹ Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 163-5.

century. It describes that Indian Muslim intellectuals had responded to the Western ideas and British policy of India's colonization in three distinct phases.³⁷² First, they responded by showing loyalist and conciliatory attitude towards the British Raj and the culture they introduced. The scholars representing this tendency were Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Maulvi Chiragh Ali (1844-1895), and Mirza Ghulam Ahmed (1835-1908).³⁷³ Their writings urged to adopt the Western culture and attain modern education were immensely crucial to confront the future challenges.

Secondly, the Muslims intellectuals fostered identity consciousness among Indian Muslims. For this, the author accredits Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1829) and Maulana Shibli Nomani (1857-1814). During the third phase, the Muslim thinkers began denouncing colonialism rather confidently and emphatically, and gradually streamlined Indian struggles to attain freedom from the British Raj. These intellectuals include Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi (1872-1944) and Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938). Kazi Javed also produced *Pakistan mein Falsafiyana Rojhanat* (1993) which examines the philosophical tendencies that emerged in Pakistan since its inception.³⁷⁴ It describes the social, political and cultural circumstances in the wake of which Pakistan came into being. It further explains the ideological, political and administrative problems Pakistan witnessed and sheds light on relevant intellectual debates among the rightist and leftist scholars.

Kazi Javed's enterprise *Islam aur Maghrib* [Islam and the West] (1998) is an anthology of his newspaper articles which addresses the national and international issues which emerged after the decline of the Soviet Union.³⁷⁵ The issues addressed in the book are *inter alia*: the clash of

³⁷² Kazi Javed, *Sir Syed sey Iqbal tak*, 7-8.

³⁷³ Javed, *Sir Syed sey Iqbal Tak*, 7-8.

³⁷⁴ Kazi Javed, *Pakistan mein Falsafiyana Rojhanat* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1993).

³⁷⁵ Kazi Javed, *Islam aur Maghrib* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2015).

civilizations, ideological conflict between Islam and the West, fascist religious politics in Pakistan, religious fundamentalism and its logical justifications, ideological conflicts between secularists and religious fundamentalists in Pakistan, and the problems of secular culture and Communism. Some of the articles particularly address the problems of historiography in Pakistan.

Commenting on Francis Fukuyama's concept of the end of history, Kazi Javed states that it appears as if liberalism has attained victory over Fascism and Communism. This victory however is ideological, but pertaining to the material realities, the conflict between nations and individuals would never cease. They would continue to fight against each other to attain power and economic dominance.³⁷⁶ Discussing the conflict between the Islam and the Western ideology, Kazi Javed makes a point that Islam is perceived in the West as a religion eliminating the differences between social life, political life and individual life, but the conflicts between Islam and the Western ideologies are too grave. Describing the various commonalities between them, he states that Islam shares much with the West than any other civilization in the World. It is, in his opinion, not Islam that raises conflicts with the West, but the orthodoxy and conservatism.³⁷⁷ As to the emergence of fundamentalism in the Muslim world, he observes an ironical fact that the most of the fundamentalist movements initiated are bringing renaissance in the Muslim societies.³⁷⁸ He also evaluates the problems of secular civilization, and states that Communism has mainly challenged Capitalism, both of which present secular systems. It is America where secular civilization reached its culmination, and that society appears to show various metaphysical problems. They have developed a culture of consumerism, the strongest wish they have is to acquire as much as they

³⁷⁶ Javed, *Islam aur Maghrib*, 12-13.

³⁷⁷ Javed, *Islam aur Maghrib*, 23-33.

³⁷⁸ Javed, *Islam aur Maghrib*, 122.

can. They do not collect things to conserve, but merely to consume and dispose. Their obsession to consumerism is inflicting real harm to nature.³⁷⁹

Summing up the discussion in this chapter, this can safely be said that Marxism becoming a literary and academic tradition has influenced the every discipline of social sciences and the historians across the world through employing its themes to their research works have immensely contributed to evolve various schools of historiography such as the Frankfurt, Subaltern, Annales, Feminist, and Historians' Group of Communist Part of Great Britain. By emphasizing on the social, cultural, economic, martial and humanistic aspects of human life and by incorporating multi-disciplinary methods and approaches to their studies, they have introduced and fashioned various new trends in history writing e.g. the peoples' history, history from below, total history, and history of material culture. The details about the three select Pakistani Marxist historians—i.e. Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali, and Kazi Javed—and their works help draw the conclusions that they are the ones who have raised criticism on and challenged the Muslim nationalist perspective of historiography. Since they are dissent intellectuals who have challenged the mainstream nationalist historiography and the forces of status quo, they found it very hard to be adjusted and pursue career in public sector academic and research institutes. They contends that the Governmental and non-governmental research organizations restrict intellectual freedom of the scholars who work for them. Their perspective of viewing history is leftist, liberal, progressive, secular and humanistic. Despite showing these commonalities of the perspectives, they represent distinct trends within Marxist domain of historiography. Sibte Hassan can rightly be regarded positivist and classical Marxist who employs the conception of historical materialism to his studies. Mubarak presents history

³⁷⁹ Javed, *Islam aur Maghrib*. 138.

form the view point of common people. Kazi Javed has viewed and interpreted history through the lens of humanism and existentialism.

Chapter Two

Pakistani Marxist Writers and their Writings

This chapter provides a survey study about some of Pakistani Marxist writers discussing their biographical details along with some of their prominent works. It sheds light on the socio-political circumstances in which the Marxist writers survived and produced intellectual enterprises. It helps understand the issues and themes these writers focused on the literature they produced. However, it is confined to discussion on some of the major Marxist writers who produced mainly the non-fictional literature.

2.1 Historical Background of Marxist Scholarship in Pakistan

In Pakistan, the Marxist is a cliché generally used for the scholars representing the progressive, leftist, secular, liberal and socialist ideas. Anyhow, the movement promoting progressivism was the continuity of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Aligarh movement and that of All India Progressive Writers' Association (AIPWA). Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) was an Indian Muslim social reformer who through his intellectual works and establishing educational institutions encouraged his country fellows to develop progressive thinking, and seek western scientific and technological education. Syed Sajjad Zaheer (1905-1973) founded AIPWA after attending a meeting, held in Germany, organized by the leftist scholars from across the world. They had gathered to discuss the economic recession of 1929 and the fascist forms of governments in Germany and Italy. They resolved to denounce fascism, religious orthodoxy, restraining of intellectual freedom, and forces of status quo. After attending this meeting, Sajjad Zaheer formed All India Progressive Writers Association in London, in 1935. The earliest Indian scholars who formally joined it by signing its manifesto included Syed Sajjad Zaheer, Ahmad Ali, Malk Raj Anand, Rashid Jahan and Mahmud-uz-Zafar. The first conference of AIPWA was held at Lucknow in 1936. Munshi Premchand

(1880-1936) presided the conference and highlighted its objectives stating that this movement intended to produce literature emphasizing the social problems of the poor, and promoting progressive and liberal thinking while countering the orthodox, religious and fascist ideas.

During the period of British Raj in Indian, the major task assumed by Marxist or progressive writers was to denounce and challenge the imperialist and orientalist discourse. After the partition of India, this movement in Pakistan shifted focus from revisionism of orientalism to that of the Muslim nationalist discourse—a discourse appears to justify the ideological stance of the state and nation of Pakistan.

2.2 Socio-political Context and Marxist Historiography in Pakistan

Pakistan's creation was the result of communalist tensions in pre-partition India. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and All India Muslim League (AIML), the political party he headed, are accredited as the founders of Pakistan.¹ In 1940, AIML under the leadership of M. A. Jinnah demanded a separate state for Indian Muslims, regarding them a nation rather than a community.² Since the leadership of AIML had acquired the favours of Indian Muslim community on religious grounds, Islam became the ideology of Pakistan, which was officially declared by the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan by adopting Objective Resolution of Pakistan in March 12,

¹ To be acquainted with the concept of Muslim separatism in India and the socio-political circumstances that led the Muslim League and its leadership to demand a separate state from the British Raj, the following books are worth-reading: Abdul Hameed, *Muslim Separatism in India: A Brief Survey, 1858-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1977); Naureen Talha, *Economic Factors in the Making of Pakistan 1921-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000); Bimal Prasad, *Pathway to India's Partition: The Foundations of Muslim Nationalism* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1999); K. K. Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism* (Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2002); Sikandar Hayat, *Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Creation of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2014); Akbar Ahmad, *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Stanley A. Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (London: Oxford University Press, 2005); Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and Demand for Pakistan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

² See, Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *The Pakistan Resolution and the Historic Lahore Session* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1968); Muhammad Aslam Malik, *The Making of the Pakistan Resolution* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001); Shafique Ali Khan, *The Lahore Resolution: Arguments for and against: History and Criticism* (Lahore: Royal Books, 1988).

1949.³ This Resolution was highly significant in the political history of Pakistan because it laid the principle foundations which the future constitutions of Pakistan would acquire. These developments were reinforced and fostered by activism of the religio-political parties like *Jama'at-i Islami* and *Jamiat Ulama-i Islam*.⁴

The secular political parties like Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) and the intellectuals having secular and leftist inclinations, nonetheless, protested against these developments. These politicians, activists and intellectuals, finding the official, political and social environment against them, mostly performed their activities clandestinely.⁵ A dominant perception in Pakistan was that CPP's leadership had links with and was sponsored by Soviet Union and All India National Congress. Since Soviet Union had opposed the creation of Pakistan during the freedom movement in British India, Pakistan had joined the western bloc in context to the Cold War. The government of Pakistan by adopting the McCarthyite policy arrested the CCP leadership, blaming that it is involved in toppling down the democratic Government of Pakistan.⁶ The operation held to arrest the conspirators and to bring them to face a trial is called Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case 1951.⁷ The CPP and its sub-organizations like National Students Federation and Progressive Writer's Association were consequently banned in July 1954.

³ See, Tarik Jan, *Pakistan between Secularism and Islam: Ideology, Issues and Conflict* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1998); Rubya Mehdi, *Islamization of Law in Pakistan*, Vol. 12, (New York: Routledge, 2013).

⁴ Anas Malik, *Political Survival in Pakistan: Beyond Ideology* (London: Routledge, 2011), 40-42; Samina Yasmeen, "Islam, Identity and Discourses in Pakistan, in *Routledge Handbook of Political Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2102), 169-72.

⁵ Hafeez Malik, *Soviet-Pakistan Relations and Post-Soviet Dynamics* (London: McMillan Press Ltd., 1994), 23; Malik, *Syed Sajjad Zaheer*, 71-122.

⁶ Malik, *Anjuman-e Taraqqi Pasand Musannifin*, 95-108.

⁷ Hassan Zaheer, *The Time and Trial of Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, 1951: The First Coup Attempt in Pakistan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998); Tauseef Aized, "Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case," *The Nation*, August 27, 2009.

In the political history of Pakistan, the period from 1947 to 1958 is said to be a so-called democratic era. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, the civil bureaucracy dominated over political panorama of the country till the first Martial Law was imposed by General Ayub Khan in 1958. The controlled democracy and modernist Islam were the major features of Ayub Khan's Martial Law regime.⁸ He was succeeded by General Yahya Khan in 1969 who remained in power till 1971.

Since the banning of CCP in 1954 till the emergence of a socialist party, Pakistan People's Party (PPP) which came into power in 1971, the socialist, secular, progressive and leftist scholars could not find way to express their stances freely, assertively and forcefully. Since Z. A. Bhutto came into power through popular votes and by blending socialist ideology with Islam,⁹ the liberal and socialist writers in Pakistan, including some of intellectual party members of PPP, produced considerable leftist literature. The situation again got reversed when the military general, Zia-ul-Haq staged a coup d'état overthrowing the PPP government in the center in 1977. He emphatically adopted a policy of Islamizing the laws, institutions, culture and society, and the opponents were dealt with iron-handedly.¹⁰ All those publications came under severe check which contained anything against the regime as well as Islam and Pakistan.

⁸ John L. Esposito and John Obert Voll, *Islam and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 105-7.

⁹ Esposito and Voll, *Islam and Democracy*, 107-9.

The slogans that PPP had adopted to successfully attract the general masses were: "Islam our Faith, Democracy our Polity, Socialism our Economy." See, Peter R. Blood, ed., *Pakistan: A Country Study*, 6th ed. (Washington DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1994), 2018; Christophe Jaffrelot, *Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience*, Eng. Tr. Cynthia Schoch (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015) 463-4.

¹⁰ Commenting on the press censorship during Zia regime, a Pakistani journalist Sheikh Aziz states, "Pakistan had experienced press censorship many times before, but General Zia ul Haq's tenure was cut above. On Oct 15, 1979, Gen Zia began clamping down on the new media, after he began feeling that the newspapers were gaining liberty to the extent that they had begun criticism over his continued rule. In comparison, the colonial masters' Press Gagging Act, 1857 seemed benign." Sheikh Aziz, "A Leaf from History: Four Journalists Flogged, Two Newspapers Shut," *Dawn*, May 3, 2015.

After the death of General Zia-ul-Haq in a plane-crash on August 17, 1988, another democratic era ushered but with political instability, as during the period from 1988 to 1999 two premiers of Pakistan intermittently formed the government and got dismissed four times. Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan twice (1988-1990 and 1993-1996); similarly, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif came into power twice (1990-1993 and 1996-1999). On October 12, 1999, General Pervez Musharraf overthrew elected Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and declared himself Chief Executive of Pakistan (1999-2001). In the year 2001, President Rafiq Tarar resigned and Musharraf assumed that office. He held elections in 2002 and transferred executive power to Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali. In 2004, Jamali was succeeded by Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz. This happened first time in the history of Pakistan that the National Assembly completed its tenure in 2007.

On October 5, 2007, General Pervez Musharraf issued National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) according to which he permitted the exiled leaders Benazir and Nawaz Sharif to be back in Pakistan and to contest the elections. PPP's leader Benazir Bhutto was assassinated during election campaign in December 2007. The elections were held few months later in February 2008 and PPP appeared to be a party winning majority seats in the National Assembly. Therefore, Yousaf Raza Gilani, one of the PPP's members, became the Prime Minister. So as to avoid impeachment, Musharraf resigned from the presidency on August 8, 2008 and succeeded by Asif Ali Zardari who completed his tenure as President in 2013.

Although military rulers Ayub Khan and Musharraf were religiously moderate and PPP that came to power many times was a so-called socialist party, the religiosity has been a dominant feature of Pakistan's political life and public arena. The factors which played a vital role in fostering religiosity include the communalist politics in pre-partition India which became the rationale of

Pakistan's creation, Islamization of the constitutions of the state, and General Zia's policy of Islamizing the character of state and society. Besides religious extremism, there are many other factors due to which the leftists in Pakistan failed to excel and achieve their goals, those include: the military dictatorship, feudal culture, social formation, state's marginalizing attitude towards the leftists, peoples' illiteracy and lack of political consciousness, propaganda by religious factions that the leftists are atheists, anti-Pakistani, anti-Islam, and foreign funding seekers. The decline of the Soviet Union has further weakened the morale of the leftists/socialists in Pakistan.

2.3 Pakistani Marxist Writers: An Overview

Here, some of the prominent Marxist writers of Pakistan and their works are presented, focusing on their upbringing, education, professional career, and socio-political aspects of their life.

2.3.1 Ghulam Bari Alig

Ghulam Bari Alig was a journalist-historian of pre-partition India and then Pakistan. He was born in 1907 at Kalanaur a town in western part of District Gurdaspur in British India. He migrated with his family to Lyallpur, now known as Faisalabad. Alig was very young when he settled there.¹¹ He therefore acquired his early education in Lyallpur and he then moved to Muslim University, Aligarh to attain further education. During his stay at the university, he was injected with nationalistic enthusiasm and started writing critically against British imperialism.¹² Quite shortly, he taught in a college of Lyallpur after returning from Aligarh University. He soon got discontented with teaching job and left Lyallpur for Lahore aiming at seeking his career in journalism.¹³ With

¹¹ Pakistan Post, "Men of Letter Series: Ghulam Bari Aleeg, 1907-1949," *Pakistan Post Website*. at http://www.pakpost.gov.pk/philately/stamps99/Ghulam_Bari.html (accessed on July 17, 2017)- Urdu Encyclopedia, "*Bari Alig*," *Online Urdu Encyclopedia*.

<www.urduencyclopedia.org/general/index.php?title=باری_علیگ> (accessed on August 28, 2017). <http://paknetmag.blogspot.com/2009/07/men-of-letters-series-ghulam-bari-aleeg.html> (accessed on July 17, 2017)

¹² Pakistan Post, "Men of Letter Series: Ghulam Bari Aleeg 1907-1949,"

¹³ Pakistan Post, "Men of Letter Series: Ghulam Bari Aleeg, 1907-1949," <http://paknetmag.blogspot.com/2009/07/men-of-letters-series-ghulam-bari-aleeg.html> (accessed on July 17, 2017)

great inclination towards socialism, he joined AIPWA.¹⁴ He is said to be the mentor of celebrated short story writer, Saadat Hasan Manto.¹⁵

Bari Alig travelled to many cities such as Lahore, Amritsar and Rangoon and he worked for the various newspapers including *Musawant*, *Milap*, *Partap*, *Ihsan*, *Shahbaz*, *Sheri Rangoon* and *Adab-e-Latif*.¹⁶ He is acknowledged as one among those best who set a trend of progressive thinking in journalism and other domains of literature production. He wrote about thirteen books which include *Kompani ki Hakumat* [Company's Rule] (1969);¹⁷ *Nazriyat* [Ideologies] (1999);¹⁸ *Tarikh Kya Hae* [What is History?] (n.d.);¹⁹ *Tarikh ka Mutaleya* [A Study of History] (n.d.);²⁰ *Islami Tarikh-o Tehzib* [Islamic History and Culture] (1992);²¹ *Insani Tamadun ki Dastan* [The Tale of Human Civilization] (1992);²² *Mashin aur Mazdur* [Machine and Labour] (n.d.)²³ and *Inqalab-e France* [French Revolution].²⁴ The themes that Bari Alig incorporated in his studies revolve around three major ideas, i.e. history, Communism and Islam. He died of heart attack on December 10, 1949 and got buried in Lyallpur. On fiftieth anniversary of his demise, on Dec. 10,

¹⁴ Ali Madeeh Hashmi, "Manto's World—Part 1" *The Friday Times*, (January 18-24, 2013 - Vol. XXIV, No. 49). At: <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta3/tft/article.php?issue=20130118&page=26> (accessed on July 17, 2017)

¹⁵ Parkash Bhandari, "Culture: Manto Lives," *Dawn*, December 27, 2015.

Sarmad Sehbai, "Why was Manto Considered a Threat to the Progressives," *Herald, In-depth*, (updated Jan 18, 2017) at: <http://herald.dawn.com/news/1152826> (accessed on July 17, 2017)

¹⁶ P.P. "Men of Letter Series: Ghulam Bari Aleeg 1907-1949," At: <http://paknetmag.blogspot.com/2009/07/men-of-letters-series-ghulam-bari-aleeg.html> (accessed on August 28, 2017).

Also see, M. Nauman Khan and Ghulam Mohiuddin, "Bari Alig", *Biographical Dictionary*,

At: <http://www.salaam.co.uk/knowledge/biography/viewentry.php?id=470> (accessed on July 17, 2017)

¹⁷ Bari Alig, *Kompani ki Kakumat*, (Lahore: Naya Idara, 1969).

¹⁸ Bari Alig, *Nazriyat* (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1999).

¹⁹ Bari Alig, *Tarikh Kya Hai* (Lahore: Takhliqat, n.d.)

²⁰ Bari Alig, *Tarikh ka Mutaleya*, (Lahore: Book Fort, n.d.)

²¹ Bari Alig, *Islami Tarikh-o Tehzib* (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1992).

²² Bari Alig, *Insani Tamadun ki Dastan* (Lahore: Takhliqat, 1992).

²³ Bari Alig, *Mashin aur Mazdur* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Urdu, n.d.)

²⁴ Urdu Encyclopedia, "Bari Alig," *Online Urdu Encyclopedia*.

<www.urduencyclopedia.org/general/index.php?title=باری_علیگ> (accessed on August 28, 2017).

1999, Pakistan Post Office paid him homage by issuing a postage carrying his image and attributing him as ‘a man of letters.’²⁵

2.3.2 Lal Khan

Tanvir Gondal, alias Lal Khan, was born in 1956. He is a prominent political activist demonstrating strong affiliation and adherence to Trotskyism.²⁶ He took his education in medicine, and became a physician/doctor by profession. He left his medical profession completely for his revolutionary activities. While studying at Nishtar Medical College in late 1970s, he emerged as a political leader acquiring an office of General Secretary of student organization. As he staged protests against the military takeover of Zia-ul-Haq, he was arrested by the Police and the court ordered his imprisonment for one year.²⁷ In 1980, he acted more vigorously against Zia’s regime for which he was sentenced to shoot at sight. That is why he had to leave Pakistan for the Netherlands where he from Amsterdam University completed his graduation. Sher Khan and Hashim bin Rashid describe a story of this leftist veterans’ unique way of protesting against Zia regime. They state that owing to the atrocities of Zia regime, they fled to the Netherlands where Lal Khan along with his three other companions made a plan to show their protest on the TV screen while broadcasting of a match. They did it by displaying a slogan on a banner (2x10 feet) and they sent a message in Pakistan to the comrades: “Accelerate the Struggle in Pakistan against Zia-ul-Haq Dictatorship.” As soon as the message was displayed on the screen, the PTV broadcaster in panic plugged the

²⁵ P.P., “Men of Letter Series: Ghulam Bari Aleeg 1907-1949,”

²⁶ See, Sher Khan and Hashim bin Rashid, “Blacked Out” *The Express Tribune, Sunday Magazine*, August 12, 2012; Mamoon Chaudhary, “Review: Pakistan’s Other Story: The revolution of 1968-69,” *Dawn Books and Authors*, August 18th, 2012.

²⁷ “Interview with Lal Khan from Pakistan”, (interview conducted on Jan, 1999 and published on June 8, 1999) at: http://www.newyouth.com/archives/interviews/interview_with_lal_khan_from_pak.html (accessed on Nov 14, 2012).

switch out. These exiled protesters have sent their message at home, demonstrating their spirit of democracy and solidarity with the country fellows.²⁸

In 1988, he came back to Pakistan and devoted himself to revolutionary politics.²⁹ At present, he is a one of the leading members of International Marxist Tendency (IMT).³⁰ Lal Khan has been the editor of various left-leaning newspapers and magazines, which are monthly and fortnightly and publish the news in national and local languages of Pakistan. A quarterly bilingual journal in Persian and Pashto languages is another literary and intellectual contribution on his part.³¹

Lal Khan earned an international repute as Marxist theorist by virtue of his powerful radical writings. He is author of various books. Trotskyists' organization IMT, on its website, mentions Lal Khan's works, which are: *Soshalist Inqalab kay Ba'ad Pakistan* [Pakistan after Socialist Revolution] (2012);³² *National Question in Pakistan and Theory of Confederation* (1983); *The Role and Character of the Left Wing in Pakistan* (1986); *Dialectical Materialism—An Introduction to Marxist Philosophy* (1986); *Afghan Revolution on Which Turn?* (1988); *Bolshevik Revolution 1917 and Present Day Russia* (1989); *Pakistan—Socialist Revolution or a Bloody Conflagration* (1989); *Privatization: Struggle or Death* (1993); *Islamic Fundamentalism: Resurgence and Prospects* (Madrid 1995); *Pakistan Trade Union Defense Campaign: Program and Strategy* (1996); *Pakistan Perspectives 1997* (1997); *China: In Search of Revolution* (1997); *Marxism and National Question* (1999); *Pakistan Peoples Party, Proposed Manifesto* (2000); *The Present Epoch: Character and Perspective* (2001); *Crisis in the Indian Subcontinent: Partition, Can it be*

²⁸ Khan and Rashid, "Blacked Out."

²⁹ "Interview with Lal Khan from Pakistan."

³⁰ "Interview with Lal Khan from Pakistan."

³¹ "Interview with Lal Khan from Pakistan," conducted on January 1999, published on June 8, 1999. Accessed at: https://www.newyouth.com/archives/interviews/interview_with_lal_khan_from_pak.html (retrieved on 14-09-2012)

³² Lal Khan, *Soshalist Inqalab kay Ba'ad Pakistan* (Hyderabad: Tabqati Jidojehad, Struggle Publications, 2012).

Undone? (2001).³³ His *Islamic Fundamentalism* was published in Spanish from Madrid, whereas *Pakistan—Socialist Revolution or a Bloody Configuration*, and *Partition: Can it be Undone?* were published in English, rests of his works are in Urdu Language.

Lal Khan's writings on the history of Indian subcontinent mainly deal with the colonial and post-colonial period of South Asian history. The issues he selects for constituting his research debate are quite polemical in Pakistan's political and ideological environment. In his writings, he is critical of the ruling classes for that they did not allow the conditions of the deprived people be changed. The revolution is one of the peculiar themes that Lal Khan addresses in his works. His work *Partition: Can it be Undone?* is controversial among literary circles in Pakistan, as in it he holds that the partition of India was the result of conflict between Indian bourgeoisie leaders.³⁴ He criticizes the role of Communist Party of India (CPI) stating that "if the CPI had been based on Marxist methods and perspectives, the whole course of history would have been different and the tragedy of partition averted."³⁵

2.3.3 Tariq Ali

Born in 1943, Tariq Ali belongs to a feudal but liberally educated family of Lahore. His father Mazher Ali Khan was a journalist, and his mother Tahira Mazher Ali an activist. Ali's parents were cousins and considered to be dedicated communists. Tariq Ali grew up as secular and atheist,

³³ Lal Khan, "Pakistan's Other Story: About Author," at <http://www.marxist.com/pakistans-other-story-about-author.htm> (accessed on August 28, 2017).

³⁴ Paramita Ghosh comments that, Lal Khan's *Crisis in the Indian Subcontinent: Partition Can it be undone?* is "provocative not only because it questions the official narrations of the modern history of the Indian subcontinent by analysing new facts with theoretical tools embedded in Marxism, but mainly because of its activist programmatic sharpness that backs the revolutionary transformational politics in the region. It asserts that only a voluntary socialist federation of the subcontinental societies can guarantee peace and prosperity in the region." Paramita Ghosh, "Can Partition be Undone—An Interview with Lal Khan," in *Radical Notes*, Oct 24, 2007. at: <https://radicalnotes.com/2007/10/24/can-partition-be-undone-an-interview-with-lal-khan/> (accessed on: July 11, 2017).

³⁵ Lal Khan, *Pakistan's Other Story: The Revolution of 1968-1969*, reviewed by Mamoon Chaudhry, *Dawn Books and Authors*, August 18, 2018.

he yet took Islamic education in his childhood.³⁶ He studied in Lahore and appeared to be a leftist political student leader. Ali later on went to England to get his undergraduate degree from Exeter College of Oxford. During his studies at the College, Tariq Ali opted to study the subjects like philosophy, politics and economic. In 1965, he had also been an elected President of Oxford Union.³⁷ Owing to his anti-government agitations in Pakistan, he had to be exiled from the country. Since then, he lives in Britain and often visits Pakistan. By the virtue of his literary and intellectual activities, he earned international repute as a historian, a novelist, a documentary film-maker, a commentator and a human rights activist.

Tariq Ali is an enduring editor of *New Left Review* and *Sin Permiso*.³⁸ He writes articles for different newspapers like *The Guardian* and *Counter Punch* and a fortnightly British Magazine *London Review of Books*.³⁹ He produced both fictional and non-fictional literature. His prominent non-fictional works includes: *Can Pakistan Survive?: The Death of a State* (1970);⁴⁰ *An Indian Dynasty: The Story of Nehru-Gandhi Family* (1985);⁴¹ *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of Sixties* (1987);⁴² *Clash of Fundamentalism: Crusade, Jihad and Modernity* (2002);⁴³ *Rough Music: Blair, Bombs, Baghdad, London, Terror* (2005);⁴⁴ *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (2008);⁴⁵ and *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (2011).⁴⁶ As far as his fictional

³⁶ James Campbell, "A Life in Writing: Tariq Ali," *The Guardian*, Sunday, May 8, 2010.

³⁷ Oxford University Pakistan Society Alumni Office" at: <https://www.oupaksoc.org/alumni.html> (accessed on Dec 15, 2012).

³⁸ "Tariq Ali" at: <https://tariqali.org/about> (accessed on July 17, 2017); Also see, Campbell, "A Life in Writing: Tariq Ali."

³⁹ "Tariq Ali: Profile," *The Guardian*, at: <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/tariqali> (accessed on July 17, 2017) Campbell, "A Life in Writing: Tariq Ali."

⁴⁰ Tariq Ali, *Can Pakistan Survive?: The Death of a State* (London: Penguin, 1983).

⁴¹ Tariq Ali, *An Indian Dynasty: The Story of Nehru-Gandhi Family* (New York: Putnam Publishing Group, 1985).

⁴² Tariq Ali, *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of Sixties* (London: Verso, 1987).

⁴³ Tariq Ali, *Clash of Fundamentalism: Crusade, Jihad and Modernity* (London, Verso, 2003).

⁴⁴ Tariq Ali, *Rough Music: Blair, Bombs, Baghdad, London, Terror* (London: Verso, 2005)

⁴⁵ Tariq Ali, *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (New York: A Division of Simon & Schuster, Inc., 2008).

⁴⁶ Tariq Ali and Arundhati Roy, *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (London: Verso, 2011).

writings are concerned, these include *Redemption* (1990);⁴⁷ *Fear of Mirrors* (1998);⁴⁸ *The Book of Saladin* (1998);⁴⁹ *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (1999);⁵⁰ *The Stone Woman* (2000);⁵¹ and *A Sultan in Palermo* (2005).⁵² Moreover, Tariq Ali authored six plays, which are *Iranian Nights* (1989);⁵³ *Moscow Gold* (1990);⁵⁴ *Necklaces* (1992);⁵⁵ *Collateral Damage* (1999);⁵⁶ *Snogging Ken* (2001);⁵⁷ and *The Illustrious Corpse* (2004).⁵⁸

Tariq Ali always seems to choose polemical and sensational topics, titles and themes. This is possibly because he, in the view of James Campbell, considers it necessary for well-off career in journalism.⁵⁹ The themes worked out in his writings are imperialism, military's role in power politics, perspectives and prospects of revolutions taken place in different parts of the world, religious fundamentalism, theocracy and secularism, working class as an agent of social change, and ideological clash between the East and the West.

Much of the non-fictional works of Tariq Ali are journalistic in nature. His critics regard his works as possessing insufficient potential to be recognized as historical narratives, as they lack authenticity of material, factual accuracy and technicalities of the discipline of history.⁶⁰ Tariq Ali worked on a variety of national and international issues, for example, the nature and state of

⁴⁷ Tariq Ali, *Redemption* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990).

⁴⁸ Tariq Ali, *Fear of Mirrors* (London: Arcadia Books, 1998).

⁴⁹ Tariq Ali, *The Book of Saladin* (London: Verso, 1998).

⁵⁰ Tariq Ali, *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (London: Open Road Media, 1999).

⁵¹ Tariq Ali, *The Stone Woman* (London: Verso, 2000).

⁵² Tariq Ali, *A Sultan in Palermo* (London: Verso, 2005).

⁵³ Tariq Ali, *Iranian Nights* (London: Nick Hern, 1989).

⁵⁴ Tariq Ali and Harvard Brenton, *Moscow Gold* (London: Nick Hern, 1990).

⁵⁵ Tariq Ali, *Necklaces* (London: Bourse Associates, 1992).

⁵⁶ Tariq Ali, *Collateral Damage* (London: Oberon Books, 1999).

⁵⁷ Tariq Ali, *Snogging Ken* (London: Oberon Books, 2001).

⁵⁸ Tariq Ali, *The Illustrious Corpse* (London: Absolute Classics, 2004).

To see a review on the books of Tariq Ali, consult Nina Subin, "Tariq Ali: Fiction, Non-Fiction, Poetry," *Literature British Council.Org.* at: <https://literature.britishcouncil.org/writer/tariq-ali> (accessed on July 17, 2017)

⁵⁹ Campbell, "A Life in Writing: Tariq Ali,"

⁶⁰ Tariq Ali and Oliver Stone, *On History: Tariq Ali and Oliver Stone in Conversation* (London: Haymarket Books, 2011).

Russian Revolution,⁶¹ revolutionary activities in different parts of the worlds—such as the Third world and the Western countries, dynastic politics in post-colonial India, state-failure in Pakistan owing to civil-military oligarchy and religious zeal,⁶² American foreign policy and American imperialism.⁶³ The temporal scope of his narratives is dominantly post-colonial era.

2.3.4 Hamza Alavi

Hamza Alavi (1921-2003) was born in a famous business family in Karachi that belonged to Bohra community. Mubarak Ali sees him inclined to socialist tendencies during his school days, as he showed a deep concern for his school fellows who came from poor families.⁶⁴ Alavi achieved Masters degree in economics from Aligarh University.⁶⁵ He preferred to opt banking as his profession, and began serving Reserve Bank of India as a research officer in 1945 and then State Bank of Pakistan after partition of India. He had been among top five servicemen of the bank.⁶⁶ He gave up banking profession in 1953 and went to Tanzania where his wife's family used to live. In 1955, he went to England and enrolled in PhD program in London School of Economic. There, he started working on the theme of banking in Pakistan. Meanwhile, the military takeover took place in Pakistan which instigated him to political activism. This is said to be the very reason that his research interest also shifted from banking and finance to political economy and sociology.⁶⁷

Hamza Alavi attempted to accomplish his PhD twice, first in early 1940s from Gokhale Institute in Pune, and then from London School of Economics. He nonetheless could not accomplish his

⁶¹ Tariq Ali, *Dilemmas of Lenin: Terrorism, War, Empire, Love, Revolution* (London: verso, 2017).

⁶² Tariq Ali, *Can Pakistan Survive?: Death of a State* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1983).

⁶³ Tariq Ali, *Bush in Babylon* (London: verso, 2004); Tariq Ali, *Clash of Fundamentalism: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (London: verso, 2003).

⁶⁴ Mubarak Ali, "Hamza Alavi: A Personal Tribute by Dr. Mubarak Ali," *Down*, (Karachi) December 07, 2003.

⁶⁵ Ali, "Hamza Alavi."

⁶⁶ Asad Sayeed, "Hamza Alavi: An Obituary," monthly *Herald*, February, 2004; Arif Azad, "Obituary: Hamza Alavi," *The Guardian*, Friday, December 19, 2003. Dr. Tariq Rehman, "In Memory of Hamza Alavi," *The News International*, December 24, 2003.

⁶⁷ Arif Azad, "Obituary: Hamza Alavi," *The Guardian*, Friday, December 19, 2003.

PhD project, as during his first attempt he remained busy in professional life, and his second attempt remained futile due to his excessive involvement in political activism.⁶⁸ His academic career started in 1966 and he taught in several highly reputed universities like the University of California, Los Angeles, University of Leeds, University of Sussex, University of Denver, Michigan State University, University of Manchester, and University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.⁶⁹

For undertaking quality research, Hamza Alavi is recognized as a sociologist, political economist, and theorist historian. His works are on the colonial and post-colonial eras. The themes on which he worked include colonialism and Muslim politics in India, feudalism, nationalism and local ethnic nationalities in Pakistan, issues of women status, peasantry and revolution, and the cost of US aid.⁷⁰ He authored many books such as *Capitalism and Colonial Production: Essays on the Rise of Capitalism in Asia* (1982);⁷¹ *Introduction to Sociology of Developing Countries* (1982);⁷² *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan* (in co-authorship with Fred Halliday, 1988);⁷³ and *South Asia* (in co-authorship with John Harris 1989).⁷⁴ His research papers and the book reviews have been published in leading journals. He is regarded as one among founding editorial panelists of the *Journal of Contemporary Asia* from 1971 to 1985 as well as the *Journal of Peasant Studies* from 1973 to 1996.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Rehman, "In Memory of Hamza Alavi."

⁶⁹ Rehman, "In Memory of Hamza Alavi."

⁷⁰ Sayeed, "Hamza Alavi: An Obituary."

⁷¹ Hamza Alavi, *Capitalism and Colonial Production: Essays on the Rise of Capitalism in Asia* (London: Rutledge Kegan & Paul, 1982).

⁷² Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin, *Introduction to Sociology of Developing Countries* (London: McMillan, 1982).

⁷³ Hamza Alavi and Fred Holiday, *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan* (New York: McMillan, 1988).

⁷⁴ Hamza Alavi and John Harris (eds.), *South Asia* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989).

⁷⁵ Sayeed, "Hamza Alavi: An Obituary."

2.3.5 Eqbal Ahmad

Eqbal Ahmad (1933-1999) secured a reputation as social scientist, historian, journalist, and anti-war campaigner. He was born and cradled in Irki, a village in Bihar. He was quite young when his father, a small landlord, was killed by some opponents over a land feud in front of him.⁷⁶ After the partition of India, in 1947, he along with his family migrated to Pakistan. He got enrolled in Forman Christian College, Lahore from where he did his graduation in economics by 1951. He then got commissioned in Pakistan army but he served it for a short period. Having secured Rotary fellowship in 1957, he went to the United States to join Occidental College, California where he studied American history.⁷⁷ He studied political science and history of Middle Eastern region and acquired his PhD from Princeton University in 1965.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, he got interested in liberation movement of Algeria. This interest took him to Algeria where he started struggle as member of the National Liberation Front (FLN) so as to liberate the country from French occupation. He was, however, apprehended in France.⁷⁹

Not only was he an intellectual and activist, he was also a charismatic orator and a lecturer. His career as an academician started in 1960s. He taught in American universities such as Cornell and Chicago. He also served in Washington Institute of Policy Studies (IPS).⁸⁰ On the behalf of IPS he established its sub-institute called “Transnational Institute” in Amsterdam. Eqbal Ahmad married

⁷⁶ Edward W. Said, “Eqbal Ahmad: He Brought the Wisdom and Integrity to the Cause of Oppressed People,” *The Guardian*, May 14, 1999; Aamir Aqil, “Remembering Dr. Eqbal Ahmad,” *Dawn*, May 11, 2011.

⁷⁷ Hampshire College, “Biography of Eqbal Ahmad,” *Hampshire College Website*.
at: <https://www.hampshire.edu/critical-social-inquiry/biography-of-eqbal-ahmad> (accessed on July 18, 2017)

⁷⁸ Said, “Eqbal Ahmad.” Nonetheless, the biography given on the website of Hampshire College mention that Eqbal Ahmad accomplished his PhD in in 1967.

⁷⁹ Said, “Eqbal Ahmad.”

⁸⁰ “Biography of Eqbal Ahmad,” *Hampshire College Website*.

Julie Diamond in 1969. She was a teacher and a writer. Dhora was their daughter who was born in 1971.⁸¹

Having been critically vocal of the Vietnam War, he became famous as harsh critic of American foreign policy.⁸² In 1970, he was arrested and trialed in America on the allegation that he had conspired to kidnap Henry Kissinger. The court nonetheless acquitted him, vindicating from the charges levelled against him.⁸³ In 1982, he joined Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, where he taught the subjects like Politics and Middle Eastern Studies.⁸⁴ He got retired in 1997.

Eqbal Ahmad had been the editor of the various journals such as *Race and Class*; *Middle East Report*; *L'Economiste du Tiers Monde*; and *Arab Studies Quarterly*. It was his humanist political activism, and formidable critical writings which kept his teaching career fluctuating. Consequently, he kept moving from one university to another. He retired from Hampshire College Massachusetts in 1997. He, then, moved to and permanently settled in his homeland, i.e. Pakistan. He suffered from colon cancer and died of it in 1999. Edward Said states that during the last years of his life he planned to establish a university in Pakistan to which he gave a tentative name *al-Khalduniyah*. Said further adds that he wanted to structure its curriculum having solid foundations of 'modern humanities' as well as social and natural sciences.⁸⁵ Eqbal Ahmad did not publish any book personally. However, his fellows like Dora Ahmad, Iftikhar Ahmad, Zulifkar Ahmad and

⁸¹ "Biography of Eqbal Ahmad," *Hampshire College Website*.

⁸² Eqbal Ahmad raised voice against the persecution and oppression taking place anywhere across the world. Edward Said hence mentions that, "He had an almost instinctive attraction to movements of the oppressed and the persecuted, whether in Europe, America, Bosnia, and Chechnya, South Lebanon, Vietnam, Iraq or the Indian sub-continent. He had a formidable knowledge of history, always measuring the promise of religion and nationalism against their depredations and abuse as their proponents descended into fundamentalism, chauvinism and provincialism." Said, "Eqbal Ahmad."

⁸³ Said, "Eqbal Ahmad."

⁸⁴ "Biography of Eqbal Ahmad," *Hampshire College Website*.

Also see: Vaqar Ahmad, "Eqbal Ahmad: A Memoir of Munnu Chacha," *Dawn*, May 24, 2015. At: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1181913> (accessed on July 18, 2017)

⁸⁵ Said, "Eqbal Ahmad."

Zia Mian compiled, edited and published some of his articles in a book form, which is titled *Between Past and Future: Selected Essays on South Asia*.⁸⁶ The major themes he focused on in his articles are the state of colonialism in India, geo-politics in South Asia, strategic and security issues and policies of Pakistan, religious extremism in Pakistan and India, and socio-political violence in Pakistan.⁸⁷

2.3.6 Ahmad Salim

Muhammad Salim Khawaja, alias Ahmad Salim, is a man of myriad traits. He is a historian, archivist, educationist, poet, human rights activist, and a prolific author. He appears to have produced about 150 books. For his intellectual works and achievements, the Government of Pakistan honored him with Pride of Performance Award.⁸⁸ He was born in Miyana Gondal, a village of District Mandi Bahauddin on January 26, 1945.

He acquired his early education in that village and then moved to Peshawar for matriculation. There he got intimated with the writers and poets such as Raza Hamdani, Shafqat Kakakhel, Mohsin Ahsan, Jauhar Mir and Farigh Bukhari. They infused in him a great passion for literary and political activities.⁸⁹ In 1962, Salim went to Karachi for accomplishing intermediate and thus got enrolled in Urdu college. There he continued his literary activities and won a poetry contest by reciting his poem praising Faiz Ahmad Faiz. Salim thus was greatly admired by Faiz who was also attending that poetry contest. He invited Salim to get admission in Haji Abdullah Haroon College of which he then was the principal.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ The foreword of the book is written by Pervez Hoodbhoy, the physicist, political analyst and activist. He discusses the nature of his personal relations with Eqbal Ahmed and introduces the major themes of those selected essays.

⁸⁷ Eqbal Ahmad, *Between Past and Future: Selected Essays on South Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸⁸ Moniza Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge," *Dawn, Inpaper Magazine*, August 26, 2012.

⁸⁹ Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge."

⁹⁰ SDPI, "A Celebration of Fifty Years of Writing: A Tribute to Ahmad Salim," *SDPI Website*. At: http://www.sdpi.org/policy_outreach/event_details64-2011.html (accessed on July 18, 2017).

It was however M. R. Hassan, the vice principal of that college, who introduced Salim with Marxism.⁹¹ From 1968 to 1969, Ahmed Salim served National Bank in Karachi as well as in Rawalpindi. He later on went to Lahore where he started teaching at Shah Hussain College.⁹² It is quite astonishing to see that he often got engaged with different high valued and hectic enterprises simultaneously in the period from 1976 to 1977. During that period, he was teaching courses on Pakistani Languages at Jamshoro University of Sindh. He also translated Punjabi mystic poetry of Shah Hussain into Sindhi and Sindhi mystic poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai into Punjabi. Not enough to this, he had also acquired a Bachelors degree from that university. In 1977, he went to Karachi where he was recognized as a media critic and a translator. He reviewed Television shows for *Daily Aman* and translated a plethora of literature.⁹³ Salim did his Masters in Philosophy as a distinguished student by receiving Gold Medal from Karachi University in 1981.⁹⁴

Along with diverse activities, his achievements are many as well as admirable. Recognizing the paucity of primary sources or access to them while working on his research projects, he established an archive as well as its associate organization, i.e. South Asian Research and Resource Centre.⁹⁵ He taught in different colleges and universities of Pakistan such as Shah Hussain College, Lahore, Jamshoro University of Sindh (1976-1977), and Karachi University (1985-1988). He worked as Director of Sustainable Development Policy Institute since 1996 till 2007, and currently is serving as consultant in that NGO.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge."

⁹² Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge."

⁹³ SDPI, "A Celebration of Fifty Years of Writing."

⁹⁴ SDPI, "A Celebration of Fifty Years of Writing."

⁹⁵ Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge."

⁹⁶ Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge."

Ahmad Salim had been a member of Communist Part of Pakistan and National Awami Party.⁹⁷

When Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law, he protested against it demanding restoration of democracy, consequently he was sent to jail for a short period. In 1971, he once again was apprehended for criticizing and protesting against the military operation against Bengali masses.⁹⁸

Ahmad Salim is a prolific writer and has produced an assortment of literature. About 25 of 150 books written by him are in Punjabi language. He produced works in different genres of literature including poetry, fiction, literary criticism and travelogues. Almost twenty of his books are non-fictional, in different languages such as English, Urdu, and Punjabi.⁹⁹ Similarly, about twenty publications he produced are those which address the issue of the minorities in Pakistan.¹⁰⁰ The historical issues on which Ahmad Salim focuses are: Indian freedom movement, Khilafat Movement, the political and parliamentary history of Pakistan, East Pakistan crisis, human rights and minorities, democracy and governance, and the education system and curricula in Pakistan.¹⁰¹

2.3.7 Mobarak Haider

Mobarak Haider was born in a traditional religious family at Mitha Tiwana, a village in District Sargodha, and he stayed there till the completion of his matriculation. He did his Bachelors in Arts from Sargodha and Masters in English language and literature from Gordon College, Rawalpindi. There he studied Greek literature, philosophy and history of Renaissance movements in Europe.¹⁰² While accomplishing Masters degree, he got inspired by the leftist movement which was on its

⁹⁷ SDPI, "A Celebration of Fifty Years of Writing."

⁹⁸ Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge."

⁹⁹ Academy of Punjab in North America, "Punjabi Writer Ahmad Salim Receives Presidential Award." *Website of Academy of Punjab in North America*. At: <http://apnaorg.com/articles/salim-award/> (accessed on July 18, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge."

¹⁰¹ Inam, "Profile: Quest for Knowledge."

¹⁰² Arshad Mahmud and Shoib Adal, "Mumtaz Danishwar Professor Mobarak Haider sey Interview," *Mahanama Neya Zamana*, (April, 2011), 18-21; Xari Jalil, "Giving Context to Religious Extremism," *Pakistan Today*, Jun 19, 2011.

zenith in Pakistan. He started his career as academician and served in various colleges at Lahore. By late 1960s, he indulged in student politics and labour movements aiming at bringing some progressive changes in social structure of Pakistan. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was established in 1967 and he claims to be one of its pioneers.¹⁰³ He worked being associated with PPP as an in-charge of its study circle. Subsequently, he headed the party's labour wing that was abrogated in 1972. Protesting against Martial regimes, he was prisoned twice, first during the Yahya's regime in 1969, and then after the imposition of Martial Law by General Zia ul Haq in 1978. Haider had intermittently been associated with PPP, but now he is grievant of the party leadership and its policies.¹⁰⁴

Mobarak Haider authored three books: *Tehzibi Nargasiyat* [Civilizational Narcissism] (2009);¹⁰⁵ *Taliban: The Tip of a Holy Iceberg* (2010);¹⁰⁶ and *Mughaltay Mubalghay* [Misconceptions and Exaggerations] (2011).¹⁰⁷ He analyses contemporary social problems tracing their roots in history. *Tehzibi Nargasiyat* deals with religious extremism and fundamentalism, social violence, intellectual regression and other forms of backwardness.¹⁰⁸ Haider contends that the backwardness in Pakistan is directly connected to 'the sheer disorientation of the rational progressive needs of the time.'¹⁰⁹ He opines that the social behaviour in the Muslim world generally, and in Pakistan particularly, has developed into a psychological disorder that he terms as "civilizational

¹⁰³ Mahmud and Adal, "Mumtaz Danishwar Professor Mobarak Haider sey Interview."

¹⁰⁴ Mobarak Haider describes that he had been associated with PPP since the party had been established, but he could not acquire any prominent position and recognition in the party cadre, even though in 1986 he presented a stage to Benazir Bhutto when she came to address the public gathering. He states that the people who joined the party after he did, but they call themselves the pioneer of the part. They became prominent figures in the party but he could not. See: Mahmud and Adal, "Mumtaz Danishwar Professor Mobarak Haider sey Interview."

¹⁰⁵ Mobarak Haider, *Tehzibi Nargasiyat* (Lahore: Sanjh Publishers, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ Mobarak Haider, *Taliban: The Tip of a Holy Iceberg* (n.p.: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2010).

¹⁰⁷ Mobarak Haider, *Mughaltay Mubalghay* (Lahore: Sanjh Publishers, 2011).

¹⁰⁸ Haider, *Tehzibi Nargasiyat*.

¹⁰⁹ Haider, *Tehzibi Nargasiyat*.

narcissism” and “civilizational schizophrenia.”¹¹⁰ He adds that this mindset has much been nurtured under obsession of Islamic ideology promoted by the elites of Saudi Arabia through mosques and the religious educational institutions.¹¹¹ The present political and social chaos and the decline of Muslim societies, he thinks, is a result of falsely assumed pride in the identical associations such as religion, history, ideology and culture. He argues that the sense of superiority among the Muslims has lead them to prejudice towards the non-Muslims and consequently the Muslims look down upon even the good things associated with them.¹¹²

His undertaking *Mughaltay Mubalghay* (2011) is an extended version of *Tehzibi Nargasiyat*, as it follows up the same approach while developing discussions on the false stereotype assumptions and venerated interpretations of the historical facts in the Muslim history. Haider adduces that the resultant false historical consciousness of the Muslims has caused their present ideological fixations. For this very reason, they seem confused while they attempt to compete with the rest of the world. He is critical of the clerics’ assumption that the present degeneration of Muslim societies is because the Muslims have shown negligence to Islamic values and instruction.¹¹³ He thus argues that if the religious institutions are producing a good number of religious scholars, as is claimed by the religious leaders, and a large number of people are converting to Islam, the degeneration of Islamic world would have not been occurred.¹¹⁴

In *Mughaltay Mubalghay*, Haider proposes secular democracy as the only practicable and realistic form of government, and he states that the notion of Islamic state is nothing but a hype the Muslim

¹¹⁰ “Muslim Cultural Narcissism: New Age Islam TV interviews author Dr. Mobarak Haider” *video on youtube uploaded by Sultan Shahin*. At: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jS3U1nu4sXA> (accessed on July 18, 2017).

¹¹¹ Haider, *Tehzibi Nargasiyat*.

¹¹² Haider, *Tehzibi Nargasiyat*.

¹¹³ Haider, *Tehzibi Nargasiyat*.

¹¹⁴ Haider, *Tehzibi Nargasiyat*,

scholars has generated.¹¹⁵ He accordingly puts forward an argument that the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) did not impose, instruct and implement some new kind of political system, he rather managed to operationalize the pre-existing tribal system.¹¹⁶ The democracy, hence, is viewed by him as the only benevolent political system of all those that man has ever apprehended as a solution to his social and political problems and predicaments.¹¹⁷

2.3.8 Abdullah Malik

Abdullah Malik (1920-2003) was one of the most prominent journalists showing leftist tendencies in Pakistan. He is acknowledged and admired for his lifelong association and commitment with the philosophy of Marxism.¹¹⁸ He dedicated himself to materialize his ideological missions.¹¹⁹ He was born in Lahore on October 20, 1920 and died at the age of eighty-three.¹²⁰ Before partition of India, he had been a part of *Majlas-i-Ahrar* and attended the first Communist Party Conference held in Bombay in 1943. He got greatly inspired by the leftist politics and joined Communist Party of India and wrote articles for its newspaper *Jang-i-Azadi*. Along with some other members of the CPI, he joined All India Muslim League on the instructions of CPI leadership, which assigned them a task to formulate the manifesto of Punjab Muslim League incorporating it with ‘the agrarian reforms and the nationalization of transportation and industry.’¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Mobarak Haider, *Mughaltay Mubalghay* (Lahore: Sanjha Publications, 2011).

¹¹⁶ Haider, *Mughaltay Mubalghay*.

¹¹⁷ Haider, *Mughaltay Mubalghay*.

¹¹⁸ About his lifelong ideological struggle, Abdullah Malik himself state: “I can declare with pride that I have spent my entire life wedded to the same commitment, the same set of beliefs, namely the establishment one day of a socialist Pakistan...it will be a message of love for mankind, a message that transcends all religions, faiths and creeds.” Khalid Hasan praises Abdullah Malik stating that, “Abdullah Malik was a one-man movement of action and ideas. There was no one quite like him – and those who knew him would confirm that it was so.” “Abdullah Malik (1920-2003),” *Journalism Pakistan Website*.

At: <http://www.journalismpakistan.com/hall-detail.php?hallid=30&pageid=famed> (accessed on July 18, 2017).

¹¹⁹ Khaled Ahmad, “Obituary: Abdullah Malik’s Ideological journey” *Daily Times*, Wednesday, April 16, 2003; “Legendary Abdullah Malik Remembered” *Dawn*, April, 21, 2008; Kazy Javed, “Remembering a Passionate Socialist,” *The News, A Word of Letters*, at <https://jang.com.pk/thenews/may2008-weekly/nos-18-05-2008/lit.htm#3> (accessed on Nov 19, 2012).

¹²⁰ Ahmad, “Obituary: Abdullah Malik’s Ideological journey.”

¹²¹ “Abdulla Malik (1920-2003)” *Journalism Pakistan Website*.

After partition of India, Abdullah Malik decided to live in Pakistan. As an editor and columnist, he worked for various Pakistani newspapers including *Muhajrin*, *Amroz*, *Azad*, *The Pakistan Times*, and *Nawa-i-Waqt*. He wrote about thirty books and more than hundred articles for the leading newspapers of Pakistan. The themes he worked on are evident of his interest, clarity and depth in analysing a wide range of Pakistan's indigenous issues.

Some of the prominent books he produced are: *Bengali Musalmanon ki Sad Salah Jaddojehdi-e Azadi 1757-1857* [Hundred Years of Muslims' Freedom Struggle 1757-1857] (1967),¹²² *Punjab ki Siyasi Tehriken, 1920-1940 Tak* [the Political Movements of Punjab, from 1920 to 1940] (1985),¹²³ *Communist Partiyen, Fauj aur Fauji Shabkhon* [Communist Parties, Military and Martial Law] (1986),¹²⁴ *Bare Saghir Pak-o Hind mein Qaum Parasti ki Tehriken aur unki Tarikh* [the History of Nationalist Movements in Indo-Pak Subcontinent] (1987),¹²⁵ *Pakistan ki Bunyadi Haqiqten aur Pakistan Fauj ki Abtida* [the Ground Realities of Pakistan and the Beginning of Pakistan Army] (1988),¹²⁶ *Bhutto sey Benazir tak: Siyasi Tajziye* [From Bhutto to Benazir: A Political Analysis] (1988),¹²⁷ *Dastan-e Daar-o Resan* (an autobiography), *Hadith-e Dil: Eik Communist ka Roznamcha-e Haj* [Inner-self: A Diary of Pilgrimage] (a travelogue of pilgrimage to Makkah),¹²⁸ and *Purani Mehfilain Yaad Aa Rahi Hain* [Recalling Old Meetings] (an autobiography).

Both the historical and contemporary social, cultural and political problems of South Asia, particularly those of Pakistan, have given attention by Malik. He diverges from his Pakistani

At: <http://www.journalismpakistan.com/hall-detail.php?hallid=30&pageid=famed> (accessed on July 18, 2017).

¹²² Abdullah Malik, *Bengali Musalmano ki Sad Salah Jaddojehdi-e Azadi 1757-1857* (Lahore: Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Adab, 1967).

¹²³ Abdullah Malik, *Punjab ki Siyasi Tehriken, 1920-1940 Tak* (Lahore: Kausar Publishers, 1985).

¹²⁴ Abdullah Malik, *Communist Partiyen, Fauj aur Fauji Shubkhon* (Lahore: Kausar Publications, 1986).

¹²⁵ Abdullah Malik, *Bare Saghir Pak-o Hind mein Qaum Parasti ki Tehriken aur unki Tarikh* (Lahore: 1987).

¹²⁶ Abdullah Malik, *Pakistan ki Bunyadi Haqiqten aur Pakistan Fauj ki Abtida* (Lahore: 1988).

¹²⁷ Abdullah Malik, *Bhutto sey Benazir tak: Siyasi Tajziye* (Lahore: Maktabah-e Fikr-o Danish, 1988)

¹²⁸ Abdullah Malik, *Hadith-e Dil: Eik Communist ka Rosnamcha-e Haj* (Lahore: Kausar Publications, n.d.).

Marxist and leftist companions in his approach, as he thinks that their scholarship has overwhelmingly relied on the Western Socialism.¹²⁹ He was unique in his ideas and approach from the rest of his socialist fellows. He is regarded as an original thinker. His scholarship has its roots in deep and unique insight of the knowledge of South Asian history, and the social and cultural legacy of the region.¹³⁰ Here is an extract from his autobiography that reflects how he was unique and original in his ideas:

“I am eighty-one years old now and I can declare with the pride that I have spent my entire life wedded to the same commitment, the same set of beliefs, namely the establishment one day of a socialist Pakistan. It will not come as the negation of any religion or faith, nor a revolt against God. In fact, it will be a message of love for mankind, a message that transcends all religions, faiths and creed.”¹³¹

These quoted lines suggest that he had a pride not only in his lifelong struggle for his dreamt world, but also in the ideal and belief behind his struggle that is well embedded in ground realities abstracted from vital indigenized experiences. He extensively wrote on issues including *inter alia* the history of Punjab, freedom movement in India during colonial period, political parties in the subcontinent, role of military in the politics of Pakistan, and Bengali nationalism and the dismemberment of East Pakistan.

2.3.9 Mir Gul Khan Naseer

Mir Gul Khan Naseer (d. 1983) was dynamic and vibrant personality. He was both a man of ideas and a man of action. He was a seasoned politician, a revolutionary poet and a historian. He was born in a Paindzai family of the Mengal Baloch tribe in Noshki on May 14, 1914, and died in 1983. Having Baluch nationalist tendencies, he had been associated with various political parties such as

¹²⁹ Khalid Hassan, “Abdullah Malik’s Old Lahore,” *World Press Website*, (uploaded on April 13, 2007). Accessed at: <http://www.khalidhasan.net/2007/04/13/abdulla-malik%E2%80%99s-old-lahore/> (accessed on Dec 5, 2012).

¹³⁰ Hassan, “Abdullah Malik’s Old Lahore.”

¹³¹ The quoted translated extract is cited from: Khalid Hassan, “Abdullah Malik’s Old Lahore,” *World Press Website*, (April 13, 2007). at: <http://www.khalidhasan.net/2007/04/13/abdulla-malik%E2%80%99s-old-lahore/> (accessed on December 5, 2012).

Anjuman-e Islamia-e Kalat, Pakistan National Party and National Awami Party. He played a leading role in the provincial politics of Baluchistan.¹³² Intermittently, he was jailed for about 15 years. He was although trialed on different charges, his parochial nationalist political activities were the dominant cause of his detainment.¹³³ The Baluch nationalists regard him as their national hero, the main reason of this popularity is his revolutionary poetry. They call him *Malik-ul Sho'ara*. He produced an anthology of Baluchi poetry with the title *Gulban* (1951). He translated the poetry of two renowned poets, i.e. Faiz Ahmad Faiz,¹³⁴ and Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai¹³⁵ into Balochi language. The former is titled as *Sinai Kichaga* was published in 1980 and the latter *Shah Latif Gushit* in 1983.

Mir Gul Khan Naseer also translated *The Baloch Race: A Historical and Ethnological Sketch* (1904) originally written by M. Longworth Dames,¹³⁶ giving it the Balochi title of *Kouch-o Baloch* (1969).¹³⁷ He also translated *The Raiders of the Sarhad* (1920) by Reginald Edward Harry Dyer,¹³⁸ into Urdu, titled as *Baluchistan kay Sarhadi Chhapamar* (1979).¹³⁹ However, *Tarikh-e Baluchistan* in two volumes is an original contribution of Naseer. The first volume was published in 1952 and second in 1957. He wrote folk Baluchi love story titled *Dastan-e Dostain-o Shirin* [A Tale of Dostain and Shirin] (1964). He produced his poetry and historical narratives in various languages

¹³² Fazal Baloch, "Mir Gul Khan Naseer: The Pioneer of Balochi Revolutionary Poetry," *Daily Times*, December 6, 2011; "Tribute Paid to Baloch Scholar Gul Khan Naseer" *Dawn*, Oct 14, 2009. At: <https://www.dawn.com/news/889046> (accessed on July 21, 2017).

¹³³ Baloch, "Mir Gul Khan Naseer: The Pioneer of Balochi Revolutionary Poetry."

¹³⁴ Baloch, "Mir Gul Khan Naseer: The Pioneer of Balochi Revolutionary Poetry."

¹³⁵ Baloch, "Mir Gul Khan Naseer: The Pioneer of Balochi Revolutionary Poetry."

¹³⁶ M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race: A Historical and Ethnological Sketch* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904).

¹³⁷ G. K. Naseer, *Koch-o Baloch* (Karachi: n.p. 1969).

¹³⁸ R. E. Harry Dyer, *The Raiders of the Sarhad* (London: H.F. & G. Witherby, 1921)

¹³⁹ Usman Ghafoor and Farah Zia, "From a Movement to another—Professor Azizuddin Ahmad," *The News International*, March 2, 2008.

like English, Urdu, Balochi and Brahvi. Acknowledging his literary services, the Government of Pakistan awarded him with Sitara-i-Imtiaz in 2001.

2.3.10 Azizuddin Ahmad

Azizuddin Ahmad is an educationist, author, journalist and political activist. He is one of the distinguished legends of leftist movement in Pakistan. He is one of those leftist scholars in Punjab who played a vital role in introducing and shaping the liberal, secular and socialist political culture. He taught in Islamia College Civil Line, Lahore.¹⁴⁰ He became highly instrumental in political mobilization of teachers by forming their associations in order to challenge the pro-dictatorship forces on the campuses in the 1960s.¹⁴¹ He was an active political leader and in-charge teacher of student organization at Islamia College. When Z. A. Bhutto launched a movement against Ayub Khan's military regime demanding the restoration of parliamentary democratic system in the country, he invited Bhutto to visit the College and address the students. While delivering his speech, Bhutto raised slogans against Ayub's Martial Law regime, consequently the college authorities sacked Ahmad from his services.

In 1966, Azizuddin Ahmad joined University of the Punjab on the invitation of the then Vice Chancellor. But he along with many other teachers resigned and left the university protesting against Zia-ul-Haq's Martial Law.¹⁴² In 1980s, he took an active part in the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and played a significant role in uniting the leftist political parties of Pakistan at that crucial time in the history of Pakistan.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Ghafoor and Zia, "From a Movement to another—Professor Azizuddin Ahmad.," Amir Ali Chandio, Mughees Ahmad and Fouzia Naseem, "The Struggle for Democracy in Sindh: the Case Study of Movement for Restoration of Democracy (1983)," *Berkeley Journal of Social Science*, Vol. I, No. 1, (2011) 6-7.

¹⁴¹ Ghafoor and Zia, "From a Movement to another—Professor Azizuddin Ahmad."

¹⁴² Ghafoor and Zia, "From a Movement to another—Professor Azizuddin Ahmad."

¹⁴³ Ghafoor and Zia, "From a Movement to another—Professor Azizuddin Ahmad."

