FINDING A HOME FOR URDU: ISLAM AND SCIENCE IN MODERN SOUTH ASIA

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FINDING A HOME FOR URDU: ISLAM AND SCIENCE IN MODERN SOUTH ASIA

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Finding a Home for Urdu: Islam and Science in Modern South Asia follows the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* (Association for the Advancement of Urdu), an Urdu literary and promotional association with branches across South Asia that comprised hundreds of Muslim intellectuals, writers, and small-town science enthusiasts in the first half of the twentieth century (1903-1961.) Urdu is a North Indian vernacular language that is written in the Perso-Arabic script and historically associated with Muslim elites. The decline of British colonial power and the rise of mass nationalism in India in the early twentieth century posed challenges for Muslims who constituted a minority spread across the Indian subcontinent. In response, Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* (henceforth, the *Anjuman*) transformed Urdu into a medium of integrative scientific knowledge dealing with medicine, urban commerce, type, and naturalist observation that could connect different social classes and regions across South Asia. Urdu has largely been studied in North India as a language of courtly poetry. In contrast, *Finding a Home for Urdu* rethinks not only what Urdu constituted in modern South Asian history, but where Urdu's history is found. The *Anjuman* sought to expand Urdu's frontiers beyond North India in southern India, eastern Bengal (now Bangladesh), and Sindh (now in Pakistan) in the late colonial and early postcolonial eras by advancing Urdu as a connective and urbane language of scientific knowledge. This dissertation connects virtually unstudied multilingual archives across the borders of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh to offer a new take on the making of Muslim politics in South Asia and to expand understandings of trans-local collectives of belonging that emerged alongside Hindi and Urdu nationalisms. Broadly, this study contributes to scholarly understandings of South Asian Islam across the early modern and modern eras, the history of science in colonial societies, and comparative Muslim modernities.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Andrew Amstutz received his Ph.D. in History at Cornell University in May 2017. He was a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad (DDRA) fellow in 2014 in India and Bangladesh, as well as a research fellow with the American Institute of Pakistan Studies (AIPS.) He received his M.A. in South Asian History from Cornell University in 2012 and his B.A. in History and Italian from Middlebury College in 2008.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of Urdu (and Persian) terms in this dissertation has attempted to balance between accurately representing the spoken pronunciation of Urdu and noting the wider linguistic connections of the Urdu script.

Various letters in Urdu that have the same sound (particularly, *s*, *t*, and *z*) have not been differentiated. The Urdu letter *'ain* [ع] has been noted with an apostrophe and the letter *nun ghuna* [ں] has been approximated with the letter *ṅ*. Likewise, *alif* [ا] has been rendered as *ā* and *alif madda* [آ] has been rendered as *A*, while the letter *i/ ee* [ی] has been given as ī.

I do not transliterate the names of people and cities and instead use the most common usage in the roman script. All transliterations and translations are my own.

Finding a Home for Urdu: Islam and Science in Modern South Asia

Introduction

In 1951, Maulvi Abdul Haq, an octogenarian Urdu lexicographer and educator, published a manifesto, *Urdu as the Medium of Science Education (Urdu behīsīyat zarīya'h-yi ta'līm-i science)*, soon after migrating from India to Karachi, the newly minted capital of Pakistan. Maulvi Abdul Haq, who was often referred to as the 'Father of Urdu,' was the leader of the Urdu promotional association, the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* (Association for the Advancement of Urdu.) Urdu is a North Indian vernacular language which is written in the Perso-Arabic script and historically associated with urban Muslim elites. The *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* (henceforth, the *Anjuman*) was a major Urdu association in South Asia that comprised hundreds of predominantly Muslim intellectuals, women writers, small-town science enthusiasts, and readers across the Indian subcontinent. Maulvi Abdul Haq's move to Karachi was his third and final attempt to find a new base for the Urdu language, and more specifically, to secure a suitable political home from which to advance Urdu as a medium of accessible, yet prestigious, scientific knowledge and education.

The *Anjuman* was originally established in 1903 in Aligarh, a major center of North Indian Muslim university education, to promote the Urdu language. In the words of a subsequent promotional pamphlet, the *Anjuman* aimed to transform Urdu into a more sustainable "polished language" which could "express scientific, political, and social thoughts."[1] The *Anjuman* initially struggled from 1903 to 1913 amidst popular publishing houses and Muslim educational institutes in North India. In 1913, Maulvi Abdul Haq was appointed as the leader of the *Anjuman* and he shifted the organization from North India to the provincial outpost of Aurangabad in the princely

[1] Choudhry Rahm Ali al-Hashmi, *Brief History and Works: All-India Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu* (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Hind], 1943), 5.

state of Hyderabad in south central India. This move transformed the history of the *Anjuman* as the organization rapidly established hundreds of regional branches across the Indian subcontinent with a sustained focus on central and southern India, Bengal, and the subcontinent's western coast. Along with wider transformations in South Asian politics, the *Anjuman*'s central headquarters shifted from the Hyderabad State to Delhi in 1938 and then to Pakistan in early 1949. Maulvi Abdul Haq led the *Anjuman* across these three migrations from 1913 until his death in 1961.

Abdul Haq's manifesto, *Urdu as a Medium of Scientific Education*, drew together a deep history of elite Muslim migration in India, the early modern connective capacities of Persian, the new possibilities for education in Pakistan, and contemporary comparisons to Turkey and Israel in the promotion of Urdu. Although Abdul Haq published *Urdu as the Medium of Science Education* in Pakistan in 1951, this manifesto concerning Pakistan's newly established national language had little to say about the actual territories of Pakistan. Instead, Abdul Haq narrated a long-term movement "to make Urdu the medium of scientific education" that began in distant Calcutta, the former capital city of colonial India, in the early nineteenth century. Abdul Haq began this 1951 Urdu manifesto by celebrating the East India Company's patronage for Persian education in Calcutta before 1835. In the early modern era, Persian had operated as a language that incorporated a range of flexible conceptualizations of Islamic law, ethics, and philosophy into a vibrant political culture that encompassed Hindu and Muslim nobles across the Mughal Empire.[2] However, Abdul Haq mourned that "in terms of the system of education that was put into effect under English rule after 1835, the greatest oppression was that the English language was established as the medium of education and our national language [*quomī zabān*] was completely discarded."[3]

[2] Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in India: c. 1200-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004.)
[3] Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Urdu behīsīyat zarīya'h-yi ta'līm-i science* (Karachi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Pakistan], 1951), 1.

By 1951, Abdul Haq usually used the term 'national language (*quomī zabān)*' to refer to Urdu. However, in this manifesto for Urdu science education, Persian was presented as the 'national language' up until 1835 when it was replaced by English through East India Company reforms. What Abdul Haq found particularly galling was that instead of Urdu replacing Persian, English usurped what he viewed to be Urdu's rightful inheritance from Persian as a language of government and education capable of connecting India to wider intellectual currents. This imagined inheritance from Persian to Urdu was a central component of the *Anjuman*'s efforts to advance Urdu as a medium of integrative scientific knowledge and to make territorial claims for Urdu in the early twentieth century.

Leaving Calcutta in the historical narrative in this Urdu science manifesto, Abdul Haq turned to early nineteenth-century Delhi College where, at the intersection of expanding British power and existing Mughal elites, Urdu was the medium of education until the Revolt of 1857. Following 1857, Abdul Haq claimed that Urdu educators sought refuge in the Deccan in southern India under the patronage of the *nizām* (prince) of Hyderabad. Even though Urdu flourished as a language of education at Osmania University in Hyderabad until 1948, Abdul Haq bemoaned that Urdu educators were forced to flee to Karachi when newly independent India conquered the Hyderabad State.[4] Mourning the passing of princely Hyderabad, Abdul Haq concluded the historical narrative in his Urdu science manifesto on a defiant note: "Location means nothing, work is everything. If it [Urdu] is crushed and pushed out of Hyderabad, then going elsewhere, it will rise again and blossom even more than before."[5] In Abdul Haq's perspective in 1951 Karachi, Urdu was a mobile language in frequent search of an audience.

[4] For recent scholarship on the intellectual history of Urdu in Hyderabad see Kavita Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam: Urdu Nationalism and Colonial India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.)
[5] Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Science* 25.4 (October 1954), Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu [Pakistan], 315.

Along with this history of migration, Abdul Haq drew on contemporary language reform movements in Turkey and Israel to make his case for Urdu's connective capacities.[6] He celebrated the modern revival of Hebrew as a potential model for Urdu due to the role of migration in language renewal in modern Israel. He insisted that "the most instructive example is that of Israel. Since the Jewish people started moving to and populating Palestine, they have revived the Hebrew language which had been dead for a thousand years."[7] However, the bulk of *Urdu as the Medium of Science Education* dealt with Abdul Haq's extensive connections with Turkey in the early 1950s. Abdul Haq corresponded with the Pakistani ambassador to Turkey, the Turkish ambassador to Pakistan, and the General Secretary of Ankara University about Turkish scientific education following the Turkish language reform in the 1920s and 1930s.[8] The second half of the manifesto *Urdu as a Medium of Scientific Education* consisted of these letters and selections from Turkish dictionaries and lexical guides. This was in fact just the latest iteration of a decades-long engagement of the *Anjuman* with the Turkish language reform. Moving from Persian education in nineteenth century Calcutta to the Hyderabad princely state in southern India in the 1930s and on to the Turkish language reform and Hebrew revival in contemporary Israel, Mualvi Abdul Haq placed Urdu within a global ferment of dynamic language movements.

The *Anjuman*: Rethinking Muslim Politics in Modern South Asia

Finding a Home for Urdu explores how the mobile Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* sought to secure a new political and territorial base for the Urdu language during the late colonial and early post-colonial eras from 1903 to 1961. By attending to both the transregional reach of the associational *Anjuman* across the subcontinent and its local depth in specific cities, this study offers

[6] Abdul Haq, *Urdu behīsīyat zarīya'h-yi ta'līm-i science*, 1-8.
[7] Abdul Haq, *Urdu behīsīyat zarīya'h-yi ta'līm-i science*, 3.
[8] Abdul Haq, *Urdu behīsīyat zarīya'h-yi ta'līm-i science*, 5-7 and 50-51.

a new take on the making of Muslim politics in modern South Asia. In this vein, this dissertation specifically contributes to scholarly understandings of trans-local collectives of belonging and knowledge communities that emerged alongside Hindi and Urdu nationalisms in twentieth century South Asia. The Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* articulated an integrative form of vernacular science that was concerned with the health, economy, and commerce of modern Indo-Muslim cities. In turn, they attempted to provide popular access to scientific and technical knowledge that could connect Muslims across different social classes and regions in South Asia.

Finding a Home for Urdu tells the modern history of Urdu from the margins, including from the geographic margins of Urdu's North Indian heartland and from the textual margins of a language usually associated with poetry. Therefore, this dissertation rethinks not only *where* Urdu's history is found, but *what* Urdu constituted. This study follows the Muslim intellectuals, science enthusiasts, and women writers in the *Anjuman* who worked outside Urdu's North Indian heartland to transform the language into a transnational medium of accessible scientific knowledge. However, this study does not ignore nationalism, or the *Anjuman*'s substantial contributions to various conceptualizations of an Urdu homeland. Instead, it explores how trans-regional Muslim political imaginaries in the late colonial era were shaped by older Indo-Persian textual cultures and then contributed to national imaginaries in Pakistan, along with other political options for Urdu-speaking Muslims in the first half of the twentieth century.

The *Anjuman* aimed to expand Urdu's reach beyond the language's base with urban Muslim *ashraf* communities in North India, while maintaining the prestigious status of Urdu as the claimed 'successor' to Persian.[9] The *ashraf* are an elite social class of South Asian Muslims

[9] For scholarship on the relationship of Urdu to *ashraf* Muslim identity see: Margrit Pernau, *Ashraf Into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-Century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Oskar Verkaaik, *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.)

who often claimed descent from early modern Muslim saints and rulers of Central Asian and Middle Eastern extraction and leadership within local communities in India.[10] The modern Urdu-speaking *ashraf* were the heirs of Muslim scribal and spiritual elites, who served the Mughal Empire in the early modern period and then the British government and Indian princely states from the eighteenth century onwards.[11] *Finding a Home for Urdu* tracks the continuing influence of early modern and eighteenth century Persian literary and political cultures on the twentieth century Muslim political and scientific projects of the *Anjuman*. Thus, this study contributes to scholarly understanding of how early modern knowledge communities and textual practices shaped political possibilities and Muslim institutional history in modern South Asia.