In his intellectual enterprises, the major themes that Ahmad made the subject of his discussions include the political culture of Pakistan, civil-military oligarchy in Pakistan, problems of federalism and provincialism, role of students in the politics in British India and then in Pakistan, and peoples' history of Punjab. The books he wrote include *Kya Hum Ikathay Reh Saktay Hain: Pakistan mein Quami Maslay ka Tajziya* [Can We Live Together: An Analysis of the Issue of Nationalism in Pakistan] (1988);¹⁴⁴ *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla Awar* [Punjab and Foreign Invaders] (1990);¹⁴⁵ and *Pakistan mein Talaba Tehrik* [The Student Movement in Pakistan] (2000).¹⁴⁶

Azizuddin Ahmad's *Kya Hum Ikathay Reh Saktay Hain* goes into the problems of federalism and provincialism in Pakistan. It explores and evaluates the causes why the people of Pakistan lack nationalist feelings and are motivated to demand provincial autonomy. It examines the political culture of Pakistan, the economic conditions as the determinants of political maneuvering, the role of political leadership and political parties. It argues that this is the apathy of the Pakistan's ruling classes towards solving the problems of the poor and their personal interests and mutual feuds that has created political chaos, economic deprivation and ideological incoherence in Pakistan.¹⁴⁷

His account *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla Awar* presents the invaders of Punjab as oppressors, and describes social, political and economic repercussion of their rule on the people of the land. It criticizes those who consider Muslim invaders of Punjab as their heroes, and thus exposes the imperialism of those invaders and rulers.¹⁴⁸ The book presents the history of foreign invasions on Punjab and subsequent resistance offered by the people of Punjab—from the invasions of Aryan

¹⁴⁴ Azizuddin Ahmad, *Kya Hum Ikathay Reh Saktay Hain: Pakistan mein Quami Maslay ka Tajziya* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Fikr-o Danish, 1988).

¹⁴⁵ Azizuddin Ahmad, *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla Awar*, (Lahore: Maktaba-e Fikr-o Danish, 1990).

¹⁴⁶ Azizuddin Ahmad, *Pakistan mein Talaba Tehrik* (Lahore: Mashal Publications, 2000).

¹⁴⁷ Azizuddin Ahmad, *Kya Hum Ikathay Reh Saktay Hain: Pakistan mein Quami Maslay ka Tajziya*, (Lahore: Maktaba-e Fikr-o Danish, 1988).

¹⁴⁸ Azizuddin Ahmad, *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla Awar*, (Lahore: Maktaba-e Fikr-o Danish, 1990).

to that of the British. The author in this books raises criticism on the culture and the policies the foreign rulers imposed on the locals. He venerates the resistance of the people of Punjab and urges that this be highlighted in the text books.¹⁴⁹ The Punjabi ruler Raja Ranjit Singh (r. 1801-1839) is, however, given high praise by the author, highlighting his progressive mindset and policies.¹⁵⁰

Ahmad's *Pakistan mein Talaba Tehrik* unravels the questions how and why the political organizations of the students come into being and why the students show their involvement in the political activities. The student politics, he considers, is a phenomenon of the Third World, and this very notion, hence, leads him to construct further discussion.¹⁵¹ In this undertaking, Ahmad explores the causes and dynamics of the students' participation in political activities during the period of British raj in India, i.e. the role of Indian Muslim students in making of Pakistan. He further examines Pakistani students' political role in historical developments in the country, mainly those of the Sindh and Punjab.¹⁵² The book provides an ample understanding of how the students in Pakistan reacted towards the secular, religious and sectarian conflicts and the pertinent political developments.¹⁵³

2.3.11 Hassan N. Gardezi

Born in Mianwali on February 19, 1933, Hassan N. Gardezi was an eminent left-wing scholar and an author of various books on history and politics of South Asia. He produced a plenty of research articles as well as newspaper articles discussing the political economy and sociology of religion.¹⁵⁴

He chaired the Department of Sociology of University of the Punjab and presided over the Pakistan

¹⁴⁹ Ahmad, *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla Awar*.

¹⁵⁰ Ahmad, *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla Awar*,

¹⁵¹ Azizuddin Ahmad, *Pakistan mein Talaba Tehrik*, (Lahore: Mishal Publishers, 2000).

¹⁵² Ahmad, *Pakistan mein Talaba Tehrik*.

¹⁵³ Ahmad, *Pakistan mein Talaba Tehrik*,

¹⁵⁴ "Hassan N. Gardezi," *Hassan N. Gardezi Website*. At: <http://home.cogeco.ca/~hassangardezi/index.html> (accessed on July 19, 2017)

Sociological Association.¹⁵⁵ He moved to America where he taught at some highly prestigious universities. He got retired after having been positioned as Professor Emeritus from Algoma University College, Canada. He died in Peterborough, Ontario, on April 19, 2017.¹⁵⁶

His salient works include *A Study of Pakistani Society* (1964);¹⁵⁷ *Sociology in Pakistan* (1966);¹⁵⁸ *Political Economy of a Praetorian State* (1983);¹⁵⁹ *Understanding Pakistan: The Colonial Factor in Societal Development* (1991);¹⁶⁰ *A Reexamination of the Socio-Political History of Pakistan: Reproduction of Class Relations and Ideology* (1992);¹⁶¹ *The Political Economy of International Labour Migration* (1995);¹⁶² *Globalization and Pakistan's Dilemma of Development* (2004).¹⁶³

His account *Tenements on Sand* (1991) is a translation of some pieces of Siraiki poetry into English language. He also wrote his autobiography *Ghubar-e-Zindagi: Apni aur Apne Watan ki Surguzashat* [The Dust of Life: My and My Country's History] in Urdu language, published in 1997.¹⁶⁴ In that, he narrates his personal experiences in sociological and political spectrum. The autobiography of a left-veteran and reflationary figure of subcontinent Dada Amir Haider Khan that tilted *Chains to Lose: the Life and Struggles of Revolutionary* is edited by Gardezi and published in two volumes in 2007.¹⁶⁵ The temporal scope of the studies that Hassan Gardezi has rendered encompasses the colonial and post-colonial era of South Asia focusing on the themes of

¹⁵⁵ Gardezi, "The Website of Hassan N. Gardezi."

¹⁵⁶ Highland Park Funeral Center, "Hassan Nawaz Gardezi: Obituary," *Website Highland Park Funeral Center* At: www.highlandparkfuneralcentre.com/notice/Hassan-Gardezi (accessed on September 28, 2017).

¹⁵⁷ Hassan Gardezi, *A Study of Pakistani Society* (Lahore: Department of Sociology, Punjab University, 1964).

¹⁵⁸ Hassan Gardezi, *Sociology in Pakistan* (Lahore: Department of Sociology, Punjab University, 1966).

¹⁵⁹ Hassan Gardezi, *Political Economy of a Praetorian State* (Lahore: Maktaba, 1983).

¹⁶⁰ Hassan Gardezi, *Understanding Pakistan: The Colonial Factor in Societal Development* (Lahore: Maktaba, 1991).

¹⁶¹ Hassan Gardezi, *A Reexamination of the Socio-Political History of Pakistan: Reproduction of Class Relations and Ideology* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 1992).

¹⁶² Hassan Gardezi, *The Political Economy of International Labour Migration* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1995).

¹⁶³ Hassan Gardezi, *Globalization and Pakistan's Dilemma of Development* (Islamabad: Pakistan Development Review PDR, 2004).

¹⁶⁴ Gardezi, "The Website of Hassan N. Gardezi."

¹⁶⁵ Uddari, "Autobiography of the Great Dada Amir Haider Khan 1904-1986," *Uddari Word Press Website*. At: <https://uddari.wordpress.com/tag/hasan-n-gardezi/> (accessed on July 19, 2017).

civil and military oligarchy, religious fundamentalism, democracy and social structures of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, caste system and gender segregation.

2.3.12 Muhammad Ali Siddiqui

Muhammad Ali Siddiqui was born on March 7, 1938, at Amroha, in United India. He died in Karachi on January 9, 2013. He has a rich profile to his introduction. He received one of the premier civil awards from the Government of Pakistan, i.e. the Pride of Performance.¹⁶⁶ He was an internationally reputed Pakistani critic and philosopher.¹⁶⁷ He holds a qualification of both D Litt and PhD in the discipline of Pakistan Studies.¹⁶⁸ He taught in various universities of the UK, Canada, Norway and Pakistan. He was a member of many international research organizations including Association Des Litteraire Critiques International in Paris, European Union of Writers and Scientist in Rome, International Association of Literary Critics in Norway, and *Majlis-i-Farough-i-Urdu Adab* in Qatar. The national literary association with which he was associated was Pakistan Writers Guild. In 1984, Canadian Association of South Asian Studies (CASA) declared and honoured him as “the Scholar of the Year.”¹⁶⁹

Muhammad Ali Siddiqui served in Institute of Business and Technology (Biztek), Karachi and Hamdard University, Karachi. He had been the Director of Quaid-i-Azam Academy for six years while he published about five books on the founding father of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The books in which he presented outstanding literary critique are: *Tawazun* [The Balance] (1976);

¹⁶⁶ Peerzada Salman, “Literary Critic Dr. Siddiqui Passes Away,” *Dawn*, January 10, 2013; Dr. A. Khan, “Dr. Muhammad Ali Siddiqui: A Man of Letters Passed Away,” *Pakistan Link Website*. At: <http://pakistanlink.org/Commentary/2013/Feb13/01/02.HTM> (accessed on July 19, 2017).

Jawad Ahmad, “Muhammad Ali Siddiqui Urdu Adab ka Aik Aham Hissa,” *Muslim Academy Website*. At: <http://muslim-academy.com/muhammad-ali-siddiqui-urdu-adab-ka-aik-aham-hissa/> (accessed on July 19, 2017).

¹⁶⁷ Salman, “Literary Critic Dr. Siddiqui Passes Away.” Also see: Khan, “Dr. Muhammad Ali Siddiqui: A Man of Letters Passed Away.”

¹⁶⁸ “In Fond Memory: Muhammad Ali Siddiqui will Live as Long as the Urdu Language,” *Express Tribune* January 27, 2013.

¹⁶⁹ Khan, “Dr. Muhammad Ali Siddiqui: A Man of Letters Passed Away.”

Nishanat [The Symbols] (1981); *Mazamin* [The Essays] (1991); *Ishariye* [The Indices] (1994); *Idrak* [The Cognition] (2007). On the progressive approach of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan he wrote *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan aur Jiddat Pasandi* [Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Modernism] (2003). He also authored the books that present the critical evaluation of the works of some prominent poets. Those are following as: *Talash-i-Iqbal* [The Quest for Iqbal] (2002); *Mutaley-a-i-Josh Malihabadi* [A Study into Josh Malihabadi] (2005); *Ghalib aur Aaj ka Shaoor* [Ghalib and Today's Conscience] (2005); *Faiz Ahmad Faiz: Dar aur Dar ma ka Sha'ir* [Faiz Ahmad Faiz: A Poet of In-and-Out].

2.3.13 Karrar Hussain

Karrar Hussain (1911-1999) often used to say about himself, "I am half sufi and half communist."¹⁷⁰ By this, he meant to be a communist in worldly affairs and a sufi in spiritual. He viewed no difference between Communism and Sufism, as they both advocate to serve humanity.¹⁷¹ His efforts and literary works suggest that he had always been in favour of establishing a secular society in the best interest of Muslim cultural and intellectual growth.¹⁷² He was born at Kota, Rajasthan on September 8, 1911, and died in Karachi on November 7, 1999.¹⁷³ He had two Masters from Agra University; one was in English and the second in Urdu literature. Hussain also held the qualification in Law as well.¹⁷⁴ Before the partition of India, he was associated with Indian National Congress as well as Khaksar Movement as a part of students' political organization. He, however, never agreed with 'a fascistic interpretation of Islam' that

¹⁷⁰ "Half Sufi, Half Communist," *The Express Tribune with the International Herald Tribune*, (Nov 7, 2010).

¹⁷¹ "Half Sufi, Half Communist," *The Express Tribune*.

¹⁷² "On Religion and Secularism in the Making of Pakistan," 'Text of Prof. Karrar Memorial Lecture on November 2, 2002, in Karachi delivered by Prof. Hamza Alavi,' at <https://www.sacw.net/2002/HamzaAlavi.html> (accessed on November 9, 2012); Shahid Husain, "Fundamentalist Ideology Played No Part in Pakistan's Origin," *Daily Times*, Sunday, November 3, 2002.

¹⁷³ "Today is 16th Anniversary of Professor Karrar Hussain," *Abb Takk TV Website*. At: <http://abbtakk.tv/en/today-is-16th-death-anniversary-of-prof-karrar-hussain/> (accessed on July 20, 2017).

¹⁷⁴ "Half Sufi, Half Communist," *The Express Tribune*.

Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi or other ideologues of the Khaksar Movement used to provide.¹⁷⁵
Raising ideological differences with Khaksar Movement, he parted away from it.

After partition of India, Karrar Hussain taught at various government colleges in the province of Sindh. He also served the Baluchistan University, Quetta as its Vice Chancellor.¹⁷⁶ He is said to have a lifelong friendship with the activist, Akhtar Hameed Khan (1914-1999). Acquiring his help, Hussain published two magazines: one was in English language titled as *Randian* and the other in Urdu titled as *Al-Amin*. So as to explain that Islamic injunctions be studied with heterodox and progressive empathy, he authored a book titled *Mutaley-a Quran* [Study of the Quran], translated by Huma Hussain and abridged by Professor Sardar Naqvi titled the *Study of Quran*.¹⁷⁷ By presenting this study, he put forward the argument that, “Truth does not change and reality is always changing. You need insight by which you can find solutions to modern problems while maintaining your religious identity.”¹⁷⁸ Hussain did not merely criticize the Muslims for their intellectual stagnation, he also was a great critic of the Western culture as well, arguing that it is deficient of spirituality. He thus further propounds that, “the West is sinking with its eyes open and you are drowning with your eyes closed.”¹⁷⁹

The deep concern that Professor Karrar Hussain’s undertakings show is that the society is in a dire need of historical and political consciousness to come out of the problems it is facing. This insight reflects from his speech he delivered on the death anniversary of the renowned poet, Ghalib (1797-1869) organized by Idara-e Yadgar-e Ghalib. He thus said:

¹⁷⁵ “Half Sufi, Half Communist,” *The Express Tribune*.

¹⁷⁶ “Karrar Hussain,” *Alchetron Website*. At: <https://alchetron.com/Karrar-Hussain-1367962-W> (accessed on July 20, 2017).

¹⁷⁷ Karrar Hussain, *Study of Quran*, Humma Hassan (trans.) and Professor Sadar Naqvi (abridged). At: <http://online.pubhtml5.com/ffha/mgix/#p=1> (accessed on July 20, 2017).

¹⁷⁸ “Half Sufi, Half Communist,” *The Express Tribune with the International Herald Tribune*, November 7, 2010.

¹⁷⁹ “Half Sufi, Half Communist,” *The Express Tribune*.

“...we had a civilization even before making of Pakistan, and that civilization did not end when Pakistan came into being. It is this same Indo-Muslim civilization that we see under different geographical and political circumstances, as the Pakistani civilization. Therefore, even Ghalib wasn't born in a Pakistani city, and even though there are many Pakistanis who can't understand Urdu, and even though the people living in India have full rights to claim Ghalib as their own, there exists nevertheless between ourselves and Ghalib that affinity which is imperative for the passing down of cultural heritage. [The affinity] for the want of which the remains of the past civilizations born on our own land become exhibits in museums and fail to develop into legacies.”¹⁸⁰

This quoted extract of Hussain's speech provides much substance to understand how he viewed the history of the people of Pakistan, and its contemporary political, cultural and intellectual paradox. He regarded the literary works and intellectual icons of South Asia as the cultural legacy of the subcontinent—both India and Pakistan. He discusses the social, political evolutions bringing about change in social behavior of the people in India and Pakistan, sharing many tenets of the common culture. By expressing the similarities between the cultures of both countries, he revisits a perspective of 'Two Nations Theory.'

He emphatically signifies the role of historical consciousness in shaping the culture of society, as he says that, “If we have a real part of the life of our mind, then we can participate more effectively in this historical process. To acquire a critical awareness of the past is in fact participating in that historical process.”¹⁸¹ Professor Karrar Hussain wrote a biography of Ghalib titled as *Ghalib: Sab Achcha kahein Jissay* [Ghalib: Whom All Say the Great], published in all provincial languages of Pakistan. The other books that he wrote include *Answer to Modernism; Iqbal, Socialism aur Islam* [Iqbal and Islam]; *Islamic Revolution: The Massage of Islam and Karbala*.¹⁸² He also wrote poetry praising the martyrs of Karbala titled *Marsiya-e Marsiya*, which comprises of 72 stanzas.

¹⁸⁰ This quoted excerpt of his speech has been published in “Forgotten Accounts” *Dawn, The Review*, and December 25-31, 1997.

¹⁸¹ “Forgotten Accounts” *Dawn, The Review*, December 25-31, 1997.

¹⁸² A page on social media website *Facebook* offers the digital copies of these books. At: https://www.facebook.com/Prof-Karrar-Hussain-388468924672550/?sw_fnr_id=887579417&fnr_t=0 (accessed on July 19, 2017).

2.3.14 Aitzaz Ahsan

Aitzaz Ahsan (b. 1945), is an advocate at Supreme Court of Pakistan. He got his early education from Atchison College, and then Government College, Lahore. He did graduation in law from Cambridge University, and Bar-at-Law at Grays Inn in 1967.¹⁸³ He has been a Minister for Law and Justice in Federal government from 1988 to 1990. He was elected as a Senator in 1994. He held the office of president of Supreme Court Bar Association.¹⁸⁴ He qualified the competitive examinations of Central Superior Services (CSS) but did not join the services for protesting against Ayub Khan military government.¹⁸⁵ He is renowned for the activism he showed on various critical situations over the course of Pakistan's political history.¹⁸⁶ In 2008, he was ranked among top five 'public intellectuals' in the world. This position he acquired in the wake of an online open-voting conducted by administrations of both American journal *Foreign Policy* and UK based *Prospect Magazine*.¹⁸⁷

Ahsan had authored a book *The Indus Saga and the Remaking of Pakistan* (1996).¹⁸⁸ This has nonetheless been republished with a revised title and text as *The Indus Saga: From Pataliputra to Partition* (2005).¹⁸⁹ The Urdu translation of the book has also been published acquiring a title *Sindh Sagar aur Qeyam-e Pakistan* [Sindh Sagar and Formation of Pakistan] (2014).¹⁹⁰ Aitzaz Ahsan may be regarded as a public intellectual and his undertaking as semi-scholarly, as the serious historians find his work having limitations and deficiencies. They question his narrative's narrow

¹⁸³ "Aitzaz Ahsan: Leader of Opposition," *An Official Website the Government of Pakistan*. at: <http://www.senate.gov.pk/en/profile.php?uid=764> (accessed on July 20, 2017)

¹⁸⁴ "Aitzaz Ahsan: Leader of Opposition," *Official Website Government of Pakistan*. at: <http://www.senate.gov.pk/en/profile.php?uid=764> (accessed on July 20, 2017)

¹⁸⁵ Sehar Baloch, "Aitzaz Ahsan," *Dawn*, April 23, 2013.

¹⁸⁶ "Chaudhary Aitzaz Ahsan" *Dawn*, January 18, 2012.

¹⁸⁷ "The World's Top 20 Public Intellectuals," *Foreign Policy Website*.

At: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/07/the-worlds-top-20-public-intellectuals/> (accessed on July 20, 2017).

¹⁸⁸ Aitzaz Ahsan, *Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹⁸⁹ Aitzaz Ahsan, *The Indus Saga: From Pataliputra to Partition*, (New Delhi: Lotus Collection, Roli, 2005).

¹⁹⁰ Aitzaz Ahsan, *Sindh Sagar aur Qayyam-e Pakistan*, (Lahore: Jamhoori Publications, 2014)

spatial scope for wider generalizations, authenticity of the consulted sources, methodology employed in it to deal with data, and originality of thought it presents.¹⁹¹

The book describes the cultural history of the Indus region. In contrast to ‘Two Nations Theory,’ that explains the rationale of Pakistan, it provides a different justification for the partition of India and formation of Pakistan. His justification is based on the argument that the culture so far traced out in the region of Indus Valley has ever been unique and distinct from that of Ganja Jamuna Doab.¹⁹² This very distinction, he states, draws the geographic and culture separation between both the nations, the Indian and Pakistani. The author names the sons of soil as ‘Indus man’ and those who came outside of Indus region to rule over its inhabitants, as ‘the oppressors.’¹⁹³

Ahsan’s another book is *Divided by Democracy* (2006),¹⁹⁴ which is written in co-authorship with Meghnad Desai, an emeritus Professor of Economics at London School of Economics. Meghnad argues that adult franchise introduced by Indian Constituent Assembly was a foresighted and ‘revolutionary decision,’ as it insured the broad-based democracy in India. He adds that this decision made all social segments of Indian society a part of political process. Aitzaz Ahsan explains an antithetical perspective, stating that the social, political structure inherited by Pakistan, at the time of the partition of India, was feudal. The civil-military bureaucracy established by British government of India established its hegemony over the political structure of Pakistan. Ahsan thus argues that ‘these power sharing stake holders’ never let democracy in Pakistan be deep-rooted and nurture.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Naveed Tajjamal, “Book Review: Critical Analysis of Aitzaz Ahsan’s Indus Saga,” (Friday July 2, 210). At: <http://pakpotpourri2.blogspot.com/2010/07/book-review-critical-analysis-of-aitzaz.html> (accessed on July 18, 2017).

¹⁹² Ahsan, *Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan*.

¹⁹³ Ahsan, *Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan*.

¹⁹⁴ Meghnand Desai and Aitzaz Ahsan, *Divided by Democracy* (New Delhi: Roli Publications, 2005).

¹⁹⁵ Desai and Ahsan, *Divided by Democracy*.

2.3.15 Hanif Ramay

Hanif Ramay (b. 1930, d. 2006) was born in Sheikhpura, Punjab, in 1930. His father Chaudhary Ghulam Hussain was a farmer who took him to Lahore when he was only ten. He did his Masters in Economics in 1960. He became the director of Urdu Board in 1965.¹⁹⁶ He started his political career by joining Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). He became the Governor of Punjab, and then its Chief Minister.¹⁹⁷ He was among some of those intellectual members of PPP who introduced the concept of 'Islamic Socialism.'¹⁹⁸ He was an eminent revolutionary political leader and a journalist intellectual.¹⁹⁹ One of the most prominent of his literary works is *Punjab ka Muqadma* [Punjab on Trial] (1985).²⁰⁰ His other books are anthologies of Ramay's editorials which he wrote for different newspapers. Those anthological works include *Baaz Ao aur Zinda Raho* [Refrain and Live]; *Dubb-e Akbar* (The Great Bear); *Again: A Novel about Death and Rebirth of Humanity*.²⁰¹ Commenting on Ramay's contribution in the field of journalism, Anwar S. Rai states that he introduced a new tradition in editorial writing, as instead of engaging merely into contemporary problems, he focussed on discussing and resolving the historical issues.²⁰²

Ramay's *Punjab ka Muqadama* (1985) discusses the political and cultural history, and contemporary problems of the Punjab, a province of Pakistan.²⁰³ His description expresses his nostalgic feeling and his Punjabi nationalism. The way he defended and advocated the provincial interests of Punjab which often come into conflict with other federating units of Pakistan is rather

¹⁹⁶ Qurban Anjum, "Muhammad Hanif Ramay: Darwesh Mansh Siyasatdan, Danishwar aur Musawar!" *Urdu Point Website*. At: <https://daily.urdupoint.com/article/all/muhammad-hanif-rame-680.html> (accessed on July 20, 2017).

¹⁹⁷ Anwar Sin Rai, "Siyasatdan ya Siyasi Adami?" *BBC Urdu*, London, (Jan 3, 2006).

¹⁹⁸ Rai, "Siyasatdan ya Siyasi Adami?"

¹⁹⁹ Ghulam Mehdi, "Samaji Inqalab ka Dai: Hanif Ramay," *Hamariweb*. At: <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=18931> (accessed on July 20, 2017).

²⁰⁰ Mehdi, "Samaji Inqalab ka Dai: Hanif Ramay,"

²⁰¹ Rai, "Siyasatdan ya Siyasi Adami?"

²⁰² Rai, "Siyasatdan ya Siyasi Adami?"

²⁰³ Hanif Ramay, *Punjab ka Muqadama*, (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1985).

emotional than academic.²⁰⁴ Responding to the grievances of political leaders of other provinces, he argues that it would be wrong to conceive that civil-military bureaucracy represents ethnic community of Punjab,²⁰⁵ as they are the guilty of doing injustice not only with non-Punjabi communities but all the downtrodden people. Glorifying the cultural traits of Punjab, *Punjab ka Muqadama* mentions its folk traditions, heroes and literature in hyperbolic and excessively venerating tone.

2.3.16 Ayesha Siddiq Agha

Ayesha Siddiq Agha is a security analyst, a political scientist, and a journalist. She was born in Lahore in April 7, 1966. She has studied at Kinnaird College, Lahore. After qualifying civil services examinations, she joined the Naval Research Department and became its director. She also served in military accounts as Deputy Director of Defense Services Audit. As a civil servant, Ayesha Siddiq Agha joined served Pakistan's military establishment for eleven years. She then went to London where she accomplished her PhD from King's College London, in 1996. As a research fellow, she has been associated with various research organization such as SOAS, South Asia Institute, Sandia National Laboratories, and St Antony's College in Oxford. She has taught Pakistan Naval War College, University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University, and Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad.

She has written extensively on the political economy of military, religious and militant organizations, technological developments made by Pakistani army covertly, and the civil-military relations in Pakistan. She has authored many books, i.e. *Pakistan's Arm Procurement and Military Buildup, 1979-99: In Search of Policy* (2001)²⁰⁶ and *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military*

²⁰⁴ Ramay, *Punjab ka Muqadama*, 37-80.

²⁰⁵ Ramay, *Punjab ka Muqadama*, 31-33.

²⁰⁶ Ayesha Siddiq Agha, *Pakistan's Arms Procurement and Military Buildup, 1979-1999* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

Economy (2007).²⁰⁷ She writes the columns for leading English newspapers of Pakistan, i.e. *Dawn*, *Daily Time*, *The Friday Times*, and *Express Tribune*, critically viewing the issues of civil-military relationship, and religious extremism in Pakistan.

Summing up, this chapter has unravelled some important biographical aspects of Marxist writers of Pakistan, including their cradling, grooming, social background, professional life and some important social political activities they have performed. It has taken an overview of the works they produced and reflected upon them showing what sort of intellectual and literary tendencies the Marxist writers have shown and what approaches they have adopted while construing their discourses. The discussion shows that the Marxist literature in Pakistan has been produced in various genres of academic disciplines such as history, sociology, journalism, philosophy and the literature. Most of Pakistani Marxist historians who have produced discernible historical literature have not been professionally trained historians. Their works, therefore, lack the rigor and technicalities that the discipline of history acquires. One of the admiring aspects of their writings however is that they appear to have incorporated interdisciplinary approach in their studies.

In Pakistan, the socio-political environment in which these intellectuals and historians have produced their enterprises has not been conducive allowing them to show their bold critical stand as to the policy matters of the state and to express about their own revolutionary activities. That is why they feel themselves being 'step-motherly treated' by the state. Despite their sufferings, they persisted and produced a plethora of literature in their distinct domains of knowledge production. After 2000, a few of them like Muhammad Ali Siddiqui and Ahmed Salim were acknowledged for their literary contribution by the Government of Pakistan and awarded with highly prestigious civil

²⁰⁷ Ayesha Siddiqa, *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007).

award i.e. ‘the Pride of Performance.’ Similarly, Muhammad Ali Siddiqui was awarded with Sitara-i-Imtiaz.

The study of profiles and biographic accounts tells that some writers like Hamza Alavi, Tariq Ali, Eqbal Ahmed, Hassan N. Gardezi, and Lal Khan were those who left Pakistan willingly or compelled to exile. Hamza Alavi and Eqbal Ahmed returned to and spent last years of their lives at their homeland. Ironically, but as a matter of fact, the Pakistani Marxist scholars living abroad secured more national or international recognition than those who stayed in Pakistan, and despite endeavouring all predicaments and hardships, kept on making intellectual contributions.

An overview of literature, produced by Pakistani Marxist intellectuals, shows that the medieval or pre-modern history of India have been discussed by only few historians. The Marxist writers focused mostly on colonial and post-colonial eras. The themes they discussed include *inter alia* the cultural imperialism in South Asia, the conflicts between theocracy and secularism and their impact on society, dynamics of civil-military oligarchy, issues pertaining to religious fundamentalism and extremism, political culture, feudalism and caste system in South Asia, and status of minorities and other marginal classes like women in Pakistan.

Chapter Three

The Principles of Historiography as Viewed by the Marxist

Historians

The introduction of new methodologies in the discipline of history has significantly contributed in improving the validity, authenticity and credibility of historical discourse. In the course of an enduring historiographical tradition, the historians gradually evolved a long range of myriad methodologies and approaches to address historical phenomena, which help them comprehend random historical facts and connect them to draw meaningful lessons. The historians have, however, generated an intense debate on the construction, implementation and utility of these methodologies. This debate is on the concern that the methodologies, approaches and frameworks for analysis have left a profound impact on evolving historical knowledge, these also seem to be used by the historians serving certain political agendas and vested interests.

South Asian historians—either the nationalist, or Marxist, or parochialist—raise disputes, in their own way, against the historiography produced during medieval and colonial period. This chapter provides a descriptive and analytical study of the principles of historiography which Marxist historians in Pakistan consider vital for observing, evaluating and narrating the course of historical developments. They critically view the ontological, epistemological and methodological problems in history writings, and explore how these serve those who are in power, and attempt to monopolize social and political structures. They view most of the historical accounts produced in medieval and colonial periods as sponsored and written with intentions to promote a positive image of the ruling classes, and to defend their imperialist interests. Dubbing them as ‘court histories,’ these historians observe distortion and manipulation of facts in them, and consequently give their perspective on

how history be written and how historical myth need to be identified and revisited. It can be observed that the Marxist historians also seem to contradict the laws or set of laws that are said to be the basis and essential tools of Marxism to interpret historical phenomenon.

This study analyses the perspectives of Pakistani Marxist historians about how a historian should examine and re-examine, interpret and reinterpret historical phenomena and developments. Moreover, it highlights the intellectual contradictions within Marxist school in Pakistan. Marxist historians whose thoughts and works have been taken into discussion are Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed. The historian Mubarak Ali not only discusses how history should be written, but has also produced considerable literature critically evaluating the historiography of medieval India. That kind of literature also becomes a part of discussion in this chapter, as deciphering the problems of historiography helps us understand his views on the principles of historiography.

Since the different societies have different socio-cultural values, challenges and aspirations, they have their own worldview and understanding the past. Writing history, therefore, becomes a complex task. The Marxist historians like Sibte Hassan emphasizes on material causation to interpret historical developments, and study of the socio-political and economic structure than the role of individuals. He signifies the positivist framework of analysis. Mubarak Ali emphasis on the role and problems of the lower and marginal classes of the society. Kazi Javed considers that history is neither science nor objective. So, he encourages the historians to make good use of imaginations in constructing history. These historians provide their distinct perspectives on how history be written. Here, some of the major dispositions of these historians on these very issues are being discusses.

3.1 Sibte Hassan

Although there is no exclusive work by Sibte Hassan on historiographical principles, the introductory chapter *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* provides a profound insight into his views on what is history and how it should be written. Here, some of key historiographical concepts mainly from his works *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* and *Mosa sey Marx tak* are being discussed.

3.1.1 Sibte Hassan's Understanding of the History of Mankind and Civilization

One of the noteworthy features of Sibte Hassan's intellectual enterprises is his attempts at viewing and analyzing narrow issues with reference to a vast historical canvas and broader cognition of nature and society. The history of humankind, thus, to him, is the history of civilization.¹ Man and the civilization, he believe, are inevitable to one another. The civilization is nothing without acquiring man's contribution, and man being separated from his civilizational behaviour can never be regarded as human. The civilization, he holds, is 'species specific' of man."² In support of this idea, he puts forward a variety of arguments and several relevant quotes of the scholars from both the East and the West such as Inayatullah Mashriqi, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Kabir al-Din Haidar (alias Muhammad Mir Lucknowi), Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862), Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), and Karl Marx.³ In his works, he assigns greater value to deductive methods and understanding while tackling with narrow and specific social, cultural, psychological and economic issues of the society. In his accounts *Mazi kay Mazar*, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, and *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, his analysis suggest how the contemporary issues have their roots in

¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 18.

² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 19.

³ For details see: Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 14-24.

centuries old civilizations, and how every new religion and civilization structured themselves by inevitably incorporating the dominant characteristics of previous ones.⁴

3.1.2 Historical Materialism

Another characteristic of Sibte Hassan's undertakings is Marxist conception of 'historical materialism' which he brilliantly and skilfully employs to analyse the historical developments and to draw meaningful and solid lessons from it. In *Mosa sey Marx tak*, he discusses historical materialism in detail and shows how material forces (the base) have prime importance in historical analysis over the social values, ideas and aesthetics (the superstructure).⁵ Developing and explaining a theoretical framework of his narrative *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, he states that in order to study human civilizations, there are four elementary aspects that play a significant role: the first of which is physical and geographical conditions of region where a civilization evolves; secondly, tools and instruments that man develops to facilitate himself; thirdly, intellectual and aesthetic rationalism which assigns the actions and thoughts some kind of value; and fourthly, characteristics of social values.⁶ Physical (environmental and geographical) conditions and constraints of a region compel a man to invent tools by which he reduces his labour and hardships.⁷

⁴ *Mazi kay Mazar* by describing the history of Gilgamesh proves how the Judo-Christian and Islamic traditions adopted and incorporated the religious myths of Babylonian Civilization. In *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, Hassan shows how Pakistani society owns and represents the cultural traits of the Indus Valley Civilization, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism, Arab, Persian, Turk, Afghan and the Western cultures. His account *Mosa sey Marx tak* demonstrate the evolution of socialist ideas and how those were utopian and gradually, in the wake of historical developments, turned to be scientific.

⁵ In chapter eight "*Bacon ki Madiyat aur Kheyali Soshalism*" and chapter seventeen "*Tarikhi Madiyat ki Tashkil*" of *Mosa sey Marx tak* Hassan sheds ample light on the concept of historical materialism. The chapter eight describes how the existence of matter is prior to that of humankind and their consciousness. It explains the concept of materialism with reference of the ideas of the Greek philosophers like Thales of Miletus (547-643 BCE) and Democritus (370-460 BCE) and those of English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626 CE). Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, 156-72. The chapter eight of the book provides the commentary on Marx and Engels' philosophy of historical materialism. It argues that man can live without intellectual, philosophic and aesthetic needs, but he can never survive without fulfilling the material needs of his body. Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, 358-68.

⁶ Hassan contends that the different civilizations could have developed these four civilizational elements distinctly, or those have considered one of these elements more significant over the rest. But this is impossible to assume that the given civilization lacks any of these four essential features altogether. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 25.

⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 25-27.

The tools and instruments vary from one region to another, depending upon its natural/physical condition.⁸ Hassan underlines the intellectual and aesthetic faculties of man in shaping cultural trends, and states that ‘man is distinguished from other animals only for his consciousness,’⁹ which, however, is an outcome of his material and terrestrial realities.¹⁰ By observing these features of a civilization and role of man in peculiar geographical and natural constraints of a region, Sibte Hassan infers a definition of history: ‘the entire history of man is the history of his struggle to surpass the nature.’ By nature, he means ‘the external physical conditions of man.’¹¹

3.1.3 The Significance of Studying the Modes of Production

The nature and tools invented to overcome it, Hassan holds, cultivate a bizarre culture in human societies. This culture is composed of various components from its base to superstructure, including the sources of earning, social manners, values, food, dresses, and aesthetic sense, sense of humour, and feelings and emotions.¹² He propounds that these cultural elements pertain to some kinds of symbolic cultural representation, and giving its example he quotes a verse of mystic saint Kabir Das:

Chalti chakki dekh kar diya Kabira roey
Do pattan kay bich mein thabit bacha na koey

⁸ Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 5-14; Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 25-33; Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, 11-23, 321-50.

⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 23.

¹⁰ Explaining the signification of human conscious in performing of actions, Hassan makes a point, ‘the sources of our consciousness is our mind.... All human actions, either physical or intellectual, are dependent upon human brain. If man is deprived of his human characteristics, his brain will stop working.’ He conjectures that this is perhaps why the idealists maintain that ‘all existence is in fact a reflection of human consciousness.’ He rejects this notion adding that universe is existing millions years before the existence of man, even man is created out of this earthly existence. Thus, how an earlier phenomenon can be a reflection of the later.” Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 34-35. Hassan defines materialism as: ‘To acknowledge the existence of the universe.’ He states that the sun, moon, earth and every material existence are independently existing in this universe, which are not the creation of human mind. But these exist millions years before the creation of man. It, therefore, is fallacious to assume that this material existence is the creation of the man’s consciousness. Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, 152-54.

¹¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 26.

¹² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 27.

Seeing the working of a grind-mill, Kabir wept.

In-between two flanks (of the mill), nothing intact had left.

Sibte Hassan interprets these poetic lines of Kabir Das and exposes their deeper meanings. He propounds that the two flanks of the grind mill are the symbolic representation of both, the heavens and the earth. The living and non-living beings in-between heaven and earth cannot escape suffering.¹³ This is how aptly Kabir draws a relationship among various aspects of social life of medieval India such as its customs, traditions, tools of labour, wisdom, feelings and emotions. Hassan, thus, suggests that a historian cannot apprehend the deeper meanings of poetry and other types of literature until he acquires the knowledge that which tool of production had what kind of symbolic representation in a given period of history.¹⁴ Similarly, there are numbers of folk songs pertaining to the traditions of crops reaping and water-filling that reflect the cultural life of medieval India.

Hassan asserts that studying tools of production helps periodize the long span of time: the Stone Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Feudalism and Capitalism.¹⁵ Further, these tools help understand the nature of social hierarchy in a society and tells about how a society owing to its advanced technology subdues the other ones having relatively less advanced technology.¹⁶

3.1.4 Criticism on Heroism

Like many Marxist historians, Sibte Hassan also disapproves the portraying of personalities as heroes, and instead urges the historians to dig out social and natural laws which bring about change.

In *Mosa sey Marx tak*, he gets immensely critical of the thinkers, philosophers and scholars who

¹³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 29.

¹⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 30.

¹⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 30-32.

¹⁶ Hassan holds that the history of the decline of ancient civilizations—as those of Greece, Rome, Persia, Iran, Arab, China and India—is the history of the stagnation of their tools and instruments of labour and that of social relations. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 33.

overemphasized on discussing the role of personalities, considering them the heralds of change.

Insofar as, he narrates:

What is a relationship between both individual and society? What is the status of man in a society? And to what extent an individual is capable of bringing change in society? These are the questions apropos of that the thinkers have frequently presented their opinions. For some thinkers, history is merely a study of great deeds of some renowned personalities, and our all achievements in culture, knowledge and art are just because of these individuals. In view of these thinkers, when society gets disarrayed, evil prevails over good, and oppression and injustice exceeds limits, then there comes someone possessing heroic qualities to secure us. Plato's philosopher-king, Nietzsche's superman, and Iqbal's *mard-e momin* [a pious-brave-man] are different versions of same personality. In history as well as literature, the depiction of hero is also a reflection of the same notion. So far, the universal truths have been written [and interpreted] in accordance with this perspective. This is as if the earth does not revolve around the sun and the inhabitants of earth are not obligated to laws of nature, rather there are some conquerors, rulers and great men who change the destiny of man.¹⁷

This excerpt clearly conveys Sibte Hassan's adherence to positivism and structuralism for historical investigations which, in his view, should explore social and natural laws that influence the course of history. The preponderance of heroes' role in historiography confines the scope of inquiry and leads historians to inappropriate causation and subsequent findings of social developments. With similar preposition, in *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Hassan argues that it was not Alexander the Great who defeated the Persians, or the Aryans who defeated the Dravidians of Indus Valley, or the British who defeated the Mughals, but all this meant that the technologically advanced societies had inflicted the destruction, humiliation and sufferings on the underdeveloped.¹⁸

3.2 Mubarak Ali

Professionally trained historian, Mubarak Ali in his various historical enterprises has given attention to the problems of historiography, particularly those of Indian historiography. Some of

¹⁷ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, 67.

¹⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 33.

serious and intractable historiographical problems to which he paid attention include the periodization of historical phases of Indian history,¹⁹ hyperbolic portrayal of historical personalities,²⁰ effects of heroism in historiography,²¹ historiographical silence on the role of common people in history,²² political use and abuse of history,²³ and terms used by historians so as to give history some peculiar meanings.²⁴ He identified the controversial and manipulated discourse that primary sources available on Indian history embody, and also recounts the possible reasons of this historiographical upset.²⁵ He aggrievedly reveals how those sources have affected the modern historiography, and criticizes that the modern historians who, without making serious critical examination, have used these primary sources while reconstructing Indian history.²⁶ Moreover, the nationalist historiography, particularly the one written by Pakistani nationalist historians, is made a subject to stern criticism by Mubarak Ali.²⁷

3.2.1 The Problematic Periodization of Indian History

Periodization implies classifying given historical period chronologically so that the historical developments could be rationalized systematically and meaningfully through identifying historical landmarks. In historiography, periodization has a significant intent, since this helps understand the

¹⁹ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 1-4; Ali, *History on Trial*, 53; Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 13-14, 35; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 217-8; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 51-52.

²⁰ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 20-21; Ali, *History on Trial*, 61-64, 100-2; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 53, 220-21; Ali, *Tarikh ki Aagahi*, 55-58.

²¹ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 106-16; Ali, *Essays on History, Politics and Culture*, 76-78; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 15-17; Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 20-21; Ali, *History on Trial*, 61-64, 72; Ali, *Tarikh ki Aagahi*, 47-51; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 53; Ali, *Badalti Hoi Tarikh*, 78-84.

²² Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 7-9; Ali, *Tehzib ki Kahani*, 4; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh* 220-21; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 16, 42; Ali, *Badalti Hoi Tarikh*, 24-29; Ali, *Tarikh ka Beyaniya*, 66-68.

²³ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 1-4; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 107-14; Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 153-58; Ali, *History on Trial*, 10-13, 16, 23-27, 57-60; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 220; Ali, *Tarikh ka Beyaniya*, 68-79, 93-96.

²⁴ Ali, *Essays on History, Politics and Culture*, 129-34; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 1-4; Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 56-60; 153-58; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 90-91, 223-26, 235-36.

²⁵ Ali, *Essays on History, Politics and Culture*, 137-9; Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 11-21, 73.

²⁶ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 12-15, 29-30, 43, 53-55.

²⁷ Ali, *History on Trial*, 40-52, 79-81; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 15; *Tarikh ki Talash*, 9-20, 48-80; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 241-55; Ali, *Tarikh aur Danishwar*, 15-18, 27-29, 229-34; Ali, *Tarikh aur Mu'ashra*, 42-56.

social, political and economic evolution in a due course of history. Despite its methodological significance, it has also sparked off the controversy among historians that this has also been used by some historians to serve political interests. Marxist historians like Mubarak Ali critically views the periodization of Indian history explaining that it has facilitated British historians to manipulate historical facts and depict precolonial history of Indian in accordance with the ideas that could reinforce British rule in India.²⁸ Ali suggests that periodization can likely be established to frame facts in a way which reflects historian's subjectivity but cleverly camouflaged with objective outlook.²⁹ In addition to that, the popular periodization has served the agenda-based historical inquiries, establishing and strengthening and providing justification to stereotypes, taboos and dogmas that help protect the interests of individuals or groups.³⁰ The keen analysis of historical discourse and periodization may expose the real objectives of historical inquiry as well as a historian's biases.³¹

James Mill is regarded a pioneer of popularly adopted and employed periodization of Indian history in the historical narratives. Mubarak Ali bring this periodization under his trenchant criticism. Mill divides Indian history into three phases, i.e. ancient, medieval and modern—a derivative of tripartite model of European historiography. He argues that this model is based merely on political grounds and serves the British imperial interests.³² He writes in *History on Trial*:

‘The periodization of Indian History as the Hindu, Muslim and British eras was not done by any Hindu historian but the British, James Mill, the author of the *History of British*

²⁸ In *History on Trial*, Ali reveals the techniques and methods through which the European historians had interpreted Indian history to justify British rule of India; one of those techniques he thinks is periodization. See Ali, *History on Trial*, 27-36, 53.

²⁹ Ali, *History on Trial*, 53. Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218.

³⁰ Ali, *History on Trial*, 53. Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218.

³¹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218.

³² Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 52; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 1; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218.

India. He intentionally divided history on religious basis, but did not call the British period a Christian period in order to keep secular outlook, to maintain a balance between these two opposite religious communities.’³³

Reflecting on the repercussions of periodization of Indian history proposed by Mill, Ali in his books *Historian’s Dispute* and *History on Trial*, points out that it did not serve the Indian people, as his historiographical perspective was utilitarian, employing the techniques of which the sole purpose was to justify British imperialism in India.³⁴ The historical narratives employing this periodization promoted communalism, hatred and conflicts in India during colonial period and thereafter.³⁵ Ali’s enterprise *Tarikh aur Mu’ashara* points out another negative aspect of Orientalist techniques and trends being employed to history of India and Africa. To him, it has undermined the originality of non-Western historians’ scholarship. The periodization that Orientalists proposed was according to needs and constraints of the Western culture and society.³⁶ The students who are professionally trained in the discipline of history from the Western universities inevitably adopt the Western way of observing historical phenomena of their own societies. This precludes the possibility of appearing unique and original historiographical perspectives.³⁷

³³ Ali, *History on Trial*, 53. Also see: Ali, *Tarikh aur Mu’ashra*, 47; Ali, *Historian’s Dispute*, 1-2.

³⁴ Ali, *History on Trial*, 34, 53; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 52-53; Ali, *Historian’s Dispute*, 1.

³⁵ Being critical of Mill’s approach on Indian history, Mubarak Ali describes that Mill’s writings were inspired by the intellectuals having ‘conservative and religious leaning such as Shore and Grant.’ He narrates, “He [James Mill] never visited India, but believed the Indian society was in the age of barbarism; and both Hindu and Muslim civilizations were inferior and backward. Therefore, he collected the kind of evidence which proved his point of view correct.” Ali, *History on Trial*, 26; Also see: *Tarikh aur Mu’ashra*, 47; Ali, *Historian’s Dispute*, 1-2.

³⁶ Ali, *Tarikh aur Mu’ashra*, 67. In *Essays on History, Politics and Culture*, Ali regards this phenomenon as the colonization of knowledge. He thus shares his understanding that “if any society loses its knowledge system and depends on the other for guidance, inspiration and understanding of its socio-economic and political problems, it is worse than being subject to political and economic control by a foreign power. Ali, *Essays on History, Politics and Culture*, 169.

³⁷ Ali, *Tarikh aur Mu’ashra*, 67.

Identifying and commenting on the defects and weaknesses of Mill's periodization, Mubarak Ali in *Almiya-e Tarikh* states that the division of Indian history in Hindu, Muslim and the British periods is fallacious and misleading. This is because dubbing the period before the advent of Muslims in India as Hindu is meant to entirely overlook other Indian religions like Buddhism and Jainism.³⁸ Similarly, he goes on to argue that the Muslim rule was established but in northern India, whereas in the rest of Indian regions there existed non-Muslim states which ruled till the end of Muslim rule in India.³⁹ Hence, calling medieval period as the Muslim period would be over-generalization, and a fallacious conception in historiography, and unfair treatment towards non-Muslim communities of India.

3.2.2 Critique on Terminology in Indian Historiography

Mubarak Ali's criticism on Mill's periodization of Indian history extends to another aspect of this very phenomenon; and that is coining of such terms which make the knowledge of history religious, biased and discriminatory. He is critical of calling medieval era of Indian history as the period of 'Muslim rule.'⁴⁰ The theocratic terms in historiography like Muslim rule and Islamic history, as he observes, had never been practiced by the Muslim historians in the past, but the Europeans.⁴¹ These terms ignited communalism among Hindu and Muslim communities of India.⁴² The term like 'Muslim rule' obscures the idea of class struggle.⁴³ The usage of this term shifts the focus of discussion from political and economic issues to sectarianism and communalism.⁴⁴ Evidence suggests the Arabs, Turks and Mughals ruled India with the help of

³⁸ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218.

³⁹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218.

⁴⁰ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 1-4. Ali, *History on Trial*, 53-54.

⁴¹ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 11; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 235.

⁴² Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 1-3; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 12.

⁴³ Ali, *Tarikh aur Mu'ashra*, 49.

⁴⁴ Discussing the psychological effects of the religious terms and jargon employed in the historiography of India by the Western writers, Ali explains that such narratives have made the consciousness of class struggle obscure. Every Muslim Indian subcontinent under the influence of this discourse has developed affiliations with medieval period

native political groups such as Jats, Rajputs, Marathas and Sikhs.⁴⁵ This term, thus, implies as if the Muslims were sole and independent rulers of India.

The derogatory and pejorative address by the historians to those whom they considered their enemies has been critically viewed by Mubarak Ali. In *Tarikh Shanasi*, he accordingly levels criticism on historiography presented by the Muslim historians of medieval era who disparagingly labelled the Hindus and their rulers as infidels, impure, heretic, astray, while addressed the Muslims as courageous, brave, and pure.⁴⁶ He holds that the court historians of medieval period developed such discourse so as to please the ruler, who were their patrons.⁴⁷

Similar criticism has also been mounted by Mubarak Ali on the historical narrative produced by the British historians. His *Almiya-e Tarikh* exposes that the portrayal of Indian communities the British historians had offered was discriminatory and they did so under influence of their imperialistic mind-set. It states that they addressed the Bengalis as ‘destructionists, rebels and conspirators.’⁴⁸ It was, in fact, the Bengali resistance against the British imperialism owing to their political consciousness, which the former depicted as a rebellion and conspiracy. In the same vein, they coined terms like “the warriors” and “the rebels”. To them, the warrior communities were those who militantly supported the British, whereas “the rebels” were those who fought against the British colonization of India.⁴⁹ Ali brings various terms used in historiography under his critical evaluation, which the historians used only keeping in view the political and economic interests of

considering it a time his ancestral grandeur. They causally utter the sentences like “when we ruled India,” or “our past was glorious and golden age.” Ali adds that they began to own every Muslim ruler and regarded their achievements as the achievement of the whole Indian Muslim community; and the criticism on the Muslim rule as a criticism to them. Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu’ashray ka Almiya*, 12-14.

⁴⁵ Ali, *Tarikh aur Siyasat*, 42-44.

⁴⁶ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 194-97. See also Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 108.

⁴⁷ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 108; Ali, *Tarikh kay Naye Zaviye*, 12-14.

⁴⁸ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218.

⁴⁹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 219.

certain nation and ruling classes. Coined and used by the Muslim and the Western historians alike, the historiographical terms and jargons like the period of *Jahiliya* (the time of ignorance), ‘uncultured,’ ‘barbarians,’ ‘Saracens,’ ‘Moors,’ and ‘Mohammadans’ are critically viewed by Mubarak Ali.⁵⁰

3.2.3 Criticism on Hyperbolic Portrayal of Historical Personalities

On giving titles—as the Great, the Great Conqueror and the Great Emperor—to the rulers by historians, Mubarak Ali shows his resentment. In his accounts *Tarikh ki Awaz* (2003) and *Hindustan ki Kahani* (2009), he stresses on the need to change the trend and connotation of bravery in historiography.⁵¹ He vigorously criticizes the tradition and stereotype notion of bravery and argues that a person who killed the helpless women and children only because of his political and military might can never be regarded as the great and brave.⁵² Alternatively, he suggests and urges the historians that this negative historiographical trend be relinquished by bringing the perspective of the life and deeds of the poor in the centre of their discourse. One of the major duties of a historian, he considers, is to give fair treatment to the living conditions of the marginalized people as well as their contribution in the course of historical developments.⁵³

Mubarak Ali is critical of fallaciously assumed bases on which the history of the Muslims of India has been written by Muslim historians. He maintains that the history of Indian Muslims is, in fact, the history of dynastic rule. Dubbing the dynastic rulers as ‘Muslim’ rulers is meant to bring the ruler in limelight and glorify them as great figures serving the cause of religion, but this obscures the role and contribution of general Muslim masses in historical developments.⁵⁴ He points out

⁵⁰ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 56-59, 154, 156; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 53-54; Ali, *Badalti Hoi Tarikh*, 10-12;

⁵¹ Ali, *Hindustan ki Kahani*, 14; Ali *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 108-9.

⁵² Ali, *Hindustan ki Kahani*, 14. Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 108.

⁵³ Ali, *Hindustan ki Kahani*, 14-15.

⁵⁴ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 217.

that the Muslim nationalist historians emphasized on the rulers' personality and character in a way as if they were the only representatives of entire Indian Muslim community rather than their own dynasty.⁵⁵ Such portrayals of the rulers gave historiography a trend to incorporate mythical and dogmatic descriptions, and undermined that of rationalism, realism and critical evaluation.⁵⁶ Examining the repercussions of presenting the rulers with religious veneration in historiography, he warns that the dogmatic depictions of rulers build a euphoria in society which does not allow its intellectuals to be critical of the figures constructed by the historians.⁵⁷ Historians who dare to be critical of them are regarded sinners, traitors and enemies of both the nation and religion.⁵⁸

Mubarak Ali criticizes the Muslim nationalist historiography in Pakistan for the reason that it provides exaggerated veneration to the Muslim rulers of India. He maintains that the Muslim nationalist historians erected a hype of religious symbolism around the Muslim invaders of India like Muhammad ibn Qasim, Mahmud Ghaznavi, and Muizzuddin Ghauri (aka Sultan Shihab-ud-Din Ghauri).⁵⁹ These personalities could only be taken under criticism by a historian if they were not given shelter in religious affinity and symbolism. He reveals that their images during medieval ages were not as prestigious, venerated and sacred as those have become in the present age.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 220.

⁵⁶ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 220-21;

⁵⁷ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 17-19; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 243-44.

⁵⁸ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 17; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 243-44, 249, 257.

⁵⁹ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 112-3; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 222, 244; Ali, *Essays on History, Politics and Culture*, 113.

Ali in *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* examines how and under which milieu the process of veneration of Muslim rulers began in Muslim nationalist historiography. He accordingly states that the veneration of the invaders of India Qasim, Ghauri and Ghazanvi had been given hype by the historians under the communalist stress. Otherwise, they had been forgotten. There was no mourner of him at time of his tragic death. Similarly, Mahmud Ghazanvi's imperialism, his seventeen invasions of India, his destruction of Hindu temples was also a story of forgotten past. These facts got explored and venerated with pride and exaggeration by Muslim nationalist history only when they became obsessed by communalist sentiments. Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*. 18. Also see: Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 114.

⁶⁰ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 244.

Tracing the roots of this historiographical problem of Muslim nationalist historiography, Mubarak Ali propounds that the process of image building began in colonial period when the Hindu-Muslim communalism began growing in South Asia.⁶¹ He held the *ulema* and political authorities responsible for making and presenting theologically exaggerated historiographical construction of the personality traits and actions of Indian Muslims rulers.⁶² The images of political figures wrapped in religious veneration, he opines, corresponds to the church-state alliance in modern ages.⁶³ This theologically tinged historiography is an attempt at affirming the hegemony of the *ulema* and rulers and paving way to establish theocracy in a state like Pakistan.⁶⁴ For this very purpose, the Muslim nationalist historians sketched the Indian Muslim rulers like Sultan Iltutmish, Ghiyasuddin Balban, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb as sacred and pious figures.⁶⁵ Ali's *Tarikh ki Awaz* describes that those are the vested interests of the ruling classes of which these personalities the historians presented and promoted as 'the Great rulers' and 'the Great conquerors.' By doing so, they attempted to provide a legitimacy to their illegitimate and autocratic rule.⁶⁶

Similarly, Mubarak Ali denounces Muslim nationalist discourse wherein the Muslim intellectuals such as Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi, Shah Wali Ullah, Syed Ahmad Bareilvi and Syed Ismail Shaheed are described with adulation for the role they played in promoting communalism and Muslim

⁶¹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 219.

⁶² Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 245, 247. The South Asian Muslim theologian-historians who have received a criticism from Mubarak Ali for viewing and writing history religiously are *inter alia* Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Manazar Ahsan Ghilani, Mualana Muhammad Miyan, Maulana Abul A'la Mawdudi and Maulana Manzoor Naomani. Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 82-92.

⁶³ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 227.

⁶⁴ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 113-14; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 242-45; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 19.

⁶⁵ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 18; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 121-22.

⁶⁶ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 113.

separatism.⁶⁷ He holds that the historians described their achievements creatively and fictionally, the purpose of which was to assert the clerics' influence over the Muslim community.⁶⁸

3.2.4 Dynamics of Heroism in Historiography

Does a society need heroes is a controversial issue amongst the historians. Mubarak Ali in his books *Tarikh aur Siyasat* (1993), *The Shadow of History* (1998), *Essays on History, Politics and Culture* (2004), *Tarikh ki Roshani* (2005) and *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya* (2005) disapproves of heroism in historiography and severely criticizes it from various angles. He contends and insists that in spite of putting emphasis on personalities or individuals, the historian's inquiry should be dominantly concerned with the structures, institutions and organizations which play a vital role in the evolution of human societies.⁶⁹ He underlines and warns about the dangerous psychological impact of promoting heroism through historiography on the society. He argues that the adulation of the personalities depicting them as those possessed some extraordinary abilities results in the demoralization of the common people. Heroism leads the ordinary people to state of self-denial, and they feel themselves dependent on heroes and get indifferent to their own potential, skills and calibre. They resign their fate in the hands of their heroes, their saviours; and eventually they just lose themselves.⁷⁰ Here, Mubarak Ali appears handling the discourse one-sidedly. He overlooks that heroism might play a role in boosting up the spirit and morale of the people as well, since the heroes set morals by presenting their personal character and are perceived to be a source of inspiration.

⁶⁷ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 69; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 108-9; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 87-89, 107-19.

⁶⁸ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 18-19; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 55.

⁶⁹ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 88.

⁷⁰ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 79-88; Ali, *Tarikh aur Siyasat*, 10.

Another crucial implication of heroism and hero-worship, in the view of Mubarak Ali, is that it undermines society's collective struggles for mutual benefits.⁷¹ Mubarak Ali works *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, *In the Shadow of History*, *Tarikh ki Roshani* elaborates that heroism negatively effects democratic behaviour of individuals of a society. This is because the people being instigated by heroism start believing in some kind of supernatural and extraordinary abilities of an individual who is assumed to be a hero and consequently refrain from being part of collective efforts of the society to make it some better place to live in.⁷² The beneficiaries of the dogmas pertaining to heroism, he holds, are but the ruling classes.⁷³ Those are social, political and religious elites who seek to popularize and exploit such dogmas, aiming at establishing their superiority, authority and legitimacy over the ordinary peoples.⁷⁴ Ali deplores the fact that 'once the myths are formed and deepened in the minds of people it becomes difficult to break them and trace their origin.'⁷⁵ He criticizes Pakistani historians for being agents of the elites. He underlines that 'faith can only be defeated through rationality and it is rationality that most of our historians lack.'⁷⁶

The process through which some historical personality evolved to be a hero has been examined by Mubarak Ali. He recounts the social, economic and political factors attached to its emergence. His undertakings *In the Shadow of History* and *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya* describe that this process take place in both ways, from below and from above.⁷⁷ Describing the process from below, he states that when a community suffers from political and economic crisis and becomes desperately afraid of being victimized and marginalized, it begins to seek its heroes in the past. The nature of heroes

⁷¹ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya* 86.

⁷² Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 87; Ali, *Tarikh ki Roshani*, 23-34.

⁷³ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 108; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 202-5, 217, 220-31.

⁷⁴ Ali, *In the shadow of History*, 108; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 202-5.

⁷⁵ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 105.

⁷⁶ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 105.

⁷⁷ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 81-83; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 103-18.

that a society explores and promotes corresponds to the nature of crisis they face. In case a community is declined politically, it makes the rulers and conquerors their heroes. If the people find themselves in some ideological chaos, they begin regarding the intellectuals as their heroes. Similarly, if a society lacks security, it raises the warriors and soldiers to the height of heroism.⁷⁸ Elaborating the process of evolving heroes from above, Ali states that the ruling classes, too, make and propagate their heroes so as to serve their vested interests. They choose to introduce such historical figures as heroes whose characters and deeds fit with their own agendas.⁷⁹

Ali critically evaluates the Muslim nationalist historiography of India for its venerated portrayal of historical figures as heroes, and explains how and why they are given such a heroic stature. He critically examines the rulers, intellectuals, *ulema* and sufis. In *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, he unfolds that during the colonial period the Muslims of India went through the crisis of political identity being a minority community, which compelled them to create heroes with whom they felt communal affinity.⁸⁰ The Muslim historians and intellectuals consequently began venerating the invaders and conquerors of India such as Muhammad ibn Qasim (695-715), Mahmud Ghaznavi (971-1030) and Muizzuddin Muhammad Ghauri (1149-1206) as their heroes.⁸¹ By doing this, they tried to pacify their feelings of weakness and inferiority and to show their past as glorious, and

⁷⁸ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 81; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 106. Some heroes, Ali propounds, emerged in the wake of the horrible bloody wars and clashes. In India, Alexander defeated Purus and became hero, Muhammad ibn Qasim defeated Raja Dahar and became a hero of Muslims of India. But, later on, Purus due to his defiance was described by the historians as hero. Similarly, after evolving of Sindhi Nationalism Dahar was presented as hero who fought to defend his land. He adds that some personalities emerged as hero despite they were defeated such as Tipu Sultan (1750-1799) who was defeated by Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), but he is regarded as hero because of his valour and bravery.

In the Indian historiography of colonial era, Indian soldiers who fought against British in 1857 are revered by historians of Subcontinent as freedom fighter. On the other hand, British historians have called this war as mutiny. They regard British generals and commanders like Sir Henry Havelock (1795-1857), Sir James Outram (1803-1863), Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence (1806-1857), Sir Colin Campbell (1792-1863) and John Nicholson (d. 1857) as heroes and the saviour of British Empire.

⁷⁹ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 81; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 108; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 216-21.

⁸⁰ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 83.

⁸¹ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 83, 85.

their rulers as great and brave.⁸² These personalities had otherwise become a story of the past, but Muslim historians gave them new life with exaggerated and fictional descriptions. This provoked a reaction from Hindu community whose historians reciprocated by presenting their own heroes like Rana Pratap (1540-1597), Shivaji (1630-1680) and Banda Singh Bahadur (alias, Veer Banda Bairagi) (1670-1716).⁸³

Mubarak Ali also critically the depiction of the sufis in historical accounts. Taking the reasons of the popularity of the sufis under consideration, Ali explains that the disciples of the sufis venerated them excessively in their hagiographies.⁸⁴ He points out that some of the sufis acquired glorification in historical accounts when they were paid homage by some powerful king.⁸⁵

On the question whether a society needs heroes, Mubarak Ali answers, 'No.'⁸⁶ He contends that every individual of a society possesses a potential to take equal part in the progress of a society.⁸⁷ The society is supposed to prosper when all individuals get equal and proper facilities of education, health and opportunities. In support to his viewpoint, he argues that the present age where social problems are so complex, and only professional people can deal with them, the individuals' role and contribution in institutional and organizational context attains further importance.⁸⁸ Ali urges

⁸² Ali, *Aaj ki Duniya*,

⁸³ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 79-88. See also, Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 106, 108-9; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 222. The other Hindu and Muslim nationalist heroes emerged in nineteenth and early decades twentieth century Mubarak Ali has mentioned were 'Bahadar Sahib, Rani of Jhansi, Tantiya Topi, Nana Sahib, Bakht Khan, Maulana of Faizabad and Hazrat Begum.' Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 106.

⁸⁴ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 53.

⁸⁵ *In the Shadow of History* and presents the example of mystic personality Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti who he think was not a popular personality until Mughal emperor Akbar showed regard to his mausoleum. On the other hand, the people without having knowledge of the origin of myth, miracles and attributes of Khwaja Muinuddin just believe in those of him. Ali, *In the Shadow of History*. 105.

⁸⁶ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 88.

⁸⁷ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 88.

⁸⁸ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*. 88.

the historians to pay more attention to structural and organizational issues than promoting certain individuals as heroes of the society.

3.2.5 Criticism on Sources of Indian Historiography

Mubarak Ali has levelled a stern criticism on the sources of medieval history of India, particularly primary sources written by intelligentsia of conquerors' side. In *Tarikh Shanasi* (1993), *History on Trial* (1999), he critically views the historiography of India produced during medieval, colonial and post-colonial periods, along with the approaches of the historians, their political and ideological backgrounds and the constraints which influenced their work. These accounts shed light on the court historians of Sultanate and Mughal period, historians of later Mughal period, orientalist, communalist historians, i.e. Muslim nationalists and Hindus nationalists, Indian nationalist historians, and secular Marxist historians. These books highlight the various problems of the historiography of India and their possible reasons.

His *History on Trial* (1999) describes that the historians in medieval India were dominantly the court historians who were appointed either by the ruler or by some other royal authority to maintain the royal record.⁸⁹ These records were comprised of the details on wars and subsequent radical changes in the political and social spectrum.⁹⁰ Ali conjectures that as religion was crucially significant in social and political life of Indian society, the historians interpreted historical events and developments in a framework. Their descriptions of warfare suggest the involvement of God in the wars, and give an impression that wars are conflicts between 'good and bad, virtue and evil.'⁹¹ Ali holds that this historiography offers an 'elitist approach' and 'narrow outlook.'⁹² He

⁸⁹ Ali, *History on Trial*, 10; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 40.

⁹⁰ Ali, *History on Trial*, 7-8, Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 228.

⁹¹ Ali, *History on Trial*, 7-8.

⁹² Ali, *History on Trial*, 10. Suggesting the mind-set of early Muslim historians of India, Mubarak Ali states, "historians believed that facts happened accidentally without going through any process. Therefore, there was no need to analyse them and trace the forces which shaped them." Ali, *History on Trial*, 8.

comments on it critically, saying that these historians tried to appease the kings by exaggerating their achievements.⁹³ They dedicated their scholarship merely to glorify the valour and bravery that Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, Shihabuddin Ghauri and other Sultans of Delhi demonstrated while fighting with the local Hindu rulers.⁹⁴ He contends that the accounts offered by these historians are aimed at flattering the conquerors and exaggeration of the great deeds performed by the Muslim warriors.⁹⁵

Another problem in Muslim historiography of medieval period pointed out by Mubarak Ali in his accounts is that it disconnected the Indian history from its ancient roots and linked it to the history of Islam.⁹⁶ It describes that the interests of those historians were associated with the political centre of Muslims such as Ghazna, therefore they judged historical events in accordance with the court interests.⁹⁷ Ali speculates that by writing such kind of history, the historians wanted to show that India had entered into the fold of Islam after Turks' invasion, and before that it had no cultural identity and its own history.⁹⁸ These historians discussed the history of central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan at length, but the history of India was dealt with in brief, paying no heed to the history of Ancient India, Hindu religion and Indian cultures.⁹⁹

⁹³ Ali, *History on Tiral*, 10-11; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 15, 39-40.

⁹⁴ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 230. Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 15.

⁹⁵ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 41.

⁹⁶ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 39; Ali, *History on Trial*, 11. Elaborating this characteristic of medieval historiography of India, Ali states that the historiographical tradition according to which Indian Muslim historians wrote their undertaking was replication of Islamic historiography. They used to start their discourse from the creation of the universe and the incident of the fall of Prophet Adam from Heaven. Then they paid attention on describing early Islamic history and that of Muslim countries and lastly that of India. They thoroughly overlooked ancient history of India. An excellent example of such discourse, according to Mubarak Ali, is *Tabqat-e Nasari* by Minhaj-us-Siraj Juzjani.

⁹⁷ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 21-25, 63.

⁹⁸ Ali, *History on Trial*, 11; Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 15.

⁹⁹ Ali, *History on Tial*, 12-13.

History on Trial exposes that the Muslim historiography, besides venerating the rulers, has elevated sufis to a high stature, since the latter during the Sultanate period enjoyed the alternative religious authority along with the political. They were assumed as the ones who contributed in strengthening the Muslim rule in India.¹⁰⁰ Wherever the rulers failed to achieve the requisite goals of the Sultanate, the sufis did that job quite well, by demonstrating their generosity and spiritual miracles.¹⁰¹ Ali highlights the sufi contribution in maintaining the prosperity of the country and wellbeing of the people. Mubarak Ali criticizes various such historical accounts produced in medieval period, which include Amir Hassan Sijzi's *Fawaid al-Fuad*, Amir Khurd's *Siyar al-Awliya*, Hamid Qalandar's *Khair al-Majalis* and Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bokhari's *Jawami al-Ulum*.¹⁰² He holds that these sources generally damaged the historical veracity of the accounts which were composed by consulting them. These sources made history a 'legend or myth whose process is controlled by the spiritual metaphysical powers of the sufis.'¹⁰³ The examination given by Ali to the descriptions of Muslim historiography produced in medieval India leads him to the inference that primary sources on that period of Indian history accord high stature to the rulers, sufis, *umera* (nobles and aristocrats) and *ulema* (theologians) but these work fail to acknowledge the role of common-people in the historical developments of India.¹⁰⁴

The historiography produced in Mughal India is viewed by Mubarak Ali as different from that produced in the Sultanate era. Recognizing the socio-political and economic changes that brought about this historiographical shift, he reveals that since the Mughals snatched power from the hands

¹⁰⁰ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 43; Ali, *History on Trial*, 13-16.

¹⁰¹ Ali, *History on Trial*, 13-14. Accordingly, it refers to Ziauddin Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* which describes how the renowned sufi saint of Mulatan, Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya defended Delhi from Mongol invasion by showing his generosity and paying Mongol invaders a huge sum of money.

¹⁰² Ali, *History on Trial*, 16.

¹⁰³ Ali, *History on Trial*, 13-16.

¹⁰⁴ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 220-221; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 42; Ali, *History on Trial*, 16.

of Muslim rulers rather than the Hindus, the historians did not regard wars as a conflict between good and evil. They, nonetheless, attempted to conceal Mughal imperialism by underling their tolerant attitude towards the Hindus. They described their policies in a way as if those were for the mutual benefit of both the Hindu and Muslim communities.¹⁰⁵ Since the Mughal emperor Akbar's policy of peace with all of *Sulhe Kul* fostered mutual cooperation and coordination between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities, this reduced the importance of sufis in historiography. The sufis remained no more significant to be mentioned as a factor to win the wars against the infidels. In Mughal period, another trend that emerged in historiography was that of the histories of the *umara* (aristocrats). In *Tarikh Shanasi* (1993), Ali states that this trend became popular because the aristocrats started extending patronage to the intellectuals and literary activities. He censoriously mentions that these histories tell the exaggerated stories of aristocrats' generosity, courage and bravery.¹⁰⁶ Showing such characteristics, the books that Ali brought under his criticism are *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin* by Farid Bukhari, *Tazkirat-ul Umara* by Kewal Ram, *Mu'asir-ul-Umara* by Shams-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan, *Mu'asir Rahimi* by Abu Bakr Nahawandi, and *Tazkira-e Khan-i Jahan* written by Naimatullah Harvi.¹⁰⁷

The treatise *Essays on the History of Sindh* (2005) by Ali demonstrates how the historians glorified the invaders and conquerors and served their political agendas. It critically evaluates the descriptions offered by *Chachnama* which Muslim nationalist historians often quote to describe why Arabs invaded India. Ali's undertaking, thus, reveals how they fabricated the stories by manipulating the historical events and twisting the facts to justify the invaders' imperialism. It puts forward an example of such description of *Chachnama* which tells about the abduction of Muslim

¹⁰⁵ Ali, *History on Trial*, 13-16; Ali, *Tarikh ka Beyaniya*, 68-82, 93-97.

¹⁰⁶ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 45.

¹⁰⁷ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 45; Ali *History on Trial*, 18.

traders and women by the pirates of Sindh—a story which is often cited as an excuse for the Arab invasion of Sindh. It describes that as every invader tries to invent a moral justification for his invasion, the story described by *Chachnama* is not an exception.¹⁰⁸ Ali argues that this source tells the moral reason of Arab invasion, but does not mention the economic aspects which compelled the Arabs to invade India. He adds that *Chachnama* depicts the war between the Arabs and the people of Sindh as the battles between just and unjust, or a conflict between right and wrong (*marka-e haqq-o batil*).¹⁰⁹ He is a critical of *Chachnama* for the superstitious stories it provides to justify the aggression of invaders, and states that it casts an impression as if some divine forces helped the invaders in their conquest of eradicating the evil.¹¹⁰

Ali's works *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz* and *Essays on the History of Sindh* inform that *Chachnama* and *Futuh al-Buldan* are the two sources which have heavily influenced the latter-day historiography of Arab rule in Sindh, and the reason is paucity of other sources, as most sources on that historical period have been lost.¹¹¹ He adds that some local dynasties like Summa, Soomro, Kalhoras (r. 1700-1782), Talpur (r. 1759-1843), Arghuns and Turkhans (r. 1520-1592) after coming into power ruined the historical records and reminisces of the previous dynasties.¹¹²

About the political doctrines that acquired a focus in historical sources, Mubarak Ali states in *Tarikh ki Talash* (2003) that it was influenced by the political authorities.¹¹³ He adds that the political system in Delhi Sultanate was the continuity of monarchy that emerged in Arab regions after the decline of Abbasside Caliphate. The clerics supported the monarchs and helped legitimize

¹⁰⁸ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 54, 73-78; Ali, *Essays on the History of Sindh*, 10-13.

¹⁰⁹ Ali, *Essays on the History of Sindh*, 7-16.

¹¹⁰ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 29, 59.

¹¹¹ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 54.

¹¹² Ali, *Essays on the History of Sindh*, 15-16.

¹¹³ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 24-25.

the usurpers who came into power by force or conspiracy. Regarding that, the author refers to the book *Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya* written by Abul Hasan Ali al-Mawardi (972-1058) that affirms the rule of oppressors, and advises the people to be loyal to them in order to avoid anarchy in the state.¹¹⁴ Providing similar discourse, the books written by renowned and influential scholars like *Qabus Nama* by Kaika'us ibn Iskandar (1020-1082), *Siyasat Nama* by Nizam ul-Mulk Tusi (1018-1092), *Nasihah-ul-Muluk* by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (1058-1111), *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* by Ziauddin Barani (1285-1358) have been criticized by Mubarak Ali, for these books approved the hereditary principle of succession in kingship, and regarded the king as *Zill-Allah* (shadow of God).¹¹⁵ He states that such works bestowed the king not only an ultimate political authority but the authority to change and drive the sphere of religion also.¹¹⁶

Tarikh Shanasi attached a high significance to the historiography produced in the later Mughal period. During this period, the historians came out of the influence of the ruling classes, which witnessed decline and were no more able to continue their patronage of literary activities.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the historians explored new areas of research, and began to pay heed to the tense political situation of the age and the steady decline of aristocratic classes.¹¹⁸

Mubarak Ali's criticism extends to the Orientalist historiography produced in colonial era; he contends that the European historians viewed and explained ancient history of India with a biased approach. They observed the Indian societies as ahistorical. Behind that approach, the purpose they had was to serve their colonial interests.¹¹⁹ Ali also criticizes their focus on personalities.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 26.

¹¹⁵ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 26.

¹¹⁶ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 26-27.

¹¹⁷ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 45.

¹¹⁸ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 44-46.

¹¹⁹ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 50-54.

¹²⁰ The biographer Macaulay presented the details in Clive's biography that expresses as he was the only one who conquered India for the Britain through his courage, diplomacy and administrative skills.

The European historians whose approaches to history are briefly discussed by Ali include James Grant Duff (1789-1858), James Mill (d. 1836), William Wilson Hunter (d. 1900), Alfred Comyn Lyall (1835-1911), Robert Caldwell (d. 1891), George Uglow Pope (1820-1908), Edward James Rapson (1861-1937), Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), James Tod (1782-1835), Sir Henry George Elliot (d. 1907), and David Thomson (1914-1988). These historians have been criticized for justifying British imperialism in Indian and depicting the British as saviours and liberators.¹²¹ Ali becomes further critical of British historiography of India written within the framework of 'Whiteman's Burden' arguing that the British aimed at making the Indians civilized.¹²² To him, this historiography intensified the sentiments of communalism among the Hindus and Muslims of India.¹²³ Nonetheless, Mubarak Ali admires it for the reason that the British historians introduced new research methodology, techniques and approaches into the historiography of Indian subcontinent and extended the scope of historical research.¹²⁴

Mubarak Ali developed a seminal critique on the undertakings produced by Muslim historians during colonial era. He argues that the Muslim society fell into acute political decline, its intellectuals found themselves helpless to admire Mughal kings anymore, lest the British could take that offensive.¹²⁵ The historians, therefore, paid attention to Islamic history that undermined the glory of medieval period of India and nourished an ideal of Pan-Islamism.¹²⁶ To promote that ideal theologian like Allama Shibli Nomani founded a School of Writers—*Darul Musannifin*.¹²⁷

¹²¹ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 54-55.

¹²² Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 55; Ali, *History on Trial*, 24.

¹²³ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 55, Ali, *History on Trial*, 23-36.

Ali has refers to the books such as Grant Duff's *A History of Marathas* and James Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* that he believed had 'laid down the foundations of communalism in India.' Ali, *History on Trial*, 29.

¹²⁴ Ali, *History on Trial*, 34.

¹²⁵ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 58-60.

¹²⁶ Ali, *History on Trial*, 39-40.

¹²⁷ Ali, *History on Trial*, 39.

The dominant historiographical trends appeared in India by 1920s are evaluated by Mubarak Ali. He informs that there appeared a new class of Western educated Muslim historians who employed modern techniques and methods in their historical inquiries.¹²⁸ He divides them into three groups: 1) the separatists or communalists, 2) the nationalists, 3) and those who were silent on the communal issue.¹²⁹ He denounces the separatist historians because, he thinks, they sowed the seeds of communalism and provoked the Hindu historians, who reacting in the same manner, criticized the Muslim rule in India.¹³⁰ It was Jadunath Sarkar who reconstructed the history of Marathas presenting them involved in a violent political conflict with the Mughals. Ali contrarily admires the Indian nationalist historians who strived to minimize the effects of communalism and thus diffuse tension between the Hindus and Muslims.¹³¹ The historians of this school of thought belonged to History Department of Allahabad University and included Ishwari Prasad (1888-1986), R. D. Banerjee (1885-1930), Ram Babu Saksena (1897-1957) and Muhammad Habib (1895-1971).¹³²

By this time, a group of historians mainly belonging to Aligarh University appeared to produce historical accounts with a secular and progressive mode of narration. Muhammad Habib was one of the main representatives of this school. Though Mubarak Ali generally admires these historians, he nonetheless, criticizes them for the ways they adopted in negation of communalism. He contends that these historians emphasized on aspects of Muslim-Hindu unity and the syncretic culture by acknowledging the pertinent role of the sufis. They depicted the sufis as representatives of common people and as harbingers of Hindu-Muslim unity. Ali argues that the sufis were not

¹²⁸ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 60.

¹²⁹ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 59-63.

¹³⁰ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 60-61

¹³¹ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 61-62.

¹³² Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 62-63.

secular, as they professed certain faith and adopted religious titles. He states that this trend of promoting Sufism fascinated the subsequent Marxist and secular historians and they incorporated the same approach in their historical discourses. From this critique, Mubarak Ali appears to be a hard-core secular historian.

Of all the factions, the Indian Marxist historians, particularly those of post-partition era, are the ones who have received a fine appreciation of Mubarak Ali. These historians include, among others, Irfan Habib (b. 1931), Ramila Thapar (b. 1931), R. S. Sharma (1919-2011), D. D. Kosambi (1907-1966), Harbans Mukhia (b. 1939), Muhammad Athar Ali (1925-1998), Saiyid Nurul Hasan (1921-1993), Satish Chandra (1922-19017), Iqtidar Alam Khan, Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui (1937-2016), and Zaheeruddin Malik (d. 2008).¹³³ Some of the research articles written by these historians are translated and published by Mubarak Ali in *Tarikh*,¹³⁴ a quarterly Urdu journal edited and published by him. Some of their articles became a contribution to the books edited by him. The secular and materialist approach to view historical development, highlighting the aspects such as the class struggle, comparative studies of ancient and medieval Indian culture and that of other regions, particularly Europe, all these are the characteristics of Indian Marxist historiography with which Mubarak Ali is fascinated and which he admires.¹³⁵

3.2.6 Criticism on Communalist Perspectives of Indian History

There are various works by Mubarak Ali in which he critically appraised the communalist perspectives of Indian history given by the Muslim and Hindu nationalist historians, including *Almiya-e Tarikh* (1994), *In the Shadow of History* (1998), *Tarikh ki Talash* (2003), *Tarikh ki Awaz* (2003), *Tarikh aur Danishwar* (2004), *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya* (2005), *Tarikh ki Baten* (2012),

¹³³ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 67-68.

¹³⁴ This journal *Tarikh* is the only representative of Marxist intellectualism in Pakistan and strives to publish the articles with serious critique of historical issues.

¹³⁵ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 68.

Tarikh aur Nesabi Kuttab (2005), and *Tarikh ka Beyaniya* (2016). The accounts evaluate social and political circumstance in medieval, colonial and post-partition eras of Indian history which affected the Hindu and Muslim communities of South Asia and consequently the historian repressing them with the histories with communalist biases. The historian Mubarak Ali describes how the Hindu writes define a philosophy of Hindutva and incorporate it into their analysis of Indian history.¹³⁶ Similarly, he evaluate the concept of Muslim separatism in India which the Muslim historians have advocated and employed in their historical narratives.¹³⁷ He highlights how these historians belonging to both communities have emphasised on the issues which had been troubles some between both communities and how they venerated the historical figures as their national heroes who struggled to promote the interest to the communities they belonged to, and criticized the heroes of counterpart community as their villains.¹³⁸ In the said accounts, Ali describes how the communalist historians in their narratives have scathingly, derogatorily and negatively portrayed the social values, culture, art, architecture, and religion of the communities other than theirs.¹³⁹

3.3 Kazi Javed

Demonstrating existentialist understanding, Kazi Javed's views on history, historiography and philosophy of history are quite different from those of Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali. He disagrees with the concept that the knowledge of history is objective or scientific. He attaches great importance to the social values and moralities, aesthetic and romantic aspects of human life. He

¹³⁶ Ali, "*Tarikh aur Hindutva ka Nazriya*," [History and the Concept of Hindutva], in *Tarikh aur Nesabi Kuttab*, 49-67.

¹³⁷ Ali, *In the Shadow of history*, 25-28, 41-44, 53-54, 103-16; Ali, *Tarikh ki Baten*, 21-29; 101-9, 141-44, Ali, *Tarikh aur Nesabi Kuttab*, 68-74; Ali, *Tarikh ka Beyaniya*, 100-5, 116-18.

¹³⁸ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 79-88. Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 106, 108-9; See also, Ali, *Tarikh ki Aaghi*, 55-61.

¹³⁹ Ali, "*Masakhshudha Tarikh: Hindustan and Pakistan mein Tarikh Nawisi*" [A Distorted History: Historiography in Indian and Pakistan], in *Tarikh aur Nesabi Kuttab*, 23-48.

thinks that all these characteristics and elements of social life should not be overlooked while constructing the knowledge of history. Some of major Javed's philosophic reflection on the knowledge of history are being discussed.

3.3.1 History: Wisdom and the Burden of Past

Published in quarterly *Tarikh* (No 37, 2008), "*Tarikh ka Qissa*" [The Story of Past] is an article of Kazi Javed that sheds light on some fundamentally significant aspects of history, historiography and philosophy of history. The tone of this article through which it conveys its message is full of literary and philosophic taste. This small but brilliant piece of writing tells about how the knowledge of history is the burden of past restricting human behaviour, and how it may enlighten us about the realities of nature and those of human life. Aspects which make the knowledge of history superior to other branches of human knowledge are its main focus.

Tarikh ka Qissa defines the history of humankind as "an opera demonstrating a tale of man's struggle, his achievements and failures."¹⁴⁰ This knowledge bestows a profound wisdom to make the world better, but it also places a crippling burden that undermines the freedom of cheerful actions. This is this burden that snatches man's heroic traits with which he takes birth such as the carelessness, boldness and doughtiness.¹⁴¹ This is because history is "a horrible story of human past fraught with the barbaric human acts, hardships, crimes, plunders, massacres and socio-political anarchy."¹⁴²

3.3.2 Comparison of History with Other Branches of Knowledge

Kazi Javed draws underlying distinction between different branches of knowledge according to their functional values, and assigns the knowledge of history a higher status over the rest. In

¹⁴⁰ Kazi Javed, "*Tarikh ka Qissa*," in *Tarikh*, No. 37, (2008), 69.

¹⁴¹ Javed, "*Tarikh ka Qissa*," 69.

¹⁴² Javed, "*Tarikh ka Qissa*," 70.

“*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” he argues that poetry is a form of knowledge which unravels unique relationships between myriad things of distinct nature, and thus develops our taste of what we have not tasted before.¹⁴³ In short, to him, poetry is not something without insight. Science, he contends, is a kind of knowledge that unfolds and decodes the hidden forces of nature through which the nature can be controlled. He adds that scientific discoveries can be sometimes be dangerous as physics has invented nuclear arsenals.¹⁴⁴ The role of philosophy is to train man’s mind and emotions, and to judge the exactitude of the society’s beliefs and values. Religion, nonetheless, is something that makes man’s life meaningful in a broader perspective, and also offers cathartic experience to human beings while going through the hardships, desperations and miseries of life.¹⁴⁵ History, however, provides a cumulative knowledge of them all; this makes history superior to the rest of the disciplines of knowledge.¹⁴⁶

3.3.3 Is History a Science?

Kazi Javed is critical of the view that history is a science. He maintains that ‘though we are living in an age where there is the supremacy of science, and efforts are being made to give the social knowledge an outlook of science; nonetheless, history is not a science, nor should it be.’¹⁴⁷ He adds that the application of scientific method gives some disciplines a scientific outlook, but the scientific method cannot be applied to all disciplines of inquiry universally.¹⁴⁸ He contends that the scientific method, a derivative of physical sciences, cannot always be applied to biological sciences. Similarly, it is inadequate to apply mathematical methodology to social phenomenon.¹⁴⁹ The discipline of history undoubtedly has its own methodology which comes out of the objectives

¹⁴³ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 69.

¹⁴⁴ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 69.

¹⁴⁵ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 69-70.

¹⁴⁶ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 70.

¹⁴⁷ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 71.

¹⁴⁸ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 72.

¹⁴⁹ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 72.

of the inquiry and this make the knowledge of history rational, but it should not make the past a newspaper without lessons. Most of the researchers insist to acknowledge social knowledge as scientific because the methodologies for inquiry in different disciplines overlap and generally seem to be similar. In short, to him, each discipline has its own methodology.¹⁵⁰

3.3.4 Imagination and Constructing History

Philosopher-historian, Kazi Javed attaches great importance to the mixing up of history with imagination, because he thinks that it makes the knowledge of history meaningful. He contends: “It is imagination that reconstructs the past and makes its study purposive, interesting and beautiful. Otherwise, it might have just like been “a boring, ugly, talkative old lady.”¹⁵¹ Praising the imagination for its utility in constructing the knowledge of history, he says: “By averting a blend of imagination [with historical facts], the subject of history becomes a science. But thank God! History is not a science! It is not just a colourless picture of facts!” Highlighting the significance of imagination, Kazi Javed argues that the blend of reality and imagination always nourishes the thinking and philosophies. He pays tribute to Marx for his imagination in these words:

All philosopher-historians like Ibn Khaldun, Hegel, Toynbee and Spengler were prophets of history but they are dead now. It is Karl Marx who is still alive even when Gorbachev’s reforms and the decline of Soviet Union tried their best to kill him... even when the events did not allow any of his predictions be proven so far. He will remain alive till someone else comes with an imaginations higher than that of Karl Marx.¹⁵²

3.3.5 Values and Presentism in Historiography

Kazi Javed’s book *Falsafa, Thaqafat aur Tisri Duniya* [Philosophy, Culture and Third World] (1976) carries a chapter “*Marxiyat aur Science Nuqta-e Nazar*” [Marxism and Scientific

¹⁵⁰ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 73-74.

¹⁵¹ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 73.

¹⁵² Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 75.

Perspective] that provides a critique on Marxism's epistemological bases. This chapter tells that social knowledge and the concepts pertaining to this are of two types: i) factual social concepts, and ii) value based social concepts.¹⁵³ Javed is critical of Marxism for it does not make distinction between factual and value based social knowledge, not does it pay attention to the mutual differences between the stages of deductive methods, and between those of inductive.¹⁵⁴ Javed argues that a historian while attempting to dig out the facts and choosing them to write history, has some preoccupations of certain concepts of social value that he finds in his surroundings. Before choosing the facts, he measures them with a yardstick of the social values.¹⁵⁵ The problems of an age in which a historian lives hold his consciousness while he reconstructs the past. This, however, is not something strange and awkward that a historian is preoccupied by some values because the values mean a lot to history. Most historical events are said to be important only for the social value they have acquired.¹⁵⁶

3.3.6 Is History an Objective Knowledge?

For the reason that the historical facts are assumed to be blended with imagination and social values in order to draw some significant lessons from the knowledge of history, Kazi Javed believes that history cannot be written objectively.¹⁵⁷ He observes that most of the historians though often demand neutrality and objectivity, their own empirical histories have elements of subjectivity. Javed opines that a true historian digs out the facts only to draw some moral conclusions. Intended to draw a moral code or reform, a historian, therefore, cannot be neutral.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Kazi Javed, *Falsafa, Saqafat aur Tisri Duniya*, (Lahore: Meyri Library, 1976), 76.

¹⁵⁴ Kazi Javed accordingly highlights that there is a vague idea that Marx regards communism a social value, as the communism is said to be Marx's scientific prediction, rather than to be a value favored by Marx. Javed, *Falsafa, Saqafat aur Tisri Duniya*, 77-78.

¹⁵⁵ Javed, "Tarikh ka Qissa," 74-75.

¹⁵⁶ Javed, "Tarikh, ka Qissa," 75.

¹⁵⁷ Javed, "Tarikh ka Qissa," 74.

¹⁵⁸ Javed, "Tarikh ka Qissa," 75.

3.3.7 Why Heroism is needed in History?

As discussed above, both Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali are critical of portraying certain historical personalities as hero. Kazi Javed, nonetheless, emphasizes the need for heroic characters in history. He opines that though the heroes are unable to halt or drive the flow of historical events, yet they affect the events of secondary nature.¹⁵⁹ Due to their special circumstances, they can affect the fates of the people.¹⁶⁰ It is not only the heroes who make history but history also makes someone a hero.¹⁶¹ Causation of events in historiography obscures the role and significance of the heroes, as causation leads to the inference that heroes emerge in the wake of historical events.¹⁶² Kazi Javed emphasizes that eliminating romantic elements of social life while writing history cannot simply be regarded as a wise act on the part of historians.¹⁶³ ‘In whatever ways the heroes have been created, we need them. If we lack the great men, we have to create them, for they make us learn how to live a life and inspire others to change the society.’¹⁶⁴ He further states: ‘if the historians do not create heroes, it would be difficult to fight against oppression, exploitation and injustice.’¹⁶⁵ That is why he disapproves of the historians who are critical of venerating the heroes in history. Here Kazi Javed comes into conflict with Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali who denounce veneration of personalities.

To sum up the discussion, this chapter shows that the select Pakistan Marxist historians (Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed) substantially contributed to the debates on the principles of

¹⁵⁹ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 76.

¹⁶⁰ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 76. Kazi Javed accordingly admires Karl Marx for giving historical personalities a balanced place in history. He propounds that Marx has not unduly stressed on the personalities, he did not diffuse the physical beauty of Cleopatra in his material causation. He opines that Marx has acknowledged that the individuals can affect the course of history but only when the social relations will provide conducive environment for such a change.

¹⁶¹ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 76.

¹⁶² Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 76.

¹⁶³ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 77.

¹⁶⁴ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 77.

¹⁶⁵ Javed, “*Tarikh ka Qissa*,” 77.

history writing. Sibte Hassan adhered to the positivist and materialist framework for analysing historical developments and asserted that history of human actions and events be viewed with reference to civilizational and cultural developments. He negated the notion of putting emphasis on evaluating the role of individuals, and held that historians' responsibility is to explore the natural laws which effect the course of history. Mubarak Ali appears to show strong subaltern approach denouncing any concept in history which promotes the interests of certain individuals or the privileged classes. He is extremely critical of the periodization of Indian history which he thinks created communalism in South Asia, derogatory terms which the Muslim historians use for non-Muslims, viewing and rationalizing the historical events and characters of the personalities within a religious framework of understanding, and glorification of individuals that undermines the role of the common people and that of institutions and systems.

Contrary to Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali, Kazi Javed argues that the knowledge of history can neither be objective, nor be scientific. He believes that history is such a branch of knowledge which accommodates all other forms of knowledge including philosophy, ethics, poetry, aesthetics, science, theology, and any other knowledge which deals with social and natural phenomena. He assigns high value to imagination for reconstructing history. He holds the view that the knowledge of history cannot be value-free, thus there is dire need to create heroes in history who could inspire the society to confront the contemporary challenges.

Chapter Four

Pakistani Marxist Historians on the Role of Religion in South Asian

History

Religion seems to have played a central role in many historical developments of South Asia. Politics, social relations, economic activities, intellectual and artistic enterprises, all have markedly been influenced by the religion. Although the historians' understanding about religion in pre-historic India is vague, there is much known about the variety of religions that this land evolved during the course of history through attaining the contribution of indigenous people and settlers. As the rulers were adherents to and patrons of any of those religions, the political upheavals in India often developed environment where religious ideologies remained competing with each other. The modern and post-colonial historians have raised vehement criticism on the approaches according to which the historians of medieval ages viewed and reflected on historical developments, and overemphasized the role of religion in history.

Descriptive and analytical in methodology, this chapter examines how Pakistani Marxist historians see the role of religion in Indian history, the religious policy of Muslim rulers towards the non-Muslims, and the relationship of religion and politics in a historical context. The role of the *ulema* and sufis is also given prime significance by Pakistani Marxist historians, who examine their relations with state and society and the influence they exercised in political events and policy matters of the state. The chapter evaluates the disposition of Marxist historians on how Islam spread in South Asia. Further, Marxist historiography has attached great importance to the socio-religious and politico-religious movements that emerged in India in the wake of Hindi-Muslim syncretism. This chapter examines the viewpoints of the Marxist historians on these historical issues and explores how Marxist historiography in Pakistan is different from Muslims nationalist

historiography and also what sort of disagreements are there within the former school of thought. Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed are the three renowned Pakistani Marxist historians whose works have been taken under consideration to find out the grounds upon which they have shown their disagreements with Muslim nationalist historians.

4.1 Twentieth-century Historiographical Trends in South Asia: An Overview

At the beginning of the twentieth century, many schools of history emerged in India, which interpreted Indian history in accordance with the ideological approaches they represented. Those were the Orientalist, Indian nationalist, Hindu nationalist, Muslim nationalist, Marxist and traditionalist. In this study, the discussion is confined to the Muslim nationalist historiography and that of Marxist. Muslim nationalist historiography in India emerged revisiting a discourse offered by the Orientalists and Hindu nationalists. The historians representing Muslim nationalism thought that the Muslim society and rulers have not been given a fair treatment, and consequently they tried to rewrite history with revisionist, defensive and apologetic approach. They came from different academic and literary backgrounds, some of them were theologians like Syed Suleiman Nadvi (1884-1950) and Maulana Abul A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979), some primarily fiction writers like Abdul Haleem Sharar (1860-1926), some professionally trained historians like S. M. Jaffar (1910-1979), Abu Mohamed Habibullah (1911-1984), Aziz Ahmad (1914-1978) and I. H. Qureshi (1903-1981). The prefaces and introductory chapters of undertakings they presented show their critique to the histories written by the Orientalists and other non-Muslim historians who portrayed the Indian Muslims negatively. Furthermore, according to them, the Arabic and Persian primary sources which they consulted to construct their discourse were misunderstood by others. Explaining the need to write his book *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India* (1939), S. M. Jaffar, for instance, desolately stated about the historical writings of Europeans and Hindu nationalists on Muslim rule in India:

‘Almost all available books on Indian history the period of Muslim rule in India is depicted in the darkest possible colours and Muslim rulers are almost invariably described as tyrants and blood thirsty monsters, whose unrestrained autocracy, it is alleged, found its full expression in fanaticism—in the forcible propagation of Islam, in the persecution of Hindus, in the destruction of their temples and in suppression of their genius. No avenue is left unexplored and no piece of evidence is left unexploited to show that while Muslim rulers rolled in luxuries, the ruled groaned under gross inequalities and servile conditions.’¹

The other above mentioned Muslim nationalist historians expressed similar views. They demonstrated their anxiety on the allegations which the non-Muslim historians levelled against the Muslim rulers and their policies. The main purpose of Muslim nationalist historiography was to defend and glorify Muslim rule in India by presenting a soft image of the rulers, and by arguing that their policies were just, and brought about the wellbeing of the Indians. They highlighted the Muslims’ contribution towards bringing progressive changes in political, administrative, intellectual, cultural and social domains of Indian life.

One of the noticeable aspects of Muslim nationalist historiographical literature produced in pre-partition India was that the historians did not put emphasis on communalism.² They attempted to show that Indian Muslims had connections with the land of Sindh.³ Since the time they came to

¹ He calls the descriptions having such tones and expression as ‘grotesque distortion or disfigurement of history,’ and such charges as ‘false and funny charges’ to which his book responds. See the prefaces of both editions (1939 and 1950) in S. M. Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India* (Peshawar: S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan Publishers, 1950), 1.

² There were mainly two reasons why these historians showed non-communalist tendencies. First, they thought that the Muslims are a nation in spiritual and abstract terms, not in material, economic, territorial and political terms. So, they do not need to form any separatist state. Moreover, they thought that to form a Muslim state is not a religious obligation at all, since the basic sources of Islam do not restrict its followers to do it. Secondly, as they were living in India since long, they intend to develop to restore Muslims’ political might by developing cooperation and communal harmony with non-Muslims of India.

Some were reluctant to support the notion that the Muslims in India are separate nation doubting the possibility of a separate nation state for them. Therefore, living with other communities of India, they could not afford to propagate separatist ideas. However, later on, after the creation of Pakistan and separatism becoming state’s ideological discourse they found conducive a milieu to come with separatist narrative. That has, of course, acquired state patronage, and the support of the religious parties like Jama’at-e Islami and Jamiat Ulema-e Islam, which during the Pakistan movement denounced the idea of Pakistan. To find detailed debate on the problems of Muslim nationalism, see Abdul Qadir Khan, *Masala-e Qaumiyat aur Marka-e Din-o Watan* (Lahore: Fateh Publishers, 2016).

³ Syed Suleiman Nadvi, *Arab-o Hind kay Ta’luqat* (Lahore: Asad Nayer Printers, n.d.); Abdul Haleem Sharar, *Tarikh-e Sindh*. ed. 2nd (Karachi: Barkat & Sons, 2011), 9-18.

settle in India, the Muslims manifested an adaptive and interactive attitude towards Indian non-Muslims and their culture. 'Muslim separatism' or 'The Two Nations Theory,' the subset notion of Muslim nationalism, however was dominantly and emphatically employed by Pakistani historians by 1950s.⁴ By attaining state patronage, this narrative became mainstream historiographic and academic trend in Pakistan, to which Marxist historians responded with revisionist approach. Contrary to the religious nationalism, they introduced and fashioned progressive, secular, liberal and leftist trends in historiography. To Marxist historians, the main objectives of Muslim nationalist historians were to show that:

- the Muslim nationalism is based on abstract and spiritual ground, not on the economic, racial, ethnic, geographic, regional, political or any other material ones,
- the Muslims of India form a separate nation and have strong solidarity and shared history with the rest of Muslim world,
- their past was great and glorious,
- their suffering at the hands of the British and non-Muslims of India was a result of straying away from the guiding principles set forth by Islam,
- the notion propagated by the Orientalists that the age of Muslim rule in India was the darkest chapter of Indian history is wrong, and therefore they asserted that Islam and Muslim kings contributed a lot in giving a new life to India.

Apropos of the emergence of Marxist historiography in South Asia, it appears that this tradition also emerged in the first quarter of twentieth century. It challenged the Orientalist historiographic discourse, arguing that its agenda was to serve imperialist interests and it fostered communal differences between the Muslim and Hindu communities of India.

⁴ There is a long list of Pakistani nationalist historians who produced literature on medieval India, some prominent of them however are: I. H. Qureshi, Aziz Ahmad, S. M. Ikram, K. K. Aziz, Abdul Hamid, K. B. Sayeed, Waheed-uz-Zaman, Muhammad Aslam, Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Muhammad Saleem Akhtar, S. M. A. Fehmi and Suleman Zubair.

4.2 Major Themes in Pakistani Marxist Historiography with Reference to Religion

After the partition of India, Pakistani Marxist historians, nonetheless, turned their critique from the Orientalist historiography to that of Muslim nationalist histories. What follows is a discussion on the major themes in their writings:

4.2.1 Theocracy and Secularism

Religion is a base of Muslim nationalism and the intellectuals representing it seek to resolve all social, political, legal and economic problems of Muslim society in the light of religious guidance. They draw their logic from the ecclesiastical sources, and the modernism, hence, becomes a concern of secondary importance. By interpreting the historical facts in accordance with the Muslim nationalist approach, these historians argue that since the creation of Pakistan was based on the idea of Muslim separatism, hence they generally favour a theocratic form of government in the Islamic state of Pakistan.

However, the leftist, the secular and liberal scholars express their reservations regarding theocracy.⁵ They consider it perilous to the society arguing that it leads to orthodoxy and conservatism, and restricts artistic and aesthetic behaviours and potentials of the individuals.⁶ It violates the rights of women and minorities. The Marxist historians by discussing secular and

⁵ Sibte Hassan criticizes the notion that Pakistan is formed for theocracy. This notion he states is a rumour concocted and propagated by Jama'at-i Islami. Hassan quotes the national poet of Pakistan Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah's thoughts refuting the idea that the Pakistan movement was to attain a theocratic state and argues that the movement was based on demanding the right of self-determination, which is exclusively a western secular idea, given neither by Christianity nor by Islam.

⁶ Apropos of nature of Muslim rule in India, Muslim nationalist historians nonetheless express different interpretations. The historians like S.M. Jaffar, I. H. Qureshi, S. M. Ikram and A. H. Dani observe Muslim rule secular and even democratic. Since the philosophy of monarchy is fundamentally against the principles of Islamic political system the Khilafat or Imamate, the political system carried out by Indian Muslim rulers was not a theocracy. So, this system was based on Persian monarchic model collaborating various indigenous elements of governance. These historians however highlight the Muslim rulers as liberal policies and tolerant attitude towards the non-Muslims of India. On the other hand some radical nationalist historians criticize the ruler for adopting liberal policies and non-Islamic values. Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 6-10; Dani, "Political and Economic Institutions," eds. Waheed-uz-Zaman and M. Saleem Akhtar, *Islam in South Asia* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1993), 110-11, 166; I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, (Karachi: Ma'arf Publishers, 1942), 224, 227.

theocratic policies of the Sultans of Delhi and the Mughal emperors reveal how theocracy became problematic to the rulers and general masses of India. They endorse secularism and liberalism showing how these are beneficial for them. They urge that the politics and religion be separated and this benefits them both.

The Marxist historians present different interpretations of the historical facts. This is because they diverge on the premises, approaches and methodologies they employ in their research. Hassan theorizes the history of medieval India by employing the framework of historical materialism and he makes generalization giving his discourse a positivist outlook. The framework employed by Mubarak in his discourse is that of the Subalterns. Kazi Javed deals the historical facts with existentialist approach.

4.2.1.1 Blending of Religion and Politics in History to Maintain *Status Quo*

Sibte Hassan's narrative *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* sheds light on the dynamics of secularism and theocracy while discussing their implications on different parts of the ancient world such as Spain, France, Indus Valley, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Babylonia and Greece.⁷ It explains how the religions, myths and ideologies had been integrated into politics and how the dogmas had always been crucial in maintaining *status quo* in the societies.⁸ The development of secular ideas and practices in India from ancient times to the modern is also given ample attention by Hassan in the said work. He argues that the feudal states in India were founded by the warriors, and not by any priestly class that laid the political foundations of the state on theological principles. The rulers were secular, they revered the Brahmins but never let them be involved in political affairs of the

⁷ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 27-38.

⁸ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 27-38.

state.⁹ Hassan adds that the humanistic religions founded in India, i.e. Buddhism and Jainism preached secular ideas.¹⁰

4.2.1.2 Secular Muslim Rule in India

Coming to the Muslim rule in India, Hassan in his accounts *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* and *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* suggests that the Muslim invaders and rulers of India were secular. He describes that the Arab commander Muhammad ibn Qasim who invaded Sindh, and Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi and Muhammad Ghauri who invaded North-Western India did not intend to preach Islam, but they were motivated by ‘mundane desires.’¹¹ Mahmud Ghaznavi during his seventeenth expedition ‘not only looted Hindu temples, but he did not spare Muslims of Multan either.’¹² By giving various examples and small convincing descriptions about the characters of the Muslim rulers of Delhi Sultanate such as Sultan Iletmish, Sultana Razia, Sultan Ghiyathuddin Balban, Sultan Alauddin Khalji and Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, and Mughal Emperors like Babar, Humayun, Akbar and Jahangir, Hassan attempts to prove that they were profoundly secular.¹³ He argues that they were intelligent enough to understand that the sustainability of their rule could not be achieved unless they get the cooperation of non-Muslims.¹⁴ He expresses enormous admiration for the secular thoughts and conduct, policy of religious tolerance, pluralism and syncretic culture in India by the Mughal Emperors.¹⁵

⁹ Hassan, *The Battle of Pakistan*, 136-37.

¹⁰ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137.

¹¹ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137-38. Also see, Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 154-57, 180-81.

¹² Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137.

¹³ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 138-41. Also see, Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 197-208.

¹⁴ Hasaan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 194-202; Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137-41.

¹⁵ Hassan shows great admiration for Mughal Emperor Babar’s will through which he instructed his descendent Humayun to treat the subjects secularly, and which became a guiding principle for the later descendants of Mughal dynasty as well. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 278-79; Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 143. Similarly, he admires Mughal Emperor Akbar for his liberalism and secular policy, i.e. *Sulhe Kul*. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 295-309; Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 141-42.

4.2.1.3 Divine Law: Theocratizing of State

The first three of six chapters in Sibte Hassan's *Navid-e Fikr*—titled as “*Theokrasi*,” “*Islami Riyasat*” and “*Sekularism*”—highlight the problems of theocracy and argue for secularism.¹⁶ The discussions in these chapters encompass early theocratic states established in Babylonia, Egypt, Greece (Sparta), China, Japan and India. These states, according to Hassan, were theocratic, mainly because the laws enacted and enforced in those states were claimed to be divine, given by some supernatural powers.¹⁷ There were two fundamental political agencies, i.e. the ruling class and that of clergy. The common people were not considered so important that they could make any contributions in framing of laws of the state and in political affairs. They were subservient to the ruling classes.¹⁸ He examines and explains how the political elites in ancient and medieval India acquired the people's political loyalties through religious convictions. Accordingly, he evaluates the role of the religious texts,¹⁹ socio-religious behaviours of different social groups, and the rational-secular policies of the state. He maintains that from the end of *prohat raj* (the ecclesiastic rule) to Mughal era, the clerics in India could never acquire political power.²⁰

4.2.1.4 Role of Education in Secularizing the Medieval Indian Society

In *Navid-e Fikr*, Sibte Hassan defines secularism in social, educational and political terms. He defines secularism as “social and educational setup which is based upon science rather than any religion, and [is a political setup] wherein the religion finds no space to interfere in state matters.”²¹ In *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* and *Navid-e Fikr*, he assigns a greater value to educational

¹⁶ By writing these chapters, Hassan intended to wipe off the doubts of Pakistani readership about secularism and to aware them about the problems of theocracy. Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 3-166.

¹⁷ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 6-20.

¹⁸ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 19-20.

¹⁹ Sibte Hassan writes that it was *Manu Smriti*, the first book of Indian law, which bestowed the ruler a status of god. Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 12.

²⁰ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 20.

²¹ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 70.

system for the reformation of the society.²² He deplores the fact that during medieval period, the state in India, like anywhere else in the world, was not responsible for providing education to the people. He provides the details about the intellectual and educational developments—in the fields of art, architecture, music, medicine, and literature—that took place during the Sultanate and Mughal eras. He admires the Mughal emperors for initiating the schools which made the secular knowledge a part of their curriculum. He criticizes the Muslim rulers for not paying heed to the scientific and industrial education, as this was one of the main reasons of the decline of Mughal Empire. The British, according to him, subdued India only because they had made outstanding advances in scientific knowledge and technology.²³ Hassan links the social progress with education, and views social stagnation of India a result of its out-dated educational system. He accredits the British East India Company for taking the initiatives to promote secular education in India. The factors that promoted secular education in India, he accounts for, were modern technology and industry, western model of administration, and English language as medium to deliver western education.²⁴

4.2.1.5 Critique on Medieval Court Histories for Giving an Impression of Theocracy

Mubarak Ali critically views historical literature produced in medieval period. He highlights the anti-Hindu sentiment of the court-historians, which are reflected in their accounts. What they wanted by producing historical accounts was to glorify the personality traits of the rulers, and the

²² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 243-69, 291-306, 337-61, 379-88; Hassan, *Navid-e Fiqar*, 115-131, 148-51.

²³ *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* states that Muslim rulers paid no heed to scientific industrial education, not even by Akbar who is acknowledged to be a progressive ruler, nor by Aurangzeb who embarrassed his teacher for not educating him the subjects the ruler needs like geography, economics and politics. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 378-89.

²⁴ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 148. Sibte Hassan appreciates the Indian personalities like Raja Ram Mohan Rai and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for that they played significant role in promoting secularism and secular education. Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 113-31.

wars they waged against local Indian rulers.²⁵ They addressed the Hindus as *kafir* (nonbeliever), *mushrik* (polytheist), *laeen* (cursed), *zindik* (heretic), *gumrah* (heretic), *fasiq* (sinner), *napak* (impure), *ajalrasid* (those who came to an end), and *nabekar* (wicked), and contrarily they addressed the Muslims as *bahadar* (brave), *shuja* (courageous), *momin* (believer), *nayk* (good-doer), and *pakbaz* (pure).²⁶ They depicted the Muslim rulers as virtuous, noble and practicing Muslims, and that all their actions were according to Islamic teachings and for the propagation of Islam. These descriptions popularized the rulers as the heroes of Muslim society, and defamed the Hindus as its enemies. Such are the communalist descriptions in Muslim historiography of medieval India, which, Ali opines, have given a wrong impression that Muslim rule in India was theocratic.

4.2.1.6 Critique on Orientalist History for Depicting Muslim Rule in India as Theocratic

Mubarak Ali criticizes the Orientalist historiography of medieval India for it promoting the idea that the Muslim rule was theocratic. To him, the term like ‘the Muslim rule’ introduced by the Orientalists is controversial, because it implies a theocratic connotation. He states that the Muslim historians, over the course of history, never used this term, rather they termed the period in history giving it a dynastic or ethnic connotation e.g. Abbasid, Umayyad and Ottoman. It was the European historians, missionaries and travellers who fashioned such terms in historiography of India, which gave history a religious flavour. The Orientalists had a utilitarian conception of history, and therefore their narratives attempted to justify the British rule in India by criticizing the Muslim rulers. Their accounts stirred up communalist tendencies in India. *History on Trial* also

²⁵ Critically viewing the court historiography, Mubarak Ali states that the only reason behind the wars which the Muslim rulers and aristocrats consistently fought was survival. But, the Muslim historians described it as if they waged wars against Hindu rulers and destroyed their temples because they wanted to eradicate the evil and spread Islam. This made the Sultans the heroes of Indian Muslim society. This was the way that Qutab-ud-Din Ayyub, Iltutmush, Balban and Alauddin became popular heroes of Islam. Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2002), 41.

²⁶ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 194-97.

criticizes the European Christian missionaries who travelled to India and wrote on Indian history with religious prejudice.²⁷ In short, the way they narrated history created an impression that the Muslims rule in India was theocratic. In *History on Trial*, Mubarak Ali recounts the phenomenon of popularization of theocratic terms in historiography of India, and states that when the Indian Muslims during the colonial era found themselves as a minority Indian community confronting with a politic crisis, they responded it by glorifying their past and highlighting its theocratic character.²⁸

4.2.1.7 Analysis of Theocratic and Secular Policies of Muslim Rulers in Medieval India

Kazi Javed views the Arab conquest of Sindh as a blessing for the downtrodden people of India.²⁹ His books *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* and *Hindi Muslim Tehzib* inform that when Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi launched expedition against the Ismaili (a sub-sect of Shii Muslims) rulers of Multan, he used orthodox Sunni ideas as propaganda tool to undermine their influence.³⁰ The Sultans of Delhi Sultanate who had orthodox tendencies include Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji,

²⁷ Ali, *History on Trial*, 30-36.

²⁸ Ali, *History on Trial*, 40-49.

²⁹ This was because it not only ceased the tyrant political authority of local rulers, but the spiritual hegemony of upper class of Hindu society as well. Muslim came to India with a world-view that was more progressive and enlightened than what had been set up since ancient times.

³⁰ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 12; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 322.

Alauddin Khalji,³¹ Muhammad Tughluq,³² Firuz Shah Tughluq³³ and Sikandar Lodhi.³⁴ Similarly, the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir becomes a subject to his fierce criticism.³⁵ The rulers whom Kazi Javed mentions admiringly for their liberal and secular policies include Sultan Iltutmish, Sultan Ghiyathuddin Balban, Sultan Kaikabad, and Mughal Emperors Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. The liberal and progressive Mughal Emperor Akbar is venerated by Kazi Javed, Mubarak Ali and Sibte Hassan much more than any other Indian Muslim ruler.

4.2.2 Role of the *Ulema* in Medieval Indian Politics

The Muslim nationalist historians regard the *ulema* as the guardians of Muslims' faith, and their historical role is appreciated by these historians. While discussing their social status and historical role, the renowned historian I. H. Qureshi in his celebrated work *Ulema in Politics* (1972) states:

“So far as their [the *Ulema*’s] attachment to Islam is concerned, it has been deep and strong. Whenever there has been a challenge to it and they have understood the danger correctly, many of them have been willing to make sacrifices. True there have been black sheep as well among them, but this is only to say that some of them have not been above human

³¹ In *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, Kazi Javed narrates Sultan Alauddin Khalji who intended to introduce a new religion, when decided to take off the lands from Hindu farmers and land owners, he exploited religion to draw justification for that. Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 14.

Contrarily, in *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, he describes Alauddin Khalji was liberal-minded person like Balban and Kaikabad. He never claimed to be a savior of Islam as was did by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi or many others. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 37-39.

³² In *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, Kazi Javed describes that Muhammad Tughluq was religious fanatic because he made serious attempts at Islamizing the society. Besides Hindus, the Muslims also became victim of his fanaticism. Various new convert Muslims were sentenced to death for not offering prayers. Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 14.

However, his *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* tells Sultan Muhammad Tughluq was man of contradictory traits. He was severely against racial discriminations and social stratum. Towards non-Muslim, his attitude was unbiased and humanistic. He was much enthusiastic to learn Sanskrit language. Never did he give importance to opinions of orthodox *ulema*. Various apostates and the people having antipathetic inclination towards religion were associated with his court. Despite all this, he was egoist and suborn person. He was orthodox and adherent of Ibn Taymiyya's religious philosophy. He was against Sufis and killed various Sufi saints including Shaykh Shihab-ud-Din and Shaykh Shamsuddin. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 43.

³³ Firuz Shah Tughluq ordered to demolish the worship place of Hindus and used violence to convert native non-Muslims. Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 14.

Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa mentions that he was found of two things i.e. drinking and revival of *Sunnah*. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 45.

³⁴ Kazi Javed observes Sikandar Lodhi was also one of the most extremist rulers. He ordered demolished the *Mundirs*, posed restriction on pilgrim and on Hindu ritual of taking bath at various rivers. Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 104.

³⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 183-99; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 75-77, 183-84, 231, 270, 347-49; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 31-37, 43, 53, 75, 122, 126.

failings. Despite all their shortcomings they have tried to preserve the purity of the doctrine and have often proved doughty warriors in the defence of Islam.”³⁶

The Pakistani Marxist historians discuss the political role of the *ulema* perceiving them as a privileged class associated with the court of the Sultans and Mughal Emperors. They criticize the *ulema* for playing a negative role which thwarted the growth of Hindu-Muslim unity and the developments of mutual cooperation between them. To these historians, the *ulema* were the religious bigots who fostered the sentiments of hatred among the Muslims towards the non-Muslims. They criticized the interference of the *ulema* in state matters. The tone of their descriptions often becomes derogatory and pejorative.

By providing a lot of details and various examples, the Marxist historians argue that the *ulema* belonging to the court of Akbar were uncivilized, lustful, ill-tempered, irrational and intolerant. Reflecting upon the debates held at *Ibadatkhana*, their narrow-mindedness and intolerance towards their opponents is much highlighted.³⁷ The *ulema* in fact posed a threat to the liberal intellectuals, which is evident from the sufferings of intellectuals like Abul Fazl and his family at the hands of Mullah Sultanpuri and Shaykh Abdul-Nabi against them. The historian Mubarak Ali informs that being highly disappointed by the *ulema's* attitude, Emperor Akbar ultimately decided to stop them permanently from interfering in political matters, and to teach them a lesson. He therefore either sent them to exile or killed all those who disapproved of his policies of *Sulhe Kul* and *Din-i-Ilahi* as un-Islamic.³⁸ Only those were spared who extended their allegiance and cooperation to him and endorsed his policies.

³⁶ I. H. Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics* (Karachi: Ma'aref Limited, 1972), 22.

³⁷ Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 114, 214, 216 ; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 83-4; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 33-6; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 16-17.

³⁸ Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 59-68; Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 53-55.

Marxist historiography focuses on highlighting how the *ulema* being obsessed with orthodox ideas attempted to deteriorate communal harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims of India and despised the Hindi-Muslim syncretic culture.³⁹ It tells about the history of how the *ulema* attained a privileged status in the Sultan's court, the way they influence the Sultans to take severe actions against the non-Muslim subjects of India.⁴⁰ Discussing the Mughal era, Marxist historians explain how the *ulema* reacted against Emperor Akbar's policy *Sulhe Kul* and how he contained their influence in the court and state-matters.⁴¹ They also reflect upon the reaction of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (popularly known as Mujaddid Alif Thani), and the influence of his philosophic thoughts on Emperor Aurangzeb's religious policy.⁴²

The most forceful, plausible, and provocative reaction against Akbar's *Din-i-Allah* was offered by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi. He was a sufi, scholar, philosopher and a puritanical social reformer. The Marxist historical literature employs scathing remarks for him owing to his orthodox ideas. In his *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Sibte Hassan expresses no word of admiration and honour for him. Being highly critical, he observed and portrayed Sirhindi as irrationally separatist, extremist, orthodox, egoist and antithetical of rationalism. Giving offensive remarks, Sibte Hassan generalizes his character as a representative and example of orthodox *ulema* of seventeenth century India. After quoting some extracts of Sirhinidi's ideas, Sibte wrote, "This is not only egoism of an individual, but a representation of intellectual inclinations, moral degeneration and narrow-

³⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 191-92, 197-201; Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 140-41; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis, and Intellectuals*, 35-37; Ali, "Ulema aur Rasikh al-Aqidgi," in *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 66-80; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 22-23, 84-85, 92-94, 97-109.

⁴⁰ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 13-17; Ali, "Ulema aur Rasikh al-Aqidgi," in *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 68-70; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 35-37; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 20-55.

⁴¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 302-8; Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 144. Ali, *Ulema, Sufi and Intellectuals*, 22-25; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 72-75; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 83-95.

⁴² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 322-35; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 140-63.

mindedness of *ulema* in the seventeenth century.”⁴³ About the character of Sirhindi, the view and judgments of Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed are no different.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, Kazi Javed also admires him as philosopher who presented a very influential philosophy of *Wahdat-us-Shahud* (the Unity of Phenomena) as opposed to *Wahad-ul-Wajud* (the Unity of Being). He states that not only did he provide philosophic basis to orthodoxy but his ideas became Aurangzeb’s state-policy afterwards.⁴⁵

Contrarily, the Muslim nationalist historians, for instance S. M. Ikram, venerate Sirhindi as a Muslim intellectual and the revivalist of Islam having great moral courage to denounce the rulers like Akbar who by introducing *Din-e Ilahi* hurt the sentiments of Muslim community, particularly the orthodox.⁴⁶ However, some of them also criticize him for fostering religious schism, as he declared the *shias* as unbelievers. To them, Sirhindi’s ideas negatively affected the national unity of Muslims of India.⁴⁷ It appears that the orthodoxy for the Muslim nationalist historians is an integral element of Muslim nationalism, yet they denounce all those ideas which created disunity among the Muslims.

4.2.2.2 Historical Roots of the *Ulema*’s Political Role in India

Mubarak Ali’s enterprises *Tarikh ki Talash*, *Ulema aur Siyasat* and *Ulemas, Sufis and Intellectuals* go into how the *ulema* got involved into the politics after the Abbasid revolution against the Umayyad (749), and consequently, the Abbasid Caliphs appointed them as *qazi*, *mufti* and *muhtasib*.⁴⁸ To Ali, these *ulema* were subservient to the Caliphs whom they severed by justifying

⁴³ Hasaan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 324.

⁴⁴ For details see, Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 223-30; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 157-63.

⁴⁵ Nonetheless, Kazi Javed maintains that his philosophy of *Wahdat-us-Shahud* was based on his some spiritual experiences than logical or divine evidences. Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 227.

⁴⁶ S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, 7.

⁴⁷ S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, 7.

⁴⁸ Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 38-40.

and legitimizing their rule, their policies and their non-Islamic personal conduct. Ali reveals that they later on severed the Sultans of the kingdoms which emerged when the Abbasid Caliphate disintegrated.⁴⁹

The books *Ulema and Siyasat* (1993) and *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals* (2005) inform that the *ulema* started playing political role when the Abbasid dynasty (r. 750-1258 CE) centred at Baghdad came into power. Since the Persians extended their cooperation to the Abbasids for acquiring power, they dominated the bureaucracy of the Abbasids later on.⁵⁰ The Caliphs brought the *ulema* into mainstream politics so that they could acquire their help in justifying their rule and in protecting the Arab culture in the territories which they ruled. Their role further increased when they produced literature interpreting the nature of state as well as the status and authority of a Muslim ruler in the light of Islamic injunctions.⁵¹ The *ulema* strengthened their power by developing relationships and getting into matrimonial alliances with them.

4.2.2.3 The Ulema Serving the Interests of the Ruling Classes

In *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Sibte Hassan maintains that Indian Muslim rulers exploited religion and religious leaders for their vested political interest. He thus states:

The state has always been a stratified institution and its sole purpose is to protect the interests of the ruling classes. During medieval period, its function was protection of the king and the nobles. This notion is absolutely right that the ruling classes exploited religion for their personal benefits and they found nothing bad in taking advantage of the services of the clergy—the *mullah*, *pundit* and *padaris*. They were, however, not ready at all to recognize them as their masters.⁵²

According to Mubarak Ali, the *ulema* were exploited by the rulers in order to justify the actions and policies of the latter in religious terms. In *Tarikh ki Talash*, he explains the confrontation and

⁴⁹ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*. 24-26; Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 14-15, Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 38-40.

⁵⁰ Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 14-15; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 38-40.

⁵¹ Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 14-15; Ali, *Ulemam Sufis and Intellectuals*, 53-55.

⁵² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 199.

reconciliation between the religion and politics due to which the states historically have evolved three kinds of political models: first, a complete theocracy; secondly, a completely secularized political system; thirdly, the blending of religion with secularism.⁵³ Ali states that the medieval India witnessed the second type since most of the monarchs exploited religion for their personal benefits.⁵⁴

The Marxist historians examine how the *ulema* got associated with the court and became so powerful. Many *ulema* came to India when Mahmud Ghaznavi was invading Northern India.⁵⁵ Kazi Javed maintains that the *ulema* under Muhammad Ghaznavi were used as propaganda machinery in order to counter the social and political influence of Ismailis in Multan and its peripheral area where they ruled.⁵⁶

The official decree that delegated to Emperor Akbar an absolute political and religious authority was *Mahzarnama*. It was proposed by Abul Fazl so that the king could irresistibly implement his religious policies, circumventing the criticism of the *ulema*. Mubarak Ali becomes critical of the role of the *ulema* associated with Akbar's court. The authenticity of *Mahzarnama* was to be established only after that the *ulema* would put their signatures on it. Most of *ulema*, Ali states, felt no reluctance in doing so.⁵⁷ Those who showed their consent and signed it include *inter alia*

⁵³ In his *Tarikh ki Talash*, Mubarak Ali discusses the confrontation between religion and politics. He thinks both the religion and the politics contest to achieve power. The politics does it through wisdom, diplomacy, cunningness, conspiracy and wars; whereas, the religion through exploiting the emotions and faith of people. The politics works in mutual interests and benefits of the society whereas the religion claims to implement divine plan. However, he discussed that, the confrontation between religion and politics, empirically by referring to the clergies and the rulers. Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 21-39.

⁵⁴ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 40, 64-67.

⁵⁵ As Lahore in the period of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi was the capital of *Walayat-e-Hind* where intellectual enterprises were immensely given patronage, there developed a galaxy of intellectuals. Intellectuals across the Muslim world (from Bukhara, Samarkand, Herat, Ghazni and Khurasan) gathered there. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 183.

⁵⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 12.

⁵⁷ It was *Mahzarnama* (a written document describing a doctrine of infallibility), which bestowed an authority to Akbar higher than all sorts of religious scholars of the court. This document had received an approval of several

Sharif Amuli, Khwaja Sherazi and Shaykh Taj al-Din. They not only delegated religio-political authority to Akbar by signing *Mahzarnama* but they also regarded him as *Mujadid* or a reviver.⁵⁸

4.2.2.4 Ulema's Disapproval of Art and Aesthetics

Since the *ulema* viewed the artistic and aesthetic developments negatively, the Marxist historians express criticism on their views and activities. In *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Hassan examines the developments in the field of music, dance and painting, and criticizes the *ulema* for that they by issuing *fatwas* declared such activities un-Islamic and thus prohibited.⁵⁹ He reports that although the Muslim families, because of those *fatwas*, did not allow music and dance at their homes, the artistic developments remained continued.⁶⁰

4.2.2.5 Ulema's Inability to Address the Socio-political Crisis in Later Mughal Era

The Marxist historians demonstrate that when a society is deprived of religious freedom or the orthodoxy becomes a social norm, the intellectual and creative skills stop developing. This is what the three select historians—Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed—observe as to the Indian Muslim society during the reign of Aurangzeb. They explain that despite the court extended excessive political and financial patronage to the *ulema*, they failed to produce any scholarship that could be renowned and admired internationally. Mubarak Ali's *Ulema aur Siyasat* contains a chapter titled as "*Aurangzeb aur Ulema.*" This sets out describing that Aurangzeb in contrast to Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan gave high prestige to the *ulema* to serve his vested interests but they were too incompetent and incapable to resolve the problems of the Mughal Empire.⁶¹ In the

influential *ulema* of the court and the rest of them were put into prisons or killed secretly. That was the way how Akbar defeated the orthodoxy and introduced the new religion *Din-e-Ilahi*.

⁵⁸ Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 67.

⁵⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 241.

⁶⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 241.

⁶¹ Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 71-73. Mubarak Ali's *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals* describes that *ulema* after getting privileged found the opportunity to fulfill their greedy desires. It exposes, "...the *ulema*, by helping Aurangzeb, fully used the new acquired political power for furthering their interests; and soon they became notorious for amassing wealth through embezzlement, bribery and extortion." It further states, "The result was that having become involved

same vein, Sibte Hassan, in *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, writes that Aurangzeb's reign did not witness any religious scholar having a calibre matched to that of the scholars like Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Wali Ullah.⁶² In *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, Kazi Javed argues that although the religious scholars and their literary activities were offered official patronage and new religious seminaries and mosques got financial aid, these sites of learning failed to produce any creative mind.⁶³ This intellectual decay in South Asia, the Marxist historian propound, was the result of coercive and conservative policies of Aurangzeb.⁶⁴

The period from the demise of Aurangzeb to the ouster of last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar by the British East India Company in 1857 is regarded as a phase of Indian Muslim's gradual political decline. During this phase, the *ulema* being anxious about this deteriorating situation, adopted two kinds of strategies. First, they attempted to reform the society through intellectual efforts. Secondly, they started waging *jihad* (an armed holy struggle) against the non-Muslims of India whom they perceived their enemies. The most prominent ones of those religious scholars who initiated such mission were Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1762) and his son, Shah Abdul Aziz

in worldly affairs and corruption, the ulema lost their integrity and became a tool in the hands of the emperor [Aurangzeb] who used them for his political ends." Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 72.

⁶² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 335-36.