A major challenge to the *Anjuman*'s ambitions to advance Urdu as a connective and urbane language of scientific learning was the reality that most Muslims in South Asia did not speak Urdu. Although Urdu was widely spoken by elite (*khās*) Muslims in cities across the Indian subcontinent, it was not the language of most 'common' (*a'ām*) Muslims, particularly in rural areas. The unresolved social tensions over whether Urdu should be the language of the *khās* (elite) or *a'ām* (commoners) were integral to conceptions of science formulated by the *Anjuman*, even as these socio-economic tensions generated complications to spreading Urdu as a language of science.

The *Anjuman*'s multi-sited history across the Indian subcontinent and its enduring, if quixotic, focus on scientific knowledge, presents a new vantage point on the established history of Muslim politics in modern South Asia. In order to appreciate how the *Anjuman* allows us to rethink

[10] In terms of elite social status, association with urban centers and port cities, and familial ties beyond the local, the Muslim *ashraf* in South Asia are comparable to *syed* communities in Southeast Asia. For comparative studies of *syed* communities in South East Asia, see Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); and Michael Francis Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.)

[11] For scholarship on changes in *ashraf* identity in colonial-era South Asia, see Pernau, *Ashraf Into Middle Classes*.

this history, it is important to first give a sense of the standard chronology of modern Muslim politics in South Asia.

The history of Muslim politics in modern South Asia has been framed in terms of three partitions: the 1905 Partition of Bengal, the 1947 Partition of India, and the 1971 War which led to the independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan. In 1905, the British colonial government divided Bengal into a Muslim-majority eastern province and a Hindu-majority western province. In the narrative of the Indian nationalist movement, the 1905 partition of Bengal was framed as the crisis that initiated the nationalist movement and the 1911 reversal of the partition was seen as an early Indian nationalist success. However, many urban Muslims in North India and Bengal viewed the 1905 Partition as establishing an alternative "place for themselves in eastern India."[12] Once the partition was reversed in 1911, these Muslim elites felt politically marginalized. Successful popular opposition to the 1905 Bengal partition, along with the decline of colonial power and the rise of mass nationalism posed challenges for Urdu-speaking Muslim urban elites in the early twentieth century since Muslims constituted a numerical minority in India.

The sharpening of elite Muslim political grievances in the wake of the 1911 reversal of the 1905 Bengal partition was part of the broader political context in which the central *Anjuman* left North India in 1913 for the southern Hyderabad State. The *Anjuman* was based in Aurangabad in the Hyderabad State from 1913 to 1938. In the early twentieth century, many North Indians, including Maulvi Abdul Haq, moved to the Hyderabad State in search of professional opportunities since Urdu was the language of administration there. They were referred to as *ghair mulkī* (non-local) in Hyderabad in distinction from local *mulkī* bureaucrats, and they formed a significant

[12] Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 157-158.

component of the princely state's administration, often to local *mulkī* discontent.[13] Abdul Haq secured the lucrative patronage of the Muslim princely ruler and a wide audience amongst Muslim nobles and small-town educators in the Deccan for the *Anjuman*. In the tumultuous final decades of British colonial rule in India, the princely Hyderabad State became both a refuge for some Urdu scholars away from communal language politics in North India and an alternative center for Urdu from which the *Anjuman* could build a trans-regional audience.

The history of Indo-Muslim politics in the twentieth century has often been told as a North Indian story.[14] The role of language in political tensions in North India, the heartland of Urdu, particularly the fraught demarcation of Hindi from Urdu, has loomed large in scholarship on nationalism in South Asia.[15] In the standard narrative, linguistic differences were mapped onto religious community with the Hindi language in the Sanskrit-derived *devanāgarī* script coming to represent the majority Hindu community, and Urdu in the Perso-Arabic *nasta'līq* script coming to represent North India's Muslim minority.[16] Urdu and its script certainly became important markers of elite Muslim cultural claims and political aspirations in the late nineteenth century, even though Urdu was not spoken by most Muslims in South Asia.

The *Anjuman*'s trajectory from the 1920s to the 1940s was both influenced by major political developments in North India and presented alternatives to the national and communal divisions of the late colonial era. In the wake of World War I, an alliance between the Indian Muslim *Khilāfat* Movement, which was a campaign to protect the position of the Ottoman sultan as caliph, and M.

[13] See Karen Leonard, *Hyderabad and Hyderabadis* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2014.)
[14] See Venkat Dhulipala, *Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan In Late Colonial North India* (Delhi, India: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Dhulipala succinctly summarizes this tendency with the note that "there is some consensus that the road to 1947 may well have been paved from U.P." (11.)
[15] For work on Hindi and Indian nationalism see Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Christopher King, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1994.)
[16] Amrit Rai, *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi-Urdu* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.)

K. Gandhi's first Non-Cooperation Movement from 1920 to 1924, catalyzed Muslim and Hindu mass mobilization against British colonial rule. Although this strategic alliance between the *Khilāfat* campaign and the Non-Cooperation Movement drew Muslim and Hindu political leaders together in northern India, the two allied movements were kept institutionally separate, which reinforced religious difference as the primary feature of Indian political life.[17] Furthermore, Gandhi's utilization of Hindu religious terminology and imagery in gaining a mass following for the Congress Party in the 1920s and 1930s alienated many Muslim elites.[18]

Along with the *Khilāfat* movement, the transformation of the Muslim League from an aristocratic outfit into the vehicle for popular Muslim opposition to the Congress Party in North India in the late 1930s, is usually seen as a crucial development in the formation of a North Indian Muslim political identity that culminated in the creation of Pakistan. In response to these political developments, the central *Anjuman* moved from provincial Aurangabad to Delhi, the capital of British India, in 1938 to better intervene in debates over the future national language of India. This foray into national politics on an all-India scale from 1938 to 1947 was one of the varied political options that the *Anjuman* and its scholars explored for Urdu.

The presumed opposition between the Urdu and Hindi languages is often connected to the rise of Muslim nationalism, culminating in the creation of Pakistan in 1947.[19] While the established scholarship has largely explored the accidental nature and thinly imagined contours of Pakistan, recent work has argued that Pakistan's territory, national relationship to Islam, and place within a global Muslim space were thoroughly debated in North India in the early 1940s.[20] Moving in a

[17] Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of India*, 178-179.
[18] Metcalf and Metcalf, *A Concise History of India*, 172-173 & 177.
[19] See Dhulipala, *Creating a New Medina* and Alyssa Ayres, *Speaking like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.)
[20] See Dhulipala, *Creating a New Medina*, 2-7. Dhulipala makes a compelling and detailed analysis of how "Pakistan was popularly imagined in U.P. as a sovereign Islamic State, a New Medina, as it was called by some of its

different direction, this dissertation frames Pakistan within a wider range of political options for Urdu in the early twentieth century, including the Hyderabad State and earlier projects in Bengal.[21] Although *Finding a Home for Urdu* is not concerned with contending origin stories of Pakistan, this study does take seriously the range of local Muslim political proposals in late colonial India beyond a teleology of Muslim separatism.[22] Building on scholarship that has explored provincial political history in the lead-up to Partition, *Finding a Home for Urdu* examines Muslim class tensions in era of economic dislocations and the impact of provincial intellectual culture on fast-changing concepts of the 'center' and the 'nation.'[23]

Contrary to what historians of the Hindi-Urdu conflict have shown, on the margins of this North Indian heartland, Urdu-speaking Muslims were not in competition with Hindi-speaking Hindus or primarily concerned with the national Urdu/Hindi conflict. Outside of North India, Urdu was the language of urban elites, including Muslims and some Hindus. In urban centers and second-tier cities in southern India, Bengal, and the western coast of India, the *Anjuman*'s Muslim intellectuals conceptualized Urdu as a language that could popularize elite knowledge for a wider audience while preserving some kinds of *ashraf* social privileges. These scholars and language promoters attempted to create a new 'home' for Urdu-speaking Muslims in cities in southern India, Bengal in the northeast, and what is now Pakistan by advancing Urdu as a medium of integrative

proponents" and that it was conceptualized "as an Islamic utopia that would be the harbinger for renewal and rise of Islam in the modern world …" (4.)

[21] For scholarship that has rethought Pakistan's relationship to conventional notions of territorial nationalism, particularly through global comparisons to other religious homelands in the mid-twentieth century, see Faisal Devji, *Muslim Zion: Pakistan As a Political Idea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.)

[22] See Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850* (New York: Routledge, 2000.) This dissertation builds on Jalal's claim that "schemes using religiously informed cultural differences to stake political claims for territorial sovereignty offer a marvelous canvas on which to explore Muslim imaginings" to examine a range of different proposed political bases for Urdu (Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 387-388.)

[23] For work on provincial politics, the end of empire, and the 1947 Partition, see David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) and Joya Chatterji, Joya *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.)

knowledge. In each of these cities, the *Anjuman* hoped to secure lucrative positions for its members as textbook writers, teachers, and Muslim healers.

The central headquarters of the *Anjuman* were largely staffed by mobile North Indian Muslims, such as Abdul Haq, who were considered either *ghair-mulkī* (non-local) in Hyderabad or *muhājir* (immigrants) in Karachi. However, this dissertation is not only a history of the migrations of the central headquarters of the *Anjuman* and its North Indian scholars in search of a new 'home' for Urdu, but also the history of 'settled' Urdu-speaking provincial elites who possessed long family histories of mobility. In provincial outposts, the *Anjuman*'s success hinged upon connecting recently arrived Urdu-speakers with older settled *ashraf* communities.[24]

Scholarly Interventions:

Finding a Home for Urdu contributes to scholarly understandings of South Asian Islam across the early modern and modern eras, the history of science in colonial societies, and comparative Muslim modernities, as well as work on language politics in South Asia. This sub-section on interventions addresses the dissertation's contribution to scholarship on language politics in modern South Asia, the history of science, and South Asian Islam.

Historical scholarship on Urdu has primarily examined the language in conversation with English and in competition with Hindi in North India.[25] Building on this rich body of scholarly

[24] There are many histories of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqi-yi Urdu* that remain to be told. This dissertation is only a history of one intellectual vein within the *Anjuman*- the promotion of Urdu as a language of science- that was part of a wider constellation of concerns, including the development of Urdu pedagogy, defining Urdu's literary history, the 'recovery' of older Urdu poetry, and the standardization of the Urdu canon that are not addressed in this dissertation. Furthermore, while I have focused on the mobile component of the organization that moved between the Hyderabad State, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, the history of the post-colonial *Anjuman* that remained in India, particularly its initial 'retreat' from Delhi to its place of origin, Aligarh, in 1949, has still not been told.

[25] Kavita Datla analyzed the ambitions of Urdu scholars in late-colonial Hyderabad to displace English as the language of secular education and science. See Kavita Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam: Urdu Nationalism and Colonial India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.) Amrit Rai analyzed the division of Urdu and Hindi in North India. See Amrit Rai, *A House Divided*.

work, this study follows the trans-national connections that the Urdu scholars in the *Anjuman* themselves made to consider global comparisons and other language reform projects beyond South Asia, particularly an emergent body of work on translation and science in Arabic and Turkish.[26]

Along with global comparisons, *Finding a Home for Urdu* contributes to scholarship on South Asian language politics and publics. A recent turn to the study of South Asian regional languages has moved the scholarship away from the religious and national binaries of a previous generation of work on Hindi and Urdu.[27] This dissertation builds on the turn to regional languages by analyzing multiple provincial spaces in one frame to account for Urdu's in-between linguistic status since Urdu was not quite a transnational language, yet it was more than a regional tongue. In turn, this focus on both provincial spaces and the comparative Muslim scale of Urdu politics offers a timely intervention on scholarship on Muslim cosmopolitanism by exploring the social and economic exclusions that were an integral component to Urdu's 'cosmopolitan' connections.

Recent scholarship on Muslim cosmopolitanism demonstrated how the 'interstices' of modern empires forged trans-local political possibilities for Indian Muslims in the nineteenth century.[28] Seema Alavi argued that mobile Muslim "multilingual gentlemen" scholars were part

[26] See Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); M. Brett Wilson, *Translating the* Qur'an *in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.)

[27] For scholarship rethinking the politics of language in South Asia on the regional scale, see: Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the tongue: language devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) and Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.) Farina Mir's work on the 'Punjabi literary formation' illustrates vernacular "resilience" from, instead of "resistance" to, colonial power (4 and 25.) Mir's argument hinges on the Punjabi language's "relative independence from the colonial state" in contrast to Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali and the existence of "cultural formations" in Punjab outside of national and communal teleologies (4-7, 12.)

[28] For recent work on Muslim cosmopolitanism see Seema Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015) and Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840-1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.) For example, Seema Alavi argued for a nineteenth century "new Muslim cosmopolis" in which mobile Muslim gentlemen scholars reworked older concepts of an Islamic community "in sync with contemporary ideas of science, reason, and rationality" (x, 5-6, 11-14.) Moving from the mobile individual between empires to the scale of smaller sovereignties, Eric Beverley proposed a

of "an intellectual and civilizational zone that transcended political borders, territorial confines, and cultural particularities."[29] Alavi documented how "a spiritual and civilization space" was forged in "the overlapping space between British and Ottoman societies" where mobile Indo-Muslim religious scholars "articulated a cosmopolitanism that was in sync with the reformist and scientific spirit of the times."[30] Moving away from the scale of the 'interstices' of empires to that of provincial cities within the subcontinent, *Finding a Home for Urdu* explores the formation of an Indo-Muslim civilizational space after the nineteenth century.

The *Anjuman*'s members claimed that the Urdu language could form a global bridge between western science, local Indian knowledge, and older genres of Islamic learning through Urdu's transnational ties to Persian, Arabic, and Turkish and its colonial interactions with the English language.[31] In colonial India, scientific authority was deeply connected to the global reach of the English language. In this context, in which a language needed to be transnational to be considered 'scientific,' Urdu's wider linguistic ties were crucial to its scientific claims. For example, the *Anjuman*'s first Urdu science dictionary which was published in 1925 insisted that "scientific terms can be taken from all those languages from which Urdu was blended, meaning Arabic, Persian, Hindi, and Turkish."[32]

'patrimonial modernity' in which the Hyderabad princely state both revived older ethical forms of personalized Muslim 'patrimonial' sovereignty and drew on a range of modern "technocratic" tools to forge a form of Muslim modernity beyond European colonialism. See: Eric Beverley, *Hyderabad, British India, and the World: Muslim Networks and Minor Sovereignty, c. 1850-1950* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1, 3, 7, 133, and 248.

[29] Seema Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire*, 5-6 and 11.

[30] Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire*, 12-13.

[31] For foundational work on the impact of colonial rule on Urdu, see Bernard Cohn's work on Hindustani. Cohn demonstrates how the colonial institutionalization of vernacular language learning helped transform Hindustani (Urdu) into a potent tool of colonial power. See: Bernard S. Cohn, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command," *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.)

[32] *Farhang Istilāhāt I'lmīyah* (Aurangabad: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Aurangabad-Deccan], 1925), 3.

Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* advanced Urdu as a language with trans-regional reach through the calligraphic style of the Perso-Arabic script. The efforts of Urdu promoters in South Asia to preserve the Perso-Arabic script (and its trans-local ties) stands in contrast to the Turkish language reform which transformed Ottoman Turkish as an imperial register in the Perso-Arabic script into a national Turkish language in the Roman script. In both the Hyderabad State and early Pakistan, the *Anjuman*'s scholars contested the Turkish language reform which switched to the Latin script and insisted that the Perso-Arabic script could serve as a bridge between older cultures of science and mechanical modernity so that unlike Turkish, Urdu would not be "deprived of the treasury of the sciences of the past."[33]

The *Anjuman*'s global comparisons illustrates how the Turkish language reform was received in other Muslim contexts. The interest of these Urdu promoters in Turkish offers the opportunity to conceptualize the Turkish language reform not as a model moving out from a Muslim 'core' in the Middle East to the Asian periphery, but instead as one constituent part, along with Urdu promoters, of global Muslim conversations over different approaches to the same problem of how to rework older transregional Islamicate languages for modern national publics.

Why did these Muslim intellectuals to turn to science? Maulvi Abdul Haq's own writings provide some clues. In a July 1927 announcement for the *Anjuman*'s new quarterly Urdu-medium science magazine, *Science*, Abdul Haq bemoaned that "even though there is no lack in the number of magazines in the Urdu language, and every day new magazines keep on being published, but each and every one of them is limited to poetry, opinion pieces, and general literature. Those periodicals which are about knowledge, their research also remains limited to history and

[33] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī ke āijād shudah va tīyār kardah haroof ke numoonah* (Hyderabad: Government Central Press, 1933), 11.

philosophy. Our magazines and our language are completely empty of science."[34] In response, Abdul Haq outlined the contours of a new magazine, titled *Science* (transliterated into Urdu), that was to cover both popular interest and research topics and to include translations of 'Western' scientific work, scientific developments in India, and historical pieces. Abdul Haq hoped that this would enable more Indians to take part in scientific research and "make the Urdu language capable of incorporating every subject of experimental science and to solve the problems of expanding Urdu terminology for modern knowledge and professional skills."[35]

Along with the Urdu-medium *Science* magazine, in which the English word 'science' was transliterated as Urdu, at other times, the *Anjuman*'s Muslim intellectuals sometimes used the Perso-Arabic terms *u'loom* and *i'lm* to gloss modern scientific knowledge. This changing use of the terms '*uloom*' and 'science' reveals that the *Anjuman*'s scholars were not only negotiating different concepts of science, but two very different ideas of language and representation. The Perso-Arabic term '*u'loom*' refers to all branches of knowledge rendered as 'the sciences,' and the term was widely used in early modern manuscripts.[36] Early modern *u'loom* incorporated fields of knowledge ranging from medicine, astronomy, grammar, and ethics to numerology. The *Anjuman*'s claim that Urdu's terms, script, and global connections made it a desirable medium for scientific knowledge suggests that this Urdu knowledge community depended on a concept of a language of science in which language itself constituted a thick medium of systematic knowledge. This conceptualization of language itself as a thick medium of knowledge is distinct from an

[34] Maulvi Abdul Haq, "Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ka nīyā seh māhī risāleh 'Science,'" *Urdu* 7.3 (July 1927.)
[35] Maulvi Abdul Haq, "Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ka nīyā seh māhī risāleh 'Science,'", 1.
[36] For scholarship on *u'loom* in early modern India see: Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in India*. For a historical overview of the trajectory of *u'loom* and its sciences, see Murtaẓá Muṭahharī, *Understanding Islamic sciences: philosophy, theology, mysticism, morality, jurisprudence* (London: Saqi, 2002.)

understanding of science as abstract knowledge. The *Anjuman*'s changing use of the terms *u'loom* and 'science' thus indicates a wider sphere of discourses about language and science.

The *Anjuman*'s members conceptualized 'modern science' as a bundle of knowledge, ethical orientations, and means to civilizational progress. The Muslim intellectuals in this Urdu association positioned Urdu as a linguistic and cultural bridge between English-mediated European 'science' and Islamic cultures of *u'loom* (the sciences.) This study of the *Anjuman* contributes to recent scholarship in the History of Science that rethinks categories of colonial science and local knowledge. [37] Scholarship on the History of Science in modern India has largely focused on the interface between colonial science and indigenous knowledge.[38] Moving in a new direction, this dissertation argues that Urdu-medium science transcended categories of colonial science and local knowledge. Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* proposed that the Urdu language was uniquely suited to infuse the contemporary British category of 'science' with the older concept of *u'loom* due to Urdu's colonial past and trans-local Islamic ties. In turn, the *Anjuman*'s scholars conceptualized Urdu *u'loom* in the early twentieth century as part of the global category of science, which was connected to, but did not replicate provincial European 'science.' By claiming the comprehensive nature of *u'loom* for the Urdu language, the *Anjuman* challenged Orientalist claims that Islam was incompatible with science.[39]

[37] For recent scholarship in the history of science that challenges the concept of a distinct 'colonial science,' see Helen Tilley, *Africa As a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.)

[38] See Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) and David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.)

[39] For an overview of the trajectory of Orientalist scholarship on Islam, see Richard W. Bulliet "Orientalism and Medieval Islamic Studies," *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, John Van Engen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.)

The *Anjuman* also presents an opportunity to rethink the relationship between scientific specialization and professionalization in the modern era that is largely drawn from Western European and American experiences.[40] Instead of 'modern sciences' in Urdu leading inevitably towards differentiation and specialization, the *Anjuman*'s scholars proposed that Urdu could facilitate the integration of various fields of learning to create a wider Muslim civilizational space. This ambition was exemplified by one of the Urdu medical guides in Dhaka that claimed that "the diction of clear Urdu" could fuse "philosophical articles from *Yunān* (Greece) and medicine from *Hindustān* (India) and doctor-knowledge from *Farangistān* (Europe)" and "specialized knowledge of botany from Hindu Bengal."[41]

The previously mentioned title of the *Anjuman*'s first scientific dictionary in 1925 further illustrates the *Anjuman*'s efforts to forge an integrative field of Urdu systematic knowledge. The title of the dictionary was rendered on the cover in both Urdu as *Farhang Istilāhāt I'lmīyah* and in English as *Dictionary of Scientific Terms*.[42] Here scientific knowledge was given simultaneously as both as *i'lmīyah* (which is linguistically connected to the term *u'loom*) and 'scientific.' The contours of this 1925 dictionary further elucidate the *Anjuman*'s integrative ambitions. Along with

[40]Bernard Lightman argued that in nineteenth-century Britain non-professional science popularizers shaped the reception of science and challenged professional authority. See: Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.) Drawing on Lightman's proposal that science popularizers infused British science with religious themes and forged a broader "scientific community," I argue that the *Anjuman*'s advancement of Urdu as a language of accessible scientific knowledge offers news ways to conceptualize the making of popular science in South Asia through language (2007: 496.) The progression towards specialization and professionalization is a hallmark of 'Western' science. In "The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800," Lorraine Daston argue that during the eighteenth centuries methods of scientific observation were developed to organize 'observational' data that undermined older "stubbornly miscellaneous" approaches to scientific knowledge. See Lorraine Daston, "The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800," *Histories of Scientific Observation*, Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, editors (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 89-90. Thus, European cultures of specific "observational practices" in the late eighteenth century marked 'scientific observers' as nascent specialists (91-93.)

[41] Hakim Qurban Ali, *Tufteh ul- Hussainī ul-ma'ruf majmua' ul-favāīd* (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library), 63.

[42] *Farhang Istilāhāt I'lmīyah*, 16-17 and 47.

astronomical terms, which are the largest thematic section, this 1925 *Dictionary of Scientific Terms* showcased other Urdu 'scientific' terminology, including sections on "British Administration in India," constitutional history, political science, and economics.[43] Categorizing astronomy as a 'science,' alongside administration and constitutional history, demonstrates how the *Anjuman* practically integrated a range of fields of modern knowledge into Urdu *u'loom*. Furthermore, this collection of diverse fields beyond contemporary university 'sciences,' suggests a defensive posture on the part of the *Anjuman*'s scholars in collecting and presenting Urdu's scientific capabilities in response to claims that Urdu was not modern enough and was too poetic for science.

The *Anjuman*'s flagship scientific publication, the magazine *Science*, which ran from 1928 to 1959, also reflected this integrative approach to reunifying the disciplines with articles ranging from agriculture, medicine, biology, and astronomy to Urdu literature, Mughal rulers, and atomic energy.[44] By drawing together medicine, language, politics, and commerce into a wider conceptualization of 'the sciences,' these Indo-Muslim thinkers were tapping into a deep intellectual tradition in South Asia of science as the integration of a range of fields.[45] While this conceptualization of Urdu *u'loom* drew on early modern Persian and Sanskrit concepts of 'the sciences,' it was developed and deployed in a distinctly twentieth century political context.[46] As

[43] *Farhang Istilāhāt I'lmīyah*.

[44]Unfortunately, the dissertation does not do justice to *Science* magazine, its important place in the *Anjuman*'s intellectual projects, and its reception, first in the Hyderabad State, where it was published from 1928 to 1947, and then in Pakistan, from 1949 to 1959. This will be rectified for the book.