⁶³ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 196.

⁶⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 196.

Dehlavi (1745-1823),⁶⁵ Haji Shariat Ullah (d. 1840)⁶⁶ and his son, Dadu Mir (d. 1862),⁶⁷ Titu Mir (d. 1831)⁶⁸ and Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed (d. 1831).⁶⁹ The Marxist historians, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed, share their opinions about the vision and activities of these personalities and the dynamics of the movements they launched. They hold that those leading figures were unable to comprehend the real problems and the causes which precipitated the decline of Indian Muslim society. These historians argue that the religious leaders made an error of judgement in recognizing the real enemy of India—i.e. the British East India Company. Instead of fighting against the British, they declared the local Indians, i.e. Sikhs and Hindus, their enemies and made them a target of their militant struggle.⁷⁰ This created a split between the Muslims and non-Muslims, undermining the political strength of the Indians. This situation was exploited by the British East Indian Company, which ultimately overthrew the Mughal Empire in 1857.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Delhi-based religious scholar, Shah Abdul Aziz is discussed by Mubarak Ali in *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*. The author describes that when Muslim of India confronted with varied political challenges which arose in the wake of emerging political and economic hegemony of East India Company, the people found no political leadership to lead them, but the *ulema*. Among them was Shah Abdul Aziz who allowed the Muslims to develop restricted relations with British, only professional, not cultural. Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 81; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 79-81.

⁶⁶ Haji Shariat Ullah initiated a movement in Bengal that was called as Faraizi Movement, which aimed at purifying Islamic society from non-Muslim customs and traditions. This movement became popular among the peasants who were felt themselves under economic oppression of landlords. The movement endeavoured to educate the illiterate peasants. Haji Shariat Ullah also set up a parallel organization namely *Khilafat* which had its own deputies in each village-units. Being defiant to state-apparatus/ institutions, it established its own courts and asked the peasants not to pay land-taxes.

⁶⁷ Dadu Mir was a son of Haji Shariat Ullah. He after the demise of his father led the movement. However, he quitted militant stance and emphasized on the separate Muslim identity and internal problems of the society having social, moral religious importance.

⁶⁸ Titu Mir was the disciple of veteran Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed in North-West India. Titu Mir got active in West Bengal and his struggle was in compliance with that of Haji Shariat Ullah. This movement came to a tragic end after developing a clash and intrigue with Hindu landlord. The landlords sought the aid and force from East India Company and crushed the movement relentlessly.

⁶⁹ Sayyid Ahmad was another veteran of Indian Muslim community who, through waging Jihad, was motivated to rescue the grandeur of Muslims of India from its decline. The center of his activities was North India. In his militant struggle against Sikhs and Pathans, he was killed in Balakot and praised by Muslim community as Shaheed (a martyr).

⁷⁰ Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 83-84; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 74; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 164-74.

⁷¹ Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 164-74.

4.2.3 The Spread of Islam in India

The way Islam spread in India has been a controversial issue among the historians, and they have dealt the subject with different approaches. The Orientalists belonging to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries maintain that it was the force of sword used by the Muslim rulers which compelled the non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Refuting this allegation, the Muslim nationalist historians argue that it was not the fear of sword but a powerful ideology expressing a message of humanity, equality, fraternity and other practical aspects of humanism—lacking in the indigenous religions and cultures—that impressed the desperate people to accept Islam.⁷² Since most of the Marxist historians contend that the social structures are dependent on economic organization of the society, they interpret that changing political and economic conditions made the Indian non-Muslims accept the ideas of the ruling classes. The select Pakistani Marxist historians address this subject and express different opinions. To them, a number of factors contributed to the spread of Islam in India, such as the political and religious culture of the ruling classes, the activities of the *ulema* and Muslim missionaries, the humanist social conduct of the sufis, and the socio-religious and economic condition of the society.

4.2.3.1 Causal Analysis of the Growth of Muslim Population in South Asia

Historical materialism is the framework through which Sibte Hassan interprets the nature of social relations between the Hindus and Muslims and also the increase in Muslim population in India after the Arab conquest of Sindh and the establishment of the Sultanate. He considers that Arabs after taking political hold of Sindh made no attempt at converting any non-Muslim coercively, nor they were interested in spread of Islam, but in accumulating the wealth of India by all means.⁷³ He

⁷² See, Fahmi, *Hindustan Par Islami Hakumat*, 8-9; Yasin, *A Social History of Islamic India*, 2-3; Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 193-95; I. H. Qureshi, *the Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947)*, 1-87; Moinul Haq, "The Spread of Islam in South Asia, eds. Zaman and Akhtar, *Islam in South Asia*, 52-83.

⁷³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 158.

adds that after the conquest of Sindh, Hajjaj ibn Yousuf instructed Muhammad ibn Qasim not to take any action which would hurt the religious sentiments of the conquered people. It was because he wanted the Indian people feel that the conquerors were their well-wishers and emancipators.⁷⁴ This is how, he suggests, the Arab invasion of Sindh was not religiously motivated venture but an imperialist one, and the conquerors were indifferent at all to the missionary activities. Recounting the myriad aspects of the spread of Islam in his *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Sibte Hassan propounds some factors contributing in the growth Muslims population in India: First, the local people converted to Islam; secondly, the gradual migrations and settlements of Muslims into India went on; thirdly, some Muslims after settling there in India got married with Indian women which extended congeniality and heterodox outlook of the society; fourthly, due to Arab-Indian intermarriages there emerged a hybrid generation—this generation represented the Hindu-Muslim syncretism, and lastly, the Ismaili (Qaramati) missionaries who came to India from Yemen tried to snatch political power from the Arabs by converting people to their faith and ideology.⁷⁵ All these factors, he thinks, contributed in the growth of Muslim population in India.

4.2.3.2 Contribution of the Ismailis and Sufis in the Spread of Islam

Sibte Hassan rejects the idea that the rulers and *ulema* contributed to the spread of Islam in South Asia, and argues that the *ulema* who were prejudiced towards and looked down upon the non-Muslim could not impress them to accept their faith. He accredits the Ismaili missionaries⁷⁶ and

⁷⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 151.

⁷⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 158-59.

Ismailia (*Qaramatiya*) missionaries gained such an influence that the people led by Ismaili missionary Jalm ibn Shuban revolted against Arab ruler of Multan and made him the ruler of Multan. As Jalm had come from Egypt, the Friday sermon had been reciting in the name of Egyptian Caliph. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 163.

⁷⁶ The Ismailia is a subsect of Shia which originated from Egypt. In eighth century CE, some of its missionaries migrated to India and settled in Muslims majority areas at coastal line, i.e. Gujrat, Malabar, Concan and Coromandel. Hassan admires the way the Ismaili missionaries preached Islam by winning the hearts of local people belonging to the lower classes. Hassan asserts that after the Arab conquest of Sindh those who first went into systematic missionary activities were Ismailis. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 162.

the sufis, who were liberal and humanist in their ideas and conduct, for doing this job. He maintains:

Ismaili missionaries made the lower classes, i.e. the peasants and artisans, a focus of their activities. Another characteristic of their missionary activities was that they attempted to reconcile the Islamic teachings with local cultural norms and values, lest the people would suspect that Islam is contrary to the local cultural values. They explained the Islam's message in vernacular languages. They did not emphasise on the learning of Arabic language, nor did they compel them to mould themselves according to Arab culture. Even, they did not urge the newly convert Muslims to adopt Islamic names.⁷⁷

Contrarily, the *ulema* held the view that the non-Muslims of India or 'the infidels' should either be killed or be converted to Islam; on the other hand, the sufis' attitude was completely different; certainly contributed a lot in religious conversions and presenting a soft image of Islam.⁷⁸

On that account, Site Hassan accredits the sufis' humanism due to which a huge population of India turned to be Muslims. He observes that the sufis were far more popular among the Indians than the Muslim ruling classes. They advocated the cooperation and conciliation between the Muslims and non-Muslims. The rulers by using state apparatus could force the subjects, but not their sentiments, but the sufis won the hearts of the people.⁷⁹ He argues that the common people converted to Islam *en masse* only by observing the conduct of the sufis.⁸⁰ It was their humanism, liberalism and cultural adaptation which impressed the locals to be Muslims.

4.2.3.3 Contradictory Views on the Role of Rulers in Conversion to Islam

The issue of Indian non-Muslims' conversion to Islam is addressed by Mubarak Ali in his various undertakings which include *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*,⁸¹ *Almiya-e Tarik*, *Tarikh ki Talash*, *Ulema Aur Siyasat*, *Historian's Dispute*, and *Acchut Logon Ka Adab*. In these

⁷⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 162.

⁷⁸ Sibte Hassan talks about the Sufis who migrated from Persia to Lahore and tells Shaykh Ismail converted thousands of Hindus of Lahore to be Muslims. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 186.

⁷⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 191-92, 200, 210, 212.

⁸⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 185-86, 191.

⁸¹ Ali, "Musalman Mu'ashra," in *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 42-65.

accounts, Mubarak Ali appears to have shown contradictory views on whether the Muslim rulers were interested in conversions or they showed indifference towards it. Further, in case they were motivated to convert the indigenous non-Muslims, whether they used force or they adopted some missionary and peaceful means. Another contradiction that his works show is regarding the sufis' role: whether they were interested in converting the people to Islam or not.

In *Almiya-e Tarikh*, Ali expresses the idea that the Muslim rulers were religiously biased and they converted the Indian non-Muslims to Islam by adopting coercive policies. He puts it,

“...as to the spread of Islam, the Muslim rulers are considered to have shown apathy. This notion is not true, because the Muslim population in India increased only when the Muslims had established their rule over it. The Muslim rulers were extremely anxious for increasing Muslims population, which they thought was necessary for the stability of their rule. Further, the rulers also felt a dire need to have some trustworthy coreligionists from Indian origin, who could help them run the state affair. Consequently, they recruited them in military and other institutions.”⁸²

Ali explains coercive conversions by given an example of Khusrau Malik, who was a war slave but converted to Islam, and later on became a Sultan of Delhi.⁸³ Highlighting the coercive methods to religious conversions, *Almiya-e Tarikh* reveals that when the Muslim rulers used to invade Indian territories and capture the Hindu soldiers, they were forced to change their faith or they would have to face a death penalty.⁸⁴

In contrast to this perspective, his work *Historian's Dispute* (1992) explains that the Muslim rulers remained indifferent towards conversions. It thus explains:

“Why did Muslim rulers make no attempt to convert the Hindus? The historian failed to examine the causes of their religious policy. The Muslim rulers had political power. There

⁸² Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 63.

⁸³ In *Almiya-e Tarikh*, Ali rejects the notion that Muslim rulers showed no interest in religious conversions. He explains that the Muslim rulers needed a larger Muslim population to run the state institutions. That is why they attempted to convert the people anywhere they made conquests. Thus, many of the non-Muslims who were the war slaves became Muslims so as to avoid their massacre. Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 63.

⁸⁴ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 63.

was no threat to their rule. They ruthlessly crushed all rebellions. The Hindus surrendered and became loyal. Under these circumstances, there was no need of conversion.”⁸⁵

In his work *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, he seems to suggest that if the Muslim rulers had wanted the local non-Muslims to convert to Islam to strengthen political power of the Muslim community in India, they could do it but they did not want to do it by using force, lest the people could revolt against them.⁸⁶

A small study by Mubarak Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab* advocates the rights of the untouchables, wherein it criticizes the Muslim rulers for being indifferent towards making the social conditions of India better for the downtrodden people. They never made any attempt at converting the untouchables to be Muslims. The Muslim rulers made no effort to preach Islam in the lower classes. This was because by doing so they had to acknowledge, at least theoretically, their equal rights as Muslims.”⁸⁷ The Mughal Emperor Akbar, who is commonly perceived as most liberal among all the Muslim rulers of India, receives a fair share of criticism by Mubarak Ali. He argues that Akbar developed cordial relations with the Hindus community, but only with those who came from the upper classes such as the Rajputs; this treatment he never gave to the untouchables. He argues that the followers of *Din-e Ilahi* were instructed not to develop any relation with the butchers, fishermen and bird-catchers. This meant that they would keep themselves away from the people belonging to the lower castes.⁸⁸ By presenting such a description, *Achhut Longon ka Adab* makes an impression that the Muslim rulers were not interested in missionary activities because they were not willing to share their political power and social prestige with the natives of India.

⁸⁵ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 13.

⁸⁶ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 44.

⁸⁷ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 25.

⁸⁸ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 25.

4.2.3.4 Critique on the Involvement of the *Ulema* in Coercive Conversions

Ali's *Ulema aur Siyasat* describes the Muslims rulers as secular and vindicates them from the charge that they made any coercive conversions, but it argues that the *ulema* made such attempts. To him, one of the main reasons behind communalist tensions and riots was that the *ulema* were fraught with missionary zeal, and by exploiting their powerful positions they compelled the non-Muslims to accept Islam.⁸⁹ For instance, in 1669, the *qazi* of Surat attempted to convert the Hindu traders to Islam as well as destroy a Hindu temple, and forcibly had a Hindu accountant (*munchhi*) circumcised. These incidents filled the Hindus community of Surat with horror, and they shut off their business, migrated to some other cities, and wrote to Emperor Aurangzeb about complaining it. This book also criticizes the *ulema* for their relationships with Hindu women, making them leave their homes, change their religion and marry them.

4.2.3.5 Indifference of the Sufis to Religious Conversion

In contrast to Sibte Hassan's views on the role of the sufis in conversion, Mubarak Ali maintains that the sufis made no recognizable contribution in the spread of Islam and bringing explicit change in the society. He makes the point that their role as to religious conversion is overemphasized by the Muslim historians during the colonial era. They did this to discredit the rulers whom they found showing excessive tolerance towards the non-Muslim community and perceived it a reason of Muslim decline in South Asia.⁹⁰ In *Almiya-e Tarikh* and *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, he propounds that it is an exaggerated statement that the sufis made the people change their religion.⁹¹ Conversions could only be possible when Muslims came into power and established their rule in

⁸⁹ Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 163.

⁹⁰ Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 190-2. The undertaking *Almiya-e Tarikh* by Mubarak Ali argues that the historians have overemphasized on a baseless stereotype that Islam is spread owing to the efforts of the sufis. It expresses that the sufis who came of some popular sufi *silsilahs* such as Chishtiyya, Qadiriyya, Ghouthiyya, Imdadiyya, strived to develop harmony among different religions instead of preaching Islam in its puritanical spirit. Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 59, 64.

⁹¹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 59, 62, 65; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 190-92.

India. In addition, the social, political and economic conditions of the people of India were the essential factors which led them to convert to Islam.⁹²

4.2.3.6 Psychological and Economic Explanations for Religious Conversion

After the Arab conquest of Sindh, the people, in the view of Kazi Javed, were psychologically motivated to accept Islam. The political measures taken by the Arabs impressed the people religiously. The Indian people interpreted a worldly phenomenon of the Arab conquest supernaturally and mythically, which was spirit of that time. They perceived the Muslim military conquest of Sindh as a will of supernatural forces which governs the universe. It was, therefore, very natural for the inhabitants of the conquered land to get inclined towards the religion of the conquerors.⁹³

Besides recounting this psychological factor, Javed interprets the conversion with realist understanding, and holds that in India, the power played a vital role in the spread of Islam. This yet was not a sheer demonstration of power by the Muslims. He contends that the spiritual interpretations could only satisfy those who believed in religious and metaphysical phenomena. He thus provides economic reasons of conversion stating that the most Hindus were converted to Islam because idol worship had become a hurdle in securing privileged status in the court of the rulers.⁹⁴ Although, the Arab rulers provided the non-Muslims of India with religious freedom and respected their places of worship, even then the Hindus converted to Islam. They did so to gain worldly benefits. The *jizya* (poll tax to be paid by the non-Muslims) left on the non-Muslim a

⁹² Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 59, 62, 65; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 193-96. The factors Ali recounts in *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals* are: the groups of opportunities collaborated with Government showing their loyalties and converting their religion and attained the land grants and official positions; the landlords converted to save their lands, some converted to save themselves from plunders of conquering army, the lower castes converted to raise their social status. Some converted to be Muslim after they were expelled from their *beradaris* (the caste). Some accepted Islam after being impressed by its teaching.

⁹³ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 3.

⁹⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 3-4.

profound psychological impact, and they exempted themselves from paying it by converting to Islam. He adds that this was the reason why most of the rulers in the Sultanate period, for a long, asked the new convert Muslim to pay *jizya*.⁹⁵

4.2.3.7 Assessment of the Role of the Sufis of Varied *Silsilahs*

The undertakings of Kazi Javed suggest that the sufis made no intentional efforts to convert non-Muslims of India to Islam. He argues in *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*:

“For many reasons, Sufism became a source of mediation between different sections of the local/Indic and Muslim civilization. It is not surprising that the spread of Islam was primarily possible because of the sufis’ efforts.”⁹⁶

On another occasion, the book exposes that until the reign of Sultan Ghiyathuddin Balban, a larger segment of the peasants and artisans under the influence of humanist sufis challenged the inhumane social conditions and entered into the fold of Islam.⁹⁷ His *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat* elucidates rather more comprehensively the sufi’s role in the spread of Islam. It tells that the Chishti sufis developed inter-religious harmony and promoted Hindi-Muslim syncretism instead of converting the non-Muslims to Islam. This was the very reason that they faced the severe criticism of the orthodox *ulema* and the rulers. However, he is critical of the Suhrawardi sufis who were involved in missionary activities and converting the non-Muslims to Islam, even by adopting coercive means.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 3-4. Javed explains that Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq when announced to abolish the policy of collecting *jizya* from the convert Muslim, many of the non-Muslims got motivated to be Muslims. Moreover, the people who were dissatisfied by the discriminatory social structure of Indian society, i.e. the caste system, got impressed by Islam’s concept of equality and converted to Islam. To Javed, this occurred mostly in those areas where Buddhist influence was still overriding.

⁹⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 4.

⁹⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 35.

⁹⁸ Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 64.

4.2.4 Historical Role of Sufism in India

The Muslim nationalist historians' discussion on the sufis' role in historical developments of India may broadly be divided into two categories: the first deals with the relationship of the sufis with the society as large. Historians, like S. M. Ikram, highlight the sufis as the representatives of a softer image of Muslim community of India. They portray them as pious and ascetic Muslims who mainly contributed in the spread of Islam in India—who by their humanistic conduct and religious tolerance impressed the non-Muslim to embrace Islam.⁹⁹ Countering the 'sword theory' primarily presented by the Orientalists, they accredit the sufis for spreading of Islam in South Asia.¹⁰⁰ They portray the sufis, with less or more variations, as 'the spokesmen for the common people'¹⁰¹ when they were threatened by some foreign attacks or by the ruling elites. They regard them as a source of blessing to the rulers for their righteous conduct and prolonging of their rule, and attaining conquests in military expeditions. Another dimension of the sufis historical role in Muslim nationalist discourse is that the sufis were upright figures who voluntarily, and even by putting their lives at risk, put check and balance on the conduct of the rulers. They consistently instructed them to be righteous and just towards their subjects.¹⁰² The sufis are acknowledged by the Muslim nationalist historians for introducing and promoting a unique Indo-Muslim culture, as they showed profound interest in Indian music, poetry and literature, and further promoted these by giving them some Islamic hue.¹⁰³

The second group of the historians among the Muslim nationalists which, for instance, is represented by I. H. Qureshi, are highly critical of the sufis who attempted to find truth in any way

⁹⁹ For instance see, Moinul Haq, "Spread of Islam in South Asia," in Zaman and Akhtar, *Islam in South Asia*, 52-83; Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 70-71, 245-51.

¹⁰⁰ Haq, "Spread of Islam in South Asia," 56; Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 245.

¹⁰¹ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 70.

¹⁰² Hussain Khan, "The Rise and Expansion of Muslim Power," in Zaman and Akhtar, *A History of Muslim Civilization in Indian and Pakistan*, 36.

¹⁰³ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 248-50.

other than Islam.¹⁰⁴ They think that the sufis by being so flexible and accommodative towards the non-Muslims and by adopting their culture had harmed the sanctity and purity of their religion. Qureshi considers that the sufis' liberalism dangerously affected the puritan aspect of Muslim society, and that it gave rise to syncretic culture, and religious movements like Bhakti mitigated separate Muslim identity.¹⁰⁵ He puts it that "the vague [heterodoxy] of Sufism, however, opened the way to many abuses."¹⁰⁶ He criticizes the sufis who promoted heterodoxy arguing that "Islam has a well-defined creed and one who does not believe in it, is not a Muslim. Islam can seek no compromise with notions which come into conflict with its beliefs."¹⁰⁷ This can be inferred by the discourses of the Muslim nationalist historians that either they criticize some of the sufi views and practices, or they praise their role in history. Nonetheless, they derive their logic mostly from religion, and both groups agree that the interests of Muslim community of India were safeguarded by the sufis at large.

Contrary to the Muslim nationalist historians' perspective and arguments, the Marxist historians assess the historical role of the sufis in a secular framework. They pay attention to the sufis' contribution in the social, political, cultural and economic life. They highlight the philosophic concepts in Sufism and the conduct of sufis as one of the major factors that shaped the culture of Indian society. Both critically and reverentially, the Marxist historians appraise the myriad aspects of Sufism that include, *inter alia*, the social status of the sufis, their approaches and conducts towards the non-Muslims of India, their relationship with the state and society, socio-political and psychological implications of the mystic philosophies such as *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* and *Wahdat-us-Shahud* on Indian society. The Marxist historiography also discusses the sufis' role in the spread

¹⁰⁴ Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, 26-38.

¹⁰⁵ Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, 29, 36.

¹⁰⁶ Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, 26.

¹⁰⁷ Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, 28.

of Islam in Indian subcontinent. The sufis' contribution in the development and promotion of vernacular languages, art and literature is an added dimension to be considered in Marxist historiography.

4.2.4.2 Appreciation of Ismaili Rulers for Extending Patronage to Sufism in India

Finding that the most historians representing Sunni school of thought criticize Ismaili sect declaring it heretic, Sibte Hassan provides a defence to Ismaili rulers and sufis missionaries, and depicts them as progressive, liberal and humanist. He appreciates the Ismaili rulers of Multan, as they welcomed the migrant Persian sufis who preached Islamic humanist traditions and inspired the common people. His book *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* praises the Ismaili sufis settled in cities like Multan and Uch, the leading centres of Sufism in India, for inspiring the people to accept Islam.¹⁰⁸ It explores and discusses the relations between the Ismaili sufis and the sufis belonging to some other sects highlighting their liberal tendencies.¹⁰⁹ It maintains that the Ismaili rulers and sufi were the early missionaries who propagated liberal, progressive and humanistic aspects of Islam.

4.2.4.3 Depiction of the Sufis as a Counterweight to Orthodoxy

In *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, the discussion on sufis of Ghaznavi and Sultanate period mostly hinges upon the comparison between the approaches and conducts of *ulema* and those of the sufis.¹¹⁰ The sufis are perceived by Sibte Hassan as the representatives of common people. He

¹⁰⁸ *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* makes a brief reference that Shaykh Ismail Bukhari (1005 CE) converted thousands of people living in Lahore to Islam. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*. 162, 186.

¹⁰⁹ Pir Roshan who launched a movement named as Roshaniya is admired for his intellect and the motives of his movement. Sibte Hassan states that he was actually inspired by Mullah Suleiman who belonged to Ismaili sect.

¹¹⁰ Discussing the life and work of Ali Hujwari, Kazi Javed admires him for presenting works in different genre of Islamic and mystic knowledge, his fearlessness in expressing bold and blunt opinion regarding both *Shariat* and *Tariqat*. Further, he complements him on that he loathed the *ulema* who were power-hungry and pursued worldly concerns and the pseudo-sufis. He expresses that while sharing his views on different sects in Islam Uthman Ali Hujwari showed a conservative attitude like *ulema* rather than that of a liberal sufi. He mentions Shaykh Bahauddin Zakariyya Multani in reference with is liberalism, humanism and social works. Baba Fariduddin Ganjshakar is discussed for his gentle and kind manners, behaviour and way of speech.

admires them for their philanthropic conduct and humanistic thoughts, as well as for developing communal harmony and for being unbiased religiously, racially and culturally. He acknowledged them for teaching the Muslims how to develop relations with the non-Muslims.¹¹¹ By highlighting the confrontation between the *ulema* and the sufis, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* shows how the *ulema* were biased towards the sufis and they treated them harshly. It regards the *ulema* as callous, egoist and intolerant, and suggests that they kept manoeuvring against those whom they found getting popularity.¹¹² They thus defamed them by calling *Mehdavi* or *Rafazi*—by which they meant the heretics. The case of Shaykh Alai, as discussed by Hassan, is an example in point, as he was victimized by religious fanatics like Makhdum-ul-Mulk.”¹¹³ Similarly, Shaykh Salim Chishti (1478-1572 CE) was the sufi who was greatly admired by Akbar, the book tells that he for this very reason became the victim of *ulema*’s highhandedness.¹¹⁴

4.2.4.4 Contribution of the Sufis in Promoting Vernacular Literature

The Marxist historians have also focussed on the sufi contribution to the development of vernacular literature in India, through which the linguistic hegemony of Arabic and Persian was

Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa provides information about Bahauddin Zakariyya’s *murshid* Shaykh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi who was assassinated due to his atheism and disciples Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar who enthusiastically demonstrated dissident, non-conformist tendencies. By providing such sort of information, the author Sibte Hassan attempts to suggest the liberal and dissident attitude of some of Muslims Muslim sufis. He furthermore venerates sufis for their generosity and philanthropy. The book has given appreciation to the efforts of Bahauddin for social welfare, since he took measures of great importance which state should have taken otherwise. For instance, he constructed wells and canals for irrigation, by cutting down trees he prepared the forest-lands for agriculture, and he encouraged the trade activities.

¹¹¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 191; Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 142. Sibte Hassan’s sensitivity about the humanism reveals by his comments about the Ali Hajveri’s discourse on other sects. He states that Ali Hajveri’s description of other sects of Islam does not show liberalism and flexibility of Sufism. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 188.

¹¹² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 303.

¹¹³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 303. Shaykh Alai was a Bengali Muslim and arrived at Biana in 1528 CE. Islam Shah Suri, the then King in Agra, heard his fame that he was a person who claimed to be Mehdi. At first he perceived him a dangerous demagogue; he summoned him in the court. The king got impressed by Shaykh Alai’s eloquence and resolve. Later on, in the second part of the reign of Islam Shah, the members of Mehdavi movement were captured, trailed and ruthlessly killed. Among them, Shaykh Alai was also included who was whipped by Makhdum-ul-Mulk Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri.

¹¹⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 306.

challenged. In this regard, the development of Punjabi language and literature sufis like Shah Shamsuddin Sabzwari (d. 1276 CE), Shaykh Fariduddin Ganjshakar (1188-1280 CE) and Shah Hussein of Lahore (1539-1599 CE) are particularly discussed in *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*.¹¹⁵

4.2.4.5 Criticism on Naqshbandi Sufi *Silsilah*

The Marxist historiography in Pakistan offers a stern criticism to Naqshbandi *Silsilah*. Hassan in *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* renders no word of admiration for Shaykh Ahmed Sirhindi, known for his puritan ideals, and regards him as a conservative, egotistical, and antagonist to philosophical knowledge. It reveals that Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi who was also initiated in the Naqshbandi *Silsila* was highly critical of Mujaddid Alif Thani's writings in which he declared having a spiritual stature higher than Pious Caliphs, Abu Bakr and Umar.¹¹⁶ By referring to Dehlavi's resentment for Sirhindi's writings, Sibte Hassan substantiates his criticism on the orthodoxy advocated by Sirhindi.

Sibte Hassan contends that the three major sufi *silsilahs* in India, namely the Chishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya and Qadiriyya preached humanism and liberalism. It, nonetheless, was Naqshbandiyya, popularized by Sirhindi, that promoted hatred not only between Hindus and Muslims but among Muslims as well, since it presented Islam with rigid interpretation and was inflexible towards the practice of *sharia*.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ As regards the development of Punjabi Languages and literature, Sibte Hassan accredits the contribution of Guru Nanak and his disciples as equal as the Muslim sufis. He states, Shah Shamsuddin and Shaykh Fariduddin Ganjshakar contribute a lot in developing the literary norms of Panjabi language through their poetry. Yet these personalities were of twelfth centuries and there is a gap of three centuries until Guru Nanak and his disciples revived the tradition to preach ideas in Punjabi poetry. The author propounds that much of Punjab poetry exists in the form of oral tradition which is developed not by individuals but communities of village culture. He nonetheless is grieved on the fact that Bourgeois critics have paid no attention to such sort of collective creative works, nor did they include those in literature. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 316

¹¹⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 322-25.

¹¹⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 322, 325-26.

4.2.4.6 Causal Analysis of the Popularity of the Sufis in India

Mubarak Ali's *Historian's Dispute* (1992) casts ample light on the status of the sufis in Indian society and their historical role. It describes that all major sufi *silsilahs* originated outside India, either in Persia or Central Asia, and only those *silsilahs* attained popularity which advocated the philosophy of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*. Mubarak Ali's *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* contains a chapter titled as "*Sufiya aur Mu'ashra*," which discusses different dynamics of the sufis' relationship with state and society.¹¹⁸ It categorizes the sufi tendencies in three types: the liberals, orthodox and apathetic. It maintains that the sufis associated with the Chishtiyya, Suhrawardiyya, and Qadiriyya *silsilahs* became more popular in India than Naqshbandiyya because the former were apt in getting indigenized themselves and in developing reconciliation between varied faiths existing in India.¹¹⁹ The Naqshbandi sufis emerged in Mughal period and expressed an orthodox stance being critical of the philosophies like *Sulhe Kul* and *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*. They opposed the Muslim-Hindus interaction, and the consequent syncretic culture; therefore, they inspired only those who were inclined to orthodoxy.¹²⁰ The third tendency, Mubarak Ali explains, was expressed by the sufis who emerged in response to the extremism and orthodoxy of the *ulema* and they demonstrated dissenting attitude towards the socio-political traditions, norms and values. The sufi *silsilahs* that showed a non-conformist and dissenting behaviour included Shattariyya, Madariyya, Qalandariyya and Majzubiyya.¹²¹ These sufi *silsilahs* became much popular among the lower classes oppressed by social and political structures.

However, Mubarak Ali explains that the popularity and importance of sufis remained fluctuating over the course of history, since it was dependent upon social, political and economic

¹¹⁸ Ali, "*Sufiya aur Mu'ashra*," in *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 81-87.

¹¹⁹ Ali, "*Sufiya aur Mu'ashra*," 81.

¹²⁰ Ali, "*Sufiya aur Mu'ashra*," 81.

¹²¹ Ali, "*Sufiya aur Mu'ashra*," 81-82.

circumstances. During the Sultanate era, the political turmoil and inconsistent state policies increased the importance of sufi *khanqahs* or lodges in the eyes of the common people.¹²² During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries CE, the sufis were given land grants by the rulers and they settled in remote and rural areas where they received regard, honour and prestige from the peasantry. In the wake of strong and vast Mughal Empire, the importance of the sufis got reduced. The rulers visited the sufis merely to get their blessings to have a crown prince, or getting cured from diseases.¹²³ When the decline of the Mughal Empire set in, the sufis regained popularity and the people rushed to them so that their spiritual powers might rescue the Empire from social degeneration, political turmoil and economic problems.¹²⁴ Hence, Mubarak Ali suggests that the social trends, belief system and political circumstances of India played a significant role in determining the stature and importance of the sufis during the medieval ages.

4.2.4.7 Criticism on the Exaggerated Veneration of the Sufis in Historiographical and Hagiographical Works

In *Tarikh Shanasi*, Ali evaluates how the sufis acquired influential status in Indian society, and critically holds the historiography produced in medieval India responsible for it. He maintains that the Muslim orthodox historians such as Ziauddin Barani portrayed the sufis as if their stature was higher than that of the Sultans. The historical accounts that he brings under criticism for venerating

¹²² Ali's *Almiya-e Tarikh* describing the origin of *Khanqah* and states that the sufi *silsilahs* evolved in Abbasid period, established a distinct system of *Khanqah*, intending to provide food and shelter, convinced the people to show tolerance and contentment than being rebellious towards injustice and oppression on the part of elites. Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 45-46. It is Ali's *History on Trial* (1999) that set out the reasons why sufis became popular and had pivotal role in social, cultural political life. This explains: 'During the Sultanate period, the Turkish rule was not fully consolidated and there were constant wars with the hostile Hindu rajas. In these wars, victory was always doubtful and to rely on the political force was risky. This strengthened the belief, where political force failed, spiritual power helped to protect the Muslims. These feeling made the sufis important factors to win battles against the infidels in order to establish Muslim power.' Ali, *History on Trial*, 13-14.

¹²³ *Almiya-e Tarikh* discloses that Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti died in 1236 CE and his grave was at the place where there was no inhabitation, no attraction for people. It was sufi Shaykh Hussein Nagwari who initially constructed his Mausoleum by taking donation from Sultan Ghiyathuddin Khalji (1469-1500 CE). Nonetheless, the mausoleum became famous when Mughal ruler Akbar came to this mausoleum and his descendants reconstructed the mausoleum magnificently. Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 39.

¹²⁴ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 34-36. Also see Ali, *Historian's Dipute*, 75-79.

the sufis are Amir Hassan Ala Sijzi's *Fawa'id al-Fuad*, Amir Khurd's *Siyar al-Auliya*, Hamid Qalandar's *Khair al-Majalis*, and Syed Jalaludin Bukhari's *Jami al-Ulum*. Ali denounces the exaggerated veneration of the sufis, descriptions demonstrating their spiritual elevations, and stories of their incredible miracles and wonders.¹²⁵ The overemphasis on the glorification of the sufis in these accounts, he thinks, has marginalized the role of common people in historical development. Ali adds that the sufis were so influential in the society that they were parallel to the Sultans. If the Sultans were political guardians of Indian Muslim community, the sufis were the spiritual ones.¹²⁶ Amid both kinds of elite, the Sultans and the sufis, the voices of the common people in historiography of India were silenced.¹²⁷

He is equally critical of Indian Marxist historians belonging to the colonial era, like Muhammad Habib, who venerated the sufis assuming that they demonstrated the Marxist tendencies. He argues that these historians presented merely the positive features of Sufism, and circumvented those aspects which negatively affected the society. By doing so they wanted the inter-communal harmony in India be promoted. Mubarak Ali makes a point that an attempt on the part of Marxist historians to portray sufis as secular having Marxist tendencies is faulty one. This is because

¹²⁵ *Tarikh Shanasi* provides an instance of Barani's description about Sidi Maula's assassination in the court of Jalaludin Khalji. It maintains that the description has presented the event dramatically, in a way that suggest as the decline that Jalaluddin Khalji had to face was due to this unfair act. Further, it refers the incident, without providing details, of Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya who said *Hanoz Delli dor ast* (Delhi is still far away). It holds that these kinds of descriptions have given more importance to sufis as compared to the Sultans. Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 43.

¹²⁶ Ali's works *Ulema Sufis and Intellectuals* and *Almiya-e Tarikh* explains the concept of 'spiritual rule' and its implications practically. It conjures that after attaining popularity and prestige due to their followers' propaganda, the sufis' desire to rule grew. Consequently, they coined a concept of spiritual rule that took reinforcement by theorization of Muhiyuddin Ibn Arabi. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's concept of *qayyum* has been perceived by Mubarak Ali as another attempt to interpret and maintain the notion of spiritual rule. Shah Wali Ullah's division the institution of *Khilafat* into *zahiri* and *batini* (political and spiritual) Mubarak Ali think is a similar intellectual venture. Ali making a comparison between both the spiritual rule and political rule tells that the political rules went to be changed from autocratic to democratic whereas the spiritual rule is still continued with older autocratic and monarchic characteristics. Disparagingly viewing the nature of spiritual rule, he urges that the spiritual kingdoms of the sufis be conquered just like the autocratic political kingdoms had been done. Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 187-9, Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 49, 56.

¹²⁷ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 42, 122.

someone who confesses certain faith can never be religiously unbiased or neutral. Ali feels that “Someone [the sufi] who becomes a missionary of a certain faith cannot be unbiased, and therefore, is deficient of an ability to unite the Hindus and Muslims.”¹²⁸

4.2.4.8 Criticism on the Socio-political Role of the Sufis

In his *Ulema aur siyasat* (1993), Ali states that the sufis adopted *tariqa* (mystic path to find truth) than *sharia* (the legal path of Islam). They were more tolerant and peaceful than the *ulema*. At the same time he criticizes the sufis since they did not negate the *sharia*, nor did they make efforts at replacing it with something alternative. They just separated themselves from the way the *ulema* had adopted. The sufis did not confront with the political system, nor disapproved of the *sharia*. Consequently, they remained unsuccessful to bring any change in the society, except for providing temporary relief to the oppressed people of the society.¹²⁹

Gender discriminatory attitude of the sufis is also criticized by Mubarak Ali. His book *Tarikh aur Aurat* (1993) includes a small chapter titled “*Sufiya aur Aurat*,” which discusses the sufi perception of the opposite gender, women. It asserts that the sufis following the path of mysticism deny all worldly comforts, luxuries and attractions, including the women. It quotes a few extracts from Shaykh Ali ibn Uthman al-Hujwari’s famous book *Kashaf al-Mahjub* showing that the sufis considered women should be debarred from attaining spiritual uplift. It cites the views of a Chishti sufi of eighteenth century, Shaykh Kalim Ullah of Jehanabad who instructed his disciples to keep themselves away from women so as to make spiritual progress.¹³⁰

Mubarak Ali in his undertaking *Almiya-e Tarith* replicates Romila Thapar’s thesis which she applies on the priests of ancient India, explaining that the ascetic people who assumed worldly

¹²⁸ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 62-63.

¹²⁹ Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 164.

¹³⁰ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 59-63.

renunciation could not succeed in getting themselves aloof from worldly pursuits, nor did they contribute to change the world.¹³¹ He argues that since the sufis were given the land grants by the rulers, they were unable to challenge the political system and invite the wrath of the rulers.

Marxist historians like Kazi Javed level criticism on the associational relation of Suhrawardi Sufis with the State. He becomes critical of the sufis when he finds drawbacks in the strategies they adopted to advance their missions, i.e. promotion of humanism, equality and liberalism. His accounts *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā, Hindi Muslim Tehzib, Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, and *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar* appreciate Chishti sufis who despite bearing enormous troubles did not compromise with the court of Delhi Sultanate.¹³² However, he is a harsh critic of the Suhrawardi sufis who developed associational relations with the court and the ruling classes despite whatever the excuses for it they had.¹³³ They forged alliance with the court when Sultan Iletmish ascended to the throne of Delhi after defeating Sultan Nasiruddin Qabacha and he declared a Suhrawardi sufi, Shaykh Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi as Shaykh al-Islam.¹³⁴ Kazi Javed maintains that this alliance between political and spiritual leaders inflicted great harm to the spiritual stature of Suhrawardi *silsilah*.¹³⁵ As the rulers, he thinks, were afraid of the popularity of Chishti sufis perceiving them a threat to their political authority, they attempted to exploit the

¹³¹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 33.

¹³² Javed mentions many example of that the Sultans who represented orthodoxy showed harsh treatment towards liberal Chishti sufis. For instance, tells that the Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, after coming into conflicts with the Chishti sufis, get many of them assassinated, including Shaykh Shihabuddin and Shaykh Shamsuddin. Khwaja Nasiruddin Chiragh-e Delhi, similarly, became a victim of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq who tortured him for he refused to be his personal servant. Javed, *Bare Saghir mien Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 44. Also see, Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 207; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 48-53.

¹³³ Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 24-27, 41-53, 57, 59.

¹³⁴ Shaykh Bahauddin Zakariyya Multani, a sufi saint who popularized Suhrawardi Sufism in India, had supported Sultan Iletmish against his rival Sultan Nasiruddin Qabacha. When Iletmish defeated Qabacha and captured Multan, the prestige of Shaykh Bahauddin got enhanced and Iitemish. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 55.

¹³⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 55.

Suhrawardi sufis to counter the Chishti popularity.¹³⁶ Shedding light on the Suhrawardi sufis' relations with the court, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar* state:

In contrast to the general sufi tradition, the Suhrawardi sufis directly participated in political affairs. Their political perspective was orthodox. By this, they compromised the spirit of dissent integral to Sufism since its commencement. The result was that the Suhrawardi attitude gradually became like that of the *ulema* associated with the court. It becomes evident that their leading figures such as Shaykh Ruknuddin Abul-Fateh and Saiyyid Jalaluddin Makhdum Jahangasht extended unconditional allegiance to the rulers. According to them, their relationship with the rulers promoted Islamic environment. The history, after all, showed that their claim was wrong, and proved that the blend of Sufism with orthodox politics inflicted a great harm to Sufism itself.¹³⁷

4.2.4.10 Sceptical Interpretation of Sufi Traditions and Practices

Discussing the sufi traditions and practices, Ali's *Almiya-e Tarikh* speculates that some individuals and groups of people who constructed the sufi traditions and norms for their benefits. They developed and popularized those traditions which tended to protect the privileges they acquired in the community. A culture of superstitions in a society stirred up the people to concede and practice those traditions. The traditions got further strengthened when the rulers showed their own inclination towards them. These traditions include veneration of sufi masters, festivals, celebrations, and norms and values linked to the sufi shrines.¹³⁸ *Almiya-e Tarikh* reveals that the sufis coined their own terms, diction and lexicon regarding their traditions, practices and concepts which they called *asrar-o ramoz* (mysteries and subtleties), and they used to speak figurative and metaphorical language to keep their communication secret.

4.2.4.9 Role of the Sufis in Developing Communal Harmony in India

Mubarak Ali addresses the question, whether the sufis were motivated to bridge the communal differences in India or not. In his books *Historian's Dispute* (1992) and *Almiya-e Tarikh* (1994),

¹³⁶ Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 51-52. Javed writes that it, however, was Shaykh Ruknuddin who sensed the pursuits of the ruler and adopted such policy that he could maintain good relations with both the Chishti sufis and the rulers.

¹³⁷ Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 76-77.

¹³⁸ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 28.

he maintains that the *ulema* always developed a rift between the Hindus and Muslims and attempted to convince the rulers to adopt orthodox policies, since they believed in that Islam is the sole right path. On the other hand, the sufis were moderate and liberal, and they encouraged unity and harmony between the Hindus and Muslims.¹³⁹ Mubarak Ali opines that it is an overemphasized idea that the sufis were the prime agent in developing communal harmony, and describes that the common people among both the Hindus and Muslims, having little knowledge of religion, strived for unity and harmony in mutual interests of both communities. The sufis did not initiate but supported the efforts of inter-harmony and mutual cooperation.¹⁴⁰

He admires the Chishti sufis like Shaykh Abdul Quddus Gangohi (1456-1537 CE) for promoting inter-communal harmony, but criticizes Suhrawardi sufis like Makhdum Jahanian Jahangasht (1308-1384 CE) and his brother Raju Qattal who endorsed violence to convert the non-Muslims to Islam. The book *Almiya-e Tarikh* admires Akbar for his policy of *Sulhe Kul* and criticizes Sirhindi who insisted on Muslims' separatist identity. *Almiya-e-Tarikh* depicts Sirhindi as an opponent of Hindu-Muslim unity and all those symbols, values and traditions which had evolved in a long historical process of Hindu-Muslim interaction and harmony.¹⁴¹ Moreover, the sufi-prince of Qadiri *silsilah*, Dara Shikoh receives appreciation for his thoughts and efforts to promote inter-faith harmony.¹⁴²

In some of his writings, Mubarak Ali appears to have made generalizations which brought his views into contradiction. For instance, in *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, he maintains that the sufis took on a crucial role in bringing the people of different religions into a

¹³⁹ Ali, *Historians Dipute*, 80; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 17-19

¹⁴⁰ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 17-19.

¹⁴¹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 22-25.

¹⁴² Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 25-26.

harmonious relationship by varied means.¹⁴³ This interpretation of sufis' socio-political role comes in contradiction with a stance Mubarak Ali takes in *Tarikh Shanasi* wherein he argues that the sufis professed a specific faith and thus they were not secular and unable to get the people harmonized.¹⁴⁴

4.2.4.11 Appreciation of Humanist Conduct of the Sufis

In his undertakings *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, and *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, Kazi Javed evaluates Sufism in India with reference to secularism, humanism, liberalism and progressivism. He particularly admires the Chishti sufis for that they preached love, compassion, progressivism and liberalism countering orthodoxy and extremism in the society.¹⁴⁵ He appreciates them for developing inter-religious and inter-cultural harmony between the Hindus and Muslims of India. His admiration further extends to the non-conformist sufis who expressed rebellious and dissenting behaviour towards the establishment, and challenged the social, cultural, religious and political traditions.¹⁴⁶

4.2.4.12 Criticism on the Worldly Pursuits and Activities of Suhrawardi Sufis

Javed also criticizes the Suhrawardi sufis on the ground that that they accumulated wealth and received land grants from the Sultans.¹⁴⁷ He mentions about the wealth and lavish life style of Suhrawardi sufis like Shaykh Bahauddin Zakariyya. He analyses the conflicts on spiritual succession between the son of Shaykh Bahauddin, i.e. Shaykh Ilmuddin Amamah, and his grandson Shaykh Ruknuddin.¹⁴⁸ His works *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat* and *Punjab kay Sufi*

¹⁴³ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 81.

¹⁴⁴ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 62-63.

¹⁴⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 17-35, Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 20-33; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 40-45.

¹⁴⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 56-81.

¹⁴⁷ Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 48-61.

¹⁴⁸ Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 56.

Danishwar also offer a detailed account of the conflict between Shaykh Sadruddin Arif and Prince Muhammad (the son of Sultan Balban).¹⁴⁹

4.2.4.13 Disapproval of the Missionary Activities of Some Sufi Groups

Javed also denounces the Suhrawardi sufis for assuming missionary agendas and converting people to Islam.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, he criticizes most of the Suhrawardi and Naqshbandi sufis, whom he considers orthodox, and finds them becoming a tool of maintaining political and social *status quo*.

4.2.4.14 Identification and Characterization of Trends in Indian Sufism

One of remarkable contribution of Kazi Javed as to the historiography of Indian Sufism is that he identifies the major mystical trends and describes their salient characteristics in a very comprehensive way. His accounts such as *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* (1977), *Hindi Muslim Tehzib* (1983) and *Punjabi di Sufiyana Riwayat* (1993) examine intellectual and mystic evolution in medieval India by showing six distinct tendencies and propensities: first, progressive orthodoxy; secondly, dissident and rebellious attitude; thirdly, Islamic revivalist and puritanical movements; fourthly, sectarian inclination; fifthly, progressive and liberal tendencies; and sixthly, Muslim nationalist approach.

‘Progressive orthodoxy’ is a term coined and used by Kazi Javed for the tendencies showed by the sufis during the period stretching from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century CE. This term implies the blending of *sharia* with humanistic and progressive understanding of the society.¹⁵¹ By quoting various statements and interpreting the social conduct of the sufis, Kazi Javed reflects on sufis’ conciliatory attitude towards *sharia* and liberal values. They, however, acknowledged the

¹⁴⁹ For details, see Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 49-51; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 89-91.

¹⁵⁰ Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 62-64.

¹⁵¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 1-55; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 199-208; Javed, *Punjabi di Sufiyana Rawaya*, 9-66.

superiority of *sharia* over Sufism. Shaykh Ali Hujwari and various Chishti sufis through showing progressivism reacted against the *ulema*'s orthodox interpretations of the religion.¹⁵² The sufis who represented this tendency include Sayyid Ali Hujwari, Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, Baba Fariduddin Masud Ganjshakar, Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya, and Amir Khusrau.

The second sufi intellectual trend in India during the medieval period, according to Kazi Javed, was the anarchist, dissident and rebellious behaviour. This trend started manifesting itself in the beginning of the fourteenth century CE. The representative of anarchist Sufism not only negated and criticized the ritualistic religious obligations flagrantly, they also believed that spiritual realization could only be possible by getting rid of the external and ritualistic religious practices.¹⁵³ The sufis who represent this thought include Uthman Marwandi (alias Lal Shahbaz Qalandar),¹⁵⁴ Shaykh Sharafuddin (alias Abu Ali Qalandar, d. 1324 CE),¹⁵⁵ Shaykh Abdullah Shattari (the founder of Shattari *Silsilah*, d. 1472),¹⁵⁶ Shaykh Badiuddin Madar (the founder of Madari *Silsilah*, d. 1434), and Bayazid Ansari (alias, Pir Roshan, 1525-1585).¹⁵⁷ These sufis are admired by Kazi Javed for promoting unorthodox ideas. However, to him, they were deficient in skills for channelizing their thoughts and acquiring mass following. This deficiency, he states, was overcome by Pir Roshan who learnt local languages and employed them to convey his ideas, and quite successfully attracted a large enthusiastic following.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, this deviant behaviour was an extremist form of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*.

¹⁵² Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 9-16.

¹⁵³ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 57-96; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 208-313; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 71-135.

¹⁵⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 57-60.

¹⁵⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 57, 60-61.

¹⁵⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 61-64.

¹⁵⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 63-65.

¹⁵⁸ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 65.

The third intellectual tendency in Indian Sufism identified by Kazi Javed is of Islamic renaissance which initiated like a movement, and even became a state policy during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. The author contends that this movement was supported by those whose vested interests were associated with the orthodoxy. The sufi intellectuals who are recognized and discussed by the author as the great exponents of orthodoxy and revivalism include Shaykh Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri (1263-1381), Saiyyid Muhammad Jaunpuri (1343-150), Shaykh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi (1551-1642) and Shaykh Ahmed Sirhindi (1564-1624).¹⁵⁹ These historical figures provided philosophical and metaphysical grounds to the orthodoxy. Kazi Javed critically analyses their philosophies and brings out their disastrous psychological impacts on the society such as cynicism and pessimism.¹⁶⁰ The most influential of the orthodox sufis during Jahangir's reign was Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, who is admired by Javed as the one who actually identified and conquered the real strength of liberalism and progressivism in India, espoused by the adherents of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*. He, nonetheless, brings Sirhindi's ideas under his criticism and gives an account of the negative impacts of the conquest of *Wahdat-us-Shahud* over *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*.¹⁶¹

The fourth tendency evolved from the puritan and revivalist philosophy of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, which after reaching its peak generated sectarian zeal and later provided foundations to

¹⁵⁹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 95-163; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 62; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 217-30; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 39-43.

¹⁶⁰ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 156-60; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 41-43.

¹⁶¹ The concept of *Abodiyat* presented by Mujadid Alif Thani after gaining a spiritual experience, which made him explain that the status of prophet and his revelation is superior to a sufi saint and his revelation (*wahi* over *ilham*). In wake of that, the *ilham* should not contradict *wahi*, and sufi's saying and actions should be in congeniality with Quran and *Sunnah*. Kazi Javed feels this intellectual development confined the intellectual scope of Indian Muslims within the framework of orthodoxy, conservatism and dogmatism. In addition that, harm was inflicted to the process of Hindi-Muslim amalgamation, unity and cultural syncretism. Politically speaking, the beneficiaries of this philosophy were a few, the Turks, who were in conflict with Persians, the Shias. That is why Kazi Javed considers that Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's attempt at bringing renaissance was for Sunni Islam, rather than Islam. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 150-4; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 223-30.

Aurangzeb's fanatic religious policy.¹⁶² Negating the proposition that Aurangzeb promoted a sense of Muslim separatism among the Indian Muslim, Javed argues that he was not representing the Indian Muslims, rather he was a representative of a certain sect of Muslims. The aristocrats having vested interests got aligned with Aurangzeb and they ruthlessly crushed sufis like Dara Shikoh who advocated liberalism, secularism and humanism.¹⁶³

The fifth trend in Sufism pinpointed by Kazi Javed emerged in the seventeenth century CE, which was represented by the Qadiris, who showed liberal and progressive attitude, and equally responded to the orthodoxy of Naqshbandiyya. Javed appreciates the Qadiri sufis for their thoughts, conduct, and contributions demonstrating their liberal, humanistic, and progressive approach. The Qadiri sufis whose thoughts and conduct are reviewed by him include Shah Hussein Lahori (1539-1591),¹⁶⁴ Miyan Muhammad Mir (1550-1635),¹⁶⁵ Mullah Shah Badakhshi (1550-1635),¹⁶⁶ Shaykh Muhibullah Allahabadi (1587-1648),¹⁶⁷ Dara Shikoh (1615-1659),¹⁶⁸ Sultan Bahu (1630-1691),¹⁶⁹ Shah Inayat Ullah (1655-1718),¹⁷⁰ and Baba Bulleh Shah (1680-1757).¹⁷¹

¹⁶² Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 231; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 43-49; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 184-99.

¹⁶³ Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 230-1; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 181-99; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 170, 178-82; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 45.

Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa tells that during Aurangzeb's reign the Shias and the people coming of non-Sunni Muslim sects were regarded as non-Muslims.

Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 194.

¹⁶⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 167-68; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 342-45; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 129-144; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 83-90.

¹⁶⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 168-70; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 346; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 166-75; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 99-101, 104-5.

¹⁶⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 170-2; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 346-47; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 176-83; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 106-11.

¹⁶⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 174, 179-80; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 347; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 111.

¹⁶⁸ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 174-80; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 330, 347; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 178-79, 182; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 111-13; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 45-46.

¹⁶⁹ Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 344-45; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 145-65; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 91-98.

¹⁷⁰ Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 349; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 187-91; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 168.

¹⁷¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 168; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 349-56; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 184-200; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 119-35.

The author by appraising the poetry and literature produced by these sufis highlights and admires the humanist values they preached to attain spiritual uplift and win the love of Allah Almighty. He admirably shows how these sufis condemned the religious orthodoxy, conservatism and socio-religious divisions, and promoted the ideas of love with humankind, religious tolerance and ‘unity of Being.’

The sixth and the last intellectual and mystical trend that Kazi Javed discusses, emerged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries CE, and was dominantly showed by Indian sufis like Shah Wali Ullah, who was a Naqshbandi sufi. He strove for Muslim nationalism and solidarity by reconciling various juristic schools of thoughts, political orientations, mystic philosophies, and divisions and factions among the Muslims.¹⁷² Javed finds him representing the leftist inclinations, as he underlined economic reasons for the decline of Muslim society in India. He admires his intellectual faculties but criticizes the top-down approach that Wali Ullah adopted to reform the society by writing letters to the rulers and nobility, as Javed thinks that the change comes when the society reforms itself from below, and not from the above.¹⁷³

In short, the Marxist historians describe various mystical tendencies in India and admire the sufis, particularly the Chishti and Qadiri sufis, who contributed in developing a culture of religious tolerance, liberalism, humanism and progressivism. They are critical of those who promoted orthodoxy, conservatism, and communalism, and were involved in missionary activities. Sibte Hassan generally perceived the sufis as the representative of the common people, whereas Mubarak Ali regards them the religious and spiritual elite. The Marxist historians criticize those

¹⁷² Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 167-8; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 342-45; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 129-144; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 83-90.

¹⁷³ Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 154-55.

sufis who enjoyed cordial relationship with the rulers, offered unconditional allegiance to them, and thereby strengthened the forces of *status quo*.

4.2.5 Marxist Historiography on Liberal, Syncretic and Orthodox Religious Movements in Medieval India

The Marxist historiography unravels various socio-religious and political movements, which include both the liberal ones such as those of the Ismailis, Shattaris, Madaris, Bhakti, Roshaniyya, and the Muslim renaissance movements like Mehdi, Mujaddidi, Faraizi, and Jihad movements. It offers a powerful critique on them by evaluating their philosophies, objectives, strategies, achievements and failures.

4.2.5.1 Causal Analysis of the Emergence of Socio-religious Movements

The Marxist historians like Sibte Hassan finds that the varied socio-religious movements that emerged in medieval India were the reaction of downtrodden people against the social, political, economic injustices and oppression. The causes of their emergence were political and economic, yet the exponents leading those movements adopted religion idiom for articulation of their views, which gave the impression that all the movements that originated in Indian society were religious,¹⁷⁴ as it was a norm at that time. All the movements which in fact were reaction of the lower classes against their oppressors used religious jargons to mobilize the common people.

Another highly important factor that contributed to the emergence of these movements, according to Kazi Javed, was the long historical process of Hindi-Muslim interaction and the consequently evolved syncretic culture. He maintains that this was an expression of a dialectical process taking

¹⁷⁴ *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* reveals that all ideas, during the medieval ages, were only conveyed to the people with reference to the religion. Dominant elements in the movements during medieval period—such as Mu'tazila in Middle East, the movements of the sufis in Middle East and South Asia, the movements of Martin Luther, John Calvin and Zwingli in Europe, Sikhism in Punjab, *Satnami* movement in Gujrat, the movement of Pir Roshan in Frontier province, *Mehdavi* movement in Sind and Jaunpur, Faraizi movement in Bengal and the movement of Syed Ahmad *Brelavi* in western part of Hind—were political and economic. These movements however used religious language in order to popularize their aims and objectives. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 159-60.

place between the two distinct civilizations, i.e. Hinduism and Islam, which led to the evolution of syncretic culture. However, some of the movements represented separatist tendencies on both sides, and some represented liberalism, adaptation, reconciliation and syncretism.

4.2.5.2 Challenging the Misportrayal of Ismaili (Qaramatiyya) Movement

Sibte Hassan is critical of the treatment that Muslim nationalist historians gave to the Ismaili movement that initiated and flourished in Multan region. He states that the Muslim nationalist historians deliberately neglected its historical role, and tried to malign it and its leadership by branding them as heretic and non-Muslims.¹⁷⁵ Hassan unravels different historical aspects of Ismailis of Multan such as their origin and the nature of the movement.¹⁷⁶ He regards this movement as the uprising of the downtrodden people of Multan against the social and political abuses of the age. The way Ismaili sufis and missionaries preached Islam is criticized by the Muslim nationalist historians, who consider it a heresy and the Ismailis as a heretical sect, since the version of Islam they preached was not puritanical. However, Sibte Hassan admires the Ismailis on the same point that they attempted to convert the people keeping them connected with their culture and social customs, and even they did not ask them to change their names to Islamic ones.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Muslim nationalist historian Mufti Shaukat Ali Fehmi, in his book *Hindustan par Islami Hakumat*, depicts the Qaramtis as heretic and dangerous to Muslim rule in India and rest of Muslim world, and consequently, admires Mahmud Ghazanvi's ventures against them. See Fehmi, *Hindustan par Islami Hakumat*, 70-73.

¹⁷⁶ Destined to be the rulers of Multan, the missionaries belonged to a sub-sect of Ismailia sect of Islam which became renowned as Qaramatiyya. Sibte Hassan discusses the history of this sub-sect in order to convince his readers that it was, in fact, a movement of downtrodden people initiated clandestinely in Iraq, in 869, by Hamdan Qaramat against the injustice and oppression of Caliph Ibn Abbas. The author therefore rejects all the objections levelled by the historians that Qaramatis were plunderer, anarchist, murderers, and barbarians. Hassan propounds that the historians defamed them as they represented the ruling classes and wanted status quo. In Sind, the movement, he contends, aimed at toppling the rule of Arabs by revolting against them, with the help of common people. The people who were given central importance by Ismailia missionaries were peasants, artisans and others belonging to the lower classes. After successfully revolting against Arab rulers, the people made their missionary leader Jalam ibn Shaban the ruler of Multan.

¹⁷⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 161-62.

4.2.5.3 Marxist Historians' Views on Bhakti Movement in Medieval India

Another historical and religious movement that attracted the attention of Marxist historians in Pakistan is Bhakti movement, which started in the twelfth century CE, and later became immensely popular in northern India during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries CE.¹⁷⁸ Discussing the movement, the historians offer varied opinions about its nature and objectives. Some consider that Bhakti movement was launched by some Hindu reformists who after being inspired by Islam's message of equality felt the need to reform the Hindu society. Some assert that it was a Hindu movement to reconvert those Muslims who previously were Hindus. Some opine that the movement was an attempt to absorb the Muslims into Hindu society and culture. Some express the view that it was in fact against the oppression due to Indian feudalism.¹⁷⁹

Shedding light on its nature, the Marxist historian Sibt Hassan contends that Bhakti movement was a form of Indian Sufism. It was a product of peculiar social environment of the country. Hassan links its evolution to the liberalism that Ismaili missionaries preached when they settled in southern coastal areas of Sindh and Gujrat, as well as Malabar, Concan and Coromandel. For that, he also provides textual evidence and states that one of the sacred books of Ismailis is *Ten Avatars* that symbolize Allah as Brahma, the Prophet Adam as Shiva, and Caliph Ali as Vishnu. He adds that Satpanthi was one of the offshoots of the Bhakti movement and its founder was Syed Imamuddin Ismaili. Sibt Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā* examines how the sufis and the representatives of Bhakti movement strove to provide a fascinating example of Hindu-Muslim syncretism.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 207-8.

¹⁷⁹ To know more about the origin and objectives of this movement have been discussed in historical literature. See, Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 12-15.

¹⁸⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 214-27.

Explaining the origin and examining the ideas and approaches of Bhakti movement and the impacts that it left on the society, Mubarak Ali in his account *Tarikh ki Awaz* discerns and admires three of its main characteristics: first, the missionaries of the movement belonged to the lower classes; secondly, it was against religious extremism, orthodoxy and bigotry; and thirdly, the exponents of the movement employed the medium of poetry in varied genres to disseminate their message among the people.

Kazi Javed in his undertaking *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* (1977) holds that Bhakti movement appeared in India in the wake of Hindu-Muslim interaction and was a reflection of cultural syncretism. He states that it came into being as a “result of conscious efforts which were made to develop a synthesis between the two great civilizations [the Islamic and the Hindu].”¹⁸¹ In his treatise *Tarikh-o Tehzib* (2010) he offers a different perspective as to its origin, and contends that the term Bhakti occurs in the *Puranas* (the sacred texts of Hinduism). So Bhakti was a devotional movement originating in ancient India, which, however, revived itself during the medieval ages. Javed add that Bhakti was a mystical movement in Hinduism, just as Sufism has been that of Islam.¹⁸²

4.2.5.3.1 Criticism on the Strategy Adopted by the Exponents of Bhakti Movement

Sibte Hassan examines why Bhakti movement failed to change the social structure of India. He argues that although its leaders were against the social injustice and economic oppression, and intended to create an egalitarian society, they were unaware of the fact that it is not the ideas but

¹⁸¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 69.

¹⁸² Javed, *Tarikh-oTehzib*, 23-24.

Sibte Hassan however refers to the same source *Influence of Islam on Indian culture* by Tara Chand and infers that Bhakti movement though had some individual characters which were of Hinduism, the overall outlook and sub-features of Bhakti movement suggests that the movement originated under the influence of Islamic teachings. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 209-10.

the economic infrastructure which brings about a change in social relations. Nor did the Bhakti movement, he explains another reason, aim at bringing any social revolution in the society.¹⁸³

Mubarak Ali is, however, critical of the approach of its leaders, and maintains that they merely preached their ideas to the people living in rural areas, and they held the urbanites in contempt. His criticism further extends to their doctrinal position, stating that the movement had fundamentally focused on the individual salvation but lacked any strategy to reform the society as a whole.

4.2.5.3.2 Identification of the Causes of the Failure of Bhakti Movement

Mubarak Ali explores the reasons why Bhakti movement failed to establish an egalitarian society, and asserts that later it was divided into factions or sects, the major two of them were the *Nirguna* (the belief that God is Omnipotent) and the *Saguna* (the belief that God's manifestation takes place in different forms). He observes that each faction of the movement affected the society in its own way. For instance, the leading figures of the movement such as Bhakta Ramadas introduced the concept of nationalism in Bhakti. He gave his movement a form of *dharma* i.e. *Maharashtra-Dharma*, which gave political ambitions to the leaders for establishing Hindu rule. The movement afterwards came into alliance with Shiva Ji, and its followers fought against the Mughals for attaining independence from them. Similarly, Guru Nanak confessed Nirguna Bhakti, but his descendants turned militant and extremist.¹⁸⁴ Ali's discourse suggests that due to lack of a common objective and concentrated efforts of its leaders, as well as religious extremism and militancy the movement failed to bring some positive and constructive change in the Indian society.

¹⁸³ Hassam, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 223.

¹⁸⁴ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 12-16.