[45]For scholarship exploring how early modern concepts of 'the sciences' were renovated in the colonial era, see "Re-Presented for the Pandits" by Michael Dodson. Dodson argues for re-conceptualizing "the encounter between the so-called 'orientalists' of the era, and the class of pandits who constituted both their informants and interrogators" beyond categories of colonial intellectual rupture. SeeL Michael Dodson, "Re-Presented for the Pandits: James Ballantyne, 'Useful Knowledge,' and Sanskrit Scholarship in Benares College During the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 36.2 (2002): 263-270. Dodson claims that British colonial efforts to hitch Sanskrit knowledge to an "Enlightenment project" inadvertently contributed to the 'reinvigoration' of the Sanskrit language itself. (274, 286-287, and 298.) Dodson critiqued scholars who equate Indian intellectuals' engagement with 'traditional knowledge' with 'resistance' to colonialism (296-297.)

[46]For scholarship on early modern South Asian languages and science, see Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

suggested by the magazine title "*Science*" transliterated into Urdu, the cultural capital of science was used to draw a wider audience of readers for a language perpetually in search of an audience.

Shifting from the history of science in colonial South Asia to a broader comparative framework, *Finding a Home for Urdu* encourages scholars to reconsider the geography and chronology of the history of science in Islam and to take modern South Asia, especially provincial South Asia, seriously as a center for the production of scientific knowledge, broadly construed, in Islam. In order to better understand how the Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* approached Islam, it is important to assess the kinds of claims to which they responded. British colonial officials and many Muslim scholars in both India and the Middle East claimed that a classical Islamic Golden Age of science in the Middle East was followed by Muslim decline in the modern era.[47] Directly challenging this narrative of decline, the *Anjuman*'s members thought of themselves as participating in a present-day 'Muslim Golden Age' that expanded outward from South Asia and drew on recent cultures of medicine, commerce, and scribal skills that flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Seen from the perspective of this Urdu knowledge community, the History of Science in Islam is distinctly early modern, Persian, and centered in India. This reconceptualization of the chronology of the History of Science in Muslim societies from the vantage point of South Asia expands upon work on the continuing vitality of early modern

2006); Sheldon Pollock, *Forms of Knowledge on Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Sheldon Pollock, "Introduction: Working Papers on Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 30.5 (2002); and Karin Preisendanz, "The Production of Philosophical Literature in South Asia during the Pre-colonial Period (15th to 18th centuries): the Case of the Nyayasutra Commentarial Tradition," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 33 (2005.)

[47] See T. F. Carter, "Islam as a Barrier to Printing," *The Muslim World* 33 (1943): 213-216.

Sanskrit knowledge systems in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries beyond assumptions of colonial rupture and indigenous intellectual decline.[48]

This dissertation is indebted to recent scholarship that foregrounded how 'modern science' was made legible in the Middle East by locating European university 'sciences' within older Islamic textual genres, particularly classical astronomy.[49] However, these movements of translation and assimilation of university sciences in the Middle East were also distinct from the *Anjuman*. For example, the Indo-Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* largely ignored the classical Arabic texts of the medieval 'Islamic Golden Age,' and instead focused on renewing more recent Persianate 'sciences,' including calligraphy, *yunānī tibb* medicine, and the *bazaar* economy, rather than on the assimilation of university sciences into the vernacular.[50]

These experiments with Urdu scientific promotion were undertaken by a Muslim association that spanned the geographic breadth of the Indian subcontinent across the late colonial and early post-colonial eras. Studies of South Asian Islam have recently turned towards mobile individuals and minor polities between empires in critique of an older body of scholarship that centered on

[48] For example, Sheldon Pollock argues that the 'decline' of Sanskrit knowledge-systems in the eighteenth century was largely due to its internal "rhythms" within Sanskrit knowledge communities and had little to do with colonialism. See: Sheldon Pollock, "Introduction: Working Papers on Sanskrit Knowledge-Systems on the Eve of Colonialism," 431-432, 436-437. In turn, in his work on the intellectual vitality of the Sanskrit astronomical tradition into the colonial era, Christopher Minkowski argues against the 'rupture' of Sanskrit knowledge through colonial knowledge practices. See: Christopher Z. Minkowski, "The Pandit as Public Intellectual," *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, Axel Michaels, ed. (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001), 93-94. Minkowski suggests that early orientalist efforts to "to revive ancient Indian learning as a vehicle for advancing European visions of scientific and social progress" also opened-up space for 'innovative' engagement with European thought (79, 85, and 88-91.)

[49] See Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) and Daniel Stolz, Daniel Stolz, "Positioning the Watch Hand: ʿUlamaʾ and the Practice of Mechanical Timekeeping in Cairo, 1737-1874," International Journal of Middle East Studies 47 (2015): 489-510. Elshakry argued that Darwin's translators and interpreters in Arabic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "endorse[d] ideas of modern science in the idiom and tradition of older ones" to locate themselves in "the universal progress of science."

[50] The relationship between the scientific renewal projects in the *Anjuman*'s provincial cities, which have been covered here in the dissertation, and contemporaneous efforts towards the translation and assimilation of scientific knowledge from university curricula that was undertaken in the *Anjuman*'s central offices, such as the association's textbooks series and *Science* magazine, will be explored in the book.

Indo-Muslim reform movements and institutions.[51] The *Anjuman*'s associational view on Muslim politics in South Asia bridges the institutional focus of the previous generation of scholarship with the new attention to individual scale and global intellectual flows.

Scholarship on modern South Asian Islam has long centered on different 'reform' movements in Muslim political and social life.[52] Since the *Anjuman* was an intellectual product of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Muslim Educational Conference and many of its scholars were themselves educated at Aligarh University, at first glance, the organization's history could be read as the one-way movement of a North Indian Muslim modernist project from the 'center' to the 'provinces.'[53] Instead, the *Anjuman*'s initial lack of success in North India and its strength in southern India, Bengal, Gujarat, and Sindh suggests that instead of a movement from the center making its way to the provinces, the 'provinces' reworked the Urdu 'center' in the first half of the twentieth century.[54]

Finally, *Finding a Home for Urdu* encourages scholars of Islam in South Asia to bridge early modern and modern chronological divides. This study has charted new ground by revealing how early modern and eighteenth century Persian and Urdu knowledge cultures shaped a particular vein of Indo-Muslim politics and intellectual activities in the twentieth century. The *Anjuman*'s scholars, many of whom were the descendants of eighteenth century scribes, *munshī*s, and *hakīm*s,

[51]See Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire* and Beverly, *Hyderabad, British India, and the World*.

[52] See Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982); Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and his Movement, 1870-1920* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Shail Mayaram, *Resisting Regimes*: *Myth, Memory and the Shaping of a Muslim Identity* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.)

[53] For work on Aligarh, see David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, 1978.)

[54] For scholarship on the relationship of Indo-Muslim 'provinces' to a changing 'center' see Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850* (New York: Routledge, 2000.) Jalal builds a nuanced account of the shifting relationship of provincial Muslim politics in Punjab and Kashmir to different putative national 'centers' from the 1920s to the 1940s. More broadly, Jalal richly demonstrates the variety of Muslim political options "in the nexus between the individual and community" in the lead-up to independence that complicate any simple construction of a monolithic religious community (185.)

creatively drew on these lineages in promoting Urdu as a language of scientific knowledge.[55] The twentieth century *Anjuman*'s relationship to the early modern Persian past and its effort to remake Urdu as a connective language during an era of nationalism call for a more complicated understanding of the continuities and ruptures of Muslim knowledge communities and political imaginaries across early modern, colonial, and even post-colonial chronological divisions.

The 'provinces' of South Asia were also a space for the creative rethinking of the scale of Indo-Muslim politics.[56] Instead of (only) Muslim nationalism, the members of the *Anjuman* across the Indian subcontinent were often connected to each other by a kind of urban provincial 'patriotism.'[57] I am using 'patriotism' in an unexpected context to explain how these Muslim intellectuals worked at both a smaller and larger scale than the space of the nation-state. For example, many of the *Anjuman*'s members saw their own cities as local cosmopolitan hubs within a wider Urdu-mediated Muslim civilizational space. In his recent work on Muslim sovereignty in Hyderabad, Eric Beverley proposed the category of elite Muslim "bureaucrat-intellectuals" who

[55] For scholarship on the ways in which older Indo-Persian and Urdu poetic and literary genres were reshaped in the nineteenth century see, Frances Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness: Urdu Poetry and its Critics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) and Ulrike Starks, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India, 1858-1895* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007.) Pritchett illustrates the impact of colonial-inspired Muslim reform projects on Urdu poetry. Ulrike Starks traces the work of multiple generations of Urdu translators in making Indo-Persian texts available to a wider nineteenth century audience. These translators were often the descendants of early modern scribal elites.

[56] For recent work on provincial Indo-Muslim social spaces see M. Raisur Rahman, *Locale, Everyday Islam, and Modernity: Qasbah Towns and Muslim Life in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.)

[57] For scholarship on the creative provincial 'patriotism' of political actors in another context, see Bernard Bailyn, *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.) This turn to the 'provinces' as the space to creatively rework the national center in the early twentieth century drew on the role of the provinces in generating cosmopolitan possibilities in early modern South Asia. In *The Cultures of History in Early Modern India: Persianization and Mughal Culture in Bengal*, Kumkum Chatterjee explored "the reception of the [Mughal] empire and its political culture by its provincial subjects" by unpacking the influence of "the Indo-Persian *tarikh* tradition" on Bengali history writing. See: Kumkum Chatterjee, *The Cultures of History in Early Modern India: Persianization and Mughal Culture in Bengal* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 13-16 & 254. Chatterjee demonstrated the political impact of Persian cultural forms in the province of Bengal, which were readily adopted by many Bengali Hindu elites "as a form of civilite` and cosmopolitanism … that might help to better integrate them with a subcontinental polity and its nobility" (254).

simultaneously engaged in Indo-Persian style literary production and modern bureaucratic state-building. Much like Hyderabad's 'bureaucrat-intellectuals,' the *Anjuman*'s members in provincial cities mobilized Muslim trans-regional networks for local political claims.[58]

Chapter Outline:

Each chapter is located in a different South Asian city where a migration of Urdu-speaking Muslims coincided with a particular scientific endeavor in the late colonial and early post-colonial eras. From the beginning of the twentieth century, the *Anjuman*'s Muslim intellectuals migrated to different locales across the Indian subcontinent, where they allied with local elites who themselves possessed family lineages of mobility that linked to the Middle East and Central Asia. *Finding a Home for Urdu* comparatively analyzes how the *Anjuman*'s scholars attempted to secure a new 'home' for Urdu in each of these cities.

Chapter One: I begin the story in Dhaka, in one of the *Anjuman*'s oldest regional branches, to give a sense of the missionary-like approach and territorial ambitions of the young Urdu promotional association and the role of provincial elites in shaping a vision of Urdu as a medium of science. Dhaka was a fruitful arena for Muslim political ambitions in the early twentieth century. Three years after the *Anjuman* was founded in Aligarh, the Muslim League was created in Dhaka in 1906.[59] Chapter One investigates the diaries of Indo-Muslim medical healers and Urdu promoters in Dhaka to reconstruct how they used the everyday practices of Islamic numerology, poetry, and sex advice to make the case for Urdu's scientific capabilities and geographic reach at the turn-of-the-century. This chapter excavates the ways in which Urdu promoters and Muslim

[58] Beverley, *Hyderabad, British India, and the World*, 8-10 & 107-110, & 124-125.

[59] Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League documents, 1906-1947* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Center of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2007.)

healers in provincial centers constructed and contested a recent 'Persian Golden Age' as the recent predecessor of Urdu-medium science writing in the early twentieth century.

Chapter Two: Chapter Two turns to the first of the central *Anjuman*'s new 'homes' for Urdu in Aurangabad where the organization shifted in 1913. From its new base in the Deccan, the *Anjuman* attempted to create viable type technology for the Urdu language's calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* script in the 1920s and 1930s. Broadly, this chapter explores why type face mattered to Urdu-reading audiences in the early twentieth century and the political and cultural significance of competing attachments to different forms of type in the cities of Aurangabad and Hyderabad. I argue that Muslim intellectuals used the Deccan's provincial social space to experiment with different forms of Urdu type that could connect diverse Urdu-reading publics outside of North India. Urdu type promoters in the city of Hyderabad emphasized the Muslim princely ruler's royal lineage and classical Islamic references, whereas, in Aurangabad, the *Anjuman* underlined technical skills from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The difference between these princely and scribal visions of Urdu type that emerged out of the Hyderabad State points towards the importance of provincial audiences in shaping larger Urdu collectives of belonging.

Furthermore, some Muslim intellectuals in the Hyderabad State conceptualized *nasta'līq* type, which rendered handwritten calligraphy in typeface, as a renewed form of *u'loom* since calligraphy had been one of the fields of knowledge in early modern *u'loom*. While at certain points the *Anjuman*'s scholars claimed that Urdu was a compelling language of scientific knowledge due to its trans-local linguistic ties, in the Deccan in the 1920s and 1930s, the Urdu script in the form of typeface was conceptualized as a distinct science within renovated *u'loom*.

Chapter Three: Following the intertwined geographic migrations and scientific endeavors of the *Anjuman*, the next two chapters track the shift of the association to Dhaka and Karachi, on

opposite ends of the Indian subcontinent, during World War II. Chapter Three evaluates how Muslim healers in Dhaka conceptualized Urdu as a tool to regulate the social balance of Dhaka's body politic during the 1930s and 1940s as the city's demographics shifted and its economic fabric was strained by a global economic depression, World War II, and a mass famine. A Muslim healer by the name of Habibur Rahman proposed a vision of urban social health in Dhaka in which the Urdu language could heal social imbalances between urban elites and recently arrived rural Muslims. Habibur Rahman was a prominent Muslim medical healer in Dhaka who founded a regional *Anjuman*. Habibur Rahman seized the moment of crisis of the 1943 famine to promote a conservative urban social order through medical healing that could restoring the hierarchical order of Dhaka's society between elite and common Muslim bodies.

Chapter Four: This chapter investigates how the *Anjuman*'s members in late colonial Karachi attempted to use the location of Karachi as a western port city with ties to the Hijaz and Iran to resolve whether Urdu should be linguistically oriented towards prestigious Persian or accessible 'Hindustani.' Chapter Four follows Mahmooda Rizvi, the 'Leading Woman Author of Sindh,' who fashioned highly stylized accounts of literary naturalism and revolutionary social change in the early 1940s. Mahmooda Rizvi's stylized Urdu prose challenged the conflation of accessible Hindustani with progressive politics and Persianized Urdu with conservative social orientations. Rizvi's intellectual engagements with Persian, British romanticism, Shi'a esoteric thought, and colonial Iraq situated Urdu in late-colonial Karachi in a westward-facing direction. Rizvi's promotion of revolutionary social change through Urdu in Karachi moved in a more revolutionary direction than Habibur Rahman's conservative social retrenchment in Dhaka.

This chapter on Sindh illustrates the impact of provincial spaces on national trajectories. Before 1947, Sindh was a Muslim majority province on the western coast of British India that was

distant frontier for Urdu. After the 1947 Partition, Sindh's capital, Karachi, was rapidly transformed into the largest Urdu-speaking city in the world. This transformation from periphery to national center illustrates the wider alterations in Muslim political imaginaries during decolonization.

Chapter Five: Finally, Chapter Five explores how the *Anjuman*'s Muslim intellectuals grappled with economic changes during the 1940s and 1950s by positioning Urdu as a medium of urban economics to protect Indo-Muslim artisanal crafts "from national and political revolutions." This chapter examines the tensions between Maulvi Abdul Haq's support for national economic projects, first in late-colonial Delhi (India) and then in early post-colonial Karachi (Pakistan), with the sustained effort by other members of the *Anjuman* to document thriving small-scale artisanal crafts and Indo-Muslim fine arts in cities and urban bazars across the subcontinent. The encyclopedic scope of this project to document Urdu commercial and economic terminology represents the culmination of the *Anjuman*'s efforts to bridge different fields of knowledge, a wide range of cities, and varied social classes in an Urdu civilizational space.

The following five chapters tell the history of the *Anjuman* from 1903 to 1961 in different provincial cities across the Indian subcontinent where Muslim intellectuals made political and cultural claims for Urdu through varied scientific projects. The *Anjuman*'s intellectuals advanced Urdu *u'loom* as the integration of a wide range of modern fields of knowledge that were concerned with the social balance, medical healing, and commerce of cities. *Finding a Home for Urdu* begins with the *Anjuman*'s founding in 1903 and concludes with Maulvi Abdul Haq's death in 1961. Broadly, this study of Urdu from multiple cities offers the chance to explore the changing scale of the social and political space to which Muslim intellectuals were attached in the late colonial and early post-colonial eras.

Chapter I: A Persian Golden Age for Urdu Science, 1896-1921

I. Introduction

This story of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* does not begin in Aligarh, an important center of North Indian Muslim education, where the Urdu promotional association was founded in 1913. Instead this chapters begins in turn-of-the-century Dhaka, a major city of the province of Bengal in eastern India, where the advancement of Urdu as a language of science grew out of the healing practice of a Muslim humoral healer. This chapter examines how Muslim healers and Urdu promoters in Dhaka drew on early modern Persian textual traditions to promote Urdu as a cosmopolitan and urbane language of science in the first decades of the twentieth century. Drawing on Sheldon Pollock's claim that "language choice in India" is "pertinent to the production of science," I investigate how Muslim intellectuals sought to transform Urdu from a North Indian vernacular language into a connective language of science, through the historical memory of early modern Persian.[60] From 1896 to 1921, Urdu scholars and medical practitioners in Dhaka commemorated a recent Persian "Golden Age of the Muslims of Bengal" to serve as the historical backdrop for an anticipated cosmopolitan future for Urdu science writing.[61]

Sitting forgotten on the shelves of the manuscript library of Dhaka University in Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, is the diary of Hakim Habibur Rahman in which he chronicled his daily experiments with Islamic numerology, poetry, and sex advice at the turn of the twentieth century. Hakim Habibur Rahman was a prominent Indo-Muslim medical healer in Dhaka who lived from 1880 to 1947. Although Dhaka is a major center of the Bengali language, Hakim Habibur

[60] Sheldon Pollock, "The Languages of Science in Early Modern India," *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*, Sheldon Pollock, editor (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 21.
[61] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, Arif Naushahi, translator (Islamabad: Markaz Tehqīqāt Fārsī Irān va Pākīstān, 1989), 7.

Rahman's diary was not written in Bengali, but in Urdu and Persian, languages usually associated with distant North India and Iran. Distinctive in content as well as in language, the spells, poems, and romantic tips of the Muslim healer's diary points toward the production of vernacular scientific texts by popular Muslim social associations that historians have largely ignored.

This chapter explores how Habibur Rahman drew on early modern Persian genres of Islamic medicine, numerology, and poetry to promote Urdu as a vehicle for 'modern science.' Beginning the history of the *Anjuman* in provincial Dhaka reveals that the development of the *Anjuman* into a pan-Indian intellectual association in the early twentieth century hinged on the continuing appeal of Persian in provincial urban hubs on the margins of Urdu's North Indian Urdu heartland. Along with the importance of Persian in making Urdu into a language of science, the early history of the *Anjuman* in Dhaka illustrates the crucial role of partnerships between mobile North Indian Muslims and local provincial elites in the *Anjuman*'s construction of an Urdu-mediated ideal Muslim civilizational space that could connect urban audiences across South Asia. In turn, the position of Urdu in Dhaka in the eastern reaches of British India indicates an alternative chronology and geography of the History of Science in modern Muslim societies more broadly.

Due in large part to Hakim Habibur Rahman's intellectual work, the first regional branch of the *Anjuman* was established in Dhaka with his support in 1918.[62] The *Anjuman* was the largest Urdu promotional association in South Asia and comprised thousands of Urdu-speaking Muslim scholars from across the Indian subcontinent. The *Anjuman* advanced Urdu as a language of scientific knowledge and promoted Urdu beyond its North Indian heartland from the Deccan

[62] Mazhar Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari* (Allahabad, India: Muhammad Haleem Ansari, 1924), 78-81.

region in southern India to Bengal in the northeast and on to Pakistan. However, historians have never studied the city of Dhaka as a center of Urdu scientific literature.

This chapter follows the intersecting paths of Hakim Habibur Rahman, a cosmopolitan provincial medical healer in Dhaka, and the travelling ambassador of the central *Anjuman*, Mazhar Ansari, who was a North Indian journalist commissioned by the *Anjuman* to found regional branches for the organization. From the 1910s through the 1940s, this Urdu association established vibrant regional outposts across British India by connecting mobile North Indian Muslims with local provincial elites with family lineages of Persian scribal mobility. This chapter reveals how there was already a movement on the ground in Dhaka to promote Urdu as a medium of scientific knowledge, particularly medicine, long before the institutional *Anjuman* arrived in the city in 1918. I propose that Habibur Rahman selectively drew on the *Anjuman*'s pan-Indian goals for Urdu to advance already existing local literary and political agendas in Eastern Bengal.

What was the relationship between modern Urdu and early modern Persian in the production of vernacular scientific literature in South Asia? An assumed relationship between Persian and Urdu undergirds much of the scholarship on Muslim literature in modern South Asia. However, precisely how this relationship between Urdu and Persian was historically constructed and politically deployed has largely been left unstudied. Scholarship on the early modern era has addressed the relationship between South Asian languages and scientific knowledge.[63] In contrast,

[63] For scholarship on early modern South Asian languages and science, see Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Sheldon Pollock, *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Sheldon Pollock, "Introduction: Working Papers on Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 30.5 (2002); Christopher Minkowski, "The Pandit as Public Intellectual: the Controversy of Virodha or Inconsistency in the Astronomical Sciences," *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, Axel Michaels, ed. (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001); and Karin Preisendanz, "The Production of Philosophical Literature in South Asia during the Pre-colonial Period (15th to 18th centuries): the Case of the Nyayasutra Commentarial Tradition," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 33 (2005.)

scholars have given scant attention to the expansive production of scientific writings in modern South Asian vernacular languages outside of English. This chapter is not a lexical study of the impact of Persian on Urdu. Instead, I argue that Urdu language promoters in the early twentieth century creatively drew on early modern Persian to make scientific and political claims for Urdu. Habibur Rahman's diary reveals this process of utilizing the prestige of Persian for Urdu scientific promotion in his everyday life as a traditional Indo-Muslim medical healer.

In early modern South Asia, Persian operated as a language that broadly incorporated a range of flexible conceptualizations of Islamic law, ethics, and philosophy into a vibrant political culture that encompassed Hindu and Muslim nobles across the Mughal Empire.[64] The Perso-Arabic term *u'loom*, which refers to all branches of knowledge rendered as 'the sciences,' was widely used in early modern Muslim textual cultures in India, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Early modern Islamic *u'loom* (the sciences) included fields of knowledge ranging from medicine, astronomy, and ethics to numerology. In the eighteenth century, the English East India Company began to replace the Mughal Empire as the predominant political power in the Indian subcontinent. Under the early administration of the East India Company, Persian was patronized as a language of administration until 1835 when it was replaced by English and spoken Indian vernacular languages. It was precisely early modern Persian's capacity to integrate a wide range of medical, philosophical, and ethical tools that Urdu language promoters in the early twentieth century evoked as the Persian inheritance of Urdu.

Traditional Indo-Muslim *yunānī tibb* medicine is a system of herbal healing that draws on the Ancient Greek concept of the four humors and is widely popular in Muslim communities across the Indian subcontinent. Tracing its lineage from Greek philosophy, this system of medicine was

[64] Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in India: c. 1200-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 2004.

transformed through medieval Arabic and Persian translations that transfused humoral medicine with Islamic healing traditions. *Yunānī tibb* Muslim medicine arrived in India with Muslim traders, saints, and soldiers in the early modern era. From the late eighteenth century, Indo-Muslim *yunānī tibb* medicine was a major medical system that was both circumscribed and transformed by its interactions with British medicine.[65] In her study of *yunānī tibb* medicine, Seema Alavi illustrated how Muslim healers revived *yunānī tibb* medicine in the colonial era through dynamic exchanges with Persian, Arabic, and English.[66] As a *yunānī tibb* medical practitioner, Habibur Rahman was often referred to as a '*hakīm*' (learned man.)

In what follows, I first examine the unstudied medical diary and Urdu medical compendium of Habibur Rahman in turn-of-the-century Dhaka. Habibur Rahman mixed Persian and Urdu and literary and medical genres to enrich Urdu scientific writing from 1896 to 1904. The following section explores how in 1918 the *Anjuman* built on Rahman's work to remake Urdu as the 'mother tongue' of the Muslims of Bengal and a language of 'the sciences (*u'loom*).' Following this, I explain how Habibur Rahman commemorated a recent Persian 'Golden Age' in Bengal as the historical memory of future-oriented Urdu scientific knowledge in his writings and library collecting practices. The final section contextualizes this memorialization of a Persian 'Golden Age' in Dhaka with debates in the central headquarters of the *Anjuman* in Aurangabad (Deccan) in the 1920s over the relationship between Persian and Urdu.