4.2.5.4 Interpretation of Sikhism as a Reaction against Hindu-Muslim Orthodoxy

A religion founded by Guru Nanak in the sixteenth century CE, Sikhism is perceived by the Marxist historians as an offshoot of Bhakti movement.¹⁸⁵ Sibte Hassan in *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqah* discusses the life of Guru Nanak, and unravels how his religious ideas evolved and finds him being inspired by Islamic teachings. He explains that it was worldly attitude of the *ulema* which disillusioned Nanak, and he presented a distinct religion Sikhism. Though Nanak was born in a Hindu family, he was greatly inspired by the teachings of Islam and the personality of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Being disappointed by the conduct of both the Muslim clergy and the Hindu pundits, Nanak expressed his own way to attain enlightenment.

In his undertakings *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah* and *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, Javed evaluates the reasons and the objectives of the emergence of Bhakti movement and Sikhism, and examines how these were different from Islam and Hinduism. He identifies two main reasons of the emergence of Sikhism in India; first, the influence of Islam on Hindu society, and secondly, the negation of caste system.¹⁸⁶ Highlighting the differences of Sikhism from Hinduism and Islam, Kazi Javed states that Guru Nanak believed that the religious books of both Hinduism and Islam lack the truth. He contends that Sikhism was actually a systematic expression of the efforts made by Kabir, Nanak, or many other proponents of Bhakti against racial, ethnic and religious discriminations.¹⁸⁷ He adds that they struggled against the ruling classes, and their efforts bore fruits when the Mughals came into power, particularly in the reign of Akbar.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqah*, 225-6; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, 75.

¹⁸⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, 69-82; Javed, *Hindi Muslim-Tehzib*, 211-13. Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 28-29.

¹⁸⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, 75-81; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 23-28.

¹⁸⁸ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, 75-81.

4.2.5.5 Views about *Din-e-Ilahi* and *Sulh-e Kul*

Sulh-e Kul and *Din-e-Ilahi*, according to Kazi Javed, were not movements but the religious policies of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and were a response to the syncretism in India.¹⁸⁹ To him, the ideas propagated by the Chishti sufis, and the adherents of Bhakti movement and Sikhism played a vital role in the introduction of Akbar's policy of *Sulhe Kul*.¹⁹⁰

4.2.5.5 Roshaniyya Movement

Started by Miyan Bayazid Ansari (alias, Pir Roshan) (1525-1576) in Kafigram, Waziristan, Roshaniyya Movement is admired by the Marxist historians like Sibte Hassan for promoting and advocating the mystic concept of *Wahdut-ul-Wajud*. It was for this very reason that the *ulema* maligned Bayazid Ansari, branding him as non-believer, heretic and plunderer.¹⁹¹ Another dimension owing to which he admires this movement is its regionalism. He regards it as a popular movement of Pathans, as it aimed at getting rid of the political hegemony of the Mughals and restoration of Pashtun culture.¹⁹² He adds that it was also an expression of the inherent political conflict between the Turks and the Afghans, the ethnic factions sharing power in India.

4.2.5.6 Muslim Puritanical Movements

In reaction to liberal tendencies showed by the rulers like Akbar, the sufis, and exponents of Bhakti movement, who were inclined to liberalism, adopting Hindu culture and traditions, the Hindi-Muslim syncretism, showing dissent behaviour towards Sharia, some intellectuals and ideologue like Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, Shayak Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Wali Ullah and his disciples emphasized on Muslims' exclusive and separate identity, renaissance of Islamic value and traditions, and practicing of the Sharia. Marxist historians become critical of this Muslim

¹⁸⁹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 95-96; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 213-7; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 37-39.

¹⁹⁰ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 95; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 213-4.

¹⁹¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 310.

¹⁹² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 312.

puritanical school and highlight how the movements stressing on separatist identity were problematic in socio-cultural milieu of India.

4.2.5.6.1 Mehdavi Movement

Mehdavi Movement was launched by Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri (1443-1504), which intended to revive Islamic traditions of Prophet Muhammad's era. It initiated when Sultan Bahlul Lodhi after defeating Sultan Hussain Sharqi (r. 1458-1476) made Jaunpur a part of the Delhi Sultanate. Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri regarded the decline of Jaunpur as that of Islam, and got committed to restore the might of Islam. Examining the socio-political circumstances of his times, the Marxist historian Sibte Hassan explains that his movement was a reaction against Bhakti movement, as it intended to prevent the blending of Islam with Hindus traditions. Hassan admiringly underlines the communist concepts propagated by the Mehdavi leaders, and states:

The followers of the movement or the Mehdavi were against personal property ownership. They believed that Islam does not concede the right to own personal property and endorses its sharing. Therefore, those who were initiated in Mehdavi movement surrendered their properties to their community. It was most probably for this reason that the theologians and aristocrats were deadly against the Mehdavis.¹⁹³

4.2.5.6.2 Mujaddidi Movement

The Mughal religious policies like *Sulhe Kul* and *Din-e-Ilahi* evoked reaction from the orthodox *ulema* like Shaykh Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri, Shaykh Abdul Haqq Muhadith Dehlavi, and particularly Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi.¹⁹⁴ The Marxist historians, Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed criticise the approach and ideas of these leaders, particularly Sirhindi who offered a systematic theological critique to the liberal Indian sufis by presenting the mystic philosophy of *Wahdat-us-Shuhud*. They cite some statements of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi as well as some extracts from *Tuzk-*

¹⁹³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 229.

¹⁹⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 95-163; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 62; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 217-30; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 39-43.

e-Jahagiri (the memoirs of Emperor Jahangir) showing that Sirhindi was a conservative, orthodox, and egoist theologian.¹⁹⁵ He is portrayed by these historians as an enemy of rationality, scientific knowledges and philosophy. They maintain that the Mughal Emperor Jahangir arrested him because he considered him a demagogue encouraging anarchy.¹⁹⁶ Javed extends his criticism to the mystic and philosophic ideas presented by Sirhindi to assert his orthodox stance on varied issues.¹⁹⁷ Criticizing his philosophy of *Wahdat-us-Shahud*, Javed states that it promoted cynicism, religious exclusivism, communalism, and even a division among the Indian Muslims.

4.2.5.6.3 The Intellectual and Jihadist Movements during the Later Mughal Period

When the Mughal Empire was moving towards its decline during the first quarter of eighteenth century, some revivalist religio-political movements were started by Muslim reformists like Shah Wali Ullah and his disciples like Haji Shariat Ullah, Shah Ismail Shaheed and Syed Ahmad Shaheed.¹⁹⁸ The historians, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed, pay an ample attention to evaluate these revivalist movements critically.¹⁹⁹ Javed venerates Shah Wali Ullah for recounting the economic factors responsible for the decline of the Mughal Empire.²⁰⁰ Kazi Javed and Mubarak Ali, however, criticize the pragmatic approach Shah Wali Ullah adopted to reform the society and the strategy he devised to rescue the Indian Muslims from their political decline.²⁰¹ These historians are critical of these reforms' Jihadist movement, contending that the problems faced by Mughal Empire were

¹⁹⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 140-44.

¹⁹⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 323-26; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 132-63.

¹⁹⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 146-62.

¹⁹⁸ The forerunner of these movements was Shah Wali Ullah who was an Indian Muslim philosopher, theologian, sufi scholar and Islamic jurist of eighteenth century CE. The objectives of the Shah Wali Ullah's movements were to reform Muslim society, to unite the Indian Muslims divided into different mystic, juristic and sectarian factions. He intended to restore Muslims' political grandeur in India. The personalities who further extended his mission were Haji Shariat Ullah and Syed Ahmad Shaheed, Shah Ismail Shaheed and Mirza Hayrat. These personalities initiated reformist and Jihadist movements in Bengal and Punjab.

¹⁹⁹ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 32-33, 85-92; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 60-99; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 200-27; Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 235-80; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 161-74.

²⁰⁰ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 221, 223-24; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 84-93, 139-40, 144-8, 154; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 87-92.

²⁰¹ Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 288-89; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 47, 66-68, 92-103.

economic, but these reformers suggested that making the people religious would solve all their problems.²⁰² Javed further adds that their leaders waged wars against the non-Muslims of India, thus making the country more vulnerable for the European colonial powers.²⁰³ He also criticizes the reformists and revivalists for an error of judgement they made as to identifying their real enemy. He states that to them, the real threat to the Mughal Empire was from the Indian non-Muslims, whom the Muslim militants targeted, but those were the British in fact.²⁰⁴

To conclude, the discussion on various Marxist historiographical themes pertaining to the role of religion in historical developments of South Asia reveals that the Pakistani Marxist historians have emphasized on liberal, progressive, secular and leftist values. By advocating these values, they have challenged the Muslim nationalist historiographical perspective. They have admired and venerated the rulers, sufis, and movements whom they find progressive, liberal and secular, promoting inter-communal harmony and Hindu-Muslim syncretism. They have criticized those historical figures, particularly the *ulema*, who were conservative, orthodox, communalist and anti-Hindu. Though the Marxist historians have shown difference of opinion and sometimes self-contradictions in their arguments, as is shown by Mubarak Ali pertaining to the spread of Islam in India, they are overwhelming supporters of individuals' rights, social and religious freedom, democratic and humanist values, and are strong critics of religious orthodoxy, conservative behaviours, political and economic oppression, and the forces of *status quo*.

²⁰² Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 161-69.

²⁰³ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 209-10; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 162-67.

²⁰⁴ Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 166-68.

Chapter 5

Marxist Historiography on Social, Cultural and Economic Aspects of South Asian History

One of the distinct features of Pakistani Marxist historiography is that it lays considerable emphasis on the social, cultural and economic aspects of the society. The Muslim nationalist historiography focuses on such aspects only tangentially. Major concern of the Muslim nationalist historians remains the justification of the Indian Muslim rulers and their policies. This has made their historical discourse dominantly a political history, in contrast to which the Marxist historians make attempts at signifying the role of common people in history, highlighting their problems and plights, and examining the possible reasons of their miserable conditions. This chapter discusses mainly the socio-cultural theme that Pakistani Marxist historians address in their accounts, which include the cultural exchange between the Hindu and Muslim communities of India, cultural imperialism of Muslim ruling classes, social stagnation, social alienation, social formation, the status of women, economic institutions and their implications on the society, decline of the Mughal Empire, and the material culture in medieval India.

5.1 Cultural Imperialism vs. Cultural Exchange

The Muslim rulers in India have been depicted by the Orientalists and many other historians as foreign invaders, who came from outside India and subdued the local people. Their imperialist mind-set reflects from their policies, which showed no respect for Indian people, their cultures and religions.¹ Their policies were discriminatory, oppressive and coercive. The Muslim nationalist historians have countered this historiographical perspective and argued that the Muslim ruling

¹ Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 1-2; Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 20-21; Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in Pakistan and India*, i-xxvi.

classes after taking political hold of India made this land their homeland.² They came with progressive worldview and took all such social, political, economic and administrative measures which ensured prosperity and wellbeing in India.³ They demonstrated religious tolerance towards the non-Muslims of India by extending social and cultural relations with them, granting them religious freedom, acquiring their cooperation in political and administrative affairs, and encouraging and promoting their intellectual and artistic activities.⁴

The Marxist historiography in Pakistan is divided on the issue that whether the Muslim ruling classes demonstrated cultural imperialist tendencies, or by their liberalism and adopting Indian culture they actively Indianized themselves. It is Mubarak Ali who employs a framework of cultural imperialism to analyse and interpret the Muslim rule in India. Contrarily, Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed highlight those aspects of Muslim rule which demonstrate cultural exchange and assimilation between the Hindu and Muslim communities of the Indian Subcontinent.

However, there is a substantial difference between the approaches that Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed adopt to address this subject matter. Rejecting Muslim separatist perspective, Hassan in much generalized manner presents the Muslim rulers of India as secular striving to develop Hindu-Muslim unity and cooperation. Whereas, Kazi Javed provides rather in-depth analysis of the rulers' policies, and finds some of the rulers liberal and secular, and thus appreciates them. Some of them,

² Jalaluddin writes: "The Persians and Turks decided to make India their home. Turko-Persian administrative institutions were introduced into India which later became the basis of the administrative set up of the Delhi Sultanate and still later in some degree of the Mughal Empire. It was only then that 'a new culture, a new way of life, a new religion, a new view of art and architecture was grafted into this country.' Since, then the Perso-Turks, the Mughals and other profession Islam, who founded dynasties in different parts of the country, had made India their home land. They became the sons of the soil like the Dravidians and the Aryans of remote past." Rafat Durdana Jalaluddin, "The Advent of Islam in India," in Mohammad Taher, *Muslims in India: Recent Contributions to Literature on Religion, Philosophy, History, & Social Aspects* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1993), 1.

³ Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 34-36, 53-54, 62-68, Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, 223, Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 79-80

⁴ Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 34-36, 53-54, 62-68.

to him, were religious fanatic and orthodox, whose policies created social and political chaos in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic environment in India. His historical works reiterates his argument that in the wake of the interaction between the people belonging to two different civilizations— i.e. Muslim and Hindu, the occurring of cultural exchange was inevitable. Hence, he primarily traces the cultural exchange carried out in intellectual and mystic spheres, and holds that during the medieval ages, not only did the cultural exchange take place in India, but it resulted in emerging of a new synthetic Indian culture.⁵ In his undertakings, he attaches great significance to the ideas and actions of those rulers and the sufis who advocated unity between the Muslims and non-Muslims of India. Being a secular humanist, he criticizes those Muslim rulers, sufis and clerics who tried to frustrate the attempts of Hindu-Muslim unity.

5.1.1 Cultural Exchange and Syncretism in India

Sibte Hassan in his works *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* (1975) and *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* (1986) and Kazi Javed in *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, and *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* analyses the Muslim rulers' tolerant and benevolent attitude towards their non-Muslim subjects. He explains that 'though the non-Muslims were not generally granted equal rights, yet they were given substantial importance in civil and military administrative of the state. The Hindus were appointed particularly to look after and audit the accounts of the trade, commerce and treasury.'⁶ He further reports that some of the competent and influential Hindus were appointed and raised by the Muslim rulers to the positions

⁵ Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 223-30; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 157-63.

⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 165-56, 201. In his *The Battle of Ideas*, Hassan writes, "Muslims who founded kingdoms at Delhi, Lahore, Jaunpur and the Deccan, were intelligent enough to realize that they could not remain in power without the cooperation of non-Muslims who constituted an overwhelming majority of their subjects." Their policy was to "unite and rule," that was contrary to that of British who persuaded "divide and rule." He further reflects on the cultural exchange telling that Muslim rulers adopted India's "dance, music, her languages, her dresses and the other features of indigenous culture." See Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 138.

of governor, minister and military commander.⁷ His *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* highlights the cultural aspects of Indian society that the Muslim communities in India adopted from the Hindu society, demonstrating that they were ones of them. It points out that the kings' dressings, decorations and manners were like those of the Hindu Rajas.⁸

5.1.1.1 Religious Tolerance and Cultural Exchange during the Arab Rule of Sindh

Addressing the developments apropos of cultural exchange taken place between the Arabs and Indian people, Sibte Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* examines how they both interacted and coordinated in various intellectual activities, and they learned from each other. It explores how they by interacting with each other contributed to different disciplines of knowledge such as philosophy, politics, strategy, mathematics, chemistry, language, medicine, religion and mysticism.⁹ It provides details about intellectual syncretism emerging in the wake of interaction between the Hindus and Muslims.¹⁰ The Arabs being curious to the Indian knowledge took substantial benefit from it.¹¹ Following are some glimpses from Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* that express his understanding about Arab-Indian cultural exchange:

The Hindus and Muslims of this land used to wear similar dresses... the dress of the kings was just like that of the Hindu Rajas... They used to wear earrings and let their hairs grow long.¹²

During the Arab rule in India, [the Indian cities like] Debal, Mansura, Multan and Uch were the great centres of learning and literary activities. The Arab travellers as Abu al-Qasim and Al-Muqadasi admired the Muslim scholars and literary figures, even though Muqadasi considered that the Mansura was dominated by *Kafirs* (non-believers).¹³

⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 201.

⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 166. It explains that the Muslim rulers were highly inclined towards adopting Indian culture. See also, Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas*, 138.

⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 175-78.

¹⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 169, 175-79.

¹¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 175, 178.

¹² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 166-67.

¹³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 167.

The various Sindhi saints who went to Iraq after being held as slaves. There they learnt Arabic and won widespread fame for their outstanding faculties of knowledge.

The Hindu Raja of Alwar, Mehrok bin Raik, requested the governor of Mansura Abdullah ibn Umar Habari to get Islamic teaching translated into Sindhi language. Abdullah assigned this task to an Iraqi who was born and raised in Mansura and was well versed in both Sindhi and Arabic. He stayed in Alwar for three years and translated the Holy Quran into Sindhi.¹⁴

As I have little knowledge about the art of music, it is hard to tell how Arabic music effected Sindhi music. However, the Arabic titles of Sindhi *rags* [lyrics] as *Yamen*, *Hij*, *zanogola* (or *jingola*) reveal this truth.¹⁵

Cultural exchange in intellectual field between the Arabs and Sindhis immensely grew during the period of Abbassid Caliph Mansur (753-774 CE) and Caliph Harun-ur-Rashid (780-808 CE)... the ministers of Harun-ur-Rashid named Musa Barmaki and Imran Barmaki, who had been the governors of Sindh, sent several Arab scholars to Sindh to learn medicine. They also invited Hindu priests in Iraq and assigned them important responsibilities in the hospitals. They made them translate the books on medicine from Sanskrit to Arabic.¹⁶

The flow of cultural exchange can never be one-sided. Rather, two nations living together inevitably learn, less or more, from each other. The benefits that the Arabs took from Hindu culture were too invaluable.¹⁷

Despite the fact that the Arab ruled over India lasted for three and half hundred years, some historians opine that Arab cultural impression [over India] was not more than imprints on water, and it lasted no far-reaching impacts. As the Arabs lived in India for such a long time, this is very natural that the Indians would have been influenced somehow by the Arabs.... In fact, there was likely no field of India's social life remained unaffected by Arab culture.¹⁸

In *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, Kazi Javed highlights the religious tolerance that the Arabs showed after the conquest of Sindh. In his opinion, the nature of Arab invasion of Sindh was imperialist but they showed respect for Indian religions and cultures. Being instructed by the Governor of Iraq, Hajjaj ibn Yousuf, the conqueror Muhammad ibn Qasim violating Islamic principles declared the idol-worshippers of Sindh as *dhimmi* (protected subjects).¹⁹ He carried out previously practiced administrative organization without bringing any fundamental change into it. He reinstated the

¹⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 167-68.

¹⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 171-72.

¹⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 176.

¹⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 175.

¹⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 164-65.

¹⁹ Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 35.

Hindu officials to their jobs. When the Hindus demanded their temples back, he handed-over those to them, and allowed them to practice their religion freely. The conquerors not only paid respect to Brahmans but attempted to further enhance their social and political status. Consequently, they played a significant role in providing the Arab rule in Sindh stability and consolidation.²⁰ Expressing popularity of Muhammad ibn Qasim among Indian subjects, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib* describes that when he returned to Iraq, the Indian people cried recalling him and they installed his statue at Kerij,²¹ and started worshipping him.

5.1.1.2 Cultural Harmony Promoted by Ismaili Community of Multan

The Ismaili community of Multan, according to Sibte Hassan, was more progressive, liberal and adoptive of Indian culture than the Arabs. Highlighting their religious approach, missionary strategy and treatment of the local people, he underlines that they developed and promoted a milieu of mutual understanding and cooperation between the Indian Muslims and Hindus.²² Kazi Javed in *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* mentions how Sadr-ud Din, alias Machar Nath, one of leading exponents of Ismaili community in Multan, dexterously presented a blend of Hindu and Islamic religious and cultural traditions.²³

5.1.1.3 Hindi-Muslim Cultural Syncretism during the Sultanate Period

Coming to the Sultanate period, Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* exposes that the composition of Muslim society in India was multi-ethnic and multi-cultural and tells how the Persian culture got dominated not merely in India but in rest of the Muslim world.²⁴ This

²⁰ Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 36.

²¹ Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 35.

²² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 188-89.

²³ For details see, Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 70.

²⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 180. The book describes that during medieval ages the Persians through attaining the political, administrative and bureaucratic position in Muslim political centers in Middle East and Central Asia assured their cultural dominancy over the rest of Muslim ethnic cultures, which extended for the course of eight centuries. The Persian had thus remained the official and bureaucratic language of the royal courts. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 180-86.

corresponds to and reinforces the idea that the Muslims of India were quite flexible in adopting the cultural elements and traits which they considered necessary for facilitating their coexistence with the people belonging to different cultural backgrounds. The book argues that during the Sultanate period, the Lodhi dynasty was Pathan both ethnically and culturally. They, while living at India, used to learn and speak Hindi and Persian languages, since they found it highly necessary to serve their social, economic and political interests.²⁵

The history of Sultanate period is described by Kazi Javed in his accounts—such as *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* and *Tarikh-o Tehzeeb*—as a struggle between liberal and orthodox elements among the Muslim community of India. These contradictory tendencies showed by different segments of society such as the rulers, *ulema*, and sufis. The orthodox among them were conscious of protecting separate Muslim identity and insisted on enforcement of *Sharia*, whereas those who adhered to liberalism, secularism and humanism promoted the ideas and activities of Hindi-Muslim syncretism. The rulers who are mentioned by Javed as secular and liberal and attempted to separate religion from politics include Sultan Ghiyathudin Balban (r. 1266-1287), Muizuddin Kaiqubad (r. 1287-1290), and Alauddin Khalji (r. 1296-1316). Commenting on Sultan Alauddin Khalji's futile attempt at introducing a new religion, he in *Tarikh-o Tehzib* states:

Alauddin's wish to introduce a new religion is perceived by the historians as a desire of an overconfident ruler to become eternal. This explanation may be true, but is a single perspective. An objective analysis of the social conditions of this region provide another understanding. Indian regions under Muslim rule were inhabited by various religious groups. They believed in different faith systems. Their cultures were different. Not only their costumes but the inspirations were also different. Their cultures and faith systems influenced each other. There are the individuals and groups willing to adopt such cultural elements which they concede well. Therefore, there was emerging a new culture which was neither purely Islamic nor Hindu. This situation showed that there was a dire need of a new

²⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 307.

system. The attempts at responding this situation were not only appeared in Sultanate period but remained continued later on as well. Bhakti movement, Sikhism, and *Din-e Ilahi* were the episodes of this newly emerged culture.²⁶

Kazi Javed analyzes the Hindu-Muslim syncretic culture that developed among the masses of India. Chishti sufis like Shaykh Nizamuddin, Khwaja Nasiruddin Chiragh-e Delhi, and Amir Khusrau admirably contributed to reconciling both the cultures. He contends those were some orthodox rulers like Sultan Muhammad Tughluq (r. 1324-1351), Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq (r. 1351-1388), and Sultans of Lodhi Dynasty (r. 1451-1526), the aristocrats having foreign origin, and Suhrawardi sufis who despised such culture harmony.²⁷

5.1.1.4 Liberalism, Secularism and Cultural Adaptation of the Mughal Rulers

Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* speaks in defence of the Mughal rulers, countering the criticism that the founder of Mughal dynasty Zahiruddin Babar (r. 1526-1530) in his autobiography *Tuzk-e Babari* expressed his dislike for Indian people and culture. This scathing expression, it argues, is exceptional and was appeared at the very early time when he invaded India and faced a great resistance from all corners.²⁸ Otherwise, he was immensely benevolent and sympathetic towards the Indians, which is shown by his last will to his descendent Humayun (r. 1530-1540 and 1555-1556) whom he instructed to rule over India secularly, and treat Indian subjects without prejudice.²⁹ Similarly, Javed commenting on the instructions Babar in his will gave to Humayun states that these described the fundamental principles which would help lay down very effective policies as to religious tolerance and cultural progressivism.³⁰

²⁶ Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 18.

²⁷ Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 16-23; Also see, Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 39-55, 79-80.

²⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 275-77. Also see, Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 143.

²⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 278. Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 143.

³⁰ Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 30.

Admiring the Mughal emperors' open-minded and adoptive attitude towards other cultures, Sibte Hassan in *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* describes:

The Mughal rulers knew it well how to make their lives delighted and colourful. They were not narrow-minded, since they adopted adorable and beautiful things of local cultures. They married Hindu princesses and participated in Hindu festivals e.g. *Basant*, *Dusehra*, *Holi* and *Rakhi*. They used to wear the dresses and ornaments just as Hindus did. They ate their dishes, made their functions [the official ceremonies and social events] charming by adding into those the Indian indigenous songs and dances. They used to receive the Indians cordially and trustily, they accepted them as their advisors and ministers, and assigned them highly invaluable administrative duties. They did all to mitigate distrust.³¹

Hassan's *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* admires the Mughal and Bahmani rulers' attempts at promoting cultural syncretism in India, and states:

“The liberal policies that the Great Mughals and Bahmani rulers of Deccan introduced not only proved enormously successful but ensured the development of the synthetic culture and art evolved from interaction between the Indians, Persians and Turks. In the subcontinent, the architecture and sculpture, the music and dance, the paintings and handicrafts, the trade and industry, the learning and literature, all these things had never reached to the point of their culmination as much as those did in Mughals period.”³²

As *Sulh-e Kul*, a policy of religious tolerance introduced by the Mughal Emperor Akbar was a tremendous attempt at building amiable relationship with the Indian non-Muslims, and winning their trust, it has considerably attracted the attention of Marxist historians. Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* argues that this policy increased the opportunities for the Hindu and Muslim communities to come closer.³³ It complements the Mughal rulers for adopting a policy of *Sulh-e Kul*, stating that it shows their understanding of India's socio-political environment and constrains. He states that they were convinced that the sustainability of their rule and consolidation of their empire could only be achieved by acquiring the cooperation of Hindus.³⁴

³¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 290.

³² Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 143-44.

³³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 305.

³⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 305. See also, Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 144. Sibte Hassan finds that Mughal emperors also promoted cultural harmony by providing overwhelming patronage to local languages and literature, and consequently the local literature grew immensely in various languages such as Hindi, Bengali,

Commenting on *Sulh-e Kul*, Kazi Javed in *Tarikh-o Tehzib* states that just like Bhagat Kabir and Guru Nanak attempted to reconcile Hindu-Muslim religions, cultures and civilizations, there was a compelling need in politics and state structure to formulate a system representing both the communities. Akbar's policy of *Sulh-e Kul* promoted tolerance and progressivism.³⁵ This helped common people to a greater extent. During the next fifty years, the rulers carried out the policy of religious tolerance, and no orthodox could violate it. The religious differences were respected rather than being suppressed by force. This helped cease the attitude of oppressing the people belonging to other religions and cultures, and promoted a culture of justice, equality and cultural harmony. A practical manifestation of this policy could be observed in Akbar's own court with which the people representing distinct races, religions, languages, and regions were associated.³⁶

In his enterprise *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, Sibte Hassan becomes critical of the imperialist attitude of the British Raj in India. Contrarily, he vindicates the Indian Muslim dynasties from this very charge, and argues that the Muslims conquerors made India their homeland, and parenthetically mentions 'except Arabs.'³⁷ Offering a comparison between the Muslim rule and the British Raj, he states that the "Sultans of Delhi and their aristocrats though exploited the Indian people, they did not drain India's wealth out of the country. The British nonetheless treated India worst of all previous plunderers such as Nadir Shah Durani and Ahmad Shah Abdali."³⁸ He adds that "the Turks, Mongols, and Mughal, who conquered India, accepted the impacts of local Indian culture and civilization, whereas the British considered their culture superior to Indian... they

Punjabi, Gujrati, and Marathi.³⁴ Besides this, Mughal emperors like Babar, Humayun, Akbar and Shah Jahan, who had fine artistic and aesthetic taste, also acquired the services of indigenous artists, including Vasveth, Basavan, Keshav, Lal Kamand, Madhu, Jagan, Hamesh, Khemkaran, Tara, Sanola, Harbans, and Ram; they all were of Indian origin. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 316, 353-56.

³⁵ Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 36-37.

³⁶ Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 38. Also see, Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 90-96.

³⁷ Sibte Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 384.

³⁸ Sibte Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 384.

consequently ruined the beauty and elegance of Indian civilization.”³⁹ *Mosa sey Marx tak* directs a severe criticism on British imperialism in India and admires the Muslim rulers for introducing progressive policies based upon the principle of religious tolerance.

5.1.2 A Subaltern Perspective on the Muslim Rule in India: Cultural Imperialism

Many of the books by Mubarak Ali on Indian history, published in 1990s and onwards, examine historical developments putting focus on power as a major determinant of social relations and historical developments. He observes that the Muslims ruling classes in India during the medieval period as foreigner, invader, usurper, and oppressor.⁴⁰ Since they were not the sons of soil, they did not concede India as their homeland.⁴¹ They abhorred the religion and culture of the local Indians, nor did they provide equal status to them.⁴² Having migrated from Central Asia and Middle East to India and attaining an influential status at the courts of the Sultans of Delhi, the *ulema* showed conservative and orthodox attitude towards the non-Muslims of India.⁴³ Having vanity and superiority complex, what they injected in Indian society was feeling of alienation. Ali contends that the Muslim ruling classes dwelt in India only to grab its wealth and sources.⁴⁴ His books providing an analysis of Muslim rule in India with such a subaltern perspective include *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, *Tarikh ki Talash*, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, *History on Trial*, *Sindh ki Tarikh kiya Hai?*, and *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, Some of the dispositions as to the cultural imperialism of the Muslim ruling classes in India that Mubarak Ali presents are as:

³⁹ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 385-86.

⁴⁰ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 4-14; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 39-42; Ali, *Essays on the History of Sindh*, 7-10; Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 41-45.

⁴¹ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 36-38.

⁴² Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 12-13.

⁴³ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 14-17.

⁴⁴ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 6-7.

- The Arab conquest of Sindh was not accidental, rather it was an episode of series of well-planned Arab conquests.⁴⁵ It exerted vast political and cultural effects on India. India being conquered became a part of Arab Empire, and consequently Indian history got connected with that of Muslims. Therefore, it made the ancient history of Sindh obscure.⁴⁶ To the Muslim ruling classes, Indian capital cities like Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri were not as worthy and significant as Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad and Cordoba were.
- The Muslims traders who used to come in the southern coastal trade region of India remained apathetic to religious and missionary activities. The Muslims who conquered Sindh and acquired political power, nonetheless, began converting the local people to Islam.⁴⁷
- It was in the wake of the bloody wars imposed by the Turkic Muslims on the local Rajputs that the Indian people suffered from their oppression. These invaders plundered and demolished the Hindu temples, and enslaved their women and children.⁴⁸
- The purpose of Arab and Turk invasions of Sindh was merely to capture the land and to plunder its wealth.⁴⁹ The Sultans of Delhi declared themselves as the protectors of Islam but they did not share political power with the Indian Muslims.⁵⁰
- The Sultans of Delhi and Mughal Emperors expanded their empires and tried to centralize the power, which ruined the existing provincial political setup.⁵¹
- The policy of *jizya* (the poll tax) levied by the Sultans of Delhi was to make the Indian subjects feel that they were the conquered people.⁵²
- The centre to which Muslim ruling classes, i.e. the royal families, the aristocrats and the *ulema*, pledged their political and religious loyalty and allegiance was not India but Cairo, Baghdad and Turkey.⁵³

⁴⁵ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 20.

⁴⁶ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 13.

⁴⁷ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 21.

⁴⁸ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 21; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 9.

⁴⁹ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 24.

⁵⁰ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 23.

⁵¹ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 27.

⁵² Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 47.

⁵³ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 35.

- The *ulema* were so prejudiced towards the Indians that they had intermittently been forcing the rulers to either convert the non-Muslims, or to kill them, or treat them harshly.⁵⁴ The *ulema* were against Hindu-Muslim unity. Some of them even forcibly converted the non-Muslims to Islam.⁵⁵

5.2 Social Stagnation in India: India as an Ahistorical Society

As India never went through any revolutionary social change over the course of its history, the Orientalists regarded it an ahistorical society. Karl Marx contended that India had no history, and stated: “Indian society has no history, at all, at least no known history. What we call its history is but the history of successive intruders who founded their empires on massive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society.”⁵⁶

Most of the South Asian historians did not receive this disposition of Marx agreeably, and they took it as an offensive remark on Indian history.⁵⁷ The select Pakistani Marxist Historians in the present study, Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed, however, are agreed on that Indian society had always been stagnant. Until the British established their ruler over India, it never witnessed any revolution. In his *Marx aur Mashriq*, Sibte Hassan defends Karl Marx’s viewpoint, making a point that it was not at all an offensive remark, rather he (Marx) presented his analysis of India’s social conditions—how he could be unfriendly to Indians when he wished the unity and brotherhood of all the working people living across the world.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu’ashray ka Almiya*, 45; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 13-17, 93-106.

⁵⁵ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 19.

⁵⁶ Karl Marx, *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 362. Commenting on Indian history, Hegel states, “Nothing can be more confused, nothing can be more imperfect than the chronology of Indian.” See, G. W. Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on History of Philosophy*,

At: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/hp/hporiental.htm> (accessed on October 6, 2016).

⁵⁷ For instance see, Muhammad Yasin, *A Social History of Islamic India* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1958), vii-xii.

⁵⁸ Sibte Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 60-63.

The select Pakistani Marxist historians explain this highly important historical phenomenon of Indian history by framing facts under their distinct approaches and highlighting its varied dimensions. Sibte Hassan explains the social stagnation in India by focussing on his discussion on Asiatic mode of production—oriental despotism, feudalism, and absence of advancement in tools of labour. Mubarak Ali addresses it by highlighting the political, social, economic, cultural and psychological problems of the Indian society. Kazi Javed discusses social stagnation by highlighting the struggle between the orthodoxy and liberalism in medieval India.

5.2.1 Modes of Production and Social Change in Medieval India

Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* finds India as stagnant society in all its historical epochs including the times of the Indus Valley Civilization,⁵⁹ the Arab rule, as well as the Sultanate and Mughal periods. It explains that the Arab conquest of Sindh brought about various social and political changes in India, the most remarkable of which was that it ceased the linguistic stagnation of India, as Hindi was replaced by Arabic as an official language.⁶⁰ The Arabs after taking the political hold of India established a new political and administrative setup in Sindh.⁶¹ The social relations in India, nonetheless, remained unaffected, even though the worldview of the Arab rulers was more progressive than that of the Indians.

Change in social conditions, Hassan believes, comes when the society develops the tools of labour. Thus, historical materialism becomes his yardstick for viewing and analysing the social conditions of India. He explains that throughout the Sultanate and Mughal periods, various attempts were made by the rulers, sufis and the reformists to bring equality, harmony, peace, tolerance and

⁵⁹ As regards Indus Valley Civilization, it states that the relics and antiquities found during both the horizontal and the vertical excavations show that those were surprisingly similar, because of which the Indus Valley Civilization is regarded as monotonous and stagnant, both spatially and temporally. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 73-74.

⁶⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 178.

⁶¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 178.

progressivism in the society. Several rulers having liberal and progressive thinking contributed to it by adopting people-friendly policies, in making living conditions of Indians relatively better, but they all failed to bring Indian society out of its stagnation.⁶² He thinks that the sufis and the exponents of Bhakti movement representing the common people wanted to change the society in accordance with the humanistic principles, but their all attempts remained futile. This was because they all were unable to understand that the social change is dependent on the change in the modes of production.⁶³

5.2.2 Asiatic Mode of Production and Social Stagnation of India

Marx aur Mashriq unravels India's social stagnation, and deals with the agrarian rural economy of India, highlighting the ruler's indifference towards developing agricultural infrastructure, canal system and trade.⁶⁴ It accordingly attaches immense significance to the religious concepts and the caste system to understand the social stagnation in India. The civil wars, feudalism and self-sufficiency of rural setup are discussed by Hassan as the reasons of India's social stagnation.⁶⁵ He explains that due to its peculiar political and economic dynamics, India did not make any attempt

⁶² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 178, 281. Addressing the social stagnation during the Mughal period, Sibte Hassan states: 'Keeping in view the welfare of the people and increase in the revenue of the Empire, Mughal Emperor Akbar and his descendants adopted myriad policies and reforms. [There is no denying that] by virtue of those policies, the common people became relatively well-off. It also appears that owing to the luxurious life style of the royal families and aristocratic class, the industry, trade and commerce made progress. Despite these developments, any discernible revolutionary change in tools of production, that he observes as vital for bringing change in social structure, did not take place. The only change, because of the progress in business, was that the goldsmiths, the moneylenders, the artisans and the traders got increased in numbers, but they could not attain any betterment in their social status, nor was that possible merely by means of their own labor.' Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 280.

⁶³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 280-81. See also, Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 68.

Describing general principle of social change in his *Mazi kay Mazar* (1969), Hassan states that the society brings changes in its way of life and thinking patron only when those becomes inevitably essential for the survival. The question of survival hence appears when the traditional relations of production halts the way to social progress. The traditions and new ideas then come into state of clash, and those have to come under severe criticism and consequently new ideas emerge. Hassan's this explanation of the rationale of social progress simply corresponds with Marx's idea of dialectic materialism.

Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 40.

⁶⁴ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 65.

⁶⁵ For details see, Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 64-65.

at growing its production by developing heavy mechanical industry.⁶⁶ For this very reason, the traders never felt the need to get rid of feudal setup, nor did the peasants attempt to revolt against the monopolies and atrocities of landlord class, and to dismantle self-sufficient rural setup.⁶⁷

5.2.3 Orthodox Behaviour and Social Stagnation

Besides highlighting the material conditions of the social stagnation of Indian society during the ancient and medieval India, Sibte Hassan in his account *Navid-e Fikr* (1982) is also critical of the Muslim scholars, holding them responsible for making Muslim society stagnant. He finds them indifferent towards making original contribution in the realm of knowledge, and states that the theologians and the sufis seem not only disinterested towards valuable research pursuits but also kept criticizing those thinkers and scholars of medieval ages who had made contribution to knowledge production with liberal and progressive approaches.⁶⁸ The reason of this intellectual stagnation in view of Sibte Hassan was, however, socio-economic conditions of the Muslim society.⁶⁹

Kazi Javed's works *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā, Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat, Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, and *Tarikh-o Tehzib* are rather more articulate on the issue, and argue that the fundamental cause of India's social stagnation was Indian Muslim community's orthodox and conservative behaviour. This has already been discussed in previous pages that Kazi Javed deploys dialectic struggle between progressive and conservative socio-political forces while explaining the

⁶⁶ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 65

⁶⁷ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 64-65.

⁶⁸ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 117-18. Regarding the intellectual stagnation of the Muslim society, Sibte Hassan's *Navid-e Fikr* suggests that Muslim theologians and sufis of medieval got traditionalist leaving the tradition of their predecessors who had ever been curious to produce something new, and interested to know the unknown. Hassan criticizes these traditionalists and orthodox scholars for lacking sense of responsibility and proportionality, as they produces nothing new and remained busy merely in writing notes on the books of the previous scholars. Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 118.

⁶⁹ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 118.

historical developments in medieval India.⁷⁰ Since medieval India went through a great political change when the Muslims became its rulers, and a vast Muslim community migrating from Central Asia and Middle East had settled there, this gave Indian society a new composition which needed some drastic and widespread socio-cultural change. There was a logical need of a syncretic culture so as to avoid conflicts between the Hindu and Muslim communities. The Indian Muslim community including the rulers, aristocrats, sufis and *ulema* showed a divided attitude: some of them were liberal, secular, progressive and humanist, and wanted social equality and justice, Hindu-Muslim communal harmony, cooperation and coordination.⁷¹ Others who were orthodox, conservative, and highly conscious of separate Muslim identity resisted change. Those who showed such an orthodoxy are described by Kazi Javed as the forces of *status quo*. He depicts this clash between the orthodox and liberal Muslims of India by discussing the wars of succession, state policies, conduct and thought of the rulers, political and intellectual activities of the *ulema* and sufis, and nature of socio-religious movements. This clash between conservatism and liberalism, he propounds, culminated in a form of war of succession waged between Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh and ended with the defeat of the latter who represented progressivism.⁷²

5.2.4 Cultural Imperialism of Indian Muslim Ruling Classes and Social Stagnation

Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'shay ka Almiya by Mubarak Ali mainly focuses on the aspects of cultural imperialism that the Muslim ruling classes in India asserted through their policies

⁷⁰ Although Kazi Javed dominantly discusses the intellectual and cultural development in accordance with the Hegelian dialecticism, i.e. the role of ideas in historical development, he yet considers that the ideas hence emerged under material realities. Moreover he thinks that the ideas before getting complete intellectual realization and form exist pragmatically. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 21-22, 32-33; Conversation with Kazi Javed, July 12, 2016.

⁷¹ The Sultans of Delhi Sultanate such as Sultan Iletmish, Ghiyathuddin Balban, and Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, and the Mughal emperors such as Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan have been venerated by Kazi Javed for their liberal and progressive inclinations. Javed is critical of the rulers like Sultan Jilaludin Khalji, Sultan Sikandar Lodhi and Aurangzeb for adopting discriminatory policies towards non-Muslim of India. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 36-47, 94-96, 132, 142, 147-48; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 18; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 16-23.

⁷² Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 171-79.

towards the Indian non-Muslims, which were meant to make the Indian subjects feel their culture inferior,⁷³ and the rulers' indifference to providing the local cultures of India any patronage also contributed to the cultural stagnation of India.⁷⁴ By underscoring the imperialistic and overbearing attitude of the Muslim ruling classes, Mubarak Ali propounds that they made systematic and deliberate efforts to maintain *status quo* in Indian society.⁷⁵

5.2.5 Controversy over the Sufis' Role in Challenging Political and Social Stagnation

Ali's *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* criticizes the sufis for being instrumental in maintaining social stagnation, and political *status quo*, as they failed to dismantle the prevalent social stratification.⁷⁶ On the other hand, they advocated and propagated such ideas which made the people passive and unresisting towards social injustices.⁷⁷ In contrast to this perspective of Mubarak Ali on sufis' socio-political rule, Sibte Hassan in *Navid-e Fikr* describes how the sufis like Shah Inayat of Jhok (d. 1718) challenged the socio-political system in Sindh and was martyred in confrontation with Mughal aristocrats. He calls him a 'socialist sufi of Indus Valley,' as with the help of his disciples, he tried to challenge the feudal structure by capturing land and declaring it a common property.⁷⁸

Kazi Javed, however, presents the Chishti sufis as the progressive elements of the society.⁷⁹ His accounts suggest as these sufis were against the social stratum, private ownership of property, oppression and injustices,⁸⁰ and hence they had to confront with the *ulema* and the rulers who were

⁷³ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 54-55. See also: Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 3-4, 13-15.

⁷⁴ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 109.

⁷⁵ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 40-43; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 14-16, 46-55, 109-10.

⁷⁶ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 85-87.

⁷⁷ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 86.

⁷⁸ Hassan, "Vadi-e Sindh ka Soshalist Sufi," in *Navid-e Fikr*, 167-204.

⁷⁹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 18-19, 21-23, 25-30, 39, 44, 48-53; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 325-31, 334; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 20-22, 27, 51-52; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 14-16; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 54, 62.

⁸⁰ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 42; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 30-31.

presented as the forces endeavouring to maintain *status quo* in the society.⁸¹ Nonetheless, Javed is critical of the Suhrawardi sufis for developing associational relations with the rulers and extending their cooperation to them, which made them instrument of the court for countering the popularity of the Chishti sufis who were involved in advocating and promoting the progressive and liberal ideas in the society and were trying to diffuse alienation of the society. Javed contends that the Suhrawardi sufis, therefore, reinforced the forces that wanted to maintain socio-political *status quo* in Indian society.

5.2.6 Criticism on Religious Texts and Dogmatism for Perpetuating Social Stagnation

Caste system in Hinduism is one of the major reasons of India's social stagnation. Mubarak Ali addressing this issue sees that the religious books like *Vedas* and *Manusmitri* defining the laws for caste system played a crucial role in discouraging social mobility. *Achhut Logon ka Adab* offering the history of the lower castes in India, mainly the Dalits, explains that the Dalits had no history, as they lived their lives in stagnation—under oppression and coercion imposed by socially and politically prestigious castes.⁸² Reflecting on how such an oppressive social structure in India was devised, which did not let the fate of downtrodden be changed, it critically views the laws, pertaining to the four Indian castes, described by *Manusmriti* i.e. the book originated from ancient period, written by someone anonymous author.⁸³ *Achhut Logon ka Adab* argues that Brahmanism,⁸⁴ and religious books like *Manusmirti* and the *Vedas* played a vital role in perpetuating the social stagnation in India.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 39.

⁸² Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 9-11, 14-6, 39.

⁸³ For details see, Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 18-21.

⁸⁴ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 10.

⁸⁵ Ali, *Achhut Longon ka Adab*, 10, 14, 18.

5.2.7 Limited Extent of the “Urban Revolution”

In his undertakings *Tarikh aur Danishwar* and *Tarikh ki Talash*, Ali evaluates the dynamics of the so-called urban revolution in India eventuated when the Muslims by virtue of their military expeditions took the political hold of India.⁸⁶ He describes that due to this revolution, progress and prosperity came into merely those urban centres which the ruling classes established for themselves. The rest of India, particularly the rural areas, continued with the pre-existing cultural patterns.⁸⁷ The cultural gap between the urban and rural areas created resentment among the people coming of rural backgrounds against the urbanites. Ali contends that one of the major causes of the decline of Mughal Empire, therefore, was isolation and alienation of the Indian rural population from that of the urban areas.⁸⁸ This developed the sentiments of hatred among rural people towards their urban fellows. They felt themselves being marginalized in respect to the people of developed urban areas.⁸⁹

5.2.8 Socio-political Anarchy Bringing about Social Change

Tarikh aur Danishwar contains an essay titled “*Intishar: Tabdili ki Aik Alamat*” (Chaos: A Sign of Change) which attaches an overriding importance to human efforts at bringing change in social and political environment, than to some historical determinant.⁹⁰ Socio-political anarchy in a state is regarded by Ali as a herald of change. But this situation, he explains, puts a prime responsibility over intellectuals and scholars who are supposed to provide the society a proper direction towards laying down some new foundations of society realizing the principles of progressivism, liberalism, freedom, equality, peace and tolerance.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Ali, “*Shayher aur Dayhat*,” in *Tarikh aur Danishwar*, 25-30; Ali, “*Shayhar, Tarikh, Siyasat, Thaqaafat aur Mo’aishat*,” in *Tarikh ki Talash*, 108-101.

⁸⁷ Ali, *Tarikh aur Danishwar*, 209. See also, Ali, *Historian’s Dispute*, 22-23, 42-44.

⁸⁸ Ali, *Tarikh aur Danishwar*, 209.

⁸⁹ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 101-2; Ali, *Tarikh aur Danishwar*, 208-9; Ali, *Historian’s Dispute*, 12-14, 22-23.

⁹⁰ Ali, *Tarikh aur Danishwar*, 192.

⁹¹ Ali, *Tarikh Aur Danishwar*, 189-92.

5.2.9 Collective Historical Consciousness of Society, Resistance and Social Change

As regards progress in society, Mubarak Ali's *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* gives importance to the collective mind-set of the society than individuals' efforts. It suggests that if the society does not learn lessons from its history, it is likely to be a victim of stagnation, and so is the case of Muslim society in India.⁹² He further adds that if resistance is not demonstrated by the society as whole, it will not progress. He maintains that the individuals by fighting against the oppressive social formation may acquire fame as martyrs, but ironically the recognizable social change cannot be brought about by the individual endeavours.⁹³

5.2.10 Social Values and Social Change

Ali's book *Tarikh ki Aaghi* carries an essay titled "Akhlai Qadrayn aur Samaji Tabdeli" that discusses the contribution of the moral values in society, and contends that it is ridiculous to believe that the moral values play any role in social change.⁹⁴ This is because the ruling classes exploit the socio-religious sentiments, morality and dogmas as a mechanism of forming a public opinion in their own favour and to serve their own vested interests.⁹⁵

5.2.12 Feudal Culture and Social Stagnation

Written by Mubarak Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz* asserts that the feudal structure of India was responsible for its social stagnation. It explains that India's economy, over the course of centuries, was totally dependent on its agrarian and feudal setup, wherein the landlords were very powerful owing to the wealth they accumulated by exploiting their peasants' labour.⁹⁶ The peasantry, on the other

⁹² Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 8.

⁹³ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 9.

Another book of Ali, *History on Trial* (1999) contains a chapter "Individual vs. Institutions" that also addresses similar theme wherein in the author stresses upon the need of establishing strong institutions to minimizing the role of authoritative and oppressive individuals. Ali, "Individuals vs. Institutions", in *History on Trial*, 120-3.

⁹⁴ Ali, *Tarikh ki Aaghi*, 151.

⁹⁵ Ali, *Tarikh ki Aaghi*, 151-53.

⁹⁶ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 139.

hand, was an extremely vulnerable social class, unable to revolt against the feudal lords and feudal setup.⁹⁷ Ali argues that the peasants adopted various ways of showing their passive resistance and making catharsis of their anger against the oppressors. The way the peasants expressed their passive resistance include, *inter alia*, the laziness, the lethargy, dishonesty, theft, telling lies, and setting the assets of the landlord on fire, etc. Such negative reactions of the peasantry after becoming a normal character of the society also contributed in perpetuation of India's stagnation.⁹⁸

5.2.13 Evolutionary Social Change and its Stimulators

Kazi Javed's *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* reviews Shah Wali Ullah's thoughts on the decline of Muslim society in South Asia and his analysis of the factors which play an important role in social evolution.⁹⁹ This is how it signifies the evolutionary social change, and describes that the real stimulators of social evaluation are human efforts at fulfilling the natural desires, aesthetic human faculty, and the traditions of creativity and innovation.¹⁰⁰ It suggests that when a society lacks these characteristics, that becomes stagnant and eventually falls to its decline.

5.3 Social Alienation

Highlighted by Pakistani Marxist historians, another theme in the history of medieval India is social alienation. Alienation of the man may be explained as man's exclusion and isolation from social, political and economic process. Or, the human psychological displacement in the social, cultural and economic environment where he lives in can be regarded as alienation. The Marxist historians consider that exploitative culture is its foremost cause. Reflecting on the history of medieval India, they explain that the political and economic dominance of the Muslim ruling classes over the indigenous people created a gap between the state and society. Further, they

⁹⁷ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 139-40.

⁹⁸ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 139-43.

⁹⁹ Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 280-89; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 139-155.

¹⁰⁰ Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 280, Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 140-42.

explain that the religious differences fostered by the *ulema* also contributed in enhancing the alienation of the local people. Particularly Mubarak Ali finds that the Hindu community during Muslim rule in India was deprived, marginalized and isolated.¹⁰¹ Marxist historians, however, admire the sufis who, they feel, strived to eliminate people's alienation.¹⁰²

5.3.1 Sibte Hassan's Materialistic Rationalization of Social Alienation

The fifteenth chapter in Sibte Hassan's *Mosa sey Marx tak* is titled as "*Marx ka Falsafa-e Begang*" [Marx's philosophy of Alienation].¹⁰³ It explains why the humankind falls helplessly a victim to social alienation, and hence considers that the alienation on both the individual and social levels is associated with myriad socio-political and economic issues such as the division of labour and the exploitation of the working classes, private ownership of property, feudalism and capitalism.¹⁰⁴ Sibte Hassan defines alienation as "a state of mind in which the humankind gets separated from his society, culture, even from his own self. He feels himself alone while living with millions of people around him."¹⁰⁵ Hassan further elucidates its reasons and the historical process due to which man seems to be alienated from those he is supposed to belong, saying that:

The distortion of one's self began when society got divided in varied strata and the social cohesion was damaged. Initially, the society was a unit as far as it was not divided into classes, the monarchies were not established, the tribes were like families, and the society did not advance from Communism for being dependent upon agriculture, or stock riding, or fishery. That was a time when there was no clash between the interests of both, the individual and the society. It was the time when people were not familiar with the concept of gods and goddesses, nor with that of religion. Rather, it was the time when man used to develop his perception about his surroundings by his practical experiences of day to day life. He did not know the difference between animals, plants and unanimated objects. He

¹⁰¹ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 12-14, 23-28, 42-44.

¹⁰² Hasaan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 324; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 223-30; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 157-63.

¹⁰³ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 271-76. This subject matter is dealt with, by Hassan, in a quite bizarre manner. This chapter discusses the concept of alienation philosophically—the alienation to which humankind is destined. In it, the concept of alienation is discussed with reference to the views of Immanuel Kant (1724-1807), Goethe (1749-1832), Hegel (1770-1831), Feuerbach (1804-1872) and Karl Marx.

¹⁰⁴ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 284-88.

¹⁰⁵ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 269.

believed that all existence in the universe was active and had a will. He was unintentionally a believer of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* [the unity of Being].¹⁰⁶

5.3.2 Contribution of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* to Elimination of Social Alienation

Marxist historians Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed put substantial emphasis on the role of humanist mystical philosophy *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* (the Unity of Being) highlighting that it discernibly contributed to bringing the individuals and social groups closer and understand each other. They discuss and explain the thoughts and character of sufis, who adhering to this philosophy, did not accept the dualities the society had formed, i.e. the kings and the subjects, the rulers and the ruled, the masters and the slaves, the privileged and the underprivileged.¹⁰⁷ Hassan states that unity among people shattered when society assumed those divisions, and duality even got prevailed over the belief systems, i.e. the creator and creation.¹⁰⁸ The revolutionary concept of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*, as he holds, could never attain popularity among the ruling classes and the class of clergy associated with the courts of the rulers.¹⁰⁹ He explains how *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* and social alienation have, nevertheless, become the core themes in the mystic and revolutionary poetry produced in various languages of South Asia, i.e. Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Punjabi, Pashtu and Sindhi.¹¹⁰

Kazi Javed's undertakings *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, and *Afkar-e-Shah Wali Ullah* shed light on the thoughts and conduct of the sufis belonging to Chishti *Silsilah* and the exponents of Bhakti movement, and showed how they adhered to *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*, and endorsed sentiments of compassion, love, and sympathy among human beings. He depicts the sufis, particularly those who were associated with Chishti *Silsilah*, being liberal, humanist and secular, contributed a lot in

¹⁰⁶ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 270.

¹⁰⁷ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 270-71.

¹⁰⁸ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 271.

¹⁰⁹ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 271.

¹¹⁰ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 270-71.

eradicating the sentiments of alienation from Indian society. This philosophy was logically a need of the society wherein the Hindus and the Muslims were living together. Eliminating the differences and disputes, this mystic philosophy had enough potential to evolve an egalitarian society.¹¹¹ Kazi Javed, nonetheless, levels trenchant criticism on the orthodox theologian-philosophers including Shaykh Yahya Manyeri, Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlavi, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, for their opposition to the concept of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*, and adhering to its contrary notion *Wahdat-us-Shahud*.¹¹²

Wahdat-us-Shahud is perceived by Kazi Javed as a philosophy carrying the seeds of duality, social division and alienation. He asserts that it reinforced Muslims' political dominance and exclusivism. This heightened Muslims' scorn of Hindus and their religion.¹¹³ The social repercussions of this philosophy, according to him, are highly dangerous, since it appeared to foster divisions and sectarianism in the society. This concept magnifies the differences and obscures similarities. It promotes the feelings of cynicism among people. He adds that any philosophy that intends to increase gaps, distances and differences among human beings is prone to illogical behaviours.¹¹⁴ Politically, this philosophy was adopted as state policy by Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, which then manifested great repercussion—the antagonism against the non-Muslims and the sects of Islam other than Sunnis.¹¹⁵ He, therefore, adores the sufis who endorsed and preached the philosophy of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* and contributed to develop the feelings of humanism, tolerance and peace, and attempted to eliminate the feeling of alienation.

¹¹¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 33-34; Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 30-31, 71-72, 78.

¹¹² Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 100-7, 128, 130, 132, 148-63; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 217-8, 227-30. Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 71, 78.

¹¹³ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 153; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 227-29.

¹¹⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 157-63.

¹¹⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 178-99.

5.3.4 Superiority Complex and Cultural Imperialism of Muslim Ruling Classes: A Factor of Accelerating Social Alienation

The historian Mubarak Ali sees that Muslim rule in India was a manifestation of Muslims' cultural imperialism, in the wake of which both the rulers and the subjects got alienated from each other.¹¹⁶

His enterprises *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, *Tarikh ki Talash*, *Almiya-e Tarikh* and *Achhut Logon ka Adab* suggest that the Muslim dynasties, the aristocrats and the *ulema*, being foreigners, never acknowledged the local cultures and religions any better than theirs.¹¹⁷ He speculates that the Muslim ruling classes felt uncomfortable in Indian environment wherein the religions and cultures of majority of the inhabitants were contradictory to theirs. Consequently, they remained alienated with the subjects and *vice versa*.¹¹⁸

He explains that religious conduct of the ruling classes during the Sultanate period was different from that of the Arabs, because now the Muslims were divided into many factions. In terms of *fiqh* or Muslim jurisprudence, the Indian Muslim ruling classes during the Sultanate period were Hanafis, since they came from Central Asia where the Hanafi school was dominant. The Turkish Sultans, aristocrats, and *ulema*, therefore, were not only alienated from the Hindus, but also from those who came of other sects of Islam such as the Ismaili community of Multan. Consequently, the Turks waged wars against them and the *ulema* equally endeavoured to counter and eliminate the influence of Ismaili doctrines from Multan and its peripheral regions.¹¹⁹

In *Historian's Dispute*, Mubarak Ali elucidates that the convert Muslims of India despite changing their religion were largely stuck to practicing upon their local cultural norms and values.¹²⁰ This was because they remained alienated from the Muslim ruling classes who were foreigners and did

¹¹⁶ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 35; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 36-38.

¹¹⁷ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 50.

¹¹⁸ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 35.

¹¹⁹ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 43; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 36-38.

¹²⁰ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 12-13, 31.

not want to share power with the convert Muslims, and consequently they could find least opportunity to intermingle with them. So, the local convert Muslims could not adopt Turkish and Persian culture.

5.3.5 Psychological and Socio-cultural Repercussions of Social Alienation

Ali's account *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* elucidates the psychological, social and cultural impacts which the imperialist mind-set of the Muslims cast on Indian society. It was an effect of this social, political and cultural alienation that the convert Muslims felt inferior, and subsequently tried to forge their racial and ethnic identity so that they could enhance their social status, as majority of the convert Muslims previously belonged to lower castes.¹²¹ Among the convert Muslims, the butchers declared themselves as Qureshi, the wearers as Ansari or Rehmat-e Ilahi, and the Rajputs as Khan or Khanzada. Similarly, some of the Hindus after conversion to Islam added the word Sheikh to their names.¹²²

5.4 Social Formation and Stratification

In *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Karl Marx and Engels wrote, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle".¹²³ On another occasion, Marx states that 'Indian society had no history at all, at least no known history,'¹²⁴ which implies that India had never gone through a process of change, or the classes existing in Indian society remained 'unresisting' towards the oppression inflicted upon them, and consequently Indian society witnessed no identifiable change from within. This attracted the attention of South Asian Marxist historians who

¹²¹ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 13.

¹²² Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 51.

¹²³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Lahore: Book Home, 2008), 30.

¹²⁴ Karl Marx, "The Future Results of British Rule in India," in *the New-York Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1853.

At: <https://marxists.anu.edu.au/archive/marx/works/1853/07/22.htm> (accessed on October 6, 2016).

Commenting on Indian history, Hegel states: "Nothing can be more confused, nothing can be more imperfect than the chronology of Indian." See, G. W. Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on History of Philosophy*,

At: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/hp/hporiental.htm> (accessed on October 6, 2016).

tried to explore the history of social formation in India. They attempted to find out the nature of social stratification and its possible reason. They tried to understand that during the course of Indian history why the lower classes could not demonstrate the reactions to the conditions of oppressive social structures and did not try to dismantle it.

5.4.1 Hindu Caste System in Medieval India

Marxist historians Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali weigh up, at length, the social stratification in India through the ages such as Indus Valley, Vedic, and Gandhara Civilizations as well as the medieval period, and explores how the society went through social changes by constructing and reconstructing social customs, traditions and values as to the individuals and social groups.¹²⁵ Here, the discussion, however, is being confined to the social formation and its dynamics during Medieval India, which is discussed by the select Pakistani Marxist historians. They, although, narrate at length the origin of and historical developments pertaining to Hindu caste system in pre-Muslim India, the details about it during the era of Muslim rule are few and merely incidental. One of its reasons explained by Mubarak Ali in *Acchut Longon ka Adab* is that the lower castes in India live in centuries old stagnant system, having no history, no change in their miseries and plight. They, however, finds the continuity of Hindu caste system throughout the Medieval India.

While discussing the policies of the Arab rulers, these historians maintain that these rulers were neither interested in changing the social structure of India, nor did they take any measure to address this problem.¹²⁶ In *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Hassan describes that during the Sultanate and Mughal eras, some rulers adopted people-friendly policies but they failed to change social

¹²⁵ While unravelling the social formation in India during pre-Muslim rule, they evaluate political changes, politico-economic interests of the dynasties and ruling classes, their policies and strategies, religious dogmas, teachings and practices, and the role of canonical texts such *Vedas* and *Manusmitri*. For details see, Hassan, *Mazi kay Maza*, 150-56; Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 58-148; Ali, *Kansi ka Zamana*, 69-88; Ali, *Lohey ka Zamana*, 17-46; Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 9-25.

¹²⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*,

structure, and eliminate social injustice and inequalities. This was because they were unaware of the fact that change in social relations comes only when new tools of labour are introduced.

Nonetheless, Mubarak in *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* recounts various impacts of Muslim rule on Hindu caste system. He explains that the Turkish rulers brought a new culture in India, and the local people being acquainted with it and living together developed a sense of tolerance towards each other. By the introduction of this new culture, the local Indians learnt new ideas. The Turkish rule in India broke up the monopoly of Kshatri caste over warfare activities.¹²⁷ The introduction and recognition of Persian as official language in the court of Sultans reduced the social status of literate Brahmins. After being deprived from political patronage, the Brahmins sought employments in shops and markets, which adversely affected their social stature.¹²⁸ During the Sultanate period, the rulers introduced new technology which enhanced industrial production. The social status of artisans got relatively improved. To Ali, the literature produced during this period reflects that the people belonging to lower castes launched movements like Bhakti, demanding their equal status and condemning the social inequalities and oppression.¹²⁹

5.4.2 Social Formation of Indo-Muslim Society

Recounting the social structure and stratification in Indian Muslim society, Hassan in his account *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqah*, critically analyses it and argues that the institution of state always remained instrumental in maintaining the social *status quo* while serving the interests of the ruling classes.¹³⁰ He adds that the ruling classes, by winning the cooperation of the clergy, attempted to maintain and strengthen their monopoly and to pacify the public reaction through developing a

¹²⁷ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 49.

¹²⁸ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 49.

¹²⁹ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 49.

¹³⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqah*, 199.

mechanism of belief system.¹³¹ The Indo-Muslim society during the Sultanate period was divided into five classes: first, the Sultan and his family; secondly, *ahl-e daulat* (the wealthy ones, particularly aristocrats); thirdly, *ahl-e sa'adat* (the privileged ones including the clerics, judges, scholars and Sayyids); fourthly, *sahukars and sodagars* (the moneylenders and the traders); fifthly and lastly, the labourers, i.e. all the people performing low-profile jobs.¹³²

Mubarak Ali finds the Muslim society divided into multiple sections and complex organisation based on cultural, religious, political, ethnic and economic grounds. Narrating its characteristics and structure he states:

The Indian society had divisions based upon caste system, which increased later on [during the Sultanate period]. Each caste was multi-folded. Most of the castes had fixed professions. To change a caste was not possible for anyone. Muslims were also divided in classes, the poor and the rich. Later, they got indulged into caste based division, the high and the low. The Indians who turned to be Muslims could not acquire equal status among the Muslim ruling classes despite being co-religionists. The high class and caste was of those Muslims who came of Central Asia, Persia, Arab and Afghanistan. They did not recognize the Indians equal to them.¹³³

5.4.3 Caste System and Racial Pride in Indo-Muslim Society

Mubarak Ali's *Almiya-e Tarikh* includes two essays titled as "*Mu'ashra, Zaat Paat aur Mirza Nama*" and "*Nasal, Khandan aur Zaat Paat.*" The first one sheds light on the nature of caste system that developed in the Indian Muslim society during medieval period. This small study is fundamentally based upon *Mirza Nama*. Mubarak Ali has found this manuscript in British Museum Library with an accession no. 161817 AD, which is written by some anonymous author in 1660 AD. By giving extract from *Mirza Nama*, Ali suggests how the people belonging to the Muslim castes were indulged into developing, protecting and glorifying their exclusive mannerism and

¹³¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 199.

¹³² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 234-37.