[65] Seema Alavi, *Islam and Healing: Loss and Recovery of an Indo-Muslim Medical Tradition, 1600-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 2008.
[66] Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 2008.

II. **The Diary of a Dhaka Hakim: The Education of a Princely Professional, 1896-1904**

Hakim Habibur Rahman re-conceptualized the relationship between science and language in a series of notebook diaries [*bīyāz*] which he composed during his school days from 1896 to 1904. Along with these notebooks, Habibur Rahman published a compendium of disease treatments to inaugurate the opening of his first medical clinic in Dhaka. Habibur Rahman's medical diary, which was hand-written in Persian and Urdu between 1896 and 1904, demonstrates how love potions, numerology, and poetry were interwoven in the everyday life of an Indo-Muslim medical healer and became part of local scientific practice in Dhaka at the turn-of-the-century.[67]

Hand-written diaries [*bīyāz*] were an integral component of *yunānī tibb* medical practice in South Asia. Often these diaries were passed down within families and widely circulated among fellow medical healers, forming a corpus of knowledge. Rahman's diary, written before the *Anjuman* first arrived in Dhaka anticipated the *Anjuman*'s future-oriented Urdu science projects and squarely located Urdu in Eastern Bengal within older Persian Islamic textual cultures of healing. By mixing languages (Urdu and Persian) and crossing genres (poetry and medical writing) in his hand-written diary and published medical compendium, Rahman made the case to his patients in Dhaka and fellow Muslim humoral healers across India for Urdu as an effective medium for drawing together the old historical breadth of cosmopolitan Persian healing with the new technical breadth of European medical science. Rahman's diary was a cosmopolitan conjunction of languages and different cultures of medical knowledge that challenged a neat division of literary and scientific genres. It illustrated the everyday ways in which older Persian genres were in conversation with contemporary colonial science in the production of Urdu medical prose.

[67] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library, 1904.)

Expanding on Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison's notion of scientific objectivity as historically "constituted from the bottom up," I examine how 'from the bottom up' Indo-Muslim healers crafted Urdu-medium medical knowledge in Dhaka and merged it with a movement to advance Urdu as a medium of accessible scientific knowledge that spanned the subcontinent.[68] The status of Eastern Bengal as a Muslim majority region in the northeast of the Indian subcontinent complicated Dhaka's long-term relationship with the *Anjuman*. While Urdu was spoken by urban elites in Dhaka and Calcutta, the overwhelming majority of predominantly rural Muslims spoke the Bengali language. A major agricultural area of British India, Eastern Bengal became the eastern wing of Pakistan after the end of British colonial rule and the Partition of India in 1947. Urdu was controversially established as Pakistan's sole national language in 1949 even though less than 8 % of Pakistan's population and 1 % of East Pakistan spoke the language. Dhaka, the largest city in Eastern Bengal, became the epicenter of popular opposition to the establishment of Urdu as the sole national language of Pakistan with the start of the Bengali Language Movement in 1952. These linguistic tensions contributed to the Bangladesh Liberation War and the Indo-Pakistan War in 1971 that led to the creation of Bangladesh as an independent nation. However, long before the Pakistani state's efforts to impose Urdu as the sole national language of Pakistan, Urdu had a longer history in Eastern Bengal as a language of urban social prestige and cosmopolitan Islam.

Hakim Habibur Rahman was born in Dhaka in 1880 into a learned Muslim family of Pashtun-origin. His family had migrated from Afghanistan to Dhaka in the mid-nineteenth century under the patronage of the Muslim princely family of the Dhaka *nawāb*s. He received his early education in Dhaka before being sent as a teenager to Kanpur (in North India) where he completed his

[68] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007.)

madrasah education in Arabic grammar, hadith, logic, and Islamic science. Subsequently, Rahman undertook traditional Indo-Muslim medical training in North India before returning to Dhaka in 1904.[69] In 1906, Rahman became involved in the founding of the Muslim League, a political party which represented Muslim landed elites in the context of the first partition of Bengal in 1905; the league eventually led the call for the establishment of Pakistan in the 1940s.[70] Rahman is largely remembered for establishing two institutions in Dhaka. In 1918, he helped to found a local branch of the language association, the *Anjuman*. Rahman continued to lead the regional branch of the *Anjuman* in Dhaka until his death in 1947. In 1930, he established *Tibbīya Habībīya College*, Dhaka's first traditional Indo-Muslim medical college.[71] Along with his medical career, Rahman became an influential local historian who contributed the first major numismatic collection to Dhaka's municipal museum and penned texts on epigraphy and local history in Eastern Bengal.[72]

In the city of Dhaka and beyond, the *Anjuman* gave particular attention to the urban social class of Urdu-speaking *ashraf* (noble) Muslims. The *ashraf* Muslim nobility were a social class of Muslims in South Asia who often claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad or familial lineages to Central Asia, Iran, or the Middle East. They were also the heirs of Muslim scribal and military elites, who had served first the Mughal Empire in the early modern period and then Indian princely states and the British government from the eighteenth century onward. In Dhaka, the Muslim *ashraf* were largely the descendants of Mughal officials and Muslim traders. Historically, to be *ashraf* was to claim moral stature within the Muslim community in terms of ethical

[69] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," *Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Commemoration Volume: A Collection of Essays on History, Art, Archaeology, Numismatics, Epigraphy and Literature of Bangladesh and Eastern India*," Enamul Haque, editor (Dhaka: The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, 2001), 11.
[70] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*: *Hindustān ke mashriqī ghavāreh-yi tamaddun aur Bengāl ke markaz tehzīb va ma'āsharat* (Dhaka: Manzar Press, 1946), 1.
[71] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu ya'ni Mashriqī Pākistān ke qadīm va jadīd do sau akīs ahl-i qalam ka tazkirah aur yahan ke lisānī misāi'l ke sīr hāml jāizah* (Dhaka: Mashriq Cooperation Publishers, 1954), 114.
[72] Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 11-13.

cultivation, bodily comportment, and the exercise of moderation.[73] As in the cities of Aurangabad (Deccan) and Karachi (contemporary Pakistan)- the other cities where the *Anjuman* was particularly active in promoting Urdu- the *Anjuman*'s main audience in Dhaka were the Urdu-speaking descendants of mobile early modern scribal elites. Dhaka was one node in the *Anjuman*'s larger effort to reconnect an older Persianate network of Muslims princely centers across the subcontinent through Urdu-medium science promotion in the early twentieth century.

Habibur Rahman's medical diary illustrates the entanglements of Persian and Urdu and poetry and prose in Indo-Muslim medical knowledge in turn-of-the-century Bengal. At the beginning of this medical diary, Habibur Rahman composed a sex guide in Urdu and Persian that transcended assumed boundaries between literature and medicine. Rahman's discussions of poetry are mixed with the discussions of medical healing methods. While this pattern could be seen as interruptions, it is more accurate to assess the mixing of poetry and medicine in the diary as part of a broader understanding of Islamic *u'loom* (the sciences), which encompassed medicine, astrology, prose, poetry, and grammar. For example, immediately after composing a multi-lingual sex guide in his diary, Rahman transcribed some his early attempts at composing Urdu poetic couplets.[74]

The sex guide began with a Persian prose description of an Urdu love *mantra* (potion) in verse. Beginning in Persian, Habibur Rahman noted that "this *mantra* is good for love. First take two doses of the oil of five *seyab* plants [a medicinal herb]. And you can take the [medicinal] goodness from the oil of this plant, but it cannot be purchased [i.e. medical knowledge must be consulted,

[73] See Margrit Pernau, *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-Century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Alam, *The Language of Political Islam in India*; . In terms of social and economic differences between Muslim communities in Bengal see Rafiuddin Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims, 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981.)

[74] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 7-8.

not purchased]. When you take this oil, recite this *mantra* three times."[75] He then transcribed the love *mantra* in Urdu verse before returning to his Persian prose narration of the impact of this love potion on the beloved.[76] While in contemporary Indo-Muslim literary culture, Persian was gradually receding to occasional couplets to illustrate an important prose point made in Urdu, Habibur Rahman reversed these roles by turning to Persian as the proper prose vehicle for explaining a mystical Urdu poem.

Furthermore, this sex guide illuminated how textual practices that circulated across global British imperial networks shaped the production of Urdu medical writing in India. Immediately following this love potion, Rahman sketched two pages of pedagogical drawings of sexual intercourse, which he discovered in the diary of a fellow hakim. Clearly impacted by British anatomical medical textbooks, which were widely distributed from medical establishments in Calcutta in the nineteenth-century, the five illustrations of sex were accompanied by short Persian medical labels of Rahman's own composition. The first illustrated page contained three extremely rudimentary sketches, whereas the second page contained a detailed ink drawing in which Rahman attempted a realistic rendering of male and female genitalia.[77] This second page of illustrations underlined the impact of colonial medical texts on *yunānī tibb* medicine since the illustrations were systematically labelled to resemble contemporary European medical guides.[78]

Turning to the final page of his sex guide, Rahman provided detailed Urdu prose diagnostic notes on the medical significance of each illustration, which he signed on 19th January, 1898.[79] He began this page by describing how "I adapted the first illustration of sex from Janab Maulvi Abdul

[75] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 4.
[76] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 4.
[77] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 4-5.
[78] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 5.
[79] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 4-6.

Malik."[80] Rahman gave attention to the medical "work [*kām*]" for which each illustration was best suited.[81] While at the beginning of the guide, he used Persian prose to describe Urdu love poetry, in this final section, Rahman provided Persian labels on copied illustrations before making a detailed Urdu prose analysis in his own words, which he signed to indicate his unique intellectual contribution. Instead of modern Urdu clearly replacing early modern Persian in Indo-Muslim medical writings, the two languages remained intertwined in daily medical practice.

This passage reveals the intersection of textual practices and medical expertise from across a wide range of languages and regions. Scholarship on the history of science in South Asia has explored unequal negotiations between British colonizers and Indian elites in the production of scientific knowledge.[82] In particular, historians of colonial-era science have noted the conflict between colonial and indigenous medical practices in nineteenth century Bengal.[83] In contrast to this narrative of conflict between sharply demarcated colonial and indigenous medical knowledge, Rahman quite comfortably intermixed older Persian love *mantra*s, colonial anatomical drawing techniques, and descriptive Urdu prose in his daily healing practice. Expanding on this, I argue that Rahman's diary reveals the range of local and trans-regional circulations of knowledge which undergirded Indo-Muslim medical writings in Urdu beyond two-way unequal negotiations between British colonizers and Indians.

[80] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 6.
[81] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 6.
[82] For work on the unequal relationships surrounding the making of science in colonial India, see Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); For scholarship that charts an alternative approach to science in India through global circulations of knowledge and the co-production of science through encounters between Europeans and Asians in the early modern era, see Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.)
[83]See David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.)

The linguistic framework of Habibur Rahman's medical diary, which moved comfortably between Urdu and Persian, suggests that instead of Urdu prose decisively replacing older Persian didactic poetry in the modern era, Persian was a crucial factor in promoting Urdu as a language of science in Bengal. In the split social and linguistic context of eastern Bengal, the early modern past of Persian was a useful means to promote Urdu. In the early modern period, Persian had served as a connective language of government elites and educated groups. Although Persian had never been widely spoken among the predominantly Muslim rural populations, Persian words and terms had found their way into the Bengali vernacular.

In her history of *yunānī tibb* Muslim healing in South Asia, Seema Alavi argued that early modern Persian was displaced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Muslim humoral medicine with a turn away from aristocratic Persian sources and towards more scientifically-inclined Arabic texts.[84] While this is largely true for North India, there is a surprising endurance of Persian in *yunānī tibb* medicine in Dhaka. The *Anjuman*'s twentieth century interest in early modern Persian as a route to Urdu-medium scientific knowledge represents a move away from this colonial identification of *yunānī tibb* medicine primarily with Arabic texts and Muslims. Instead, the *Anjuman* embraced an imagined Persian cosmopolitan past so that a range of elite practitioners could be included in Urdu's scientific future.

Along with sexual health, a major preoccupation of Rahman's medical diary was Islamic numerology. In the middle of a long poetry section in his diary, Rahman composed the first of many *naqsh* numerological magic charts. *Naqsh* numerological charts, which were a long-standing Perso-Arabic talisman for health and mysticism, were an important tool in a hakim's repertoire of

[84] Seema Alavi, "Medical Culture in Transition: Mughal Gentleman Physician and the Native Doctor in Early Colonial India," *Modern Asian Studies* 42.5 (2008): 853-855, 863, & 865.

symptomology. These magic *naqsh* charts involved numerical values assigned to letters in the Perso-Arabic script.[85] The numbers could then be used to assess the bodily, spiritual, or magical origins of a patient's affliction.[86] This first *naqsh* numerological chart in Rahman's diary was written in Persian, and each square contained a different location on the body from the sole of the foot to the navel to the eyes. [87] In order to facilitate a diagnosis, Rahman apportioned numbers to the various squares that then were assigned to different parts of the body.

Rahman greatly expanded his expertise in Muslim numerology during his education from 1896 to 1904. He utilized older Persian didactic poetry to enhance Urdu medical prose. For example, Rahman transcribed a short Urdu article "Calculations of Wonders [*Hisāb Ajīb aur Gharīb*]," which drew together Urdu prose and Persian verse to provide instructions on Muslim numerology and its connection to medical healing.[88] He transcribed this article from a magazine titled, *The Journal of Occult Mantra*.[89] The Urdu prose section of this article "Calculations of Wonders" consisted of detailed instructions on how to utilize the "rules of mathematics" to calculate numerological meanings from the names of "everything in the world."[90] The Urdu prose narrative of the article was interrupted by a page of Persian didactic poetry on Islamic numerology. This Persian poem consisted of a quatrain devoted to the meanings derived from the names of God, the Prophet Muhammad, and Imam Hussain.[91] This Persian poem centered on the calculation of

[85] Guy Attewell, *Refiguring Unani Tibb: Plural Healing in Late Colonial India* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2007), 265.
[86] Guy Attewell, *Refiguring Unani Tibb*, 265-266.
[87] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 28.
[88] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 100.
[89] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 100.
[90] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 100.
[91] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 101.

the future during the Islamic lunar month of *safar*. This poem began, "Not any name, but taking the name of *Allah*, at the beginning of the month of Safar, the duty is to discern the future."[92]

After this page of didactic Persian poetry, Habibur Rahman returned to the Urdu prose instructions on numerology with an account of how to use the name of Prophet Muhammad to discern what "action [*a'mal*]" should be undertaken for certain "diseases [*āmrāz.*]"[93] Building directly on this numerology article, Habibur Rahman then practiced the recommended numerological calculations on his own name, the name of the Prophet, and the name of God in the subsequent pages of his diary.[94] Rahman's personal investment in Muslim numerology was illustrated by a subsequent diary entry dealing with "the really strange wondrous" meanings which "come from the numbers of Habibur Rahman."[95]

More than just a prestige language, Persian was useful for Hakim Habibur Rahman due to its connection to Islamic magic, numerology, and sex advice. Instead of 'reformed' Urdu prose serving as a decisive break from the magical Persian past, Persian enriched Urdu-medium medical prose with practical spells and romantic tips for an effective medical practice. Because this diary served as the foundation for Habibur Rahman's subsequent Urdu publications in Dhaka, his engagement with Persian, magic, and numerology was not in opposition to the *Anjuman*'s efforts to standardize and promote Urdu, but an integral component of it. [96] Rahman's interest in Persian as a medium of magic and esoteric power anticipates his conceptualization of Urdu healing in late-colonial Dhaka, which is discussed in Chapter Three and the advancement of Urdu as a medium of stylized naturalism in Karachi in Chapter Four.

[92] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 101.
[93] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 100-102.
[94] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 102-103.
[95] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 104.
[96] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 1.

Rahman's diary opens-up new perspectives on the relationship of early modern cosmopolitan languages to modern vernacular languages in South Asia. Although Sheldon Pollock's has argued that of the decline of cosmopolitan Sanskrit gave to the rise of regional vernacular languages in medieval South Asia, this work does not apply as clearly to Urdu and Persian in the modern era. Urdu promoters in early twentieth century Eastern Bengal drew upon Persian to make the case for Urdu as a language of science. In this way, David Shulman's alternative "bottom-up model" of "continuous cultural self-invention" in which cosmopolitan languages continue to develop along with regional vernaculars makes more sense for Urdu.[97] Shulman argues for an alternative language model in which cosmopolitanism is fostered by continuing interactions with regional variations.[98] This is a much more convincing story for the continuing relationship between Urdu and Persian. The *Anjuman*'s provincial Urdu promoters sought to transform Urdu into a cosmopolitan vehicle of scientific knowledge by engaging with Persian. Rahman's diary illustrates how this process unfolded in the education and medical practice of an Indo-Muslim medical hakim.

More broadly, this specific study of Hakim Habibur Rahman offers the opportunity to rethink the chronology and geography of the history of science in Islam from the perspective of Dhaka, a provincial city in late-colonial eastern Bengal. Recent scholarship on the history of Islamic astronomy in the Middle East challenged older narratives of medieval Islamic scientific efflorescence followed by decline in the face of Renaissance Europe by pushing the date of Muslim scientific decline squarely into the modern era.[99] However, this work largely remained within a

[97] David Shulman, "Review Essay: The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture and Power in Premodern India," *The Journal of Asian Studies,* 66.3 (2007): 824.
[98] Shulman, "Review Essay," 821-823.
[99] In "Age of Decline," George Saliba argued against a narrative of medieval Islamic scientific decline in the thirteen-century and instead asserted that the 'Islamic Golden Age' of astronomy flourished from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, until the rise of European empires and global trade created a decisive advantage for European

framework of inevitable Muslim scientific decline. Moving beyond this decline paradigm, recent scholarship on the history of science in modern Muslim societies productively challenged these narratives of Muslim scientific decline.[100] While this work has demonstrated how 'modern' scientific knowledge in the Middle East was conceptualized in creative reference to older Islamic textual traditions, it frequently framed modern Muslim science as possible primarily in relation to a classical Islamic textual past, particularly astronomy.[101]

In contrast, seen from the perspective of Muslim humoral healers in Dhaka, the history of science in Islam has a different chronology and geography. Instead of classical genres in Arabic in the medieval Middle East, Muslim scientific production from Dhaka is robustly early modern and primarily composed in Persian. Dhaka was both a provincial royal court where Persian survived the turn to Arabic texts in the nineteenth century and a regional rival to Calcutta, where British colonial officials and orientalist scholars engaged with Indian intellectual traditions from the eighteenth-century.[102] Therefore, Urdu science in Dhaka in the early twentieth century built on both older *ashraf* Muslim textual cultures and the East India Company's impact on Muslim healing in Bengal.[103] The Urdu science promoters in the *Anjuman* saw themselves as heirs to recent Indo-

scientific production. George Saliba. *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), 233-255.

[100] See Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); and On Barak, *On Time: Technology and Temporality in Modern Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.) Marwa Elshakry argued that Darwin's translators and interpreters in Arabic "endorse[d] ideas of modern science in the idiom and tradition of older ones" to locate themselves in "the universal progress of science."

[101] For example, Daniel Stolz argued that Egyptian scholars forged innovative astronomical measurements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries using older Islamic sciences. See: Daniel Stolz, "Positioning the Watch Hand: 'Ulama' and the Practice of Mechanical Timekeeping in Cairo, 1737-1874," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47.03 (2015).

[102] See Alavi, "Medical Culture in Transition."

[103] For example, in *Indian Ink*, Miles Ogborn analyzed the co-constitutive relationship between print technology and British political power in Bengal in the eighteenth century. Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 200-202. Ogborn argued that Company officials saw Persian print in late eighteenth century Bengal as capable of both reproducing older 'Mughal' forms of government while reforming its supposed debased practices with a "combination of faithful reproduction

Muslim scientific cultures of medicine that flourished in Persian and Urdu in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, the relationship between Persian and Urdu in terms of scientific cultures possessed a different chronology to Hindu sciences at the interface of colonial rule and Sanskrit knowledge systems due to Persian's more recent scribal and bureaucratic history.[104]

The conclusion of Habibur Rahman's medical diary in 1904 coincided with the publication of his first medical text, a humoral medical compendium, that was titled *Al-Fāriq (The Distinguisher*) and written in Urdu. In *The Distinguisher*, Rahman dealt with 1,285 diseases over the course of eighty pages.[105] *The Distinguisher* was a pedagogical text of definitions with each entry consisting of a comparison between two different *tibb* medical terms.[106] One of the primary aims of *The Distinguisher* was to render Persian medical terminology into more accessible Urdu for an educated Muslim audience. In an advertisement for this medical compendium, Rahman wrote, "What is *The Distinguisher*? It is medical glossary which includes those distinctions which are necessary in common sciences (*u'loom mutāwaleh zaroorī*)" which are given in "clear and clean Urdu."[107] Thus, according to Rahman, 'common science' became accessible through the diction of 'clear and clean Urdu.'

Rahman composed this disease compendium along with an Urdu biography of Socrates (*Hīyāt-i Suqrāt*) during his student days and published them upon returning to Dhaka.[108] Since it was

and necessary improvement, and of the centralization and certainty of imperial rule, with the promotion of new forms of trade" (216-218.)

[104] See Allison Busch, "The anxiety of innovation: the practice of literary science in the Hindi Rīti tradition," *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations In the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*, Sheldon Pollock, editor (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Pollock, "Introduction: Working Papers on Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism"; and Minkowski, "The Pandit as Public Intellectual."

[105] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu*, 111.

[106] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library, Dhaka University Library, 1904), 2.

[107] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Hīyāt-i Suqrāt* (Agra: Qadri Press, 1904), 30.

[108] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 1.

published immediately following his return from his medical education, *The Distinguisher* was a means to promote Rahman's credentials at the beginning of his career in Dhaka. Although *The Distinguisher* was not written solely for Dhaka, the text had a wide impact there. According to a local historian, after Rahman's death "even now in the by-lanes of Dhaka, tales of Habibur Rahman's rare and perceptive medical eye circulate."[109] The Urdu print run of *The Distinguisher* circulated widely in early twentieth century Bengal and North India.[110] As evidence of *The Distinguisher*'s wide reception, Rahman recorded that the famous Delhi *unani tibb* hakim Ajmal Khan, who founded Delhi's *Tibbīa College* and participated in Gandhi's nationalist movement, purchased fifty copies of *The Distinguisher*.[111]

The Distinguisher exemplified two seemingly incongruous impulses: first, to expand popular access to medical knowledge by transitioning from Persian to Urdu in medical writing, and second, to use Urdu to revive distinctions between *khās* (elite) and *a'ām* (common) Muslim bodies. These two impulses towards popular access and social distinctions did not contradict each other. Instead, Rahman conceptualized Urdu-mediated medical knowledge as restoring the hierarchical order of Dhaka's urban society between elite and common Muslim bodies while tying these social classes together through Urdu. This conceptualization of Dhaka's urban space through Muslim humoral healing will be analyzed in detail in Chapter Three. In turn, this raises new questions concerning the relationship between specialized scientific knowledge and accessible popular science.

Despite accounts of its print popularity, the only extant copy of *The Distinguisher* in Dhaka is a hand-written rough draft. The scribbled notes and editorial marks on this rough draft explicate the ways in which Rahman rendered high register Persian medical terms used in traditional *yunānī*

[109] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu*, 112.
[110] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu*, 112; Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 1.
[111] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 1.

tibb prescriptions into more understandable Urdu. For example, in one definition, Rahman crossed out the original high register Perso-Arabic term for diseases '*amrāz*' and substituted the more commonly understood Urdu term for disease '*bīmārī*.'[112] This more accessible Urdu term '*bīmārī*' was regularly used instead of '*amrāz*' in the rest of the disease compendium.[113] This goal of terminological accessibility was reaffirmed in a subsequent entry on pleurisy in which Rahman emphasized the common name for the disease, i.e. "the name by which [it] is well-known."[114]

The format of *The Distinguisher* reveals the importance that Rahman attached to greater terminological clarity and linguistic accessibility through Urdu healing. As the pages of the rough draft advanced, Rahman honed his explanatory methodology to both educate a wider Muslim public and to dispel confusion related to difficult Persian terminology. For example, in the first pages of the draft he experimented with various glossary formats. He eventually consolidated a format in which the terms on each successive page were organized alphabetically with each page either thematically organized around a group of diseases or around words with similar meanings or spellings. For example, Rahman narrated the difference between ringworm *sa'feh* [سعفه] and sunburn *safa'* [سفع] due to their almost identical pronunciation in Persian.[115] This glossary format fit within the wider *Anjuman*'s goals to render difficult medical and professional terms, which had been inaccessible to many Indians due to limited knowledge of Persian or the narrow circulation of early modern hand-written medical manuscripts, into accessible Urdu print.