¹³³ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 43.

characteristics of the castes they represented.¹³⁴ By narrating his commentary of the said manuscript, he shows that the people who were political and economically influential started demonstrating a great sense of pride. Expressing their scorn and prejudice towards the lower classes, they demonstrated how they were superior to the rest and attempted to isolate themselves from others. The author shows disparagingly the absurdity of the principles defined by this manuscript to the people belonging to Mirza caste for observing peculiar mannerism and social conduct.¹³⁵

Another essay included in Ali's *Almiya-e Tarikh*, "*Nasal, Khandan aur Zaat Paat*" [Race, Family, and Caste System] draws the readers' attention towards the psychological complexities and constraints playing an important role in social formation. It reveals that the Muslims after attaining political hold in India strengthened the concept of racial and dynastic pride. Ali propounds that since the Muslims in India were a minority, they considered it necessary to pretend to be superior from the rest of the Indian people. Interpreting their sense of pride, superiority and exclusiveness, he describes that such attitude was their political necessity, as they asserted their legitimate claim to rule the country.¹³⁶

This essay highlights the prejudiced attitude of Muslim ruling classes towards the lower ones, by providing instances of the policies and remarks of rulers like Sultan Ghiyathuddin Balban and historians like Ziauddin Barani.¹³⁷ It elucidates the socio-political and economic repercussions of such attitude, describing that the majority of the common people became marginalized and found no way to contribute in political and economic developments. Further, it resulted in increasing the

¹³⁴ Ali, "*Mirza Nama*," in *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 122-28.

¹³⁵ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 122-28.

¹³⁶ Ali, "*Nasal, Khandan aur Zaat Paat*" in *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 181.

¹³⁷ Ali, "*Nasal, Khandan aur Zaat Paat*" in *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 182-85.

social inequalities and sense of deprivation, which compelled them to change and forge their ethnic, racial, and regional identities, and present themselves as if they were among those Muslims who originated from some foreign land, i.e. Central Asia or Middle East.¹³⁸

5.4.4 Social formation and Reformist Movements

In medieval India, there emerged various individuals and social groups among the Muslims and Hindus who launched movements in order to eradicate social injustices and inequalities, and to promote humanism, social equality, and inter-communal harmony in the society. The historical works produced by the select Marxist historians pay close attention to the study of the thoughts and activities of the exponents of those movements including the Ismaili community of Multan,¹³⁹ the Chishti sufis, Bhakti, Roshaniyya, and Sikhism.¹⁴⁰

Kazi Javed cites the thoughts of the sufis which expressed their profound sympathetic concern for the people belonging to deprived and marginalized classes. He attaches great value and regard to secularism and humanism which the sufis preached. He provides select quotes of renowned sufis such as Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti who stated that “the worship is not performing of religious rituals but to love the mankind, console the suffering people and serve them without expecting any reward. The worship is to render support to oppressed people. The friend of Allah Almighty is the one who serves the needy people.”¹⁴¹ Javed discusses and praises the concept of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* and those who adhered to such mystical philosophy, as it eradicates the duality—the differences and discriminations between man and man, man and nature, and man and God.¹⁴² In his accounts,

¹³⁸ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 181-88.

¹³⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 188-89.

¹⁴⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 208-24.

¹⁴¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 18.

¹⁴² Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 19.

he suggests that it was the sufis who struggled against class structure of the society, whereas the orthodox *ulema* strove to maintain *status quo*.

Kazi Javed venerates the socialist ideas of Baba Farid, and adds that the latter mentioned three forms of *zakat*, first of which was according to *sharia* (Islamic law), i.e. two and half per cent. The second is according to *tariqat* (Sufism), i.e. spending anything which is surplus on the needy people. The third is the *zakat of haqiqat* (the Ultimate Truth), i.e. providing the deprived and needy ones with all whatever you have.¹⁴³ Commenting with his sharp wit on his sufi poetry, Javed states that the admiration to the labour of the peasants and workers is an inevitable, delicate and subtle part of his poetry, which is the reason that it is colourless and boring.¹⁴⁴

Javed is a great admirer of all those historical personalities who rejected and challenged the social, linguistic, ethnic, religious, and economic and any other kind of discrimination, which caused exploitation, deprivation, marginalization and social alienation. Accordingly, the personalities who are given veneration by Javed include *inter alia*, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Shaykh Sharfuddin Bu Ali Qalandar, Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, Shaykh Fariduddin Masud (alias, Baba Farid), Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya, Amir Khusrau, Miyan Bayazid Ansari (alias, Pir Roshan), Bhagat Kabir, Shankar Acharya, Ramanand, Baba Guru Nanak, Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, Shah Wali Ullah, and Haji Shariat Ullah. The historian Sibte Hassan although admires these movements and their leaders for promoting the ideas of socio-cultural harmony, humanism, and negating social stratification, he contends that the change in society does come through ideas but by changing the modes of production.

¹⁴³ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 26-27.

¹⁴⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 27-28.

5.4.5 Sympathetic Treatment Given to the Lower Classes

Marxist historiographical literature produced in Pakistan gives sympathetic treatment to the lower classes in India. Renowned as the people's historian, Mubarak Ali appears to be a true sympathizer of the common people. He becomes critical of the historians on Indian history stating that the common people, who were the real contributors to developing cultures and civilizations and because of whom there were all grandeurs, luxuries and comforts of the ruling classes, have not been given serious attention in historiography.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, his writings acknowledge the services they rendered, and highlights the issues and problems they faced. *Historian's Dispute, Achhut Logon ka Adab, Tarikh aur Aurat, Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz, Almiya-e Tarikh, Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, all these works by Mubarak Ali speak for downtrodden and marginalized people of India and reveal his subaltern approach to narrate and interpret history.

5.4.6 Depiction of Plights and Miseries of Common People

One of the most admiring features of Marxist historiography produced in Pakistan is that it overwhelmingly emphasize on highlighting the miserable social conditions and problems of the lower classes. Mubarak Ali in particular makes attempts at giving voice to voice-less people. Sibte Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* and Mubarak Ali's *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* recount the living conditions of the peasants, artisans, soldiers, servants, traders and shopkeepers in medieval India.¹⁴⁶ They highlight what they ate, what they wore, what they believed in and how they lived. They also inform about the drought, famine and epidemics which affected them and made their lives hard. They tell us the helplessness of the peasants who were compelled to pay the tax collectors a larger portion of the production which was solely possible owing to their labour.¹⁴⁷ The artisans provided the royal families their services, and the luxurious life style of the

¹⁴⁵ Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 40.

¹⁴⁶ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 43-45, 96-104.

¹⁴⁷ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 43-44.

royal families was due to the commodities they had produced. On the other hand, the artisans were living in abject poverty and hunger.¹⁴⁸ It states that it was the traders and shopkeepers who opened up the markets and worked to make them thriving by producing industrial goods. Ali becomes critical of the historians saying that despite such a great contribution that the working classes made in developing the civilization, they have not been given a fair treatment in historical literature. He also makes scathing remarks on the attitude of the historians of medieval period such as Ziauddin Barani who dubbed the merchants and shopkeepers as shameless, clever, cunning, criminals, mean, liars, and fraudulent people.¹⁴⁹

5.4.7 Reaction and Resistance from the Common People

Mubarak Ali's *Tarikh ki Awaz* contains an essay "*Kamzor Logon kay Hathiyar*" which discusses the reaction of the downtrodden people against their oppressors. It contends that the vulnerable people in India found no proper way to express their resistance against the oppression inflicted upon them and to get emancipation.¹⁵⁰ They, therefore, adopted such methods of resistance through which they avoided to come into direct and open conflict with the oppressors. They appeared to have shown passive resistance.¹⁵¹ His work *Tarikh ki Aaghi* explains how the common people came into open conflict with their oppressors when they found the writ of government got weakened and those who were powerful due to certain political structure remained no more influential.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 44.

¹⁴⁹ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 45-46.

¹⁵⁰ Ali, "*Kamzor Logon kay Hathiyar*," in *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 139-40.

¹⁵¹ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 139-43. They reacted against oppression by adopting and developing negative personality traits such as dishonesty, disloyalty, telling lies, laziness, idleness, fraudulence etc.

¹⁵² Ali, *Tarikh ki Aaghi*, 112-14.

5.5 Women and Gender in History

The tradition of writing women's history began in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, but the question of gender in history was raised in the last decade of the twentieth century. The women's history implies 'the inclusion of women in mainstream historiography,'¹⁵³ but gender history focuses on issues between men and women, and unravels the role and status of women in context of male-dominant societies. The Muslim nationalist historians' perspective is that of women's history whereas the Marxist historians, particularly Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali, present a perspective of gender in history.

5.5.1 Muslim Nationalist Historiography on the Role and Status of Women in Medieval India

The Muslim nationalist historiography has given little attention to discussion on the status and historical role of women in medieval India, and if they do so, it is done in a patriarchal and religious framework.¹⁵⁴ The women who are discussed by Muslim nationalist historians for playing historical role are few and merely the royal ladies. For instance, they discuss Gulbadan Begum, Maham Anga, Mumtaz Mehal, Jahanara Begum, and Zebunnisa for their refined literary taste, producing literature, and providing patronage to literary activities.¹⁵⁵ Sultana Raziya, Chand Bibi and Nur Jahan are discussed for their political role, and it is argued that the Muslim ladies despite observing *purdah* (face veil) were active in political and administrative domains.¹⁵⁶ In addition to

¹⁵³ For details see, Shashi Bhushan Upadhyay, *Historiography in the Modern World: Western and Indian Perspective* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016), 381-82.

¹⁵⁴ S. M. Jaffar in his enterprise *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India* has explained the position of women in accordance with the Islamic teachings. He thus writes, "The place that woman occupies and the privileges she enjoys in Muslim society in accordance with the commands of the *Quran* are no way inferior to those of man. Man and woman are equal indispensable for each other: They are like the wheel of one carriage. They are absolute masters in their own spheres and the division of duties among them in accordance with their inherent aptitudes is quite natural and conducive to their Mutual well-being." He further explains it apologetically that, "The notions that woman in Islam has no soul and that she is the toy of her husband in his idle hours are absolutely unfounded and betray either a complete ignorance of the teachings of Islam or a bitter enmity against it." S. M. Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 199.

¹⁵⁵ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 631.

¹⁵⁶ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 631.

that, the Muslim nationalist historians refer to women as one of the causes of the decline of Mughal Empire. They explain that the Muslim rulers in the later Mughal period paid little attention towards the administration, political affairs and defence of the state, as they got indulged in merry making, the women, wine and other immoral activities.¹⁵⁷ Lal Kanwar, alias Imtiaz Mehal, the queen of Emperor Jahandar Shah, is one of those women of the period whom they brought in limelight to show that the rulers' relationship with the women having bad character caused the decline of the Mughal Empire in India.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, Mughalani Begum, the widow of the governor of Lahore, Mir Muinuddin Khan (aka, Mir Mannu) (d. 1753), who after the death of her husband became influential in the politics of Punjab is described as a conspirator and the one having scandalous character.¹⁵⁹

5.5.2 Pakistani Marxist Historiography on Historical Role and Status of Women

Under discussion in the present study, the select Pakistani Marxist historians although have not produced any book-length work exclusively addressing the historical role and social status of women in history of medieval India, they explore this theme by writing chapters on it in their historical undertakings. Ali's *Tarikh aur Aurat* is a thorough study on historical and contemporary problems of women, but its temporal and spatial scope is too vast and the period of the Muslim rule in India is offhandedly discussed. However, the discussions given in their writings provide an ample insight into the approaches of these historians.

Sibte Hassan in *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Iritiqa* and *Mazi kay Mazari* and Mubarak's *Tarikh aur Aurat* provide lengthy discussions on gender issues, i.e. transformation of society from matriarchy

¹⁵⁷ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 447, 458-59; S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*, 366, 374-45.

¹⁵⁸ Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdudi, *Daccan ki Siyasi Tarikh*, Ed. 3rd, (Lahore, Islamic Publications Ltd., 1969), 63, 71-73; Malik Muhammad Taj, *Zawal-e Sultanate-e Mughaliya, 1707-1857* (Lahore, Maktaba-e Huriyat, n.d.), 170.

¹⁵⁹ Taj, *Zawal-e Sultanate-e Mughliya, 1707-1857*, 87-89.

to patriarchy, values of patriarchal society, role of religion and power dynamics to confine the social role and status of women, liberty and freedom of women belonging to royal, feudal, rural and urban backgrounds. The historian, Kazi Javed's *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib* is the only book which provides relatively at length discussion on women's status, but merely discussing their right to education and their educational and intellectual contribution in medieval India. A notable aspect of this account about not only this very theme but the rest of issues as well is that the tone and way to approach these historical issues are quite similar to that of Muslim nationalist historians.¹⁶⁰ While discussing the later Mughal period, his attitude towards Lal Kanwar, prostitutes, women singers and dancers shows him conventional approach like the Muslim nationalist historians.¹⁶¹ In rest of his works on Indian history, he reflects on the status of women very occasionally and incidentally, but sheds light on his feminist approach, as he becomes critical of the sufis' viewpoint that the women are hurdle to their spiritual progress.¹⁶²

5.5.3 Patriarchy vs. Matriarchy

The Marxists generally appear to be the great champions of women's rights and their equal status vis-à-vis men in society. They feel that the women have been and are continued to be one of the oppressed segments of the society, and all this is because of the patriarchal social system which the men established. Sibte Hassan in his *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* reviews the social values and finds them divided into two types: the first is feminine, and second, masculine.¹⁶³ He explains

¹⁶⁰ During an interview with Kazi Javed, the author of present research highlighting this feature of his account *Hindi Muslim Tehzib* asked him: should this be regarded your intellectual evolution? Or, did you attempt to reconcile Marxist and Muslim nationalist approaches in this work? He straightforwardly, bravely and without any expression of being confused replied, "You may call me a compromising writer. You may regard this my moral cowardice. The religious extremist environment at University of the Punjab, where I was residing while accomplishing this work, did not allow me to express freely what I in fact intended to do." Interview with Kazi Javed, dated July 12, 2016.

¹⁶¹ For details see, Javed, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, 186-92.

¹⁶² Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 7-8, 41. Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 166; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 18-19.

¹⁶³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 52.

that the matriarchal societies, wherein the women had higher status, have peculiar social values and those stem out from women's intrinsic behaviour, i.e. love and sympathetic concern. The matriarchal societies were the manifestation of the love among human relations and socialization. Love for all children despite that they are good or bad, looking after the sick, being sympathetic to the poor, providing economic assistance to the needy, facilitating the travellers, and prohibiting from inflicting others any harm, all these social values, Hassan believes, are the characteristics of matriarchal societies.¹⁶⁴ Whereas, the patriarchal societies evolved the social values which demonstrate the characteristics of masculinity, command and authority. Hassan assumes that the latter social values included the peoples' allegiance to the ruler, respect of the elders, fulfilling the promises, and the prohibition of killings, theft, robbery, illegal occupation, adultery, anarchy and chaos. The author asserts that each society though tries to maintain balance between both the feminine and masculine values, as both make the society harmonious.¹⁶⁵

Describing the historical transformation of society from matriarchy to patriarchy, he speculates that the primitive societies were matriarchal, which turned to be patriarchal when the notion of division of labour and private property ownership took roots. He propounds that the masculine values aimed at protecting the system of private ownership and its related organizations include the tribe, family, state, government and church.¹⁶⁶ In a similar tone, Mubarak Ali's *Tarikh aur Aurat* states that the ancient society had matriarchy because being agrarian it needed a dominant role of women in economic activities. They were apt in performing agricultural activities

¹⁶⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 53.

¹⁶⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 53-54.

¹⁶⁶ Hassan explains the values established by a society as to possession, and states that the nature of the possessed thing does not change after the change of its ownership, as the land does not change its properties after that its owner is changed. The things do not change their properties and usage even after being stolen. But the society does not allow any possession which violates its standard values because this spoils the sanctity of the relations of the ownership. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 53.

depending on small tools of production like harrows. The introduction of heavy tools like plough reduced the role of women in economic activities, and societies transformed into patriarchal.¹⁶⁷

5.5.4 Feminist Approach of Pakistani Marxist Historians

Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali address gender issues liberally and secularly. They highlight the double standards of societies and assess varied implications of the social values in patriarchal society for both the women and men. Being sympathetic towards women, they highlight the discriminatory standards of the society which make women marginalized and oppressed. They maintain that in South Asian societies, honour and chastity are regarded as obligatory values, but society puts the responsibility of preserving to women only, despite the fact that they both involve in this violation. It is the women who suffer the most and become socially disgraced.¹⁶⁸ In his account *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, Javed critically analyzes the views of Sayyid Ali Hajveri and Khwaja Shamsuddin Siyalvi that a sufi should refrain from indulging in love with women, which they see as detrimental to spiritual development. Responding to it, Javed advocates Bertrand Russell's views that any philosophy which kills natural human happiness and satisfaction cannot be endorsed, and is subject to condemnation.¹⁶⁹

5.5.5 Power Dynamics and the Status of Women in Medieval India

Apropos of historical role and social status of women in Indian society during medieval period, the Pakistani Marxist historians explain that the dynamics of power played an important role in defining the status of women. Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed suspect that the Muslim historians talked about women to create sympathy and to justify the rulers' acts which might be disapproved and condemned. For instance, they describe that the story given by Muslim historians to justify

¹⁶⁷ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 27.

¹⁶⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqqa*, 54; Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 10-20.

¹⁶⁹ Javed, *Punjabi di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 166; Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 18-19.

the Arab invasion of Sindh—that the purpose of this invasion was to rescue Muslim women and children abducted by the pirates—is concocted.¹⁷⁰ Kazi Javed comments that this story, if it is true, suggest that the Muslim society had great regard for women. Mubarak Ali considers the Arab invasion as aggression against the people of Sindh and becomes critical of making of the wife and daughters of Raja Dahir the war captives, and presenting them to the governor of Iraq, Hajjaj ibn Yousuf.

Mubarak Ali argues that some women like Sultana Raziya and Chand Bibi ascended to throne, but the aristocrats and historians disliked these women as their rulers, found faults in their characters, and regarded them lacking prerequisite competence, skills and power to rule. He tells that the rulers exploited the women to serve their political and economic interests, and cites the example of Babar who gave away his sister to Shabani Khan in marriage, when the former was besieged by the latter's army in Sarmakand. Similarly, the Rajput rulers of India offered Mughal Emperors the proposals to marry their sisters and daughters, the only reason of which was that they wanted to enhance their socio-political status and to protect their rule.¹⁷¹

5.5.6 Education and Muslim Women in Medieval India

Kazi Javed's undertaking *Hindi Muslim Tehzib* addresses some aspects of women's education and their literary contribution. It informs that when the Indo-Muslims Civilization was in its formative phase, a phase of innovation and creativity, it provided the women ample opportunities to acquire and transfer knowledge. It thus mentions Ghulbadan Begum for she wrote *Humayun Nama*, Hamida Bano for her knowledge in astrology, Nur Jahan for her fine poetic and literary taste and

¹⁷⁰ They suspect the story describing that Hajjaj ibn Yousuf was not at all a kind-hearted ruler who would have sent troops just to rescue Muslim hostages, because he was such a cruel person that 130,000 people had been killed upon his order, and 50,000 men and 30,000 women were being persecuted in custodies when he died. However, Javed writes that if the details about the women discussed earlier are true, then it suggests high morals of women in Muslim society. Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 29; Ali, *Sind Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 73.

¹⁷¹ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 11.

some other princesses of Mughal period including Arjumand Bano, Jahan Ara Begum and Zubaida Begum. In the state of Awadh, women of high and middle classes showed tremendous literary as well as poetic skills and interests. In the families of the sufis, particularly Chishtis, the women were given education. Most of the Chishti sufis acquired basic religious education from their mothers.¹⁷² Javed maintains that the Muslim society encouraged women's education, but he provides quite few examples of women's literary achievements.

5.5.7 The Medieval Social Values and the Status of Women

The social values regarding the liberty and freedom of women during the Sultanate period is evaluated by Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali. In *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Hassan states that though the Muslim Civilization and culture in India demonstrated high morals as compared to that of the Hindus, the status of Muslim women belonging to high class did not improve. Critical of the tradition of veiling among the Muslim women in India, he asserts that it restrained their freedom of movement.¹⁷³ He also criticizes Indian Muslims for adopting such local cultural values and traditions which further restricted women's liberty, such as absence of windows in their homes. Hassan and Ali states that the newly convert Muslims continued to follow the Hindu social customs, traditions and norms.¹⁷⁴ Islamic injunctions obliged them to accept the rights of women in property, but practicing upon *Dharma-Shastras* they never acknowledged this right of their women. They did not allow the widows to re-marry. Having been influenced by Indian culture, the Turks and Afghans also adopted this tradition.¹⁷⁵

Making a comparison between the social status of women belonging to the upper and lower classes, Sibte Hassan observes that all women belonging to any class were deprived of their fundamental

¹⁷² Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 61, 123-28.

¹⁷³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 239-40.

¹⁷⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 240; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 12-13, 31.

¹⁷⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 240-41.

rights and liberty.¹⁷⁶ Mubarak Ali, nonetheless, finds that the women in ruling classes were more oppressed and marginalized than those who belonged to the working classes, as the latter took part in economic and agricultural activities.¹⁷⁷

5.5.8 Marxist Historians on the Social Status of Prostitutes and House-wives

Sibte Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* offers a brief discussion on prostitution. He gives a sympathetic treatment to prostitutes and states that the *Chaklas* or *Kotha*, where professional female singers, dancers and sex-workers used to live and sell their art, were the places where the rich spent their time and enjoyed with their artist performance. These places gradually became highly populous, and Sultan Alauddin Khalji ordered to regularize the rates of the prostitutes.¹⁷⁸ He adds that prostitution during the reign of Akbar became so widespread that he allotted them lands out of the city and gave that a name Shaitanpura (literally meaning Satan's place), and also appointed officials to manage and administer its affairs.¹⁷⁹ Exploring the reasons how the prostitution became a part of Indian culture during the medieval era, Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali explain that singing and dancing were considered sacred in Indian culture whereas the *ulema* declared them prohibited. Singing and dancing became a source of entertainment for the Muslim aristocrats who did not want to bring it home, so they managed to arrange such entertainment activities at some other places which were recognized as *Chaklas* or *Kothas*.¹⁸⁰

Mubarak Ali, however, holds that the prostitutes had matriarchal setup, therefore they enjoyed more freedom than rest of the women in India.¹⁸¹ His views on this profession are quite shocking and heretic, in context to socio-religious culture of Pakistan where he lives in. He shows

¹⁷⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 239.

¹⁷⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 243; Ali, *Achhut Longon ka Adab*, 11.

¹⁷⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 242.

¹⁷⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 242.

¹⁸⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 42, Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 91-92.

¹⁸¹ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 84-85, 90.

sympathetic concern towards prostitutes justifying that this profession fulfils a substantial need of the society. He speaks in defence of the prostitutes, and argues that both sexes are involved in it. He adds that among the Muslims, it was not only the prostitutes but the *kaniz* (female war-slave) who enjoyed better social status and relative freedom as compared to the house-wives.¹⁸²

5.5.9 Prostitution, Marriage and Family

Mubarak Ali comes with a thorough critique on the institution of marriage by rationalizing various social, cultural and economic aspects.¹⁸³ He argues that marriage is highly instrumental in establishing patriarchal society and culture, as it makes a woman slave of a man, it makes her fulfil man's sexual desires, and it makes her serve the husband's family. So, he negates the view that prostitutes should marry, because marriage would not give them respect in the society, nor would it enhance their social status granting them equality, liberty and freedom.¹⁸⁴

Shedding light on the marriages among the elite, Mubarak Ali contends that the women having physical beauty fall victim to social oppression, their families sacrifice them to attain economic and political benefits. In both bourgeois and feudal societies, beautiful women are exploited, as their families compel them to marry influential and rich people. Such marriages, he maintains, reduces the status of women merely to a sex object, and they become a tool of entertainment for men.¹⁸⁵ In short, Pakistani Marxist historians discuss various issues relating to gender in history of South Asia, though their works offer little empirical data.

5.6 Economic and Administrative Setup under Feudalism in Medieval India

Over the course of centuries, India has been a country dependent upon its agriculture. Its society, culture and economy were shaped in accordance with the agrarian organization. The theoretical

¹⁸² Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 83-99.

¹⁸³ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 102-5.

¹⁸⁴ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 98.

¹⁸⁵ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 112-14.

framework through which Karl Marx viewed the Indian socio-economic structure is known as the 'Asiatic mode of production.' This concept denotes that in Asian societies, the despotic rulers who lived in urban centres collected revenue from villages through landed aristocracy (i.e. *Iqtadars* and *Mansabdars* in India). This doctrine further explains that these modes of production caused social stagnation in India. The select Marxist historians examine the administrative and economic institutions under the Indian Muslim rulers and unravel how these affected the politics, economy and socio-cultural structure of India, and the life of its lower classes.

5.6.1 Marxist Interpretation of the Arab Administration and Economic Policies

Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* describes that though the Arabs greatly influenced Indian society and culture, they introduced no change in pre-existing economic setup which had laid the foundations of social formation. They brought no reforms into trade, commerce and agriculture. The Arab troops who settled in India were given land-grants. The system of revenue collection that the Arabs implemented was meant to drain the wealth of India. An estimated amount that the Arab rulers of Sindh used to send to the Umayyad Caliph was 11500,000 silver *dirhams* per annum. Hassan also provides details on the Arab administrative structure, suggesting that the Hindus were appointed on important positions in various departments of administration.¹⁸⁶

The governor of Iraq, Hajjaj ibn Yousuf who managed to send the troops to invade and conquer Sindh is admired by the author Sibte Hassan for his administrative skills and dexterity. Hassan informs that he instructed the Arab rulers of Sindh to adopt such policies and conduct towards the locals which would give an impression that the Arabs were their liberators and saviours. Despite the fact that the Hindus were not *ahl-e kitab* (people of the Book), Hajjaj ibn Yousuf declared them

¹⁸⁶ It hence tells that the viceroy used to be appointed by Caliph himself, the *Amils* (the governors) were mostly Hindus, the army dominantly recruited by Arab troops, and the officials in treasury were mostly Hindus. Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 166.

dhimmi and levied *jizya* (poll tax) upon them. Paying respect to the religious beliefs of the locals, the Arabs banned slaughter of cow, and made no attempt at converting the Indians to Islam by adopting any coercive mean. These policies remained so successful in India that rest of the Muslim rulers in succeeding centuries followed their footsteps.¹⁸⁷ In short, for Hassan, the Arab conquest of Sindh was motived by imperialist motives but the rulers administered it well. However, Mubarak Ali despises the Arab imperialism and criticizes the primary sources providing the details on the Arab administration or governance of Sindh, making the point that these give a distorted view of history. Ali contends that these historical works provide conquerors' perspective and overlook the problems and plight of the common people.¹⁸⁸

5.6.2 Socio-economic Structure in the Sultanate Era

Regarding the economic structure during the Sultanate period, Sibte Hassan explains the social structure dividing it into five classes: 1) the Sultan and his family, 2) the aristocrats, 3) scholars, sufis and *ulema*, 4) traders and businessmen, and 5) the labourers. Acquiring legitimacy and justification for his rule and authority by the *ulema*, the Sultan was an autocratic ruler. The royalty consumed the largest share of the state's sources and income in order to maintain glory and luxuries. A high number of slaves (*bandgan-e khas*), *harem*, palace, fortune tellers, singers, musicians, cooks, clowns, jokers, poets, clergy, and consociates, all are taken into account by Hassan to explain the luxurious lifestyle of the kings and the expenditures spent to maintain it.¹⁸⁹

The second group included the aristocrats (*ahl-e qalam*, literally meaning the people of the pen) and the military generals (*ahl-e saif*, literally meaning people of the sword), some of whom were

¹⁸⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 155-56, 166.

¹⁸⁸ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 9. The facts in the primary sources which explain Arab's good administration, in the view of Mubarak Ali are concocted by Arab historians who have just provided a history highlighting conquerors view point. Ali, *Sind Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 28-33, 54-55.

¹⁸⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 232-33.

Turks, and some, Afghans. In lieu of their military services, the Sultans provided *ahl-e Saif* with land grants, and declared them as *iqtadars* holding them responsible for collecting revenue.

5.6.3 Analysis of the *Iqtadari* System in Medieval India

The Marxist historians like Mubarak Ali explain that administrative-cum-economic institution, *iqtadari* adopted by the Sultan of Delhi only served the ruling classes. The second in command after the Sultans were the *iqtadars* who were appointed on highest administrative positions, awarded land grants, and were the autocratic rulers of the districts they governed. This system of administration adopted by the Turkish rulers in India, and was a kind of feudalism. Mubarak Ali in his undertaking *Jagirdari* provides details about its origin and nature.¹⁹⁰ With reference to a book on Muslim jurisprudence, *Ahkam al-Sultaniyah*, he informs about the varied kinds of cultivated and non-cultivated lands and mines. Explaining the difference between *iqtadari* in the Muslim World and feudalism in Europe, he states that *iqtadars* were not the owners of the lands, rather they were the temporary rulers over the inhabitants of the lands they were granted, for which the Sultans held them responsible to look after agriculture, system of irrigation, inhabitants and system of revenue collection. In contrast to *iqtadari* system, the feudal lords in Europe were the permanent owners of the lands as well as the peasants. The *iqtadari* system allowed neither ownership of land, nor slavery, but the European feudalism had them both.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Mubarak Ali's *Jagirdari* sets out discussion on *Iqtadari* system from the period of Caliph Umar who after conquering Iraq decided not to give the people rights of ownership of lands. The reason of this decision it explains was that giving such rights would be beneficial to few families and forthcoming generation might have been exploited. It reveals that granting of land in return for military services started by Buyid dynasty (945-1055), and the Nizam al-Mulk Tusi during Seljuk period also followed the same policy.

¹⁹¹ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 67. The book *Jagirdari* tells that sometimes the *iqtadars* became very powerful and caused political chaos and instability through organizing conspiracies against the rulers. Sultan Balban and Sultan Alauddin Khalji adopted various the strategies to counter the influence of the *Iqtadars*. When the rulers changed, the *Iqtadars* got changed too. Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 41.

5.6.4 Analysis of the *Mansabdari* System in Medieval India

Replacing the *iqtdari* system, the administrative and economic setup that the Mughal Emperors introduced was called *mansabdari* system. Ali's work, *Jagirdari* underlines some salient features of this system, the social status and duties of *mansabdar* (or *tewaldar*), and his subordinates including *amil* (or *ta'alqdar*), *zamindar*, *qanungo*, *faujdar*, *qazi*, *waqianawis* and *sawanehnawis*. It provides details about the forms of lands given to the influential people belonging to different social segments, which included *khalsa*,¹⁹² *payebaqi*,¹⁹³ *watan*,¹⁹⁴ and *madad-e-mo'ash*.¹⁹⁵ He maintains that the *mansabdari* system had checks and balances with the purpose of keeping the system of revenue intact, developing the system of irrigation, and guarding the peasantry from being exploited by the *jagirdars*.¹⁹⁶

5.6.5 The Plight of Peasantry in Sindh and their Revolts

The part four of Mubarak Ali's *In the Shadow of History* comprises of the essays, "The Feudal Connection" and "Peasant Rebellion in Sind," which cast light on the problems and plight of peasantry in Sindh who suffered under the tyranny of the feudal society and its elite such as the rulers, nobles, *ulema* and sufis.¹⁹⁷ These essays also inform about the peasant rebellions as well as the state efforts to crush them ruthlessly.¹⁹⁸ Ali argues that though these peasant rebellions were unsuccessful but they demonstrate that the Sindhi society was progressive, enlightened, and

¹⁹² *Khalsa* was the crown land, from the income of which the expenditures of the royal family were fulfilled.

¹⁹³ The *payebaqi* was the land granted to some important or deserving person, but it was looked after by state-officials.

¹⁹⁴ The lands granted to Rajput aristocrats were recognized as *watan*.

¹⁹⁵ *Madad-e-Mo'ash* which also called as *siwargal* was the land given to Muslim clergy, sufis, intellectuals and the people coming of the noble families who did not want to do work for earning. This sort of land was also given to Hindu mystic persons and to the temples.

¹⁹⁶ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 76-77.

¹⁹⁷ Ali, "The Feudal Connection" in *In the Shadow of History*, 149-52; Ali, "Peasant Rebellion in Sind," in *In the Shadow of History*, 193-95.

¹⁹⁸ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 149-52, 193-95.

conscientious enough that it challenged the oppression and injustice. The rebellions could not succeed as the peasantry lacked all those sources which could ensure their success.¹⁹⁹

5.6.6 The Problems and Decline of *Mansabdari* System

Hassan evaluates how feudalism in India and that of Europe were different and why Indian businessmen and traders did not challenge feudalism as the capitalist class in Europe did. With reference to the accounts of Zahiruddin Babar, Francois Bernier, and Karl Marx on Indian economy, he explains that it was the economic self-sufficiency of Indian society, particularly the villages, that neither the rulers made any attempts to improve the tools of production, nor did the traders and businessmen realize any need to challenge Indian feudal economy.²⁰⁰ Due to its fertile lands, enormous sources and a large number of labourers, artisans, and peasants, India's economy during the seventeenth century was self-reliant. Consequently, the traders and businessmen never thought of challenging the hegemony of *mansabdars*, rather they used to pay heavy taxes and suffer from scorn and wrath of the *mansabdars*.²⁰¹

Analysing why the *mansabdari* system declined, Mubarak Ali states that the *mansabdars* got increased in numbers but the *jagirs* (fiefs) were insufficient to accommodate them, and meet the expenditure of their lavish lifestyle. This evoked unrest among the *mansabdars* and caused a culture of bribe, nepotism and lobbying for acquiring *jagirs*.²⁰² The *mansabdars* who succeeded in acquiring *jagirs* in areas where they belonged to, strengthened themselves by recruiting military

¹⁹⁹ Similar descriptions on peasant revolt, rather at length, are given by Sibte Hassan in *Navid-e Fikr*. It narrates the account of Sindhi sufi saint Shah Inayat of Jhok (d. 1718) who being anxious of peasants predicament revolted, captured land and declared it a common property of the peasants. However, he after a bloody war against the aristocrats of Mughal Empire captured and assassinated. Hassan regards him 'a socialist sufi of Sindh.' For details, see Hassan, "*Vadi-e Sindh ka Soshalist Sufi*," in *Navid-e Fikr*, 167-204.

²⁰⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 276, 281-89, 384.

²⁰¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 384.

²⁰² Ali, *Jagirdari*, 89.

and collecting revenue.²⁰³ After becoming politically, economically and militarily powerful, they began challenging writ of the government in the centre. Finally, the *mansabdari* system got collapsed during the later Mughals period, since the state was unable to contain the *mansabdars* who declared the *jagirs* under their control as independent states.²⁰⁴ Therefore, it was the collapse of *mansabdari* system which led to the collapse of the Mughal Empire.²⁰⁵

5.7 Causal Analysis of the Decline of the Mughal Empire

While discussing the reasons of the Mughal Empire's decline, the Muslim nationalist historians mostly focus on the religious and moral aspects. They argue that the Mughal Empire declined because its rulers diverted from the Islamic tenets and indulged into immoral activities, debauchery, wine and merry making with women. They became almost completely indifferent to administrative problems of the state. Further, these historians explain that the non-Muslims such as the Marathas and Sikhs, who were never happy with the Muslim rulers, revolted against them and undermined the Muslim rule. Some assert that one of the major reasons of the decline of the Mughals was their excessive tilt towards the non-Muslims, excessive religious tolerance, which harmed and undermined the unity and strength of the Muslim community of India. Revisiting such dispositions on the decline of Mughal Empire and Indian Muslim society, Pakistan Marxist historians come up with quite different approach and they highlight the material, social and intellectual causes of this decline.

5.7.1 Materialist Interpretation of the Decline of the Mughal Empire

Denying that the Mughals declined because they were religiously and morally corrupt, Hassan in *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* states that it was not personal conduct of the rulers but the flawed

²⁰³ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 92.

²⁰⁴ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 102-3.

²⁰⁵ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 93.

Mughal military system, as compared to that of the British, which resulted in the former's political decay and British East India Company's ascendancy. The Indian rulers became aware of the flaws of their military system when they confronted with an army trained in accordance with the British procedure of recruitment and warfare techniques. Another factor of Indian defeat was the culture of conspiracies in the institution of nobility which developed out of the nobles' biases and antagonism towards each other.²⁰⁶ One of the deep-rooted factors that contributed in the success of the British was their advanced technology, thriving industry and trade, scientific knowledge and meticulous planning.²⁰⁷

Commenting on the writings of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, Sibte Hassan identifies various factors which caused the decline of the Mughal Empire, including the caste system which restricted professions and made it racial,²⁰⁸ exploitation of the labour classes,²⁰⁹ social stagnation and social alienation because of the Oriental despotism,²¹⁰ impact of European industrialization on India's economy,²¹¹ and colonization of India by the British East India Company.²¹²

²⁰⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 372-89.

²⁰⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 372-89.

²⁰⁸ It states that the social structure, the caste system, in ancient India (and in Egypt) was the absurd way of defining a division of labour. Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 330-1.

²⁰⁹ Referring the consideration of Marx, *Mosa sey Marx tak* talks about the workers in ancient societies like Indian one and inclined to sympathize them for they had been exploited by the force and strain of social values imposed upon them by the class of clergy or the ruling powers. As their labour was said not to be owned by themselves, but God or someone else who was not the producer, they got alienated from the production they generated through their labor. It propounds that those non-producing entities therefore emerged as the rival of the workers who produced things by means of their labour. Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 281.

²¹⁰ Offered by Sibte Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq* discusses the ahistoricism of India and China with reference to Adam Smith (1723-1790 CE), Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834 CE), Freidrich Hegel (1770-1831 CE), James Mill (1773-1836 CE), as they saw the societies in the East including India and China witnessed no historical change since ancient times. Though Sibte Hassan refers them with an expression of disgust, he concedes their observations about India's social stagnation. Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 38-9. Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 378.

Sibte Hassan goes with the analysis offered by Karl Marx that Indian society fell to stagnation for two main reasons: first, the absence of the ownership of land; secondly, the village culture.

²¹¹ *Mosa sey Marx tak* has dealt with the plight of Indian industry, specifically the textile industry, which went to be ruined due to the industrial revolution in Britain and the monopoly of East Indian Company on the trade of India. Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 121-24.

²¹² Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx Tak*, 282-392.

5.7.2 Flawed *Mansabdari* System as the Cause of the Mughal Decline

Sibte Hassan's accounts *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* and *Marx aur Mashriq* hold *mansabdari* system as the real cause of social stagnation and the decline of the Mughal Empire. Hassan states that the economic foundation of the Mughal culture was not much different from that of the Pathans, or the Lodhi dynasty. To him, the culture evolved by the Mughals was not a result of any social revolution, nor was it a herald of some revolution in future. The economic policies of the Mughals proved beneficial for the common people to some extent but not much effective in improving the social status of lower classes. The industries established during the Mughal era were meant to maintain the luxurious life style of the ruling classes. It provided employment to the workers but there came no change in social relations because the tools of production remained outdated.

Examining its flaws, Mubarak Ali's *Jagirdari* and *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* explain that *mansabdari* system ultimately caused the downfall of the economic system as well as the Mughal Empire. The *masabdars* were not owners of the lands they were granted, and in case they died, the property rights could not be transferred to their descendants. Sometimes, the Emperors confiscated the land and imprisoned the *masabdar* or allotted him other land in some far-flung area, if he found him guilty of any misconduct. The *mansabdars* mostly resided in the capital cities, leaving and holding their subordinates responsible for the administrative affairs. A major share of the income they received from these lands was spent on their luxuries and comfortable lifestyle. They did not save the wealth, as they knew it well that any saved money would be confiscated by the centre. It made the *mansabdars* indifferent towards the development of the area they governed, and they put no sincere efforts in improving the technology to facilitate agriculture and irrigation,²¹³ nor did

²¹³ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 70-71, 75-76.

they improve the living standard of the common people. This caused social stagnation, and ultimately led to the decline of the Mughal Empire.

5.5.3 Socio-economic Reasons of the Decline of the Mughal Empire

Kazi Javed reflects on the decline of the Mughal Empire by giving an appraisal to the ideas of Shah Wali Ullah,²¹⁴ who not only explained the stages of evolution in human civilization, but also evaluated how the economy and Muslim society in India got degenerated and the Empire declined.²¹⁵ Kazi Javed states:

- The decline of Mughal Empire was bound to happen for two reasons: 1) many people associated with different professions became a burden on royal treasury; 2) the government levied heavy taxes upon the landlords, peasants, artisans and industrialists.²¹⁶
- The cost of the comforts of aristocratic class were borne by the working classes, who were forced to live an inhuman life. Such exploitative conditions would inevitably compel the society to rebel against the tyrants.²¹⁷
- The human consciousness about morality is not derived by supernatural elements but by the realities which surrounds him.²¹⁸ Therefore, improved living conditions of the common people contribute to the progress and prosperity of the society.
- It is highly crucial to denounce the coercive labour, due to which a civilization is destined to fall.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ An Indian philosopher, sociologist, scholar, writer, social reformer, and theologian, Shah Wali Ullah lived during the time when Mughal Empire was moving to its decline. He attempted to reform Muslim society of India which then was morally degenerated, economically corrupt and politically feeble and chaotic. His approach to social reformation was top-down and the medium he used was letter writing. To consolidate the Muslims of India who were divided into myriad social, political, religious and mystical divisions, he synthesized conflicting theological issues theoretically. Apart from that, the importance attached to his political philosophy, and highlighted by Kazi Javed, is that the causes of the decline of Mughal Empire Shah Wali Ullah had explained were economical. For that, Kazi Javed as mentioned him as the first Indian Muslim philosopher who viewed that the driving force in the rise and fall of an empire is economy. See, Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 221; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 271-2, 284; Javed, *Afkar-e-Shah Wali Ullah*, 184.

²¹⁵ First stage explains human life dependent entirely upon intrinsic and material needs is lesser distinguishable than that of other animals. In second stage, the humans learn from surroundings and develop their senses including aesthetic one. During this stage class struggle also emerges. The third stage implies the intense class struggle and acute exploitations which is exemplified by the histories of Persia and Rome. The fourth stages suggest universalism and classless society. Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 280-9; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 224-27.

²¹⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 221.

²¹⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 222.

²¹⁸ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 223.

²¹⁹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 224.

- Social consolidation brings about a well-organized institution, i.e. the state.²²⁰

Admiring Shah Wali Ullah's analysis of the Mughal Empire's decline focusing on economic factors, Kazi Javed calls him a Marxist before Karl Marx. He regards Shah Wali Ullah's philosophy of rise and fall of empires or nations more valid, thoughtful, brilliant, worthwhile and creative than that of Ibn Khaldun, since the latter overlooked the economic factors.²²¹

5.7.4 Rationalizing the Rise of British East India Company

Bartanvi Hindustan, third book in an anthology of Mubarak Ali's *Hindustan ki Kahani* (2009), and Kazi Javed's *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah* rationalize the circumstances of India during the eighteenth century CE, in the wake of which the British East India Company emerged as a political power, and became instrumental in British imperialism and colonization of India. They shed light on India's political chaos and emerging political and military powers like the Marathas, Sikhs, Rohillas, Jatts, and Rajputs, which had come into political conflicts with Mughal rulers, fought wars with them and established their autonomous states. Then the invasions of Persian ruler Nadir Shah in 1739 CE and those of Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali between 1748 and 1761 CE, plundered India's wealth and the Mughal Empire became immensely vulnerable.²²² *Bartanvi Hindustan* also takes into account the rivalry that Europeans i.e. the French and British had against each other. Apropos of this rivalry, it discusses three Anglo-French Carnatic Wars (during 1746 and 1763), in the wake of which the British appeared victorious and the influence of French in India came to an end completely.²²³ The battles of Plassey in 1757 and Buxar in 1764 were highly significant in the history of India, as the British being victorious emerged as an invincible political

²²⁰ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 225.

²²¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 220-21; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 271

²²² Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 22-23; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 210-11; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 250-53. Javed, *Afkar-e-Shah Wali Ullah*, 100-1.

²²³ Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 22-24.

power in India. Mubarak Ali informs about the Indians who directly or indirectly supported the British in these wars, whom Muslim nationalist historians declare as traitors, had their own economic interests and for that very reason they were not happy with the Muslim rulers of Bengal Siraj ud-Daulah (r. 1756-1757).²²⁴ It points out that the British victory in the war of Buxar made them capable to bear the expenditures of a larger army they had recruited, and they sent a great deal of economic profit to England.²²⁵ However, the pivotal point presented by the discussions in *Bartanvi Hindustan* is the political anarchy and chaos in India which led to its colonization of India, and its repercussions.

5.7.5 Criticism on Muslim Response to Socio-political Crisis and Challenges

Kazi Javed's books *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib* and *Afkar-e-Shah Wali Ullah* take into account the political chaos, disintegration of Muslim society, the response of Muslim ideologues like Shah Wali Ullah and the wars fought in India during the eighteenth century CE.²²⁶ He contends that the strategy adopted by Shah Wali Ullah to resolve the political problems of India was erroneous since he invited the ruler of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Abdali to wage a holy war against the non-Muslims of India.²²⁷ Javed maintains that Shah Wali Ullah could not recognize the real enemy of India: those were not the Indian non-Muslims but the British.²²⁸ Kazi Javed who admires Shah Wali Ullah for his socio-political philosophy

²²⁴ Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 26, 31.

²²⁵ Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 30.

²²⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 201-27; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 235-89; Javed, *Afkar-e-Shah Wali Ullah*, 92-103, 161-74.

²²⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 210-11; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 250-53. Javed, *Afkar-e-Shah Wali Ullah*, 100-1.

²²⁸ *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib* describes the battle of Plassey took place in times of Shah Wali Ullah in 1757 CE, the ruler of Bengal Siraj ud-Dawlah who was defeated in that war by East India Company was a patriot ruler, yet Shah Wali Ullah called him naïve young man. Owing to the victory of British in the Battles of Plassey and Karnatik, Bengal's wealth reached to Britain and industrial revolution took place there consequently. Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 253-54.

On the other hand, in India, due to the victory of the British in these wars, British aggression and imperialism attained momentum and India lost its political and economic independence. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 209.

based upon economic determinants, however criticizes him for it. Similarly, he is also critical of the Maratha chief Najib ud-Daulah who helped Shah Wali Ullah to communicate with the Afghan ruler. He states that Abdali and Najib ud-Daulah were thoroughly deficient of the characteristics and insight prerequisite to understand and achieve the higher goals Shah Wali Ullah dreamt.²²⁹ This analysis shows Kazi Javed's sympathetic concern towards the Indians, and that without involving into religious bias he declares the invaders, either Afghan or the British, as the enemies of the Indians.

Inspired by Shah Wali Ullah, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and Shah Ismail Shahid launched *Jihad* movement against the Sikh rule in northern India. Kazi Javed's criticism on it is on the same ground that the jihadists on the bases of some vague information considered the Sikh rule as atrocious, and devoted themselves to fight against them.²³⁰ On the other hand, the British who were indulged in colonizing India were the allies of these jihadists against the Sikhs. Kazi Javed argues that despite considering economic and political factors responsible for the decline of Muslim society, the leaders of *Jihad* movement set about resolving them religiously. He also criticizes the social base and influence of these movements which remained narrow due to religious sectarianism.²³¹

5.8 History of Material Culture

Material history denotes the history of things or objects. It involves studying both the things made by man as well as the natural objects. To write history by observing, studying and evaluating the things is highly significant in comprehending human actions and culture of a given area and era. Archaeology, as an auxiliary science of history, deals with the study of material remains of the

²²⁹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 211; Javed, *Afkar-e-Shah Wali Ullah*, 98-100.

²³⁰ Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 164-67.

²³¹ Javed, *Afkar-e-Shah Wali Ullah*, 161-74.

past. The Marxist historians attach considerable significance to material history, since they believe that it is the tools of production which define the evolution of human culture, achievements, activities and the level of progress and prosperity. Besides the ideas, sentiments and social values, two other prerequisite elements inevitably contribute to formation of distinct culture of societies, according to Sibte Hassan. These are physical conditions and tools of production.²³² His enterprises *Mazi kay Mazar* and *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* narrating and signifying the change in tools of production tell how certain technological developments affected social relations. He maintains that India witnessed social stagnation because the society brought no change in tools of production. It was self-sufficiency in material needs—in food, fertile land and tools by the peasants, labourers, artists and artisans—that the society never strived developing the tools of labour to have more production.²³³

Since Sibte Hassan attaches greater importance to material things to understand the evolution of human history, therefore, he tells about the crops the people used to cultivate, tools used for cultivating those crops, cities having unique characteristics, dressings used by the people to show their social status and culture, ornaments and the worn by women. *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* takes into account the rivers, rains, and floods to suggest the causes of the decline of Indus Valley Civilization. It discusses the architecture and construction of the buildings, material and shape of the antiquities found during the excavations of the cities such as Bhambore and Mansura, the cities established by the Arabs in Sindh.²³⁴ It brings to light the culture of veiling in Muslims society and argues that the Muslims brought it with them in India from Persia, and confined the women belonging to lower and middle classes homes. Veiling, it explains, had never become popular

²³² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 25-33, 178, 373-77.

²³³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 73-74,

²³⁴ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 172-76.

among the working class women of rural and agricultural societies.²³⁵ It rejects the thesis that the Muslim India had made significant advances in the field of education on the ground that India lacked the press and paper manufacturing industry.²³⁶ It analyses the causes of less attention to paintings and other pieces of art in the Mughal era owing to religious prohibition.²³⁷ He tells it was the superior war technology that brought about the victory of Arab army against that of Raja Dahir, that of the Mughals against the Lodhis and Rana Sanga, and that of the British against the locals of India.²³⁸ The account does not provide any focused discussion on material history, everything about it appears in passing.

Nonetheless, there are two undertakings of Mubarak Ali, i.e. *Mughal Darbar* (1997) and *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* (2009), which provide ample discussion on the history of material culture. Originally the PhD dissertation of Mubarak Ali, and afterwards published by Fiction House in Urdu and English, *Mughal Court* (or *Mughal Darbar*) offers the history of traditions, symbols, rituals, festivals, celebrations, processions, ceremonies and mannerism of the Mughal court, as well as the objects the Mughal court such as crowns, thrones, coins, royal stamps, flags, sedan, ornaments, canopies, stalls in funfair, court and its structure, robes of honour, necklaces, royal kitchen, bathrooms, *khalwatkhana* (retiring-room), and *jharoka* (a terrace where the king used to sit being entertained with some games, music, dance or battles of elephants). It brings to light the gifts exchanged between the emperors and diplomats including ornaments, armours, arsenals, precious stones, and perfumes etc.²³⁹ It talks about the things which the king, at occasion of his lunar birthday, used to distribute among the poor as gifts, including gold, mercury, silk cloth,

²³⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtaqa*, 240-41.

²³⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtaqa*, 294.

²³⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtaqa*, 339-53.

²³⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtaqa*, 154, 373, 389,

²³⁹ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 78.

perfumes, copper, spices, ghee, rice, milk, seven types of grains and salt. The charities he gave on his solar birthday included silver, cloth, mercury, tin, fruit, sweets, vegetables and mustard oil.²⁴⁰ The book also tells about the gifts and awards to the princes, princesses, royal ladies, ambassadors, nobles and *mansabdars* (aristocrats).²⁴¹ It casts light on the things which were used by the singers, dances, magicians and other entertainers to entertain their audience.

The work also deals with the arrangements of the court in capital cities, i.e. Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri and Lahore, where there were palaces, castles, and gardens. The court were of two types, i.e. *darbar-e khas and darbar-e 'am*. At the time when the emperor was on some expedition, the camp where he resided became his court with some different arrangements.²⁴² The throne symbolizes *minbar* (the platform) in mosques which was used by judges in ancient Arabia, and then became Islamic tradition when the Holy Prophet (PBUH) got it constructed in eighth Hijri, but later on became a symbol of the caliphs' rule.²⁴³ The Mughal coinage is also discussed.²⁴⁴ Besides these few examples, Ali's *Mughal Darbar* contains a lot of material to tell about the material culture of the Mughal Emperors' court.

An illustrated book by Mubarak Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* takes various material objects into account to suggest the material culture during the Sultanate and Mughal eras. It provides details about the location and architecture of the cities like Mansura,²⁴⁵ and destruction of the Somnatha temple and idols erected there,²⁴⁶ the royal symbols of the Sultanate such as court, flags, robes of honour, coins, kettledrums, canopies, palaces, dressings, and arsenals.²⁴⁷ It mentions the Sultans

²⁴⁰ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 85.

²⁴¹ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 78, 115-8.

²⁴² Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 55-8.

²⁴³ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 28.

²⁴⁴ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 38-9.

²⁴⁵ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 18.

²⁴⁶ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 23-35.

²⁴⁷ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 27, 30-35.

of Delhi constructed mosques, tombs, palaces, gates, pillars, pools, castles, roads, gardens and wells.²⁴⁸ It also highlights the material culture of the peasants and artisans of Sultanate periods: their dressing, food and houses and the things artisans used to prepare, etc.²⁴⁹ *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* also discusses the material culture of Mughal court and royal symbols, providing details about court, throne, royal stamps, coinage, flags, *jharoka* (terrace), bazaars at the occasions of *Jashan-e Nauroz*, royal carriages, camps, precious objects in Mughal treasury, Mughal library, royal kitchen, dresses, and *harem* (pleasure-house).²⁵⁰

Summing up the discussion in the chapter, it can be observed that the Marxist historiography not only revisits and provides different interpretations to historical issues discussed by mainstream Muslim nationalist historiography, but it also addresses those issues as well which the latter have overlooked, such as the gender history, socio-cultural and economic history, and history of material culture. It rejected the religious and patriarchal explanations of social status and historical role of the women, and explains it in a liberal and secular fashion. So is the case with their explanations and rationalization of the reasons of the decline of the Mughal Empire in India and the rise of the British East India Company. The above discussion also shows that the Marxist historians view the historical developments in medieval Indian in their own way, Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed emphasize on cultural exchange between the Hindu and Muslim communities, whereas Mubarak Ali analyses these developments employing the framework of post-colonialism or cultural imperialism.

²⁴⁸ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 34-35.

²⁴⁹ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 43-44.

²⁵⁰ Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 79-92.

Chapter Six

Critique on Marxist Historiography in Pakistan

The analyses of recorded histories demonstrate that each society has its own unique historical consciousness which its historians present by producing their narratives. This becomes also clear that even within a given society there are multiple schools of historians offering different understandings and interpretations of historical issues, events, and personalities. Further, the societies do not get stuck with their historical consciousness; they change it with the passage of time by confronting with new challenges and by enhancing their understanding, methods of reasoning, and realization of the realities surrounding them. Historiography deals with exploring, evaluating and at times resolving the historical issues, controversies, and complexities presented by recorded historical literature. It assesses the techniques, methods, approaches and theories employed by the historians in their narratives. It raises and addresses some serious academic questions on the understanding which they provide. This chapter evaluates the Marxist historiographical literature produced in Pakistan, confining its scope to assessing the literature on medieval Indian produced by three select Pakistani Marxist historians, i.e. Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed.

It is divided into two parts: the first deals with the salient theoretical-conceptual characteristics, strengths and merits of Pakistani Marxist historiography, while the second brings out its demerits and weaknesses. The key questions addressed in this chapter are: how rigorously the select Pakistani Marxist historians have employed the Marxist theoretical framework to view, analyse and frame the historical facts? How this historiography is theoretically different from its counterpart and mainstream historiography in Pakistan, i.e. the Muslim nationalist? How does it contribute to the production of historical knowledge? What are the characteristics owing to which

the discourse it presents is assumed to be an avant-garde for the students of history in Pakistan? What kind of social, political, and intellectual reactions it evokes by presenting highly controversial leftist perspectives in society inclined to religious extremism and traditionalism? By addressing the treatment it gives to the sources and historical facts, and by evaluating the reasoning and argumentation it offers, this study highlights the strengths and weaknesses of Pakistani Marxist historiography of medieval India.

6.1. Theoretical Grounds of Pakistani Marxist Historiography

The defining characteristic of Marxist historiography which makes it different from Muslim nationalist historiography is its ontological and epistemological grounds. Ontology means the nature of ‘existence’ or ‘reality’ or ‘being,’ i.e. what reality is.¹ The epistemology implies how the knowledge about reality can be acquired.² Both of these philosophic concepts —about the nature of reality and about how to know the reality—provide worldview and paradigm, under which issues are further inquired.³ There are various worldviews, or paradigms, the most renowned of which are positivism, idealism, existentialism and post-modernism. The Muslim nationalist school adheres to the idealistic ontological and epistemological worldview.⁴ Ontologically, they believe

¹ For detailed discussions, see, Dale Jacquette, *Ontology* (London: Routledge, 2002); Staffen Staab and Rudi Studer (ed.), *Handbook on Ontologies*, ed. 2nd, (London: Springer, 2009), 1-3; Kerry E. Howell, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology* (London: Sage Publications, 2013), ix, 1-19;

² Howell, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology*, 1-19. Avrum Stroll and A. P. Martinich define epistemology as “the study of nature, and limits of human knowledge.” Avrum Stroll and A. P. Martinich, “Epistemology,” *Online Britannica Encyclopaedia*, at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/epistemology> (accessed on August 18, 2017).

³ In *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology*, Kerry E. Howell explaining the relationship between these philosophic concepts about knowing, or knowledge, or conducting research, explains: “Paradigms of inquiry incorporate clear indication of how ontology (what reality is) and epistemology (the relationship between the researcher and researched) are intrinsic to each methodological approach and consequent plan for data collection. The ontological perspective identifies the epistemology and provides a strategic assessment of the methodology and methods best suited for the research program, thesis or dissertation.” Howell, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology*, xi.

⁴ In western philosophical tradition, idealism is generally meant that it is consciousness which perceives nature of the physical world, otherwise the human beings do not know the physical world really exist, or not. The western philosophers who adhered to and gave their distinct version on idealism include Plato (427-347 BCE), Rene Descartes (1596-1650), John Locke (1632-1704), Nicholas Malebranche (1638-1715), Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Bishop George Berkeley (1685-1753), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Johann Gottlieb

that reality, so to say the Absolute Truth, is metaphysical, abstract, ideal and supernatural—i.e. Allah Almighty.⁵ Epistemologically speaking, the source to know this Supreme Reality, they hold, is intuition and divine revelation. That is why they profess the truth of divinity and religion. The guiding principles enshrined in the canonical texts, i.e. Holy Quran and Sunnah, become the foundation of their rationality. The societies' decline and degeneration, they maintain, take place because of disarraying from religious teachings and guiding principles—because of the violation of the laws of the Creator of the universe. The evaluation and judgement, either critically or admiringly, by the Muslim nationalist historians to historical events and human actions draw their logic from their religious traditions. The moralization they provide to their historical discourse is religious. The concept of humanism they present, promote and defend is the one that their religion explains. This is the reason that the narratives they produce often quote and refer the Quranic verses, the sayings of the Holy Prophet and those of other religious authorities.⁶

The ontology presented by [classical] Marxism is called positivism, which, nonetheless, explains and propounds that the reality is material. Explaining its epistemology, it underscores that the source of sensing, realizing, understanding and knowing the material reality is the human faculty of five senses—i.e. viewing, hearing, smelling, tasting and touching. The positivists hold that

Fichte (1762-1844), and G.W.F. Hegel (1770-1831). For details, see, Markus Gabriel, *Transcendental Ontology: Essays in German Idealism* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2011); James K. Feibleman, *The New Materialism* (Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, *The Hague*, 1979), 20-38; Thomas Hofweber, *Ontology and the Ambitions of Metaphysics* (London: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Explaining philosophic conception of idealism, Daniel Sommer Robinson defines idealism as “any view that stresses the role of any ideal or spiritual in interpretation of experience.” He further explains that “it may hold that the world or reality exist essentially as spirit or consciousness, that abstractions and laws are more fundamental in reality than sensory things, or, at least, whatever exists is known in dimensions that are chiefly mental through and as idea.”

Daniel Sommer Robinson, “Idealism,” *Online Britannica Encyclopaedia*.

At: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/idealism> (accessed on August 18, 2017).

⁵ The sovereignty of the universe belongs to Allah Almighty, His will is the supreme law of the universe. So is described by the Objective Resolution of Pakistan, which is said to be a preamble of Pakistan's constitutions. To know issues on religion, politics, constitution making, the role of religious political parties like Jama'at-i-Islami, see Shaukat Ali, “Islam and Politics in the Formative Phase,” in *Pakistan: A Religio-Political Study* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1997), 1-45.

⁶ For instances, see, Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, 11-13; Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 199.

knowledge about this material and natural world is scientific. The purpose of scientific inquiry, according to them, is to study the facts and to construct laws by finding logical and causal connection among them.⁷ The Marxists negating idealistic ontological and epistemological stances adhere to the notion of historical materialism—those are the material, or economic factors which are fundamentally the driving forces of social, political, psychological, and intellectual developments as well as aesthetics. These economic factors are termed as ‘the modes of production’ and are defined as ‘the base’ having the real potential to bring about a change in ‘the superstructure’—i.e. the political system, philosophy, religion, morality, values, laws, culture and traditions. Hence the Pakistani Marxist historians such as Sibte Hassan, like any other belonging to this school, emphasize on economic and material reasons for the rise and fall of societies, their progress and stagnation, and social inequalities and injustices. The moralization they provide to their historical discourse is drawn out of secularism.

Apart from the both worldviews discussed above, the positivist and the idealist, there is another, i.e. existentialism, which holds that the reality exists but independent of human consciousness. Human beings are unable to apprehend the supreme reality of the universe. This philosophy became popular like a movement in the twentieth century. It insists on analysing the existence and the plight of individuals in ‘unfathomable universe.’⁸ The existentialists believe that the individuals’ acts—with free will and without the knowledge of what is right and what is wrong—are responsible for his circumstances and plight.⁹ Existentialism comprises of a variety of

⁷ Collingwood, *Idea of History*, 125-28.

⁸ Paul Tillich describes existentialism as “an over one hundred year old movement of rebellion against dehumanization of man in Industrial society.” Paul Tillich, “Existentialist Philosophy,” *The Journal of History of Ideas*, Vol., 5, (Jan, 1944), 40-70, in Theodor W. Andorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity*, Tr. Knut Tarnowski and Frederic Will, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), vii.

⁹ Steven Crowell, “Existentialism”, *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (spring: 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/existentialism/>> (accessed on August 17, 2017).

philosophical ideas, some of the centrally shared points of which, in the view of one of the select Marxist-existentialist philosopher-historian Kazi Javed, are *inter alia*: science is significant and worthwhile, its significance lies in its utilitarian aspect. Otherwise, science cannot be regarded a satisfactory source to attain truth, or the knowledge of reality.¹⁰ It is not possible to experience reality through human reasoning, because it has its own limitations.¹¹ Further, one of the salient characteristics of existentialism is challenging of all social formations and their supporting concepts which make the individuals subject to some social group. The existentialists are also critical of the concepts like nationalism, communalism and even Communism.¹² Despite the fact that the existentialist philosophy rejects the ideas of Communism, it comes quite closer to Marxism, as both philosophies argue for human emancipation from social, cultural, political and economic discriminatory and exploitative structures, and support the leftist tendencies.

Among the select Marxist historians, Sibte Hassan is the one who dominantly employs Marxist framework with least variations into his historical discourses. He appears to interpret progress or stagnation in Indian history by discussing change in the ‘modes of production’ and ‘the tools of labour.’ Mubarak Ali belongs to the subaltern school, one of emerging traditions within Marxism. His major concern rests on viewing and interpreting history from the perspective of common people, advocating the marginal and deprived classes of the society. He views the Indian history from below. Thus, he can be rightly acknowledged as a ‘people’s historian.’ The philosopher-historian Kazi Javed is representative of existentialist philosophic tradition. He comes into contradiction with various principal themes of Marxism, as is shown in chapter three of the present study. The shared ‘Marxist’ features in approaches and scholarships offered by the select

¹⁰ Javed, *Wajudiyat*, 17.

¹¹ Javed, *Wajudiyat*, 17.

¹² Javed, *Wajudiyat*, 17-19.

historians, Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali, and Kazi Javed, however, are many which include secularism, humanism, progressivism, liberalism, pluralism and leftism. They all advocate for the rights of the common people, by voicing the problems of the voiceless downtrodden people, by challenging the social, cultural, religious, political, and economic structures, traditions and values. By virtue of these shared features of their scholarship, they come into intellectual conflicts with Muslim nationalist historians, and venerate the trends of cultural syncretism and criticize the religious orthodoxy causing communalism and separatism. One more noteworthy aspect of the works of Pakistani Marxist historians is that they not only differ on the theoretical approaches, but the way they construct their arguments by citing empirical evidences is also different.

6.2 Merits of Pakistani Marxist Historiographical Tradition

One may discern significant merits of Marxist historiography, which include its contribution to the knowledge of history by presenting a counter-narrative to Muslim nationalist historiography, historical myths it identifies and challenges, exploration of new and unconventional areas of historical knowledge, e.g. the social, cultural and economic history.

6.2.1 Counter-narrative to Muslim Nationalist Historiography

The Marxist historiography in Pakistan counterbalances the mainstream Muslim nationalist historiography that seems to have over-emphasized the concept of Muslim separatism in South Asia, and emphatically justify the ideological basis of the creation of Pakistan, while framing history of the Indian subcontinent in accordance with the Two Nation Theory, which is a subset notion of Muslim nationalism in South Asia.¹³ Correspondingly, the editorial in one of the leading newspapers of Pakistan *Dawn* puts it: “It is fair to say that the mix of ideology, religion and

¹³ Many historians have critically viewed a trend of history writing in Pakistan with ideological considerations. Ayesha Jalal, Pakistani-American historian, while attending literature festival in Karachi stated, “Pakistan has taught ideology not history and it is the high time we focused on history and learnt it without biases.” Salman Khan, “Time to Teach History, not Ideology”, *Dawn*, February 22, 2015.

selective history taught in our [Pakistan's] public schools often leaves students unable to cope with the realities of the modern world.”¹⁴ The Pakistani Marxist historians by producing counter-narrative make a significant contribution in developing realization that the history told by mainstream nationalist historians and the officially approved textbooks in Pakistan is problematic in various ways. The Muslim nationalist historians mainly start the history of South Asia from the Arab invasion of Sindh in 711 AD and associate the history of Indian Muslims to that of the Muslims living in rest of the Muslim world, particularly the Middle East and Central Asia, which betrays a Pan-Islamic tendency of these historians.¹⁵ The Marxist historians object that the Muslim nationalist historians have made very desperate attempts at legitimizing and justifying the Muslim rulers of India and their policies. They expose, evaluate and criticize how the Muslim nationalist historiographical discourse depicts the Muslim rule in India as a blessing for natives of the land.¹⁶ They demonstrate that the attempts at portraying the Muslim rulers making great contribution in the social, cultural, political, administrative, literary and intellectual spheres is based on selective historical facts.¹⁷ On the other hand, the Marxist historians view the Muslim conquerors of India as oppressors and imperialists.¹⁸ They trace the roots of the culture and traditions of Indian people, even those of Pakistan, in ancient history of India—in the culture of Indus Valley and Gandhara Civilizations.¹⁹ They find immense contribution of the people belonging to varied ethnic, cultural, religious and regional backgrounds—such as the Dravidians, Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Huns, Arabs, Turks, Persians, Afghan, and British—in shaping the culture of India and

¹⁴ “Objectionable Material,” *Dawn*, September 28, 2014, editorial page.

¹⁵ Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi, *Masla-e Qaumiyat* (Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., 1970), 32-36.

¹⁶ Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 10-14.

¹⁷ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in Pakistan and India*, i-xxvi; Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 10-14; Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 20-21

¹⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 125; Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 40-43; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu’ashray ka Almiya*, 14-16, 46-55.109-10.

¹⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 72-80.

Pakistan.²⁰ The Marxist historians like Mubarak Ali criticize the terms “Muslim rule in India” or “Islamic history,”²¹ uncritically adopted and used by the Muslim nationalist historians, as these terms, they observe, give history a religious colour, and consequently, the rulers appear in history as religious heroes and therefore immune from any criticism.²² Ali suggests viewing this so-called Muslim rule as dynastic and ethnic rule, e.g. Arab and Turkish rule.

The Muslim nationalist historians highlight and admire those historical figures who advocated Muslim separatist ideas in India, for instance the orthodox sufi, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, and the theologian-sufi, Shah Wali Ullah.²³ The Marxist historians contrarily appreciate those historical figures who promoted the idea of cultural syncretism, secularism, humanism and liberalism, such as the sufis belonging to Chishti *silsilah*, exponents of Bhakti movement and the rulers like Mughal Emperor Akbar.²⁴

The Marxist historiography has played a great role in neutralizing such dispositions in the mainstream historiography that promote religious extremism and fanaticism. The Marxist historians argue that religious enthusiasm and jaundiced views of the historians intend to legitimize and endorse theocracy, orthodoxy, patriarchy and elitist culture in Pakistan.²⁵ The Marxist historians offer alternative historiographical perspectives, and try to defend secularism and liberalism. Since they realize that historiographical discourse offered by their counterparts is

²⁰ Hassan's accounts *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā* and *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, and Mubarak Ali's enterprises like *Historians' Dispute, History on Trial, Bare Saghīr mein Musalman Mu'ashary ka Almiya, Tarikh ki Talash*, and anthology of three books *Hindustani ki Kahani* evolve their discourses on this overarching theme.

²¹ Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 16.

²² Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 181, 217, 220; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 4. Also see, *Tarikh ki Roshani*, 23-34.

²³ Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 179-90, 199-219; Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, 18, 21, 84, 98, 104, 107-40; Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*, 221, 266, 282, 300, 357, 371, 391-95.

²⁴ Hasaan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 324; Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 223-30; Javed, *Bare Saghīr mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 157-63.

²⁵ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 113-14; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 242-45; Ali, *Bare Saghīr mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 19.

history of political elite, they themselves stress on the plight of common people and regard it a consequence of rulers' apathetic attitudes towards well-being of common people. The epicenter in the discourse of the Muslim nationalist historians is the rulers and political elite, and that of Marxist historians is the deprived, exploited, marginalized and poor people.

6.2.2 Shattering of Historical Myths

The methodological developments in the discipline of history have provided the historians with various tools to interpret and evaluate historical events critically, and made historical inquiry more complex as well as more meaningful, credible, and validated. The select Pakistani Marxist historians, particularly Mubarak Ali, criticize the Muslim nationalist historiography from various angles ranging from criticism on sources to arguments and approaches.

The Muslim nationalist historians emphasize on the development of Muslim civilization and culture in India, starting it with the invasion of Muhammad ibn Qasim on Sindh, and link it to the history of Muslim world, i.e. the Middle East and Central Asia.²⁶ The Marxist historians challenge the historical myth that before the Arab invasion, India had no history. To them, the myth, in fact, undermines the idea of cultural continuity of its regional ancient civilizations, i.e. Indus Valley and Gandhara.²⁷ Further, they view it critically that the Muslim nationalist historians have overlooked the aspect of cultural exchange between the Muslims and non-Muslim of India, which consequently gave birth to a syncretic culture.²⁸

²⁶ To see how Sibte Hassan refutes the notion that Pakistan's history (or that of the Indian subcontinent) starts with the Arab invasion of Sindh, see Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 7-10. Mubarak Ali has discussed same point in his account *History on Trial*, 12-13.

²⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 7-10; Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 39, Ali, *History on Trial*, 11-12.

²⁸ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 69-81, Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 339-41; Javed, *Tarikh-o-Tehzib*, 23-29.

In his account *In the Shadow of History*, Mubarak Ali writes, "The history which was written just after 1947 was in the rhythm of Hindu-Muslim conflict. This view of history is forcibly imposed and even today no one is allowed to write anything against it. The social and legal pressures are applied to introduce this version of history and wide publicity is used to popularize it. The result is that the young generation is completely ignorant of the other version of history." Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 12.

The story put forward by the Muslim nationalist historians as a justification to Arab invasion of Sindh is taken by Mubarak Ali under his critical examination, and he regards it a historical myth. In his *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, Mubarak Ali raises various probing questions on the story telling that Hajjaj ibn Yousuf ordered Muhammad ibn Qasim to invade Sindh for the reason that some pirates of Sindh had plundered and abducted a convoy of Muslim traders who were accompanied with some ladies and children. On the rescue call of a Muslim lady, Hajjaj demanded Raja Dahir to release the abducted Muslims and punish the culprits. But when Dahir refused to do so, he sent an expedition under the leadership of Muhammad ibn Qasim to rescue the abducted Muslims. Mubarak Ali regards this story as concocted and a historical myth.²⁹ He argues that it was the economic interests and imperialist designs which prompted the Arabs to attack and capture Sindh.³⁰

The wars waged by the Muslim invaders and conquerors against the Hindu communities of India are interpreted by Muslim nationalist historians as *jihad* (holy wars). Treating historical phenomena secularly, the Marxist historians criticize this veneration of the conquerors of India as holy warriors and the wars they fought as a *jihad*. They consider it a historical myth.³¹ The Pakistani Marxist historians including Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali, and Aziz ud-Din Ahmad reject the idea that the Muslim conquerors invaded India for the glory of Islam in South Asia and to convert the natives to it. Rather, they portray them as imperialists who were moved by mundane worldly desires.³² Mubarak Ali becomes highly critical of portraying the conquerors like Muhammad ibn Qasim, Mahmud Ghaznavi, and Shihabuddin Ghauri as holy warriors. To him, it

²⁹ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 59-73.

³⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 150, 156; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 18.

³¹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 133-4; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 6-8.

³² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 152, 156-57; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 6-7; Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 52; Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 20, 53; Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad, *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla'awar* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Fikr-o Danish, 1990), 7-10.

is an attempt to justify their aggression and vindicating them from the charges of “looting, plundering and enslaving of the unbelievers.”³³

Various religious and sacred symbols that the Muslim nationalist historiography has constructed are critically analysed by Mubarak Ali who calls such constructions as historical myths. In his enterprise *In the Shadow of History*, he cites the example of the popularity of Khwaja Muinuddin Ajmeri, and the rituals at his shrine performed on occasion of his *urs* (death anniversary). He maintains that he acquired a popular status in Indian society and historical writings as well. At a time when the Khwaja died, his disciples and followers were few. His popularity grew when the Mughal Emperor Akbar paid him homage by constructing his tomb and began visiting it. The Emperor's descendants too followed his tradition. This trend was also followed by the common people and made Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti one of the most popular sufi figures of Indian subcontinent.³⁴ Ali describes that most of the historical myths about religious symbols and their sacredness were established long after their origin. He points out that the origin of such symbols is forgotten and cut off from their roots. The details which were constructed later on have become a part of belief system of the people.³⁵

Countering the ‘sword theory’ regarding the spread of Islam in Indian subcontinent, the Muslim nationalist historians present the idea that it was not the rulers but the sufis whose humanist conduct impressed the people to embrace Islam. Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed reject this assertion stating that most of the sufis were not interested in religious conversion at all.³⁶ Since they believed in

³³ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 133-34.

³⁴ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 104.

³⁵ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 103.

³⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 18. Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 59-61, 64.

pluralism, humanism and liberalism, they contributed to evolve a syncretic culture in India, and remained indifferent towards religious conversion.³⁷

Apropos of the decline of the Mughal Empire, it is generally believed that the British captured the political power from Indian Muslims. Ali rejects this notion regarding it a historical myth, and states “Generally it is believed that the British had seized the political power from the Muslim and reduced them to a position of insignificant. It is nothing but a myth which leads to misunderstanding of history.”³⁸ He argues that the Mughal emperors had lost their power and might at the hands of their aristocrats and nobles who were divided into factions and declared the lands under their control as independent states. After the rise of Marathas, the Mughal emperors were reduced to the position of puppet-rulers. Therefore, it was the Maratha army, not the Mughals, who fought against the British when Lord Lake occupied Delhi in 1803.³⁹

South Asian historians have generally criticized the British occupation of India and their imperialism, while discussing a long freedom struggle of Indian people against them. The Pakistani Marxist historiography, however, has a moderate perspective on it. The Marxist historians assert that despite the British colonialism, they introduced progressive, scientific, technological, educational, and institutional reforms, which helped India come out of its stagnation.⁴⁰ Their political dominance in India, Hassan argues, was only because of their advances in secular knowledge, scientific technology and administrative policies.⁴¹ The instances cited above from the Pakistani Marxist historiography of medieval India clearly show how critically it has responded to

³⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 22, 32, 34, 48, 50; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 64.

In *Almiya-e Tarikh*, Ali describes that “the sufis were broad-minded and they urged that all human beings be connected getting harmonized. For them, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Buddhists, the Christians, all were confessing truth. The sufis started a movement of Hindu-Muslim coordination and cooperation.” Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 64.

³⁸ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 8.

³⁹ Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 9; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 135.

⁴⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 385-89; Ali, *Bartanvi Hindustan*, 43-60.

⁴¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 385-89.

the Muslim nationalist or other traditionalist historiographical literature. It has effectively challenged many of the historical interpretations, misconceptions, stereotypical arguments and myths.

6.2.3 Normative Revisionism

As the historians are a part of society, they cannot remain unaffected of the social and political influence of their surroundings and the interests of the communities they belong to. Their works reflect association with their communities and the values they adhere to. Sometimes they promote and justify the wider interests of the society they belong to or represent. Not more than often, the stances taken by the historians representing different communities come into conflicts. Thus, it can safely be assumed that history is not a value-free and objective discipline of knowledge. The Pakistani Marxist historians have critically analysed the ambitions and intentions of the historians in their intellectual enterprises. They have demonstrated why and how the historians interpret historical phenomena with subjective approaches. Some conceptual and abstract notions the historians have employed in discourse to shape medieval history of India according to their whims are discussed and challenged by the Marxist historians. These include the concept of golden age, problematic periodization, heroism and exaggerated veneration of personalities, and critical terminology.

The historians' attempt at glorifying certain age in history, attributing it to the concept of "golden age", is critically viewed by Mubarak Ali. He holds that the societies evolve this concept when they find themselves in some severe socio-political and economic crisis.⁴² It was during the period of the British Raj in India that the Muslims community as a minority found itself in a deep political and economic crisis, and so its historians adopted and fashioned this trend of glorifying the period

⁴² Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 12-14; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 39.

of the Muslim rule of India as ‘the golden age.’⁴³ The Muslim nationalist intellectuals, historians and poets created a utopian world which projected an image of the Muslim grandeur and might in the past, and they called it a golden age.⁴⁴ The historians of Hindu community reciprocated in the same vein. In the accounts *Tarikh kay Badaltay Nazriyat* and *Hindustan ki Kahani*, Mubarak Ali is critical of Hindu narratives attempting to establish the “Vedic period,” or the period of “Ram Raj” or present the age of the Gupta dynasty as the golden age of Hindu Civilization.⁴⁵ He argues that it is a utopian and mythical concept, since no age in history can be regarded as golden where there was no peace, equality, freedom and justice, and it is still awaited and will likely come in future.⁴⁶

The most frequently employed scheme of periodization of Indian history in the historical accounts is the one offered by James Mill, who divided it as ancient, medieval and modern periods. Mubarak Ali considers this periodization as problematic, as it causes stirring up of communal sentiments, and is an attempt at rationalizing the British rule in India.⁴⁷ It refers to the ancient period as the period of Hindu rule (an age of classics), medieval as that of the Muslim rule (as a dark age), and modern as that of the British rule (an age of enlightenment and liberation). The British by

⁴³ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 165-66.

⁴⁴ Mubarak Ali in his account *Almiya-e Tarikh* has mentioned the novelists and historians like Abdul Haleem Sharar, Abdullah Kanpuri, Shibli Naumani and the nationalist poet such as Allama Muhammad Iqbal who produced such piece of work that gave the Muslims’ past an image of golden age. See Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 165-67.

⁴⁵ Ali, *Hindustan ki Kahani*, 12, 14; Ali, *Tarikh kay Badaltay Nazriyat*, 45-47.

Mubarak Ali’s *Tarikh kay Badaltay Nazriyat* includes an essay “*Tarikh aur Sonahri Dor*” which describes that though this is uncertain to find whether there was any golden age in ancient history, the various civilizations and religious texts have mentioned that age. Those gave an idea of the age when the man had complete peace, religious freedom and happiness. The divine religions show such age in the Garden of Eden before the fall of Adam. Marxism describes such age as primitive communism and the society after going through from the historic stages of slavery, feudalism and capitalism will again enter in similar society where there will be no exploitation and injustice. The essay also reflects upon the similar concept in Hinduism which describe the cycle of good days and the bad days. The golden age in Hinduism is *Satiya yug* (the age of truth) which prevails over one millennium and after that there comes *Kali yug* (the historic period) which corresponds to the corruption and temporariness.

Ali, *Tarikh ka Badaltay Nazriyat*, 46. Also see, Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 39.

⁴⁶ Ali, *Hindustan ki Kahani*, 14; Ali, *Tarikh kay Badaltay Nazriyat*, 47.

⁴⁷ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 52; Ali, *Historian’s Dipute*, 1; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218.

classifying history on communal basis considered their rule secular and enlightened, and they termed it as the British rather than the Christian.⁴⁸ They gave an impression that it was the British who liberated the Indians from the oppressive rule of the Muslims. Ali adds that the periodization introduced by the British was to serve their imperialist designs but this also developed the communal sentiments among the Hindus and Muslims.⁴⁹

Portraying the historical figures having military and political grandeur as heroes is critically viewed by Pakistani Marxist historians like Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali. Hassan thinks that despite going into the role of personalities in the historical event, the historians' responsibility is to explore nature's laws that play a role in historical developments.⁵⁰ In his *Mosa sey Marx tak*, he criticizes heroism in historiography arguing that the historians, intellectual and scholars have focused on the role of personalities "as if the earth does not revolve around the sun and the inhabitants of earth are not obligated to the laws of nature, rather there are some conquerors, rulers and great men who change the human destiny."⁵¹

Mubarak Ali directs criticism at the historiographical descriptions that venerate the rulers and conquerors with hyperbolic expressions such as "the Great" or "the Great Conqueror,"⁵² and argues that the so-called great figures in history who killed the helpless people and ruled by means of their military might over those who were unable to resist their aggression, do not deserve to be called 'great.' He maintains that the concept of bravery in historical accounts needs to be re-evaluated.⁵³ Alternatively, he suggests that the historians in their narratives should emphasize on

⁴⁸ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 1.

⁴⁹ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 52; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 1; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 218. See also, Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 16.

⁵⁰ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, 67.

⁵¹ Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, 67.

⁵² Ali, *Hindustan ki Kahani*, 14. Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 12.

⁵³ Ali, *Hindustan ki Kahani*, 14-15. Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 14.

exploring the role of common people in historical developments, and highlight their problems and its reasons, and offering solutions and remedies to them.⁵⁴

Describing the psychological repercussions of portraying the personalities as heroes, Ali states that it is perilous for a society to make the masses believe that only the heroes can bring the society out of their troubles who have some extraordinary skills and abilities.⁵⁵ This, he thinks, develops a sense of pessimism and cynicism among the ordinary people. He, therefore, suggests the historians to pay more attention to the role of systems, institutions and organizations, so that they could be strengthened, giving the people equal opportunity to contribute in the development and progress of the society.⁵⁶

The terminology and depiction of historical landmarks and the personalities with religious connotation is also disapproved off by Mubarak Ali. He opines that such terms give history a religious orientation, and express a historian's biased treatment of history. By doing this, they favour the social groups with whom they and their interests are associated. So is done by the court historians who appear to write history just to praise the rulers. In his accounts like *Historian's Dispute*, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, and *Gumshudha Tarikh*, Ali looks askance at the historians who address the Muslim warriors like Muhammad ibn Qasim, Mahmud Ghaznavi, and Muhammad Ghauri as *Mujahidin* (holy warriors) and the wars they waged as *jihad*.⁵⁷ He propounds that "the wars that Muslim rulers of India fought were political and for establishing their rule. The objective of those wars was expansion of their empires and grabbing of the wealth."⁵⁸ Ali points out that the religious

⁵⁴ Muhammad Ali Siddiqui, "The Tragedy of Mughal India," *Dawn*, April 11, 1986; Ali, *Interviews and Comments* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2004), 11-12.

⁵⁵ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 79-88. Ali, *Tarikh aur Siyasat*, 10.

⁵⁶ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 88.

⁵⁷ Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 18; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 133-34. See also Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 6-8.

⁵⁸ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 133-34. See also Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 6-8.

reverence of the rules made them so sacred that it becomes hard for historians to be critical of their characters and policies. He believes that it was carried out under the communal sentiments by the court historians just to please their patrons, i.e. the rulers.⁵⁹

In the light of above discussion, this can be inferred that the Marxist historians in Pakistan have challenged various dispositions of the Muslim nationalist historians through which they have attempted to frame history in a way that they could prove that the Muslims of India had a wonderful past, the rulers belonged to this very community were highly judicious, righteous, brave and morally upright. These historians are critical of historical writings which portrayed that all the actions and policies of the rulers were just and for the welfare of the Indian people.

6.2.4 Secular Moralization of History

No historical discourse can surely be assumed as value-free, because the histories are written with an intention to advocate, promote and justify certain social and/or political values. The values provide the grounds to the historians to judge the historical events and assign them significance. These values provide the historians with the principles and parameters to give judgement on what is “good and desirable” and what should be recognized as “bad and rejected.”⁶⁰ The values that Pakistani Marxist historians adhere to and through which they judge the historical phenomena are secularism, humanism and liberalism. They incorporate these values in their discourses while reflecting upon the past.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 194-97; Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 108.

⁶⁰ Bela Tomka, *A Social History of Twentieth Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2013), 416.

⁶¹ Humanism, although, is defined variedly, it refers to the ideologies, philosophies and practices that advocate equality, justice, peace, tolerance and social well-being in the societies. The secular humanism is the preference of the learning based on human experiences and advocates to draw the principles and the values beyond those which have been derived from some religious, supernatural and dogmatic sources.

To be acquainted with the history, essence, forms, philosophies, intellectual debates on the concept of humanism, the book may be consulted as: Paul Kurtz, *Moral Problems in Contemporary Society: Essays in Humanism* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1969); Paul Kurtz, *The Humanist Alternative* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1973); R. E.

The moralization given to history by the Muslim nationalist historians in South Asia stems out from their religious beliefs and traditions, i.e. the guiding principles of Islam. For this very reason, it can be observed that they often refer to the Quranic verses, and sayings of the personalities revered as religious authorities in Muslim societies. Similarly, they also refer to the actions and policies of these personalities.⁶² This is how they propagate and demonstrate the pragmatism, universality, and democratic essence of Islamic ethos and guiding principles.

Contrarily, the Marxist school of thought in Pakistan endorses secularism as the core value, and the social order ensuring to resolve the socio-religious and political conflicts. Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali attempt to show in their writings that the institution of state has always been secular,⁶³ and thus the rulers of India were also secular.⁶⁴ These historians admire secularism of the rulers

Webber, *Secular Humanism: Threat and Challenges* (Michigan: Grand Rapids, 1982); Stephen Law, *Humanism: A Very Short Introduction* (London: Oxford University Press, 2011); Jean Paul Sartre, *Existentialism Is a Humanism* (Yale University Press, 2007); A. C. Grayling, *The God Argument: A Case against Religion and for Humanism* (USA: Bloomsbury, 2013).

⁶² For instance, I. H. Qureshi before going to provide the defence of the *ulema*'s political role in history goes into mentioning and discussing the Quranic verses and the sayings of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) through which he like a theologian explains the status and responsibilities of the *ulema* in Islam. Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, 11-13. Similarly, S. M. Jaffar while discussing the status and position of women in medieval India explain it by referring the verses of Quran, the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and the books of Islamic jurisprudence. Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 199.

⁶³ Sibte Hassan's accounts *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, and *The Battle of Idea in Pakistan*, *Navid-e Fikr* and *Marx aur Mashriq* provide at length discussion in the defence of secular socio-political order and developed sever criticism on religious hegemonies. His works *Navid-e Fikr* and *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* thoroughly are a defence of secularism in political terms. These works signify the existences of secular states and responds to those whom the author calls the "falsifiers" of secularism. *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* discusses development of secular ideas and practices in ancient societies, the formation and purpose of the state, the role of religion in political and state affairs, and that how the states gradually became secular and publically sovereign. One of its chapters is the discussion on "Secularism in the Subcontinent". This chapter discusses the conflict between liberal (so called secular) and orthodox forces in the ancient Indian society, the period of Muslim rule in India and the colonial period, so to say the period of British Raj in India. It also sheds lights on political situations in Pakistan developed as the conflict between secular and orthodox elements. While recounting the historical developments in India, Hassan in his works *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, *Navid-e Fikr*, and *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* argues that the states in India, whether ruled by Hindu or Muslim monarchs, were not founded by the priestly class for religious purposes but by warriors or tribal chiefs purely for worldly gains." Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137.

⁶⁴ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137-45; Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 157-58, 197-208, 306; Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 16; Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 47-51; Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 42; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashary ka Almiya*, 66-71; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 56-58.

by recounting their secular policies and thoughts.⁶⁵ Unlike Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali who sweepingly regards the rulers as secular, Kazi Javed in his accounts, *Bare Sagheer mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, and *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, however, evaluates the attitude and policies of the rulers individually and rather deeply. He discusses almost each ruler of the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal dynasty separately, bringing out their secular and orthodox stances. He explains how the rulers' secular policies proved beneficial for both the rulers and the ruled, and how the religiously biased policies resulted in developing political instability and unrest in society.⁶⁶ In *Navid-e Fikr* and *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, Sibte Hassan also argues in the same vein that the separation of religion and politics is good in the interest of both of them.⁶⁷

The Marxist historians are critical of the *ulema* for their orthodoxy, conservatism, and religious bias. They condemn their prejudice and hatred towards the non-Muslims of India, who regarded them non-believer and the enemies of Islam.⁶⁸ Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali maintain that the rulers were secular, but they used the clergy associated with the court for their own benefits without letting them interfere in state matters.⁶⁹ This was because the rulers, they argue, were conscious of the fact that in India there was multi-religious and multi-cultural society, and feared that the religious orthodoxy would cause political instability.⁷⁰ This is how the Marxist historians signify

⁶⁵ See, Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 157-58, 197-208, 306; Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 16; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashary ka Almiya*, 66-71; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 34-46; 82-96; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 10-11, 16-23, 38, 45-46; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah*, 14-37.

⁶⁶ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 34-46; 82-96; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 10-11, 16-23, 38, 45-46; Javed, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, 14-37.

⁶⁷ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 47-80, 112-17, 151-58; Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 7-25.

⁶⁸ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 140-41; Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 191-92, 201, 235-36, 306, 323; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 65-81; Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 47-51; Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 42; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 56-58; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashary ka Almiya*, 43-44, 66-71.

⁶⁹ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137-45; Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 199-201; Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 47-51; Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 42; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashary ka Almiya*, 66-71; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 56-58.

⁷⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 197-202; Javed, *Tarikh-o Tehzib*, 15-23.

pluralism as highly important social value for the multi-cultural, multi-religious, and multi-ethnic society such as that of India.

The select Marxist historians, Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed admire the sufis for their liberal, secular and humanist conduct and treatment of both the Muslims and non-Muslims. The sufis are depicted by them as the counterforce against the *ulema*.⁷¹ They admire them for being tolerant attitude towards and developing intimate relations with the non-Muslims, and promoting syncretic culture in Indian, and for bringing the people out of alienation.⁷² Mubarak Ali, nonetheless, becomes critical of the sufis on the point that since they professed certain faith, they were not secular and unable to promote communal harmony.⁷³ This corresponds to the hard-core secular position taken by Mubarak Ali.

6.2.5 Interdisciplinary Approach in Historical Research

Interdisciplinary approach as an academic tradition got popular in the twentieth century. This tradition appears in the wake of the realization of that some research problems having unique characteristics poorly fit into some specific discipline's framework to be addressed and explained. The social scientists found it hard to analyse problems within the framework of their specific disciplines. So, they adopted, introduced and incorporated interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approaches and methods in their inquiries.⁷⁴ The term inter-disciplinary history suggests the

⁷¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 191-92, 200, 455;

⁷² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 191-92; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 18-19, 21, 27, 32-34; Javed, *Punjab Di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 21, 124, 128.

⁷³ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 62-63.

⁷⁴ To know details on the discourse of inter-disciplinary approaches, techniques and methods, see the following works: Alien F. Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research Process and Theory*, ed. 2nd, (London: Sage Publications, 2012); Lisa R. Lattuca, *Creating Interdisciplinarity: Interdisciplinary Research and Teaching among College and University Faculty* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2001); Kim K. Kuebler and et al, *Palliative Practices: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (New York: Elsevier Mosby, 2005); Alessandro Capone and Jacob L. Mey (ed.), *Interdisciplinary Studies in Pragmatics, Culture and Society* (London: Springer, 2016). Allen F. Repko and et al, *Introduction to Interdisciplinary Studies* (New York: Sage Publications, 2014); Carolyn P. Sobel and Paul Li, *The Cognitive Science: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2013).

writing history with the help of techniques, concepts, models, frameworks, methods, and approaches being practiced in other disciplines of social sciences. Inter-disciplinary approach in history became robustly fashionable in 1980s. T. C. R. Horn and Harry Ritter observe that “one of the most noteworthy things in the professional historical studies in the twentieth century has been their gradual tendency to become increasingly comprehensive in scope and more experimental and eclectic in conception and method.”⁷⁵

The Muslim nationalist historiography in Pakistan has predominantly given political picture of Indian Muslims’ history. It primarily discusses the stories of the Muslim rulers and the organization of their political institutions. This is because that the challenges to the community they belonged to were dominantly political. The way they responded to them has made their discourse a political one.⁷⁶ They have defended the rulers’ policies, and shown how they proved beneficial to the natives of India.⁷⁷ Their discourse focussed on political history to a greater extent.

Nonetheless, the Marxist historians enrich the knowledge of history by incorporating the theories, techniques and approaches of several social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, political science, archaeology, geography and economics. This, of course, is the result of the ideological conception or the worldview through which they view the historical facts and interpret historical phenomena. This is ‘historical materialism’ which explains social structure of the society, unequal distribution of wealth, dynamics of the division of labour, realist pursuits and functions of the state, and social and psychological repercussions of economic inequalities such as social stagnation and social alienation.

⁷⁵ T. C. R. Horn and Harry Ritter, “Interdisciplinary History: A Historical Review,” *History Teacher*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (May, 1986), 427 at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/493382> (Accessed on October 10, 2012).

⁷⁶ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 219.

⁷⁷ See, Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, 20-21; Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, 1; Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in Pakistan and India*, i-xxvi.

Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali seem to have made extensive use of archaeological and textual sources to understand, examine and reflect on the ancient history of India. The religious texts such as *Vedas*, *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, and *Manusmriti* have been consulted by Sibte Hassan to interpret the historical developments in Gandhara civilization.⁷⁸ Geographical information is also utilized to suggest how the human mind get inspired by forces of nature—as is depicted by Sibte Hassan in his account *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* and *Marx aur Mashriq* which describes why Babar, the founder of Mughal dynasty, got convinced to stay in India rather than returning to Central Asia after gaining a historical victory in battles of Panipat (1526) and Kanwaha (1527).⁷⁹ Hassan maintains that it was the gold, silver, vast fertile land, four fascinating seasons of the land, and refreshing climate which made Babar decide to live in India permanently.⁸⁰ Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali also undertake sociological and anthropological study of Indian society while they discuss the distinct cultures of the ruling and working classes in India, caste system, urban and rural society, and societal values pertaining to the women, and the matriarchal and patriarchal structures of the societies.⁸¹ They refer to political economy in historical discourse while they analyse the social formation, political and economic institutions, social stagnation, and social alienation in medieval India.⁸² Sibte Hassan makes linguistic analysis of the Urdu and Hindi languages reflecting on how the idioms, metaphors, and figurative language show the patriarchal

⁷⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 89-106.

⁷⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tazzeeb ka Irtiqa*, 274-75.

⁸⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 274-77.

⁸¹ In his account *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, Hassan discusses the pre-Indus and Indus Valley culture of Sindh. He tells what types of the agricultural tools the people of that era developed, what kind of the crops they used to grow, what kind of industries they established. He tells what sort of the utensils they made and used. He sheds light on the social relations among the people and the situations of law and order in the society. He tells about the religions like Hinduism and Buddhism and their social impacts on the society. He highlights the patriarchal and matriarchal values of the society. As to the period of Muslim rule in India, he tells about the social classes of Muslims society in India and describes how the Muslim and the non-Muslim communities of India interacted to each other. He assesses the social and economic conditions of Indian society that came to be changed after the Muslim started to rule India. He discusses the social status and predicament of the lower classes of India and goes into discussing the possible reasons of these conditions.

⁸² For details, see the relevant segments of the chapter five of the present study.

mind-set of the society as well as the faith system of the people.⁸³ Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed give psychological interpretations and explanations of the characters of the rulers and the decisions they made to address the challenges. For instance, Kazi Javed interprets the harsh policies of Aurangzeb towards the Hindus, sufis, and shias as an outcome of his sadism which grew inside him for guilt-conscious. This guilt-conscious, he explains, was the result of the ruthless way he adopted to ascend to the throne.⁸⁴

The attempts to introduce new religion by Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and Mughal emperor Akbar, and Sayyid Muhammad Janpuri's proclamation of Mehdi, and Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's proclamation of Qayyumiyyat have been interpreted by Kazi Javed in context to their mind-set which got inspired by the Holy Prophet's (PBUH) prophecy regarding the emergence of a Mujaddid and Mehdi (reformer and restorer) thousand years after his demise.⁸⁵ The Muslim rule in India, Mubarak Ali asserts, based upon the conception of 'cultural imperialism' was rooted in the notion that the Muslim elite were psychologically fraught with a sense of cultural and religious superiority.⁸⁶ The progressivism of the Muslim rulers is discussed in terms of humanism, liberalism and their patronage to creative art. Accordingly, Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed have paid attention to the disciplines of humanities and arts, and have discussed philosophy, art, poetry, music and mystical literature produced in medieval India.

6.2.6 Focus on Ignored Themes in Historical Research

The Muslim nationalist historiography views the historical developments through the lens of religious and patriarchal values, and pays homage to the kings, recognizes the divine or supernatural intervention in historical events, and asserts dogmas and traditionalism. These

⁸³ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 25, 75-76,

⁸⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 183-99.

⁸⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 38, 110, 116-17, 145-46.

⁸⁶ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 58-59, 60, 64, 67-68.

elements in historiography are, however, strongly condemned by the Marxist historians, who alternatively consider that the material conditions of a society, economic exchange, relations between the people involved in production processes, social structures, human thoughts and actions are much important to understand the historical developments.

Finding that the conventional historiographical discourse revolves around the kings and the ruling elite of the society, the Marxist historians reject the notion that history confines its scope merely to political history, or its only purpose is to explore the deeds of great men. They strive to promote some new trends in history-writing such as materialist history, social and economic history and the history of common people within secular and humanist framework. They also employ interdisciplinary methods and approaches in their historical discourse. The themes which are ignored by the conventional histories but the Marxist historians give substantial focus include:

- The impact of natural, physical, material and geographical constraints on human mind and actions;
- The dynamics of cultural exchange which help develop syncretic culture in India;
- Cultural imperialism which explains the imperialist policies of the rulers and the problems which the natives of India faced including oppression, deprivation and marginalization;
- Economic history showing that how economic organization influences the social values, behaviours, and social formation in India;
- The economic modes of production and their role in bringing social change in India;
- Economic institutions and their manipulation by the ruling classes which leads to the marginalization of the lower classes, social stagnation and ultimately the decline of a state system;

- Gender history highlighting how the status of women gradually changes, and how the women become an oppressed and marginal faction of society;
- History of the common people, highlighting their plight and predicament owing to the indifference of the ruling classes towards making their living conditions any better, and underscoring the contribution of common people in cultural and civilizational developments;
- Secular and scientific education which makes the social behaviours liberal and improve the social conditions; and
- History of material culture describing that how both natural and manmade objects impact upon culture, manners, habits, economy and psyche of a society, and how material culture develops symbolic representations.

What follows are some broadly categorized themes, which are overlooked by the Muslim nationalist and conventional historiography but the counterpart Marxist historiography discusses.

6.2.6.1 Social, Cultural and Economic History

The Muslim nationalist historiography emerged in response to the Orientalists' historical writings on Indian history. Thus, it repudiated the Orientalist discourse, and this revisionism resulted in making the narratives produced by the Muslim nationalist historians merely the political histories. It is fraught with facts and arguments justifying how the Muslim ruling classes, despite being faced with insecurities and antagonism of the local rulers of India, strove hard to introduce the policies and institutions that could ensure peace, prosperity and development in India. It presents an elitist perspective in defence of the Muslim ruling classes of India and overlooks the social problems, cultural developments, and plights of the marginal segments of Indian society.

On the other hand, the historiographical accounts offered by the Pakistani Marxist historians give priority to the problems and plights of the deprived and marginal classes. Their historical perspective dominantly is social, cultural and economic. For instance, Sibte Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* and Mubarak Ali's works like *Mughal Darbar*, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman*, *Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, *Hisndustan ki Kahani*, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, and *Achhut Logon ka Adab* are such accounts that unravel the social structures in the Indian societies, status of women, atrocities carried out by the ruling classes towards the downtrodden people, and the reactions from the deprived sections towards their oppressors. Social alienation and social stagnation of Indian society are dominant themes appraised in the Marxist historical literature, but are thoroughly ignored in Muslim nationalist historiography.

Sibte Hassan's works like *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, and *Marx aur Mashriq* and Mubarak Ali's *Jagirdari*; *Tarikh ki Awaz*, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, and *Akhari Ehd-e Mughaliya ka Hindustan* present at length discussions on the nature of feudalism in India, its impact on the politics and society, and social, cultural and intellectual dynamics of social formation.⁸⁷ These works inform about the urban and rural economies during medieval India and assess how these economic structures made the lives of the poor miserable and served merely the ones who were in power.⁸⁸

Rejecting the moral justifications that Muslim nationalist historians have given to the Arab, Afghan and Turkish invasions and conquests of Sindh and North-Western India, the Marxist

⁸⁷ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 165, 237, 240, 275-76, 281, 384, Hassan, *Mosa sey Marx tak*, 281, 330-31, 377-83; Hassan, *Marx aur Mushriq*, 47-73; Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 87-93; Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 41-44, 75-77, 93-95, 97-98, 103-4, Ali, *Historian's Dispute* 28-30; Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 135-45; Ali, *Akhari Ehd-e Mughliya ka Hindustan*, 45-49, 82-103.

⁸⁸ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 231-38, 360-61, 280-89; Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 43-49, 75-78, 97-102.

historians such as Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed view the phenomena of military expeditions and conquests with realist perspective explaining that the purpose of the invasions was economic and imperialist.⁸⁹ Similarly, this can be observed that the Muslim nationalist historians argue that the reasons of the decline of Muslim society in India was the diversion of the rulers from religious and moral principles of Islam and their underestimation of their enemies, which include the Jats, Marathas and Sikhs.⁹⁰ Nonetheless, the Marxist historians' main focus is on the economic, social and psychological reasons of the decline of Muslim rule in India.

Apropos of discussions on the culture evolved in medieval India, it would not be just to say that the Muslim nationalist historians have thoroughly ignored to signify cultural aspects of Indian society. The point of difference between the Muslim nationalist historiography and the Marxist historiography is, however, perspectives through which these schools intend to view it and the conclusions they draw. The former argues that Muslims of India had made their best efforts to develop a culture of cooperation and harmony with local communities of India, the religious differences hence were so grave that it was almost impossible for both the Muslims and the Hindus to live together peacefully. This was because the Muslims and Hindus were different in all spheres of cultural, social and religious life. This is the core point they have reflected upon in their writings, calling it "Muslim separatism in India."⁹¹ Opposing it, the Pakistani Marxist historians come up with varied dispositions. Hassan's work *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* provides an impression that the majority of Indian Muslims including the rulers, sufis, aristocrats and common people adopted Indian culture. The sufis and the representatives of Bhakti movement made their best

⁸⁹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 150, 156; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 18.

⁹⁰ Taj, *Zawal-e Sultanate-e Mughliya*, 116, 170, 173, 175-76, 178; Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 455-58, 528, 594-96; Qureshi, *Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 197-99, 205, 214, 225, 267.

⁹¹ Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, 224, 227; Saeed ud Din Ahmad Dar, *Ideology of Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2000), 1-2; Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspect of Muslim Rule in India*, 1-4, 53-78.

efforts to develop and promote a syncretic and pluralistic culture. However, it was the orthodox factions mainly the *ulema* who discouraged such attempts and ideas, and deteriorated the Hindu-Muslim solidarity and cooperation. Mubarak Ali's undertakings *Historian's Dispute*, *Tarikh ki Talash*, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, and *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* discuss that the Muslim rulers considered themselves, their culture and religion superior to those of the Indians. They never acknowledged India as their homeland but the countries from where their ancestors migrated to India. Their actions and policies in India were a manifestation of their cultural imperialist mentality, which caused a rift between the Hindu and Muslim communities, and created social stagnation and alienation in India. Kazi Javed's accounts *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, *Afkar-e Shah Wali Ullah*, and *Tarikh-o Tehzib* maintain that among the Muslims there was a conflict between the liberal and orthodox tendencies which culminated in the defeat of Dara Shikoh who represented liberalism, and the victory of Aurangzeb who was a representative of the orthodox forces in India.⁹² During the Sultanate and Mughal eras, the liberal rulers and sufis promoted a culture of humanism, liberalism, secularism and pluralism on the one hand, and the orthodox rulers, sufis and *ulema* countered these ideas and efforts, and attempted to establish orthodoxy. This is how the Marxist historians analyse the cultural history of India. However, one added dimension in Marxist historiography as to the cultural issues is that they discuss and highlight the differences between the culture of the rich and the poor, and the urban and the rural.

History of material culture is a theme on which historiographical silence can easily be noticed.

Mubarak Ali's accounts *Mughal Darbar* and *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan* nonetheless speak

⁹² Accordingly, the works of Kazi Javed, such as *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, and *Punjab di Sufiyana Rawat* are highly significant, as those go into discussing evolution of Muslim intellectual thoughts in India, the sufi culture and traditions promoting syncretism and pluralism in Indian societies.

volumes about it. In these works, Ali traces the history and exposes the symbolic significance of various things used to decorate the court and magnify the kings' stature and grandeur. These include the crown, throne, coins, seals, stamps, flags, images on the flags, inscriptions, *palki* or palanquins, *chabotra* or platform, and canopy,⁹³ as well as the rituals, traditions and mannerism in their courts.

6.2.6.2 Analysis of the Question of Women and Gender in History

The historical role of women in society and their social status during medieval India has scarcely been discussed by the Muslim nationalist historians.⁹⁴ Either the social status of women is overlooked altogether, or it analyses the role of the elite women belonging to the Muslim royal families,⁹⁵ in framework of patriarchal and religious values. S. M. Ikram, for instance, while discussing the contribution of Indian Muslims in the educational field, quotes from Rawlinson's *India—A Short Cultural History*, which demonstrate the author's intention to show that "education in Muslim India was not confined to men only." These lines express that Muslim ladies despite observing *purdah* (face veil) made great contributions.⁹⁶ In order to highlight progressive and humanist image of Islam and that of Muslim rulers, I. H. Qureshi discusses the policy of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq to prohibit the Hindu custom of widow-burning or *sati*.⁹⁷ The accounts of Muslim nationalist historians highlight the negative role of women in decline of the Mughal society. The women of the *harem* in general, and Lal Kunwar⁹⁸ in particular, have been pointed

⁹³ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 78, 85, 115-18. Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 79-92.

⁹⁴ S. M. Ikram is regarded to be the first Pakistani Muslim nationalist historian who produced the cultural history of Muslim rule in India by writing "*Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*" and "*A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan: A Political and Cultural History* (1966)." These accounts shed light on various cultural, political and administrative dimensions of Muslim rule in India, but the women of the society have been discussed only in passing.

⁹⁵ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 631.

⁹⁶ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 631.

⁹⁷ Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of the Dehli*, 222.

⁹⁸ Lal Kunwar, the beloved concubine and wife of Mughal king Jahandar Shah was formerly a dancing girl. As Mughal Empress, she is also renowned as Imtiaz Mehal. She is said to be the cause of the decline of Jahandar Shah because

out as the indirect reason of the decline of Mughal Empire, as the later Mughal rulers were indulged in wine, women, and debauchery, and thus ignored the administrative affairs of the state.⁹⁹

The Marxist historians pay relatively more attention to the status and role of women in India society. The framework in which they discuss women's status and historical role is that of feminism. Considering them a marginal social segment, they highlight their social status and their predicament. They explore the reasons why and how patriarchy was established in Indian society. The social values, cultural traditions, religious teachings, and politico-economic structures reduced the status of Indian women making them oppressed and marginalized section of the society. Sibte Hassan's *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa* sheds light on the patriarchal and matriarchal values of the society,¹⁰⁰ discriminatory attitude of the society towards women,¹⁰¹ and the reasons why matriarchy that once was the norm of Indus Valley Civilization was replaced by patriarchy in later ages of Indian history.¹⁰² His account *Marzi kay Mazar* includes a chapter *Eik Aurat, Hazar Afsanay* which discusses the concepts about the status of women in different ancient civilizations and different ages of history. He argues that the modes of production determine the social status and rights of women.¹⁰³

Apart from various articles and chapters published in his books on the historical role and social status of women, Mubarak Ali has produced a book exclusively on women titled *Tarikh aur Aurat* (History and Women). In this undertaking, he sympathetically discusses issues related to patriarchy and matriarchy, the historical role of women in social, political and economic life of

he got involved in her so deeply that he showed frivolous attitude and ignored the essential administrative business of the state. For details see, Mawdudi, *Daccan ki Siyasi Tarikh*, 63, 71-73.

⁹⁹ Ikram, *A History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, 447, 458-59; Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*, 366, 374-75.

¹⁰⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 53-54.

¹⁰¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 54.

¹⁰² Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 73, 82-90; Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 43.

¹⁰³ Hassan, *Mazi kay Mazar*, 38-77.

India, gradually changing social status of women in ancient, medieval and modern ages of Indian history, concept of an ideal woman, the institution of prostitution, social status of married women, women's belief system and superstitions, plight of the women belonging to *harem*, the role of women in agrarian and feudal societies and the impact of technology in reducing the role and labour of women in agrarian societies replacing stronger patriarchal values. Further, in his other accounts, he criticizes the intellectuals, historians, sufis and Christian clergy for regarding and portraying women inferior to men in their narratives. Nonetheless, Kazi Javed's work seems to have overlooked the role and status of women while reflecting upon the history of medieval India, yet the only book in which he discusses the role of women is *Hindi Muslim Tehzib*, wherein he addresses the subject matter with approach which is no more different from that of Muslim nationalist historians.¹⁰⁴ His other books occasionally make passing references to women, which show his liberal and feminist approach. For instance, his books like *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* and *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat* critically analyse the jaundiced views of some of the sufis who deemed the company of women for the sufis as a hurdle in spiritual progress.¹⁰⁵ Its reason perhaps is the subject matters he has addressed which provided him lesser opportunity to do that.

6.2.6.3 People's History

'People's history,' or 'history from below,' is a genre of history discipline which made its recognition in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶ This can, however, be observed that the Muslim nationalist historiography is deficient in viewing history from this perspective. The reason is quite obvious, as historians belonging to this school mainly addressed the political challenges which the

¹⁰⁴ Javed's *Hindi Muslim Tehzib* gives evaluation to the role of Muslim ladies regarding educational and intellectual enterprises.

¹⁰⁵ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 8, 41, Javed, *Punjab di Sufiyana Riwayat*, 166.

¹⁰⁶ Ahmad, *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 7.

Indian Muslims confronted during the colonial era. The communal milieu in which the movement for the creation of Pakistan moved on developed historical consciousness of the intellectuals, historians and the people religiously and politically. Further, after the establishment of Pakistan, the state perceived the identity crisis within Pakistan and while interacting with international communities. These challenges led the state to provide patronage to the historians who could address problems of identity crisis. Consequently, the trend of writing history with communalist perspective strengthened in Pakistan, which signified the peculiar social, cultural and political characteristics of their glorious past.

One of the admiring characteristics of Pakistani Marxist historiography is that it introduced a trend of writing the history of common people, presenting history from the viewpoint of the common people. Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali offer the history which provides viewpoint of the common people and negates hero-worship and concept of great men in history.¹⁰⁷ Hassan's *Mazi kay Mazar*, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, *Navid-e Fikr*, and *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* expose the societal problems, social values, political structures, and administrative institutions due to which the poor, peasant and labour have been exploited and the ruling elite enjoy the privileged status in society.

The works of Mubarak Ali, a writer who earns fame as people's historian,¹⁰⁸ speaks about the suffering of the common people, their culture, social and economic deprivation, professions, diseases they suffered from, circumstances which increased their plight, and struggles and resistance they showed against their oppressors. His historical accounts highlight the atrocities of

¹⁰⁷ In contrast to Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali's opposition to heroism, Kazi Javed, however, endorses it and argues that the societies should craft their heroes, as the heroes provide inspirations and set forth the values for their followers. Javed, "Tarikh ka Qisa" in *Quarterly Tarikh*, 76.

¹⁰⁸ Ahmad, *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 7-8.

the ruling classes (those who ruled over them due to their military might, the religious elite and the aristocrats). He makes all means of oppression such as ideologies, institutions, social formation, traditions and religious texts the subject of his stern criticism. His books particularly *Historian's Dispute* (1992), *Tarikh Shanasi* (1993), *Tarikh aur Danishwar* (1995), *Tarikh aur Siyasat* (1998) and *History on Trial* (1999) criticize the historical accounts overlooking the role of common masses in historical developments, which venerate the kings and representatives of power structures, i.e. the aristocrats. Condemning hero-worship, the concept of 'great men' in history, and the assertion that some individuals having supernatural attributes play a role in bringing changes in society, Hassan and Ali's writings urge the historians that the systems and institutions utilizing collective potential, capacities and skills of the society be given emphasis.¹⁰⁹

Kazi Javed although does not always discuss the theme of class struggle, he focuses more on the thoughts and practices of the sufi intellectuals, the *ulema* and the rulers, what benefited the common people, labourers, peasants, artists and artisans, and what kind of social, cultural, political and intellectual elements were responsible of maintaining *status quo*. The key concern of his scholarship remains to condemn religious orthodoxy and promoting the liberal and humanist ideas, i.e. pluralism and syncretic culture. This is how he indirectly advocates the people marginalized by religious orthodoxy and the subsequent social exclusion, and shows his sympathetic concern for the common people.

6.2.7 Giving Voice to the Marginal Sections of the Society

One of the salient features of the Marxist historiography is that it shows unmatched concern for giving voice to the silenced, downtrodden people. It gives voice to them, speaks out for their

¹⁰⁹ Hassan, *Mosa say Marx tak*, 67; Ali, *Tarikh aur Aaj ki Duniya*, 79-88; Ali, Ali, *Tarikh aur Siyasat*, 10; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 120-31; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 103-118.

miserable and inhuman conditions, who are deprived from their fundamental rights by the political and social structures. It argues for the people whose historical role has been overlooked or they have received negative treatment in the histories, for instance Ismaili sufis of Multan,¹¹⁰ sufis like Lal Shahbaz Qalandar,¹¹¹ Bu Ali Qalandar,¹¹² and the sufis coming from the non-conformist *silsilahs* such as the Majzubiyya, Qalandariyya Shattariyya, Maddariyya whom the historians had regarded notorious and heretics.¹¹³ It advocates human rights secularly, in accordance with modern and internationally accepted grounds in the contemporary world. In the accounts of Marxist historians of Pakistan, the plight of the working classes, women, minorities, oppressed people for ethnic and racial reasons, and the natives under foreign aggression are addressed with compassion and empathy.¹¹⁴ They condemn the invaders and conquerors of India, who massacred, enslaved and subjugated the native people.¹¹⁵ They deplore the systems of religious and social values that make women inferior to men. They denounce the aristocrats who accumulate wealth by unfair means, depriving the labourers and peasants of their just rewards. They explore the structural reasons of economic inequalities in society, and expose the cruelties of the religious and social elite towards the lower castes.¹¹⁶

6.2.8 Simplicity of Narration

Though there is no denying that the introduction and usage of jargons, lexicons, terminology and subject-specific academic diction help the scholars articulate their ideas, this practice creates troubles for the laymen to understand and grasp the knowledge of history. The historical

¹¹⁰ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 161-63.

¹¹¹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 57-60.

¹¹² Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 60-61.

¹¹³ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 63-65.

¹¹⁴ Ali, *Acchut Logon ka Adab*; Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*.

¹¹⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 151-57, 180; Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 73; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 21; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 9;

¹¹⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 236-37; Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 64-65; Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 13-24.

consciousness of the society plays a significant role in bringing progress and prosperity. Owing to specialized diction and language understood by only the experts, the academic historical works attract the attention of merely those who are well-versed in the technicalities of the discipline of history, but the common people lose their interest. Further, the subaltern historians criticize the specialized diction, phraseology and jargons used by the scholars to distinguish themselves from those with whom they do share their views. Theodor Andorno, a German philosopher, sociologist and a representative of Frankfurt school, thinks that the specialized language is often used by the people to bring others down, and at the same times raising themselves up.¹¹⁷ The jargon is considered to be the tool used in a society by the few so as to distinguish themselves from the many, “to distinguish ‘my’ class from ‘your’ class.”¹¹⁸

In the course of writing history, the language and way of narration that Marxist historians adopt, nonetheless, is quite simple and easy to understand. This makes the knowledge of history more accessible, intelligible and interesting for common people, particularly those who are not well-versed in the technicalities and jargons of history as a discipline. Owing to the simplicity of their narration, the Marxist historians are recognized as public intellectuals. The language of Hassan’s undertakings is full of poetic taste, and reflects Lucknowi and Deccani Urdu mannerism, as he groomed his professional journalistic skills in Lucknow and Deccan. Noshaba Zuberi, the daughter of Sibte Hassan, mentions that his father after completion of draft used to revise its language many times until it becomes quite intelligible.¹¹⁹ Mubarak Ali, known as peoples’ historian, is one of the

¹¹⁷ Theodor W. Androno, *Jargon of Authenticity*, Tr., Knut Tarnowski and Fredric Will (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 7.

¹¹⁸ Jean-Philippe POSTER, *Jargon of Hypertextuality*, accessed at: https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=EgAL6tjZvUQC&pg=PP3&dq=history+jargon&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUK_Ewi7o8319Y_UAhWKQI8KHTUIBEIQ6AEIITAA#v=onepage&q=history%20jargon&f=false (Accessed on May 27, 2017).

¹¹⁹ ARY’s program, “*Titliyan*,” broadcasted on March 15, 2011, at 7:30 pm. (PST). Accessed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jwGFjXPqu2s> (accessed on September 8, 2012).

most read historians in Pakistan. Among many reasons of this, one is easy intelligibility of his jargon-free discourse. On the Contrary, the way Kazi Javed communicates with this readers through his writings is quite unusual. Though he uses philosophical terms frequently, he articulates his ideas in way that the content of his texts conveys the meaning appropriately. His sentences are short but highly meaningful. His work *Wajudiyat* is, however, an exception, as it is fraught with highly complex ideas, sentences and philosophical Urdu diction as well.

6.2.9 Use of Urdu Language for Wider Readership

Language is the essential tool for the intellectuals to convey their message to the people. Each language evolves from a society's peculiar social and cultural experiences. Vernacular languages demonstrate unique cultural taste of the speakers, and contribute in developing the native speaker's cognition. Jerad Diamond, an American evolutionary biologist and historian, while highlighting the significance of the various local languages which seem to be vanishing, rightly states: "Each language is the vehicle for a unique way of thinking and talking, a unique literature, and a unique view of the world."¹²⁰ So the language of native speakers is supposed to be the best medium of communication among the people of the land, providing them easy and satisfactory apprehension of the issues of the society.

In Pakistan, after attaining independence from the British raj, the institutions including the educational ones reflected the colonial legacy. Despite declaring Urdu as its national and official language of Pakistan, the medium of instruction in most of its higher educational institutions, however, remained English. This made bifurcation between the experts and the laymen regarding intelligibility of knowledge. For the reason that historical knowledge should be accessible to

¹²⁰ Jerad Diamond, *The World until Yesterday* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012), 369-410.

David L. Szanton critically views the specialization of disciplines, their techniques, language and jargons, and he suggests to develop multidisciplinary trends as its solution. To know further about his critique, see David L. Szanton (ed.), *The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and Discipline* (London: University of California Press, 2004), 1-30.

common people, the Marxist historians have produced their literature mostly in Urdu, the *lingua franca* of Pakistani nation. Although Sibte Hassan has written a book in English language titled *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* and Mubarak has authored many in that, yet the language they made a frequent medium of communication in their books is Urdu. This can also be observed that most of the contents included in their English works have also been translated into Urdu. The historical literature Kazi Javed has produced is altogether in Urdu language, except a book *Punjab Di Sufiyana Rawayat* which is in Punjabi language, one of the vernacular languages spoken in parts of India and Pakistan. The making of Urdu language a medium to disseminate historical knowledge has enhanced the popularity of Marxist historians among the common people of the country.

6.2.10 Unconventional Subjects in History-writing

The school and college level text-books published under state-controlled publishing organizations provide a peculiar nationalistic perspective on history. This gives history a selective characteristic. Not only do the Marxist historians in Pakistan offer revisionist perspective on Indian history, they also incorporate various new themes in history writing, which include, *inter alia*, women and gender in history, peoples' history, cultural history and material history. Keeping in view the revisionist view, the historical works produced by the Marxist historians can rightly be regarded as an avant-garde perspective on history. By reading the writings of the Marxist historians, the student-readers find an altogether new perspective, never heard before in their school and college lives. It becomes highly shocking for them, when they find that the personalities whom they revered as heroes, were not super-human traits but could commits mistakes, sins, and unlawful actions. The Marxist historiography plays a vital role in countering historical stereotypes and myths propagated by the mainstream nationalist historiography.

6.3 Demerits of Marxist Historiography in Pakistan

The Pakistani Marxist historiography although presents very powerful narratives and contributes in revisiting and reinterpreting highly significant historical issues, one may discern a number of demerits as well. Here some of its demerits are being examined, categorizing them into three segments: 1) socio-political context, 2) the problems of theoretical frameworks, 3) and methodological problems.

6.3.1 Some Problematic Social and Political Aspects of Marxist Historiography in Pakistan

Here some of the peculiar problems of Marxist historiography in Pakistan in context to social, political and cultural environment of Pakistan are given critical evaluation.

6.3.1.1 Agenda-driven History and Propagation of a Particular Ideology

Going through the historical literature that Pakistani Marxists have produced, the dominant impression that one finds is that it is agenda-driven, and propagates a particular ideology. This impression develops from the tone they employ in their discourse, treatment they give to the historical facts, and nature of the explanations they provide to the historical phenomena. They do not hide their belief that Marxism is the only truth that humanity has so far discovered, and is the panacea for all of its problems. They see nothing good in the worldview their opponents present. They find nothing good for the common people in religion. They express hatred for the representatives of the religions, i.e. the *ulema*. They depict the ruling classes with same anger and scorn. To them, the only cause of one's predicament is poverty. They treat the ruling classes with sweeping generalizations that they have always been hostile and harsh towards the poor, and their prosperity is merely a result of exploitative means they adopted to accumulate the wealth. They cite contradictory facts, and draw inferences in accordance with what they have preconceived orientation of the cause and effect relationship of historical phenomena. Its examples have been

cited in forthcoming discussion.¹²¹ All these characteristics of the Marxist historical literature, however, leave an impression that it certainly contains propaganda of an ideology. This will, however, be unjust to dismiss all Marxist historical literature as propagandist, since it provides very powerful explanation of historical issues and offers critique on the Muslim nationalist historiography. Countering the propagation of Islamist ideology, they come up with their own ideological perspective, i.e. materialist and secular, which, too, on its logical basis, is greatly convincing and powerful.

6.3.1.2 Polemical Discourse

Most of the themes discussed by Pakistani Marxist historians are polemical in the social, political milieu of Pakistan wherein the majority of people are tradition-oriented, hardliner, conservative and sensitive to religious issues. These historians challenge and raise criticism on the ideological depositions that the people in Pakistan commonly profess. The majority of the people in Pakistan believe that Islam is a perfect code of life, and it provides its believers guidance in all walks of social, economic, political and personal life. They believe that it provides a most satisfactory worldview that is divinely revealed, and they consider it better than any other humanly perceived system. The Marxists contrarily assume secular political structure of the society as an ideal. They are convinced, and urge that religion is an individuals' private matter, and discourage bringing it in the social and political domains, as the society comprises of the people belonging to different religious backgrounds.¹²² They believe in separation of religion and politics.

The Pakistani Muslims believe that sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty and this concept, hence, became the fundamental principle in Pakistan's legislature. Accordingly, the Constitution of

¹²¹ See the details and examples under the heading of this chapter, i.e. The Biased Treatment of the Facts.

¹²² See, Hassan, "Secularism and its Falsifiers," in *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 7-25.

Pakistan describes that no laws of the state repugnant to the Quran and Sunnah (the fundamental sources of Muslims' intellectual inspiration), would be enacted.¹²³ The Marxist and other left-wing scholars in Pakistan consider that this notion leads the state towards theocracy, confining and restricting the democratic and liberal essence of state's paraphernalia.¹²⁴ By giving examples from the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history or elsewhere, they propound that the state is not an institution made by God or the priests; rather, it is a socially evolved institution.¹²⁵ Its laws, they urge, should be democratic, representing popular will.

Although this is the result of Muslim nationalist historiography that the Muslim warriors in history have been presented as heroes of the Muslim community, and the people acknowledge them as their heroes, the Marxists describe them as the ones who fought wars just to serve their personal materialist interests.¹²⁶ The Marxist historians like Mubarak Ali and Azizuddin Ahmad view these rulers as foreigners and oppressors.¹²⁷ The way Marxist historians present their feminist stance and describes the social stature of the prostitutes better than the married ladies¹²⁸ is socially, religiously and traditionally objectionable to majority of the people of Pakistan who are dominantly religious and traditionalist. The polemical and controversial discourse that the Marxist writers have

¹²³ So is described by Objective Resolution of Pakistan that is regarded a preamble of the constitution of Pakistan. I. To know about the constitutional issues as to Islamic provisions, minorities' concern and the effects of the belief on fundamental human right, see: A. Rehman, "Human Rights" in Rafi Raza (ed.), *Pakistan in Perspective* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 299-320.

¹²⁴ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 66-73; Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 3-8.

In *Navid-e Fikr*, Hassan narrates that "the theocracy is the concept of feudalism and *prohat raj*... Theocracy is negation of democracy and democratic values." Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 29.

¹²⁵ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 3-31; Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 7-25, 66-73.

¹²⁶ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 6-7; Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 52; Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 20, 53; Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad, *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla'awar* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Fikr-o Danish, 1990), 7-10.

¹²⁷ Ali, *Tarikh ki Awaz*, 52; Ali, *Ehd-e Wusta ka Hindustan*, 20, 53; Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad, *Punjab aur Beroni Hamla'awar*, 7-10.

¹²⁸ Ali, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, 83-99.

produced sometimes evokes harsh reactions from the people. One can know the stories of their plights and even life threats by reading the autobiographical accounts of these historians.

While reading the works of the Marxist historians in Pakistan, it appears that the polemics of their discourse is, sometimes, achieved by beguiling and twisting of facts, which they interpret by taking harsh and hard-line stance. This can also be observed that this polemics presents some new issues to ponder over, and open some new avenue and possibilities which the ordinary people seldom think of.

6.3.1.3 Marxist Literature as a Seditious Discourse

The Marxist literature in Pakistan, owing to its revolutionary tendencies and left-wing ideas, is generally marked with seditious characteristics. It will be hard to find some direct illustrations which can be charged with sedition. The implicit expression created by their writings is that the people should resist and challenge the existing social and political structures which help the elite exploit the working classes. It speaks against the ideological stagnation of the society, and the various symbols that are the manipulated including the ideology. Sibte Hassan regards the state as a tool of oppression.¹²⁹ The three select historians, Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed are convinced that politics be separated from religion. Mubarak Ali is against the heroization of historical figures, and their presentation as nationalist symbols. To them, this veneration serves the agenda of those in power.¹³⁰ Mubarak Ali includes the sufis of medieval India in this category as well.¹³¹ The Marxist criticism on the state's ideological resources is perceived as seditious, owing to which these narratives became the target of state censorship, particularly during the era of

¹²⁹ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 4-5.

¹³⁰ Ali, *Essays on History, Politics and Culture*, 111-17.

¹³¹ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 45-46, 48, 56.

General Zia ul Haque (r. 1977-1988), when these were banned.¹³² Due to this, historians like Mubarak Ali had to face troubles in their social and professional life.

6.3.1.4 Pakistani Marxist Historiography: A Palliative Effort in Contemporary Religio-political Context of the Country

Though Marxist historiography appeals for the rationality of thoughts and actions, demanding protection of human liberty and fundamental rights, establishing an egalitarian society, and rejecting the systems causing inequality, injustice, and exploitation, it fails to affect socio-political behaviours and organization of the country. It fails to affect the behaviours of individuals, political parties, even so-called leftist ones, and state institutions, all of which, with few exceptions, are inclined to conform the traditionalism and religious extremism. This historiographical perspective, despite its strong rationality, is unable to making some discernible place in academics of Pakistan. The conventional behaviour of the people reinforced by the political and constitutional process of the state, and political dynamics based on deep rooted social, feudal, ethnic, religious, patriarchal and linguistic culture are some of the major constraints making it a palliative exercise on the part of Marxist historians in Pakistan.

6.3.2 Theoretical Problems of Marxist Historiography

The core themes in Marxism to analyses of social, political and cultural issues are historical materialism, structuralism and positivism. Historical materialism explains that the economic

¹³² K. K. Aziz tells about that how the publishing of literature has been a problematic in Pakistan due to ideological constraints, the censorship technicalities and the attitude of the authorities who grant the permission for the publications. See, K. K. Aziz, "The University Historian," Ed. S. Akbar Zaidi, *Social Science in Pakistan in 1990* (Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences Pakistan, 2003), 191-220.

Kazi Javed stats that the liberal scholars in Pakistan have been victimized by both the state institutions in the past, and non-state actors currently. He adds that non-state are more hazardous than the state institutions, as the state somehow adopts some procedure to punish the authors of unwanted literature and non-state actors are unwarranted troubles. An Interview with Kazi Javed, July 12, 2016. Showing his grievance towards the treatment given by the governments, Rehman states, "From day one... successive governments [of Pakistan] had meted out step-motherly treatment to leftist movements, treating the leftists as lesser citizens, or even as outcaste, and it was these leftist forces that had been crusaded for genuine democracy." I. A. Rehman, "Pakistan's Democracy not in Line with Quaid's Concept," *The News International*, August 12, 2017.

modes of production are the major determinants of the social, political and cultural structures of the society. This can be observed that the Pakistani Marxist historians diverting from this fundamental principle of Marxism explains how the human efforts, collective social behaviors and religious dogmas have played a role in perpetuation of the social stagnation and formation of India society, as is shown in chapter five of the present study.

Since the each Marxist historian provides distinct understanding, explanation and interpretation of the historical facts and developments, this undermines the positivist perspectives of the Marxist theory that social laws can be derived just as this is done in physical sciences. Further, the Marxist historians despite differing in details of the interpretations comes to such conclusions which are similar on overarching level, as they all appear to endorse secularism, liberalism, pluralism, humanism and leftism.

Going through the literature produced by the select Marxist historians, it becomes evident that they perceive, define and advocate the concepts of secularism differently. Sibte Hassan in his *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* and *Navid-e Fikr* defends secularism rather apologetically, stating that it means a negation of religion, but it advocates for equality of all religions. He is critical of those who translate it in Urdu as “Ladiniyat” (literally meaning atheism). This is the connotation of secularism through which he explains the historical facts of Indian history, and regards Indian religions like Jainism and Buddhism as secular religions. In the same vein, he views and describes the historical role of the sufis, the adherents of Bhakti movements, and the Indian Muslim rulers as secular ones. Sibte Hassan’s concept of secularism is an endorsement of the notion of separation of religion and politics.

On the other hand, Mubarak Ali’s views about secularism are rather extremist. He observes that the role of religion in any sphere of human life such as political, social, and intellectual is

problematic. This is the very reason that he disapproves of the idea that the sufis were secular, as they professed Islamic faith and thus failed to develop communal and cultural harmony between the Hindu and Muslim communities. The details have been discussed in chapter four of the present study. Kazi Javed's attitude toward secularism is not much different from that of Sibte Hassan, as being an existentialist he describes religion as a spiritual and intrinsic need of the humankind.

The attitude of the Marxist historians under discussion towards giving emphasis on mode of production varies. Sibte Hassan insists on analyzing historical development through economic determinants. Mubarak Ali emphasizes upon it, but includes the Subaltern perspective and 'history from below' in it. Kazi Javed although attaches greater importance to material causes in bringing about change in ideas, he appears to evaluate Indian history by focusing on intellectual movements in accordance with Hegelian dialectics.

One aspect of theoretical framework on which select Marxist historians differ is that Mubarak Ali views the medieval Indian history through the lens of post-colonialism and cultural imperialism, and describes the Muslim ruling classes in India as oppressors, whereas Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed underscoring the concept of pluralism discuss how cultural exchange took place between the Hindu and Muslim communities in South Asia. These theoretical variations paradoxically suggest that the Marxist literature provide distinct interpretations on the one hand, and theoretical contradictions and controversies on the other.

6.3.3. Some Methodological Problems of Marxist Historiography

The literature produced by each Pakistan Marxist historian shows its distinct strengths and weaknesses, therefore they cannot be generalized to entire literature. Moreover, it seems plausible to declare that it would be unjust to discredit their scholarship by giving few instances of certain

weaknesses. However, some of the methodological problems that frequently appear in literature produced by the select Marxist historians are given examination as under.

6.3.3.1 One-sided Discourse and Select Empirical Evidences

The Marxist literature provides unilateral and one-sided discourse. It is very rare that they accommodate the viewpoints of their counterpart historians, and engage them. Occasionally, when they do it, they make a mockery of their opponents' intellect. Sibte Hassan's books *Navid-e Fikr* and *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* are the prime examples of such assertions where he treats his opponents derogatorily.¹³³ The analysis that Hassan's writings provide are about situations and issues, and it is hard to find that they generate debates on the bases of the arguments given by the scholars having antithetical stances. This gives his writings an impression that the writer's treatment of opponents is only confrontational than sympathetic. Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed's writings, particularly on the history of medieval India, seldom engage in debates by accommodating such arguments through which the Muslim nationalist historians have reinforced their stances. Although Mubarak Ali produces various historiographical accounts, they too are not an exception. They give one-sided discussion by describing the circumstances which affected the historiography during the medieval and colonial eras, and discuss how these are fallacious. But he does not indulge in generating discussion by identifying the flaws, deficiencies and weakness in the arguments which they have presented. Thus, Mubarak Ali's works appear to be less history

¹³³ Here are few examples of Hassan's treatment of the scholars and their scholarship. He writes about author of *Siyasat Nama*, "As Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi was minister of Salajuks, saying something on his enterprise *Siyasat Nama* is useless." Further he comments on Ghazali saying that "But it seems surprising when the religious scholar like Imam Ghazali makes same injustice with Quranic verses." Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 51. Commenting on Maulana Mawdudi for his interpretation of the Quranic verse, wherein he suggests that the subjects should show their allegiance to the ruler, Hassan states, "It is unbelievable that the person who has translated the Holy Quran and produced a commentary on it was unknown of the context of this verse. The verse that has no relation with religious, cultural and political system of Islam has been regarded by him as the prime obligation of the constitution. It is hard to find such a bad example of mischief and mischievous mentality." Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 53.

The quoted examples show enough that how Sibte Hassan has derogatorily addressed the scholars whom he finds differing with his ideological orientation.

and more rhetoric. In the fourth chapter titled “*Hindustani Nizam-e-Jagirdari*,” in Ali’s *Jagirdari*, which discusses the nature of feudalism in ancient times is not supported by concrete evidence.¹³⁴ Authored by Mubarak Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab* (1993) is comprised of two parts, the first of which discusses the history of social, cultural, intellectual, political and economic conditions of India, which have been responsible for perpetuating caste system and making the lower castes, particularly the Dalits, quite pathetic and miserable segment of the society. The second one presents some select pieces of poetry produced by the poets representing the Dalit community. The discourse in its first part is construed merely on two sources—which are mentioned in the preface of the book for sake of intellectual honesty—i.e. R. Joshi’s *Achhut* (1986) and South Asian Bulletin (Vol. VII, 1987). The discussion lacks references to other sources. Kazi Javed’s works are not different in this regard, as he adopts descriptive and narrative methodology to present history in accordance with some preconceived ideological notions. In short, all these historians cite selective historical facts that support their arguments.¹³⁵

6.3.3.2 Rhetorical Style of Narration

The methodologies employed in the discourse of the select Marxist historians are varied. Sibte Hassan’s *Mosa sey Marx tak*, presents his commentary on the writings of Marx and Engels on varied issues. His work *Marx aur Mashriq* treats the subject in the similar fashion. The discussion in both accounts mainly revolves around admiring, explaining and justifying the ideas presented by the founders of Marxism, Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels. His studies like *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, and *Navid-e-Fikr* can surely be regarded as original

¹³⁴ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 62-65.

¹³⁵ For instance, Mubarak Ali, while proving his stance that the Muslim ruling classes were religiously biased and they looked down upon Hindus, has presented the example of Sultan Khusrau Khan who was a convert Muslim and was raised to the status of Sultan but due to the conspiracies of the aristocrats he was ousted and killed. Ali expresses that this happened merely because Muslim aristocrats were not willing to acknowledge a local Indian and convert Muslim as equal to them. Hence, Ali circumvent the arguments given by other historians through which they suggest Khusrau Malik’s derogatory attitude towards the Muslims and Muslim’s culture.

works that exhibit author's brilliance in offering analyses and judgments. His analysis, nonetheless, does not seem to demonstrate neutrality but it argues for some preconceived ideological positions and to resist all those which are antithetical. Most of the works produced by Mubarak Ali manifest oratory and commentary where he indulges in philosophizing the historical phenomena, arguing fervently for the rights of lower classes and without acknowledging the social, political, administrative and natural constraints of the time. The style of narration in his books like *Achhut Logon ka Adab* and *Tarikh aur Aurat* makes his discourse rhetoric and sometimes emotional as well. Such long rhetorical commentaries lacking the empirical data undermine the scientific rigour and academic neutrality in the discipline of history.

6.3.3.3 Mono-causal Explanations for Historical Events

One can find various disagreements within the school of Marxist historians in Pakistan. They distinctly provide causal analysis of historical events in accordance with the Marxist theoretical framework with preconceived ideological dispositions. They seem to have presented their ideological dispositions like missionaries and preachers, and this ideological commitment is not merely confined to their scholarship but they are active part of the liberal, left-wing and secular movement in Pakistan. The social and political context of the Marxist historiography in Pakistan can hence be regarded as an ideologically biased one.

The Pakistani Marxist historians seem to offer mono-causal explanations suggesting the factors which have affected the course of historical developments. For instance, the change in the tools of production, Sibte Hassan asserts, is only way to bring discernible change in society, corresponding to materialist conception that the modes of production or the economic infrastructure are responsible to bring change in superstructure, i.e. social, cultural, religious, legal and political

organization of the society.¹³⁶ Some of the fundamental components of Marxism—historical materialism, secularism, class struggle, atrocities on the part of ruling classes, socialism or classless society as the only solution to the problems of societies—are discussed by Sibte Hassan who treats them as universal truth.

Kazi Javed discusses the role of ideas in social, cultural and political changes over the course of history, but he is also convinced that there are material realities involved in bringing about ideological changes.¹³⁷ The factor he emphasizes in the historical developments in Indian history is the struggle between liberal and orthodox forces. Although Pakistani Marxist historians often differ in their approaches, it becomes evident that they address varied issues with mono-logical interpretations. It seems that as if they are unwilling to come out of the preconceived approaches and ideological orientations, even though they find certain facts leading to contradictory conclusions, as is shown in chapter four while discussing Mubarak Ali's conflicting stance on the spread of Islam in South Asia.

Mono-causal explanations can also be observed in the way that these historians do not accommodate the antithetical viewpoints of their counterpart historians. Sibte Hassan provides them a space in some of his essays but just to make a mockery of them. Mubarak Ali mentions them in passing just to point out his counterparts. Kazi Javed does not indulge in referring to contemporary historians or those who came of near past. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi is the one whose orthodox viewpoints and pertinent reasoning he provides but with thorough humiliating negations. The Marxist historians show no sympathetic corner for their opponents and they seem unwilling to find anything good in the worldview that their opponents suggest.

¹³⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 280.

¹³⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*,

6.3.3.4 Appropriation of Arguments from Other Sources

Mubarak Ali is a prolific author, but the huge quantity of his works seriously affects their quality. It can clearly be observed in some of his books like *Jagirdari*, *Tarikh aur Aurat*, and *Achhut Logon ka Adab*.¹³⁸ The overall discussion in his account *Jagirdari* is presented in a methodological manner, but some of its parts show serious limitations. For instance, its first chapter titled “*Feudalism Kiya Hai*” lacks author’s own analysis and is a reproduction of information, arguments and inferences borrowed from the works of Indian Marxist historians such as D. D. Kosambi, Harbans Mukhia, R. S. Sharma, and Irfan Habib.¹³⁹ Its second chapter titled “*Youropie Feudalism*” is almost entirely based on Will Durand’s *The Age of Faith* (1950).¹⁴⁰

6.3.3.5 Self-contradictory Argumentation

Mubarak Ali’s writings are much prone to self-contradictions. The sheer quantity of literature he produced has affected the quality of his research and writings. In *Almiya-e Tarikh*, Mubarak Ali defends the case of Sultan Khusrau Malik, which shows his lack of adequate knowledge of the historical incidents. This also reflects how his selection of facts and their treatment is biased. Explaining the culture Imperialism which was expressed by the Muslim rulers in India, he tells that Sultan Khusrau Malik who was the only King belonging to Indian origin in the entire history of the Muslim rule in India. He was a convert Muslim and belonged to a lower caste. He was forcefully converted to Islam. When he ascended to throne, the Muslim aristocracy conspired against him and killed him only because he was an Indian native. According to Mubarak Ali,

¹³⁸ Mubarak Ali has produced a revised edition of *Tarikh aur Aurat* (2017) by acquiring the contribution of Syed Jaffar Ahmad, Director of Irtiqa Institute of Social Sciences. This fourth edition is presented by revising and adding more details and references, which give this account new life. So, the criticism being presented here is based on the previous editions and does not apply on the one published in 2017.

¹³⁹ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 9-21.

¹⁴⁰ In *Feudalism*, chapter one according to the ‘table of contents’ is “*Feudalism Kiya Hai*” [What is Feudalism]. Yet it is presented in the text-body as Introduction and chapter one is “*Youropie Feudalism*.” Thus, the order of chapterization in the table of contents goes a figure ahead than what is presented in the text-body. However, the chapter-numbers given in the present research follow the numbering in accordance with table of contents.

despite that he did not give any gesture which could be consider perilous to the Muslims of India, they killed him.¹⁴¹ The point of criticism is that if he was an Indian convert Muslim, and previously belonging to some lower caste of Hinduism, how could he ascend the throne of Delhi in a milieu of cultural imperialism. If Ali had provided its explanation, that would surely be a food for thought. Further, sources like *Tarikh-e Firuz Shahi* and *Tarikh-e Farishta* accuse the Sultan of bigotry towards the Muslims, abuse of power, extraordinary privileges to non-Muslims, and blasphemous attitude, which infuriated the Muslim aristocrats,¹⁴² which Ali does not mention.

In *Jagirdari*, Ali recounts the reasons why there was not any concept of private property in ancient and medieval ages, and states that one of many reasons for this was the people after taking the crops from the field used to set its wastage material on fire for the fertility of the land and move to some other one, as there was a vast uncultivated land in India.¹⁴³ This reason is carved out by the author by using his imaginative power than referring to some source. This argument is, however, fallacious, since this can be noticed that in Pakistan where the people are still sticking on some remote methods of agriculture, use to do same practice for the fertility of land, and still there is the vast land in Pakistan which is not used for cultivation. But the lands are private property now.

¹⁴¹ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashary ka Almiya*, 13; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 63.

¹⁴² Radhey Shyam Chaurasia wrote, in his *History of Medieval India: From 1000 AD to 1700 AD*, that “Khusrau Khan assumed the title of Nasir-ud-Din with the succession of Khusru Khan on the throne then began a reign of terror. He took Deval Devi for his queen. The ladies of royal family and the great nobles were given to Khusra’s low caste followers. A degenerate Hindu raj was established. But the Hindus had no sympathy for Khusrau and the Muslims were struck with horror.” R. S. Chaurasia, *History of Medieval India: From 1000 AD to 1700 AD* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2002), 46.

The historian of medieval times Ziauddin Barani (1285-1357) while describing about his anxiety about the reign of Khusru Khan states, “In those dreadful days the infidel rites of the Hindus were highly exalted... and through all the territory of the Islam the Hindus rejoiced greatly, boasting that the Delhi once more came under Hindu rule, and that the *Musalman*s had been driven away and dispersed.” Quoted by Benajmin Lieberman, *Remaking Identities: God, Nation, Race in World History* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2013), 147; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, 225. Also see, Muhammad Qasim Farishta, *Tarikh-e Farishta* (Urdu), Tr., Abdul Hayie Khwaja, Vol. I, (Lahore: al-Mizan Publishers, 2008), 289-92.

¹⁴³ Ali, *Jagirdari*, 65.

Mubarak Ali's accounts *Almiya-e Tarikh*, *Tarikh ki Talash*, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* and *Ulema aur Siyasat* examine history of Muslim rule in India with Subaltern perspective and explain how the Muslim invasion and rule of India reflect their cultural imperialism. The author's explanation carries a fundamental self-contradiction, he explains that the Muslim ruling elite including the aristocrats, *ulema*, sufis were culturally and religiously biased, but he singles the rulers out of them whom they represented calling them secular.

As to religious conversion in India, Ali's view presented in his different accounts contains highly self-contradictory arguments pertaining to whether the rulers converted natives to Islam or not. And, if they were interested in conversion whether they accomplished this task by using force or by adopting some peaceful means and missionary activities. A detailed discussion on self-contradictory arguments in Ali's accounts has already been undertaken in chapter four of the present study.

6.3.3.6 Lack of Operational Definitions

Apropos of their theoretical frameworks, the undertakings by Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali are better than those of Kazi Javed. Hassan and Ali provide comprehensive introductory notes and discussions on their discourse, which bring greater clarity and comprehension to what they aim at conveying. Nonetheless, all of Kazi Javed's works on Indian history lack introductory chapters, which makes his discourse quite obscurantist. Neither does he clearly describe his own positions on the issues, nor does he provide the operational definition of the terms he employs in his works. For instance, his account *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa* describes how the rulers of Lodhi dynasty were religious fanatics. He exemplifies it by tell that Sultan Sikandar Lodhi got a Brahman ascetic named Budhan killed. He was punished for the reason that he declared both the religions, Islam and Hindus as true. The *ulema* compelled and demanded the Sultan to assassinate Budhan,

arguing that he after acknowledging the truth of Islam had become Muslim and until he repented of Hinduism, he would be assumed as apostate who according to Islam deserved nothing but the capital punishment.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, he was killed. By giving such details, Javed infers that the Sultan was a religious bigot. His description raises many questions; such as, how far the *ulema* were right in interpreting Islam in this particular case? Were the *ulema* associated with his court, who issued such a *fatwa* and compelled him to kill Budhan, the orthodox, or religious demagogue, or ignorant but clever impostors pretending to be theologians. Was Sikandar Lodhi, who acted upon it under the *ulema*'s pressure, a religious orthodox? Did he act upon the *ulema*'s instruction, because he, too, was an orthodox? Or, he did so for some political expediency, for instance that he needed the *ulema*'s support for sustainability of his rule? Is giving wrong interpretations of Islam an orthodoxy? Is showing harsh attitude towards the non-Muslims by providing it right or wrong justifications from Islam an orthodoxy? This confusion comes up after reading the story told by Kazi Javed, which is discussed above, only because his account does not provide any operational definition of the term orthodoxy, or orthodox behaviour showed by the rulers.

6.3.3.7 Use of Pejorative Expressions

Normally, this can be observed that Marxist literature is secular in its tone and description while presenting history of medieval India. Nonetheless, the works presented by Kazi Javed and Sibte Hassan mention historical figures, who showed religious orthodoxy with acrimonious, pejorative and derogatory descriptions.¹⁴⁵ The personalities who receive harsh treatment of these historians particularly for their religious extremism include Mukhdum-ul-Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri, Sadar-us-Sudur Shaykh Abdul Nabi, Sufi saint Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi coming of Naqshbandiyya *silsilah*, and Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir. Among them, the former both were the courtier

¹⁴⁴ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 34.

¹⁴⁵ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 191-92, 201, 235-36, 306, 323;

of Emperor Akbar and they are given harsh treatment by the historians, as they objected the Akbar's liberalism and his policy of *Sulh-e-Kul* and *Din-i-Illahi*.¹⁴⁶ Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi is viewed critically and receives harsh remarks by them for introducing of his philosophy of *Wahdat-us-Shahud* which these historians think was against pluralism in India.¹⁴⁷ Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir is also treated in the same vein, because he, according to them, was a religious bigot treating the non-Muslims, as well as the sufis and the shias iron handedly.¹⁴⁸ In *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, Kazi Javed ridicules and makes fun of the clergy whom Akbar sold to Afghan ruler of Qandahar in lieu of donkeys because they were critical of his policies.¹⁴⁹

6.3.3.8 Anachronistic Descriptions

The term anachronism used in the discipline of history implies mentioning something historical in a way which is chronologically wrong. Some of Sibte Hassan's and Kazi Javed's descriptions can be seen as anachronistic. For instance, Kazi Javed while discussing the characteristics of the rule of Hindu Shahi dynasty states that "Raja Chach was the first ruler of Pakistan."¹⁵⁰ This description given by Kazi Javed sheds light on his left-wing tendencies, as by putting it he appears to reject the conception of 'Muslim separatism' in India. This statement, however, is anachronistic because it is factually untrue that there was no state known as Pakistan when Raja Chach ascended to the throne and ruled over Sindh. Similarly, Sibte Hassan, in his *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqah*, attempts to establish that the culture of the people of Pakistan is pluralistic and evolved over centuries. There had been multiple ethnicities and religions which contributed in developing the culture and civilizational character of Pakistan. He highlights the contributions of dynasties and

¹⁴⁶ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Thazeeb ka Irtiqah*, 302-6, 323, 325; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, 133, 140, 148.

¹⁴⁷ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, 144-52.

¹⁴⁸ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, 177, 187-92, 194,

¹⁴⁹ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqah*, 84.

¹⁵⁰ Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 19.

ethnic/racial groups including the Dravidians, Aryans, Scythians, Parthians, Greeks, Huns, Arabs, Turks, Persians, Afghans and the British. He recounts historical details about the religion like Brahmanism, Jains, Buddhism and Islam. He venerates the humanistic philosophy of Buddhism and deplores its decline in South Asia, and adds that the decline of Buddhism in India as “the darkest age in the history of Pakistan.”¹⁵¹ This statement of Sibte Hassan corresponds to the idea that the culture of Pakistan is not exclusively that of Islam, but other religions seem to have played an essential role in evolving this cultural orientation. Nonetheless, this statement is anachronistic, for the creation of Pakistan took place centuries after the decline of Buddhism in the region.

6.3.3.9 *Zeitgeist* and Interpretation of Historical Phenomena

Zeitgeist is a term denoting the understanding of historical phenomenon according to the spirit of the time in which the historical events took place. Sibte Hassan appears to have explained some historical problems in accordance with this peculiar understanding. He, for example, in his account *Navid-e Fikr*, explains and justifies why Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the philosopher like Aristotle did not condemn the institution of slavery and demand to abolish it. The answer he gives is that the institution of slavery then was not perceived as wrong legally, socially and morally, as this was according to the spirit of the time. He adds that such a demand would have been illogical as someone, in present age, would demand the restoration of the institution of slavery.¹⁵²

The point of criticism on his historical narratives, or those of other Marxists, hence, is that the privilege of such understanding is not given by them to other crucial issue in history. He analyses history through the lens of class struggle and raises fiercest criticism on monarchy, feudalism,

¹⁵¹ Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqā*, 184.

¹⁵² Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 34.

caste system, and conversion of matriarchal social structure into patriarchy. These problems of human history are not dealt by Sibte Hassan with an understanding of *zeitgeist*.

6.3.3.10 Problematic Citation and Referencing

While writing history, citation of the sources upon which some research is drawn is highly significant and even necessary to assert the authenticity and credibility of the discourse. What makes the works of historians academically more sound, credible, and authentic is their carefulness about the reference matter. Nonetheless, this can disappointingly be observed that the most literature produced by Pakistani Marxist historians, particularly by those who have been selected to be discussed in the present research, is critical regarding reference matter.

Most of Sibte Hassan's works are edited and republished posthumously by Syed Jaffar Ahmad who, in the preface of *Marx aur Mashriq*, defending this weakness of his works writes that providing reference to the research works was not taken seriously by the authors in past. Therefore, Ahmad has tried to enrich it with reference matter as far as he could.¹⁵³ Some of Mubarak Ali's works including *inter alia: Mughal Darbar, Feudalism, and Almiya-e Tarikh* provide considerable amount of references, but some of his works are thoroughly deficient of references. Its obvious reason is that these works are comprised of newspaper articles, and are republished without revising or making further inputs to them.

Kazi Javed reinforces his arguments with sufficient amount of references of consulted literature, but the references in most of his books are deficient of providing the dates of publication. Since the sources have various editions and sometime each edition has different arrangement of page numbers, the references lacking date of publication make it difficult for the readers to locate them.

¹⁵³ Hassan, *Marx aur Mashriq*, 16.

The works produced by Mubarak Ali like *Mughal Darbar*, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* and *Jagirdari* are equipped with reasonably good reference matter, but his other works which comprises of some newspaper or magazine articles are deficient in this regard. These works are semi-scholarly in nature produced by a public intellectual. As compared to the undertakings of Mubarak Ali, those of Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed provide relatively more meticulous arrangement of facts and their analyses, which minimize criticism on the arguments in their works.

6.3.4 Biased Treatment of Historical facts

The facts speak volumes for themselves, but the historians, sometimes, being obsessed by their own political, ideological and other agendas consciously or unconsciously, attempt at making them speak. As the ideologies often come into conflict with each other, the scholars and historians seem to become the mouthpiece of some peculiar ideologies than being devoted to find some truth in lines with inter-subjectivities. Involving into ideological conflicts, the scholar consciously or unconsciously seem to manipulate the facts and try to prove the testimonies representing some peculiar perspective and putting emphasis on some select facts.

The historical personalities, the Muslim kings and warriors, who have been described by Muslim nationalist historians as heroes, are portrayed by the Marxist historians as the ones who invaded India and ruled it in pursuing merely worldly, economic and imperialist pursuits.¹⁵⁴ Mubarak Ali being rather harsher towards them calls Muhammad ibn Qasim, Mahmud Ghaznavi and Muhammad Ghauri the plunderers and looters.¹⁵⁵ Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali regard the Muslim rulers as secular, arguing that they themselves were not religious or orthodox; rather they

¹⁵⁴ Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 133-34; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 6-8; Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 150, 156; Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, 18; Ali, *Tarikh ki Roshani*, 23-34.

¹⁵⁵ Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 6-8; Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 18; Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 133-34.

used the religion and its representatives, i.e. the theologians, for their vested political interests. They portray the *ulema*, as the real bone of contention. They are treated and described as the religious bigots, egoistic, fascists, fanatics, illogical, chauvinists, and those who due to these personality traits maligned Islam before the non-Muslims of India.¹⁵⁶

Kazi Javed differs from them on the point that all the rulers were secular: he finds some of them liberal and secular, and the others as religious fanatics or showing contradictory attributes. As to portrayal of personalities and historical role of the *ulema*, his attitude is no different from Hassan and Ali who find nothing good about them and offer no word of appreciation for their political role. The *ulema* and rest of the personalities who in their view were orthodox become the severest and harshest subject of Marxist historians' criticism. The ruling classes, social and political elite have also received the scorn of these historians for the maltreatment of the lower, neglected and downtrodden classes. All the elite without any exception and discrimination are regarded by the Pakistan Marxist historians as a major cause of the plight of the poor.

Mubarak Ali has some preconceived dispositions and he seems to authenticate them. Some of these are: the Muslim rulers in medieval India were secular;¹⁵⁷ *ulema* who were the real trouble-makers, and responsible for state's theocratic measures;¹⁵⁸ sufis were not representatives of common people but part of the state apparatus;¹⁵⁹ Muslim ruling classes were oppressors and tyrant,¹⁶⁰ and the nature of their rule in India was imperialist.

¹⁵⁶ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137-45; Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 199-220, 302-6, 323, 325; Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 66-71, 133, 140, 148; Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 47-51; Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 42; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 56-58.

¹⁵⁷ Hassan, *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan*, 137-45; Hassan, *Pakistan mein Tehzib ka Irtiqa*, 157-58, 197-208, 306; Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 16; Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 47-51; Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 42; Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashary ka Almiya*, 66-71; Ali, *Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 56-58.

¹⁵⁸ Ali, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, 164.

¹⁵⁹ Ali, *Almiya-e-Tarikh*, 34-36; Ali, *Historian's Dispute*, 75-79.

¹⁶⁰ Ali, *Mughal Darbar*, 118-21, 125-47.

Sometimes Mubarak Ali comes to the same conclusion with conflicting facts. For example, while addressing the religious conversion in South Asia he in *Almiya-e Tarikh* propounds that the Muslims rulers forced war slaves to be Muslims. They used to do so because they needed the indigenous co-religionists whom they could trust and acquire their help in running the state affairs. He cites the examples of Khusrau Malik and Malik Kafur (d. 1316) to Islam.¹⁶¹ By virtue of this, he intends to express the tyranny and cultural imperialism of Indian Muslim rulers. Nonetheless, in his account *Achhut Logon ka Adab* he contrarily expresses that the Muslim rulers were not interested in converting Indian non-Muslims to Islam because by doing so, they had to acknowledge their equal rights, which they were not willing to concede anyhow.¹⁶² Both of these contradictory dispositions expressed by Mubarak Ali lead him to the same conclusion that the Muslim rulers in India were oppressors and imperialist.¹⁶³

A tendency of providing select facts which authenticate his overarching standpoint and circumventing the facts which lead to some opposite idea can also be noticed in the narratives by Mubarak Ali. For instance, in his account *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, he criticises and challenges the authenticity of the story of *Chachnama* that the reason of the Arab invasion on Sindh was the plundering and abduction of the convoy of Muslim traders and their families, which he dismisses as a concocted story, made to provide justification to Arab invasion of Sindh. This is because the reference to that convoy and the abducted lady who asked Hajjaj ibn Yusuf for help, is not found in *Chachnama*, it also misses the details of what happened to them after the conquest of Sindh.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Ali, *Almiya-e-Tarikh*, 63. This very enterprise of Mubarak Ali includes a chapter titled “*Chand Tarikhi Ghalat Fehmian*” [Some Historical Fallacies] offers a contradictory perspective, stating that ‘the conquerors of India had no intention to convert non-Muslim.... Those who accepted Islam were rendered veneration; but, they [the conquerors] did not adopt a policy that the conquered must have been converted through preaching or by force.’

¹⁶² In *Achhut Logon ka Adab* he writes that the liberal Mughal ruler like Akbar even instructed the followers of *Din-e Ilahi* not to intermingle with the people belonging to some lower castes. Ali, *Achhut Logon ka Adab*, 25.

¹⁶³ Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 16.

¹⁶⁴ Ali, *Sind Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 59, 73.

By developing such criticism on *Chachnama*, Ali attempts to prove that Arab imperialist encroachment in India was given moral justification by providing a concocted story. But Kazi Javed's *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib* tells that the troops of Muhammad ibn Qasim recovered, rescued and honoured the said lady and other members of the convoy.¹⁶⁵ Conceding Kazi Javed's description as true, this can be inferred that Mubarak Ali's criticism is either based on uneducated arguments or select facts. Otherwise, Kazi Javed can be accused of fabricating facts.

Ali's *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya* explains the cultural imperialism demonstrated by the Muslim ruling classes in India, and states that the Muslim aristocrats turned against Sultan Khusrau Malik and assassinated him, only because he was of Indian origin, otherwise "he never gave any gesture by his actions that he was against Indian Muslims and wanted a restoration of Hindu state."¹⁶⁶ Further, he refers to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami's *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during Thirteenth Century* (1961) which shows how the Muslim aristocrats were infuriated and want to end the rule of Khusrau. However, Ali circumvents describing all those details which suggest his derogatory attitude towards the Muslims and their culture.¹⁶⁷

The mitigation and extenuation of facts—i.e. statements, action and events—can also be observed in the narratives of Mubarak Ali. Since he puts forward a testimony that the Muslim rulers were secular, he moulds all contrary facts accordingly to prove this stance. For instance, Ali shares a statement of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji that he uttered for recognizing his vulnerability in taking

¹⁶⁵ Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 25.

¹⁶⁶ Ali, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, 13-14. Also see, Ali, *Almiya-e Tarikh*, 63.

¹⁶⁷ To know about the details which disapprove Ali's opinion that Khusrau Malik did not commit any act which was against the Muslims and their religion, see Chaurasia, *History of Medieval India: From 1000 AD to 1700 AD*, 46; Farishta, *Tarikh-e Farishta* (Urdu), 289-92.

steps against Hindus whose all acts he considered were against the spirit of Islam. Mubarak Ali explains it was Ziauddin Barani (1285-1357) who put words in the mouth of the Sultan.¹⁶⁸

The Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb is always criticized by the liberal historians for fanatic attitude and theocratic policies. He, in Ali's view, was a secular ruler who exploited the religion for his vested interests. He explains that some Sunni *ulema* demanded Aurangzeb to sack the services of the Shias associated with his court. Upon this, Aurangzeb replied that religion had nothing to do with politics.¹⁶⁹ This is how Ali proves that Aurangzeb was a secular ruler. He, nevertheless, does not provide and discuss those facts which explain his ventures against the non-Muslims, the Shias and the sufis—the facts that Kazi Javed, another Marxist historian, shares emphatically to prove that Aurangzeb was a fanatic and bigot.¹⁷⁰

As compared to Mubarak Ali, Site Hassan and Kazi Javed seem rather more meticulous in giving a fair treatment to the historical facts, and in bringing clarity to the expression creating difference between facts and their opinions. By arranging and interpreting the facts they have given their descriptions an uninterrupted and natural flow.

6.3.5 Problems in Consulting Sources

The sources consulted by the Marxist historians are given by them some problematic treatment, which is given evaluation as under.

6.3.5.1 Use of Fictional Sources

In *Tarikh aur Aurat*, the author although makes references to a fair numbers of historical sources including the primary, secondary, fictional and non-fictional. The fictional ones include novels such as Deputy Nazir Ahmad's *Miratul Arus* and Mirza Hadi Ruswa's *Amrao Jan Ada*. He refers

¹⁶⁸ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 42.

¹⁶⁹ Ali, *Tarikh ki Talash*, 30-31.

¹⁷⁰ Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 171-79, 184-199.

to these fictional sources to explain the ideal image of women in society and the status of prostitutes. The way the author of *Achhut Logon ka Adab* quotes excerpts from different genres of literature, i.e. historical, theological, mystical and fictional ones undermines the historical outlook of the discourse.¹⁷¹ The tone in the discourse appears more persuasive than being scientific, objective and dispassionate. Although the philosophy of postmodernism presenting very powerful arguments justifies the use of fictional literature and imagination to construct history,¹⁷² this leads to exaggerated, and sometimes distorted, reflection of historical issues and provides the authors an opportunity to draw a picture of history, which, by hook or by crook, intends to prove whatever they have in mind. Thus the discourse seems to be based on imagination and far from ground realities.

6.3.5.2 Biased Treatment of Sources

Mubarak Ali while explaining his standpoint of cultural imperialism about Muslim rule in India, discusses that the sources available on the Arab invasion of Sindh are biased and tell the view point of the conquerors. He argues that the story told in them as the reason of Arab invasion of Sindh is concocted and the Muslim nationalist historians have quoted it uncritically.¹⁷³ Kazi Javed also makes such remarks about the sources.¹⁷⁴ Yet the explanations in the sources that reinforce these Marxist historians' own viewpoint are cited by them uncritically, and they raise objections on and become critical of the explanations which they have found contradictory to their ideological orientation. The sources selected by Marxist historians are of both primary and secondary types.

¹⁷¹ This account of Mubarak Ali is written with rather emotional tone showing excessive concern for the people belonging to the lower classes, particularly the Dalits. The latter half part of the book is comprised on the poetry produced by *dalit* poets, which is given without making any scholarly or critical discussion upon it.

¹⁷² See, Joanne Brown, "Historical Fiction or Fictionalized History: Problems for Writers of Historical Novels for Young Adults," *The Alan Review*, Vol. 26, No., 1 (Fall, 1998).

At <https://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/ALAN/fall98/brown.html> (accessed on October 20, 2017).

¹⁷³ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 59-73.

¹⁷⁴ Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tahzib*, 14, 38.

They are treated differently by three select historians under discussion. Sibte Hassan does not indulge in making critical evaluation of his sources, and he makes a good use them to reflect upon what he conceives is a historical truth—i.e. the historical materialism.

A biased treatment that Sibte Hassan gives to his sources conspicuously appear in his account *Navid-e Fikr*. He becomes very harsh towards the scholars and their works whom he counters in fact. Hassan gets highly sceptical of the intellectual calibre and honesty of scholars like Abu Ali Hassan ibn Ali Tusi (alias, Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, 1018-1092), Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazzali (1058-1111) and Abul A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979). Commenting on Tusi's *Siyasat Nama*, he puts it "As Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi was minister of Seljuqs, saying something on his enterprise *Siyasat Nama* is useless." Being sceptical of al-Ghazzali's intellectual honesty, he comments that "it seems surprising when the religious scholar like Imam Ghazzali makes some injustice with the Quranic verses."¹⁷⁵

In *Navid-e Fikr*, Hassan critically discusses Abul Ala Mawdudi's concept of Islamic state. Hassan criticizes his interpretation of the Quranic verses through which Mawdudi suggests the citizen of Islamic state should obey the ruler. Hassan states, "It is unbelievable that the person who has translated the Holy Quran and produced a commentary on it was unknown of the context of this verse. The verse having no relation with religious, cultural and political system of Islam is regarded by him as the prime obligation of the constitution."¹⁷⁶ Commenting on his intellectual honesty, he further adds, "It is hard to find such a bad example of mischief and mischievous mentality."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 51.

¹⁷⁶ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 53.

¹⁷⁷ Hassan, *Navid-e Fikr*, 53.

These few examples shed ample light on how Hassan suspects the intellectual calibre and honesty of the scholars and the works they have produced, and on how derogatorily he comments on them. Mubarak Ali brings his sources under critical evaluation and stern criticism, particularly in his books and essays which are on historiography. The sources about which he has raised highly critical question are *Chachnama* and *Futuh al-Buldan* which he consider biased as they provide a viewpoint of the conquerors, not the people of India.¹⁷⁸ The historical sources produced in the Sultanate and Mughal eras, for Mubarak Ali, are not completely credible, since they do not provide objective and secular history, and had been written by court historians.¹⁷⁹ He thinks that it was the rulers and the sufis who have been given central importance in those sources, while the role of the common people in the course of history is entirely missing.¹⁸⁰ The works that the British historians produced in the colonial period, he considers, are agenda driven, as they have attempted to justify and glorify the British rule in India, and promote communal sentiments among Indian people.¹⁸¹ The historical accounts of Pakistani historians, to him, are deficient of providing secular and objective view of history.¹⁸²

Kazi Javed's treatment of his sources is also critical but different from that of Mubarak Ali. More often than not, his criticism revolves around establishing chronology of the events by comparing different sources.¹⁸³ He, however, appears to be critical of the sources as to their mode of narration.¹⁸⁴ A tendency of cross-checking (making use of different sources to determine

¹⁷⁸ Ali, *Sindh Khamoshi ki Awaz*, 59-73.

¹⁷⁹ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 39-46.

¹⁸⁰ Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 42.

¹⁸¹ Ali, *Gumshudha Tarikh*, 16.

¹⁸² Ali, *Tarikh Shanasi*, 68-69.

¹⁸³ The time period of Ali Hajveri's birth and his arrival in India are attempted to be established by Kazi Javed by bring different sources in light. Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqa*, 5, 7-8.

¹⁸⁴ While providing the details about life and scholarship of Shaykh Ali Hajveri, Kazi Javed cites different translations of Ali Hajveri's celebrated account *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*. Commenting on Miyan Tofail's translation of *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, Kazi Javed states, "Thoughts of Ali Hajveri have not been acceptable to orthodox scholars; not even to them who

authenticity, validity, and exactitude of facts and relevant details)¹⁸⁵ is a notable characteristic of the works that Kazi Javed has produced on the cultural history of Indian Muslims.

Though Pakistani Marxist historians have shown their reservations about the sources they consult, yet they acknowledge their importance because some of them are the only sources on the subject-matter they attempt to inquire. Hence, the notable point is that they are critical of the sources because they provide descriptions which are not coherent to what these historians aim at conveying. Nonetheless, they cite information and details from those sources uncritically which support their own viewpoints.

To conclude, it becomes obvious that the Marxist historiographical literature produced in Pakistan shows a number of merits which make it distinct from the Muslim nationalist historiography. It has focused on various social, political, economic and cultural issues of Indian society, which are mostly overlooked by the mainstream Muslim nationalist historians. The themes which are an added dimension in it include *inter alia* class struggle, cultural imperialism, social status of women, economic conditions and the social plight of the downtrodden classes of Indian society, socio-economic structure of the society—i.e. feudalism and caste system. The perspectives such as secularism, feminism, cultural imperialism through which the historical issues in medieval India are explained make it an avant-garde historiography to the student of history in the country. The Marxist historians incorporating interdisciplinary approaches in history have given new

belong to twentieth century CE. The reorganization of *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* that Mian Tofail has done, therefore, does not include such ideas of Ali Hajveri which can be regarded as deviation from orthodox interpretations.” Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 16.

¹⁸⁵ Often, Kazi Javed goes into the issue of authenticity and originality of his sources. It is, for instance, *Fawaid-us-Salekin* which is known to be written by Baba Fariduddin Masud Ganjshakar; but, Kazi Javed is sceptical of its authorship. Likewise, he conveys, “some believe that Nizamuddin Auliya had written a book [he does not mention the title of it] comprising on the statements of Ganjshakar, is hard to regard it as authentic. In current situation, it is therefore only *Sair-ul-Aliya* and *Fawaid-ul-Fawad* through which the details about Ganjshakar can be obtained.” Javed, *Bare Saghir mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtiqā*, 26.

interpretations to historical phenomena. By adopting simple, jargon-free Urdu language, they have made the knowledge of history more accessible to the common people.

Nonetheless, it shows a number of methodological problems as well, which include conceptual-theoretical problems, methodological problems such as weak reference matter, lack of operational definitions, problems of causation and interpretations of the facts, pejorative descriptions pertaining to the orthodox rulers and the *ulema*. These issues obscure and undermine their objective and scientific outlook. Nonetheless, the Marxist historians have made a great deal of contribution in producing distinct analyses of Indian history of medieval era. The literature they have produced has counteracted the nationalist historiography in Pakistan. They have successfully introduced new techniques, methods and trends of history writing in Pakistan and they have shattered many historical myths as well.

Conclusion

The philosophical ideas, theories and doctrines presented by the German philosopher, Karl Marx (1818-1883) and his associate Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) are called Marxism. Providing positivist grounds to their explanations, these philosophers proposed a society based on the concept of equality among human beings (i.e. a classless society). Their ideas appealed not only the common people but educationists, activists, and politicians across the world. Therefore, it became a political movement, as well as a worldview, philosophical and intellectual/academic tradition. Being a philosophical and intellectual/academic tradition, it has remarkably influenced a vast range of disciplines such as history, sociology, philosophy, economics, archaeology, linguistics, anthropology, journalism, geographical and demographical studies, political and international studies.

To understand the world, its ontological and epistemological deduction is known as positivism, which means the reality is material, and all metaphysical phenomena are dependent upon material reality. As to acquiring, constructing and producing knowledge, the idea of positivism implies analysing facts and then drawing such laws having universal application. In context of Marxism, the material reality is mainly understood as economic factors which is the base having complete potential to change the superstructure, i.e. political philosophy and state institutions, religion, laws, social customs, and culture. This framework employed in historical studies is variously called 'historical materialism' or 'dialectical materialism' or 'historical determinism.' Marxism views history as a class struggle between the privileged and deprived classes, the oppressor and oppressed classes, the landlords and the peasants, the capitalists and the labour, the rich and the poor, and the

bourgeoisies and the proletarians. Secular humanistic values are advocated. It emphasizes on producing a kind of purposive knowledge by giving voice to and fighting for the rights of the deprived and marginal sections of the society. Inspired by Marxist philosophy, various historiographical schools have emerged, which include the Frankfurt School, Annales School, Historians Group of Communist Party of Great Britain, and the School of Subaltern Studies. These historiographical schools represented by some renowned historians and their historical enterprises have introduced new historiographical trends such as the history from below, total history, history of the common people, critical theory, history of material culture, feminist perspective on history, and the post-colonial perspective on history. They critically view various existing perspectives of history-writing such as the religious/ideological, rightist, and elitist, traditionalist, orientalist, chauvinist and imperialist.

A trend of producing Marxist historiographical narratives emerged in South Asia during the colonial era when Indian historians began revisiting the imperialist policy of the British in India, and the Orientalist historiographical discourse on Indian history, and attempted to evolve Indian nationalist perspective. These historians include Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901), Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848-1909), and Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928). Their narratives exposed the imperialist designs of the British Raj in India, and economic exploitation of their country. Nonetheless, Indian historians who employed the materialist conception of history to their historical writings include, *inter alia*, Manabendra Nath Roy (1887-1954), Rajani Palme Dutt (1894-1974), and A. R. Desai (1915-1994). Two historians associated with Aligarh University, Muhammad Habib (1895-1971) and K. M. Ashraf (1903-1962) wrote on the history of medieval India, revisiting the historical myths and personalities' portrayal as heroes.

During the post-colonial period, Indian historians, whose narratives challenged the conventional history, promoted the trend of writing socio-economic and cultural history. These include D. D. Kosambi (1907-1966), Ram Sharan Sharma (1919-2011), Bipan Chandra (1928-2014); Romila Thapar (b. 1930), Irfan Habib (b. 1931), K. N. Panikkar (b. 1936), and Sumit Sarkar (b. 1939). In addition, the Subaltern studies historians, who present a post-colonial perspective on history, argued that the Third World nations even after acquiring freedom are still dependent upon their colonial masters. By means of their industrial technology, educational advancement, and economic policies, the developed nations are exploiting the resources of the underdeveloped ones and asserting their cultural hegemony. The historians representing this school include Ranajit Guha (b. 1923), Gyan Pandey (b. 1949), Aravind Das (1949-2000), N. K. Chandra, Dipesh Chakrabarty (b. 1948), Ramachandra Guha (b. 1958) and Gautam Bhadra (b. 1948).

The Marxist historiographical tradition in Pakistan is the continuity of literary movement started by All India Progressive Writers' Association, but the major shift it witnessed after partition was its change of focus from Orientalist historical discourse to that of the Muslim nationalist. The Marxist historiography in Pakistan can, therefore, rightly be regarded as a reaction to the Muslim nationalist historiography. Most of the Pakistani scholars and historians manifesting leftist, liberal, progressive and socialist tendencies have been associated with the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP), or its intellectual wing Progressive Writers' Association of Pakistan (PWA).

Since Pakistan came into being in the wake of communalist environment in South Asia and the separatist politics of All India Muslim League, it declared 'Two Nation Theory' and Muslim nationalism as a *raison d'être* of the creation of state. The First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan officially confirmed this ideological stance by adopting Objective Resolution (1949). These historical developments enhanced the role and influence of religious parties, i.e. *Jama'at-e Islami*

and *Jami'at al-Ulema-e Islam*, in Pakistan. Despite the fact that these religio-political parties failed to acquire any substantial victory through electoral process, they influenced the politics and constitution-making processes in the country to a greater extent.

This social and political environment in Pakistan strengthened the state-sponsored Muslim nationalist discourse. Its historical narratives interpreted history with religious rationalism aiming at glorifying the Muslim rulers of medieval India and their policies. The renowned Muslim nationalist historians like S. M. Jaffar, I. H. Qureshi, and S. M. Ikram produced their narratives responding to the charges levelled by the Orientalists and the non-Muslim historians of India on the Muslim rulers. Rejecting the allegation that the spread of Islam in India was a consequence of the rulers' coercive methods, they recount the humanist services of the Muslim sufis and missionary activities of the *ulema*. Further, they attempted to explain how those rulers' religious tolerance and administrative policies proved beneficial in every domain of social, cultural, religious, political and administrative life of India. Explaining the decline of the Muslim rule in India, they argued that political decline and social degeneration took place as a result of diverting from the guidance provided by Islam.

The scholars and historians, who challenged the Muslim nationalist discourse in Pakistan, representing the leftist, liberal and secular ideological approach in Pakistan, were mostly associated with the CPP and its sub-organization PWA. These organizations remained under surveillance of the security agencies, because of the perception that its leadership had connections with the Soviet Union and the leadership of Indian National Congress, and wanted to destabilize the government and make the country socialist. The leadership of CCP and PWA, however, continued its political and literary activities clandestinely, but they were apprehended for their alleged involvement in Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case in 1951.

After the Second World War, the world was divided in two blocks, i.e. the Soviet and the Western. Pakistan officially joined the latter by signing Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) agreements which aimed at containing the advancement of ideological and political hegemony of socialism. The governments in Pakistan acting upon McCarthy doctrine took severe actions against the socialist scholars of the country, and kept a strict check on the scholarship they produced. Besides these political constraints in the country, various other factors that restricted them included the intermittent overthrow of democratic governments by military dictators, feudal structure of the society, role of religio-political parties in countering liberalism, and Islamization of the laws of the state, and the propaganda against these scholars for being atheist, heretic, anarchist, anti-Islam and anti-Pakistani.

Despite troubles, these intellectuals, scholars and historians produced a considerable body of literature revisiting the Muslim nationalist perspective on the social, cultural, religious, political, and economic issues of South Asian history. Since the government institutions in Pakistan, including universities and research organizations, are bound to promote the officially declared ideological stance, most of the leftist scholars happen to be freelancers, or were politicians, journalists, or those associated with some non-governmental research organizations. This is one of the reasons that the leftist, socialist, or Marxist literature produced in Pakistan, more often than not, lack academic rigour and is semi-scholarly. Many of these Marxist scholars are said to be the public intellectuals. Some of the most renowned Pakistani scholars who have produced non-fictional literature with leftist, liberal, progressive, and secular approaches include Bari Aliq, Azizuddin Ahmad, Abdullah Malik, Lal Khan, Karrar Hussain, Mir Gul Khan Naseer, Ahmad Salim, Tariq Ali, Eqbal Ahmad, Hassan N. Gardezi, Hamza Alavi, Aitzaz Ahsan, Hanif Ramay and Ayesha Siddiqa Agha. These leftist writers representing distinct academic disciplines have

presented works on varied social, cultural, political and economic issues of United India and post-independent Pakistan.

The Pakistani Marxist historians whose works have been analysed in the present study are Sibte Hassan, Mubarak Ali and Kazi Javed, each of whom represent distinct tendency. Sibte Hassan views history by employing classical Marxist conceptions such as historical materialism, positivism and structuralism. Mubarak Ali, known as people's historian, observes history through the lens of Subaltern approach, history from below, or the people's history. Kazi Javed viewed historical developments of medieval India through the perspectives of existentialism, humanism, liberalism and secularism.

These select Marxist historians largely share their view on what history is, and how it deserves to be written. Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali criticize historical narratives having overemphasis on the role of rulers and conquerors, regarding them as heroes and 'the Great.' They present an alternative perspective that historians should pay attention to the problems and plights of the common people, and their historical role and struggle. Sibte Hassan maintains that historians' duty is to explore the social laws which play role in bringing social change in a society. Mubarak Ali contends that historians, instead of focusing on the role of individuals, should pay attention to social institutions which put constraints on social behaviour. Contrarily, Kazi Javed believes that the knowledge of history is neither a science nor objective, because it is not value-free. To him, historical imagination plays an important role in constructing history and filling its gaps. He asserts that constructing heroes in historical discourse is the need of the society, since they are moral exemplars, and inspire people to struggle and bring positive changes in society.

The prominent themes explored in the Marxist historiography of medieval India include the state and society relationship, spread of Islam in South Asia, political role played by the *ulema*, religious

conversion, mediatory role of the sufis between the state and society, nature and dynamics of religious movements, cultural imperialism and cultural exchange, status and role of common people in Indian history, social formation, social alienation and stagnation, economic organization of society, status and problems of women and other marginal classes, and causes of the decline of Mughal Empire and the degeneration of Muslim society.

Responding to the Muslim nationalist historiography's religious veneration and glorification of Muslim rulers, their invasions and conquests of Hindu territories, their policies and personal conduct, the Marxist historians view all of these with secular and liberal approach. Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali argue that the Muslim rulers, keeping in view the ground realities of Indian society and culture, adopted secular policies. These rulers were imperialists who were motivated to invade Indian territories for political and economic interests. That is why they showed liberal and secular attitude towards the non-Muslim subjects of India, and involved them in military, administrative and all other state affairs. In contrast to these both historians' viewpoint, Kazi Javed makes microscopic analysis of almost each ruler's policies, some of which he finds religiously orthodox, and some liberal and secular. The secular behaviour and policies helped establish political stability and well-being of the society. On the other hand, the policies of the rulers who were orthodox and conservative brought about unrest in the society and political instability in the state.

The Marxist historians criticize the *ulema* associated with the courts of the rulers for playing political role, interfering in policy matters, their attempts at making the state theocratic, looking down upon indigenous religions and cultures of India, and resisting the attempts aimed at developing and promoting the Hindu-Muslim unity and syncretic culture. Sibte Hassan and

Mubarak Ali consider that the rulers were secular, but they were often compelled by these *ulema* to deal with non-Muslim subjects harshly—either convert them to Islam, or kill them ruthlessly.

Regarding the spread of Islam in India, the select Marxist historians give different analysis. Sibte Hassan recounts various social, political and economic factors which contributed to the growth of Muslim population in India, which include migration of the Muslims from Middle East and Central Asia to India, marriages of Muslim traders with Hindu women, hybrid generation which represented both the Muslim and Hindu cultures. Moreover, the conversions, he considers, also took place which resulted in increasing the Muslim population in India. The undertakings of Mubarak Ali present contradictory views on that whether the rulers made any efforts to convert non-Muslims to Islam or not. In his *Almiya-e Tarikh* and *Bare Saghir mein Musalman Mu'ashray ka Almiya*, he states that the Muslim rulers while invading and conquering the Hindu territories enslaved the people, and converted them forcefully to Islam. Malik Kafur and Sultan Khusrau Malik were such war-slaves who were forcibly converted to Islam. He argues that the Muslim rulers needed the coreligionists whom they could trust, and get their help in running the state affairs. His account *Acchut Logo ka Adab* gives different, rather contradictory, perspective that Muslim rulers were not interested in conversion at all. Islam provides all Muslims equal status, but they were not willing to acknowledge the Indian Muslims as equal to them. That is why, they never attempted to convert them. Sibte Hassan finds that most of the people being impressed by sufis' humanism and Ismaili missionaries converted to Islam. Mubarak Ali refutes it, and states that changing social, political and economic circumstances of India emerged in the wake of the Muslim rule which compelled the people to change their faith. In view of Kazi Javed, the Muslim population in India increased only when the Muslim took over its political control of India. He

admires the sufis of Chishti *silsilah* for showing indifference to missionary activities, and becomes critical of Suhrawardi sufis for encouraging conversion.

Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed present the sufis as the representatives of the common people, who inspired them by their humanistic, secular and liberal behaviour and conduct, in contrast to the conservatism and orthodoxy of the *ulema*. Kazi Javed indulges into in-depth analysis of varied tendencies demonstrated by the sufis in India. He finds some sufis like Bu Ali Qalandar and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar showing dissent and non-conformist behaviour, some like Shaykh Ali Hajveri, Muinuddin Chishti, and Baba Farid making reconciliation between liberalism of Sufism and *sharia*, some sufis like those of Suhrawardi *silsilah* getting in alliance with the rulers against the Chishti sufis, some like Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi, Yahya Maneyri, Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Wali Ullah bringing Sufism under the subordination to *sharia*, and promoting Muslim separatism in India. He venerates the sufis belonging to Chishtiyya, Qadariyya, Shattariyya, and Madariyya *silsilahs*, the exponents of Bhakti movements for their liberal, secular behaviour, adhering to mystic philosophy of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* and promoting Hindu-Muslim syncretic culture. Nonetheless, he becomes highly critical of the Suhrawardi and Naqshbandi sufis who promoted religious orthodoxy and strengthened the forces of *status quo*.

Mubarak Ali is critical of the view that the sufis were representatives of the common people, and considers them as elite. He thinks that they attained popularity owing to mythical description of their miracles and wonders described in hagiographical sources. He is critical of their isolationist tendency, and indifference to the socio-political challenges such as the exploitation of the common people. Ali does not consider the sufis as secular, and states that they professed certain faith, and were unable to promote cooperation between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali analyse the political structure of medieval India, and criticize monarchy, holding it responsible for the plight of common people, as it provided no space to them in social, political and economic processes. Sibte Hassan and Kazi Javed's undertakings highlight cultural exchange taking place between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in India. They think that the emergence of syncretic culture in India was logical result of interaction between the people coming from two distinct civilizations, i.e. Islam and Hinduism. On the other hand, Mubarak Ali's accounts like *Almiya-e Tarikh*, *Ulema aur Siyasat*, *Bare Saghir mein Musalman*, *Mu'ashary ka Almiya*, *Historian's Dispute*, and *Tarikh ki Awaz* interpret the Muslim rule in India in accordance with subaltern approach, by highlight cultural imperialism. The Muslim ruling classes in India, according to Ali, were foreigner, oppressor, and fraught with superiority complex, which caused social alienation and stagnation in India. In the same vein, Kazi Javed describes that the rulers, *ulema*, and sufis who adhered to orthodoxy instigated the feelings of alienation in India, yet he admires the Chishti sufis and propagators of Bhakti movement for promoting humanism, kind-heartedness, social coherence and fighting against social alienation.

The social formation in medieval India is discussed by Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali, who find the Muslim society divided into different social, ethnic, economic and religious divisions. Ali describes how the Muslims adopted caste system from Hindus. His *Acchut Logon ka Adab* sheds light on the history of lower castes in India, particularly Dalit. The Marxist historians highlight the socio-economic conditions that contribute to social stratification, and explore the social, economic, religious and cultural causes of the problems of the poor.

In contrast to patriarchal portrayal of women which the Muslim nationalist historiography presents, the Marxist historical works discuss the historical role and social status of women in a liberal and secular framework by condemning the women as marginal segment of society. They describe how

matriarchal society in ancient society turned to be patriarchal, and unravel social and cultural factors which reduced the women to a marginal position, including *inter alia* the institution of marriage, religious ideas, social values, myths, and traditions. Mubarak Ali criticizes the theologians, sufis, and intellectuals for judging and describing the status and historical role of women in accordance with patriarchal and religious values. His attitude is rather dissenting when he becomes sympathetic to prostitutes and states that they enjoy more social freedom than married women.

Sibte Hassan and Mubarak Ali analyse the economic institutions of *iqdadari* and *mansabdari* introduced in India by the Sultans of Delhi and Mughal Emperors respectively. They find these economic institutions responsible for increasing discrimination between the ruling and working classes, socio-economic alienation in society, backwardness and stagnation of India. According to these systems, the aristocrats were given the lands in lieu of their services to the court, and were held responsible for collecting revenue. Yet they were not the owner of the lands, which made them indifferent towards the agrarian and agricultural development, and the problems and plight of peasantry.

The Marxist historiography rejects the religious and moral interpretations of the decline of Mughal Empire given by the Muslim nationalist historiography. The factors which caused the decline of Mughal Empire, according to Sibte Hassan, include monarchy, oppressive economic structure, *mansabdari* system, indifference of the rulers towards the betterment of the people. He considers excessive agricultural land and manpower, and self-sufficiency of the economic resources made the rulers indifferent towards introducing new tools of productions, which caused the social, economic and technological backwardness, stagnation and ultimately the decline of the Mughal Empire. Ali states that the cultural imperialism of the rulers developed alienation between the

Muslim ruling classes and Indian subjects. The decline of the Mughal Empire took place when the Marathas, Jats, and Sikh revolted against them, and when the Mughals became economically dependent on the Marathas. He thinks it is a historical myth that Mughals lost their rule at the hands of the British. To him, it was the Marathas whom the British defeated and captured Delhi. Kazi Javed himself does not reflect on the cause of Mughal Empire's decline, but admires Shah Wali Ullah's analysis of it, who highlighted various economic reasons for it. Ali and Javed are critical of Shah Wali Ullah, Haji Shariat Ullah, Titu Mir, Syed Ahmad Shahid, and Shah Ismail Shahid for their error of judgement when they declared the Indian non-Muslims as the enemy of the Muslim community of India, which harmed the unity of Indians, and the British East India Company took its advantage making India a British colony.

The sixth and last chapter of the present study has provided an analysis of how the Marxist historiography in Pakistan is ontologically and epistemological different from its counterpart, i.e. the Muslim nationalist historiography, which adheres to idealist paradigm or worldview giving fundamental importance to and drawing logic from the guiding principles of Islam. On the other hand, the select Marxist historians show varied tendencies as to the worldview they adhere to, according to which they frame historical developments. Sibte Hassan appears to be a Marxist historian paying greater attention to the materialist causation to interpret historical developments. He finds India a centuries old stagnant society, and the only reason for it, to him, was that it could not evolve new tools of production. Mubarak Ali's framework is that of Subaltern studies, viewing and describing history with post-colonial perspective, emphasising on the problems and predicaments of the downtrodden people and oppressed classes of the society. The philosopher-historian Kazi Javed adheres to existentialism, and employed this paradigm to examine the history of medieval India. His major concern rests on discussing intellectual history in medieval India.

However, the shared feature of scholarship produced by these select historians is their adherence to secularism, liberalism, humanism, and progressive and leftism ideology.

There are various features of Pakistani Marxist historiography due to which it is distinct from its counterpart, the mainstream historiography in Pakistan. It contributes in the production of historical knowledge by introducing various new trends. Unlike the Muslim nationalist history's emphasis on political history and glorification of the Muslim political elite, it emphasizes on social, cultural and economic history, role of the common people in historical developments, and their problems and plight. It challenges various stances of the Muslim nationalist historians on the history of medieval India, and counters their patriarchal, moral and religious interpretations of historical events and personalities. It attempts to revisit and shatter various historical myths treated by the Muslim nationalist historians as historical facts. It incorporates interdisciplinary approaches into historical narratives, and gives new interpretations to historical phenomena. Since it revisits almost all major dispositions in school and college level textbooks of history published by the government institutions, the students find the Marxist historiography an avant-garde. One of the major strengths of the Marxist historiography is that it makes Urdu language a major medium to disseminate historical knowledge for which it enjoys wide readership, and narrates history in simple and jargon-free language. Owing to this, the common people develop their knowledge of history finding it more intelligible.

Nonetheless, the Marxist historiography has a number of limitations and methodological problems as well. It provides relative weaker reference matter. On some occasions, it appears to show biased treatment of historical facts and the sources, while interpreting the historical phenomena according to preconceived ideological fixations. The descriptions provided by it about the religious figures are sometimes highly biased and pejorative. The leftist dispositions of the Marxist historians create

an impression that it is a propagandist and seditious discourse. Mubarak Ali's treatment of facts is often one-sided and mono-logical, since he appears to draw the same conclusion by contradictory facts. Kazi Javed's narratives lack the operational definitions, making his discourse obscurantist. However, these few weaknesses in the works of one historian cannot be generalized to other historians. In a nutshell, the Marxist historiography in Pakistan makes a great deal of contribution in the production of historical knowledge, giving history a perspective of common people, and voicing the problems of voiceless and marginal segments of society. Despite that it has its own strengths and provides strong reasoning in favour of secularism, liberalism, and modernism, the effort can largely be regarded as palliative, as it has brought little, if any, change in socio-political structures and mind-set of the people. The reasons of its failure are quite obvious: Pakistani society is immensely emotional and sensitive to religious traditions and social values, the religiosity is a *raison d'être*, social norm, and constitutional matter of the state, and the leftist voices are rare and almost insignificant.

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