This impulse to create a more widely informed medical public was intimately intertwined with the goal of revitalizing older social distinctions in the Urdu disease compendium. Early modern

[112] Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 7.
[113] Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 8.
[114] Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 15.
[115] Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 16.

Persian *yunānī tibb* medical texts focused on aristocratic comportment and the medical benefits of regulated social hierarchies.[116] Despite jettisoning Persian terms for their more accessible Urdu equivalents, Habibur Rahman incorporated this older Persian stratified concept of society into his Urdu disease compendium. The title, *The Distinguisher*, suggests the importance of distinguishing diseases. As the text progressed, it became clear that Habibur Rahman often distinguished diseases through social class. He began one section by defining the difference between "diseases of the commoners and those of the elite."[117] In differentiating diseases, Habibur Rahman often used the terms '*khās*' (elite) and '*a'ām*' (common), which are the same terms that are used to distinguish between social classes. Expanding on this, Rahman sharply distinguished diseases which afflicted elites from "those diseases which are not given any particular attention which afflict a tribe or … are common diseases."[118] Although Rahman deliberately wrote *The Distinguisher* in Urdu instead of Persian to make medical concepts more accessible, he emphasized older Persian concepts of social hierarchy in the Urdu text.

This distinction between diseases which afflicted *khās* bodies versus those which affected the *a'ām* undergirded the rest of the medical compendium. It is clear that Rahman utilized this common/elite differentiation to classify different diseases and assess "the condition of the health of the patient."[119] He even included a theoretically inclined entry explicating the differences between "common matters and elite matters [*ahwāl a'āmeh va ahwāl khāseh*]."[120] This tension between making medical healing more accessible through Urdu while also restoring older social

[116] Seema Alavi, "Medical Culture in Transition."
[117] Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 7.
[118] Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 7.
[119] Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 7.
[120] Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 7.

distinctions would come to a head in the 1930s and 1940s in the tense political, linguistic, and religious context of late colonial eastern Bengal, as discussed in Chapter Three.

The diary and early medical compendium of Hakim Habibur Rahman reveal an active local project in Dhaka to creatively rework the Persian past for Urdu-mediated medical healing in the early twentieth century. This local project provided fertile ground for the Urdu promotional association, the *Anjuman*, after the establishment of its Dhaka regional office in 1918. From potent love potions to Muslim numerology, the young Habibur Rahman's diary suggests why the *Anjuman* turned to him as the main patron of Urdu in Eastern Bengal.

III. The Travelogue of the Ambassador for Urdu, 1918

This section investigates the intersection between Hakim Habibur Rahman's early career as a Muslim humor healer and local litterateur in Dhaka and the transregional ambitions of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*. In 1918, Maulvi Abdul Haq, the leader of the central *Anjuman* that was then based in the Hyderabad State in southern India, commissioned Mazhar Ansari, a journalist from Allahabad, to serve as the ambassador for the *Anjuman* and to travel across South Asia to recruite new members for the organization. The published travelogue of Mazhar Ansari reveals the potential and the limitations of the *Anjuman*'s attempt to promote Urdu as a language of science for all Indian Muslims in non-Urdu speaking regions outside of North India. Furthermore, the intersection between Habibur Rahman and Mazhar Ansari in 1918 Dhaka was the first of the many provincial elite- mobile North Indian Muslim alliances that shaped the trajectory of the *Anjuman*'s science projects across the subcontinent into the post-colonial era.

Although there is little biographical information available on Mazhar Ansari, he spent most of his life in Allahabad as a journalist. Before working for the *Anjuman*, he served as a traveling ambassador for Aligarh's Muslim Educational Conference, which was the parent organization of

the *Anjuman*. Building on its success in the Hyderabad State, which will be discussed in Chapter Two, the *Anjuman* anticipated the space for Urdu on the underserved margins of North India and launched this travelling embassy to connect other princely centers and Urdu-speaking commercial hubs in the subcontinent's northeast, northwest, and south.[121] Mazhar Ansari is particularly important since he illustrates how officers in the central *Anjuman* attempted- and often struggled- to incorporate provincial spaces into the *Anjuman*'s transregional ambitions for Urdu. Here I have rendered Mazhar Ansari's commissioned position, s*afīr*, as traveling ambassador, although it literally means 'ambassador' to give a sense of his mobile career. In 1924, Mazhar Ansari died unexpectedly and his brother published his diary as a travelogue.

From 1918 to 1922, Mazhar Ansari travelled from Bengal and Bihar in the northeast of British India to the Central Provinces and Malwa, in central India, before moving up the subcontinent's western side from Mysore in the south to Rajputana, Gujarat, and Khathiawar in the northwest.[122] What made this Urdu tour so significant was precisely where Ansari did not go: Lucknow, Delhi, and Lahore, the major North Indian centers of Urdu literature. Instead, Ansari toured across the rest of India recording the status of older princely centers and connecting with Urdu-speaking trading communities. Mazhar Ansari's tour across the length and breadth of South Asia was the first in a series of projects undertaken by the *Anjuman* to forge a new trans-regional geography for Urdu beyond the language's North Indian heartland. Ansari was tasked with founding regional branches and libraries to boost the *Anjuman*'s membership and to spread awareness of the organizations' goals for Urdu in every town where he went.[1] Mazhar Ansari's

[121] Ghulam Rabbani, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ki kahānī* (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Hind], 1939), 25.
[122] Rabbani, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ki kahānī*, 26; and Musarrat Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq ki khidmāt qīyām-i AurangAbād ke daurān* (Aurangabad: Muhammad Ahsan Siddiqui, 1999), 163-174.

diary was initially written to convey information on the status of Urdu back to the *Anjuman*'s headquarters in Hyderabad. After Ansari's death his brother published the diary as a travelogue.

Not only did Mazhar Ansari circumvent North India, but he began his tour in the most eastern city of Bengal, Dhaka. While there was a long history of Urdu textual production in Calcutta, the former colonial capital of India located in western Bengal, Ansari did not launch his tour there. Instead, in January 1918, he founded the *Anjuman*'s first branch in Dhaka, the old Mughal provincial capital in Bengal's eastern districts, under the care of Habibur Rahman.[123] Ansari grappled with the challenge of securing an alternative patronage structure for Urdu after the decline of Persian princely courts. In Dhaka, Ansari found his answer in Habibur Rahman, the young *unani tibb* medical practitioner who had grown-up in the princely court of Dhaka and had established a thriving Indo-Muslim healing practice and local literary career there.

Before delving into Mazhar Ansari's account of his visit to Dhaka, it is important to give a sense of the role of Urdu in everyday life in Bengal. Although Bangla was the language of the overwhelming majority of people in Bengal, Urdu had a long history in the province's urban centers. Urdu (or Hindustani) was both sponsored as a 'language of command' by the British colonial government in Calcutta and widely used in the city by *sepoys* in the Company's armies and the increasing number of *ashraf* scribes and poets who shifted to the colonial capital from regional courts during the nineteenth-century.[124] Although Dhaka was culturally distant from this administrative Hindustani, Urdu was the language of the Dhaka *nawābī* family and their court in Old Dhaka. While Bengali was the predominant language in Bengal, Urdu was used by many urban elites. In the early twentieth century, rural Muslim political mobilization critically targeted

[123] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 78-81.
[124] See Bernard S. Cohn, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command," *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.)

landholding interests, including those of Urdu-speaking *ashraf* landholders, for greater social respect and economic rights.[125] The founding of the political party the all-India Muslim League as a Muslim aristocratic outfit in Dhaka in 1906 suggests that the first decade of the twentieth-century was a moment of *ashraf* Muslim political consolidation in Dhaka. Therefore, the promotion of Urdu was deeply tied to elite economic and social privileges.

Below, I will first describe Mazhar Ansari's encounter with Habibur Rahman before exploring his promotion of Urdu as a language of science in Dhaka. The 1918 encounter between Mazhar Ansari and Habibur Rahman followed a particularly tumultuous political decade for Muslim elites in Dhaka. In 1905 the British colonial government divided Bengal into a Muslim-majority eastern province (centered in Dhaka) and a Hindu-majority western province (centered in Calcutta). This 1905 partition of Bengal was important for giving Muslim elites in Eastern Bengal a stronger voice in local governance. The Dhaka *nawābī* family, who were the preeminent Muslim princely landholders in Dhaka, patronized Urdu in Eastern Bengal. The Dhaka *nāwabī* family enjoyed a great deal of political authority and economic power from the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, the 1905 partition was in large measure a response by the colonial government to give Muslim elites in Eastern Bengal, such as the Dhaka *nawābī* family, more influence. However, in 1911 the British colonial government reversed the partition and re-established a united Bengal ruled from Calcutta. This political reversal was followed by the decline of the Dhaka *nawābī* family.

In 1918 Mazhar Ansari came to Eastern Bengal hoping to find flourishing Muslim landed estates able to fund the *Anjuman* and enrich its library with manuscripts. He was quickly disappointed. While Ansari met repeatedly with members of Dhaka's *nawābī* family in 1918, the

[125] Sugata Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital: Rural Bengal since 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 160.

family was willing (or able) to donate a mere ten rupees to the *Anjuman*.[126] In Ansari's biting assessment, "after Nawab Sir Salimullah [who died in 1915], no great and common Muslim leader in Eastern Bengal remained. And there is no hope that one can quickly come up to take his place because the condition of the Muslims leaders and nobles of this region, which I have seen, leaves no room for hope…"[127]

It is entirely possible to interpret Mazhar Ansari's account of the economic decline of the Dhaka *nawabi* family as an attempt to obscure the fact that the senior members of Dhaka's Muslim elite were suspicious of Ansari, a recently arrived visitor in Dhaka from North India, and his scarcely disguised interest in their libraries and wealth for an Urdu organization that was based in distant Hyderabad in southern India. Whether due to the suspicion of the *nawabi* elite or their lack of funds, Mazhar Ansari was in need of an Urdu patron in Dhaka in 1918.

Habibur Rahman stepped into this role. Mazhar Ansari's mentioned Habibur Rahman early in his diary of his travels in Dhaka. According to Ansari, "in Dhaka this gentleman truly lives life on his own terms. He is of Afghan origin ... Here [in Dhaka] he is a man of influence and power, in a beneficial sense."[128] Ansari went on to emphasize Rahman's well-bred manners and awareness of wider matters affecting Indian Muslims.[129] Convinced of Habibur Rahman's local leadership abilities, Ansari oversaw the founding of the *Anjuman*'s regional branch in Dhaka under the guidance of Rahman and Mirza Faqir Muhammad 'Asr'. To enhance this new branch, Rahman promised to donate his personal library of approximately 2,000 texts to the *Anjuman*.[130]

[126] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 82.
[127] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 94.
[128] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 78.
[129] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 78.
[130] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu*, 234; and Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 161-162.

Mazhar Ansari's reliance on *yunānī tibb* Indo-Muslim medical healers to promote Urdu in Eastern Bengal was consolidated in a subsequent entry in his travelogue as he traversed the districts of Eastern Bengal. Ansari recorded his meeting with Hakim Sikandar Ali, a landed noble near Comilla, which is a city between Dhaka and Chittagong, who was both a *tibb* hakim (Muslim healer) and an *ashraf* (noble) landholder. Ansari exulted that "Maulvi Hakim Sikandar Ali was the first personage in Eastern Bengal whom I met who possessed the wealth of an inherited estate and was also bestowed with the jewel of knowledge and skill" since he was an expert in "the art of *tibb*" having studied Indo-Muslim medicine in Delhi.[131] More than this, Ansari proclaimed that "in face and demeanor he resembled a *sharīf* (noble) man of Delhi."[132] He bolstered this claim of noble *ashraf* descent and inherited healing prowess by narrating in detail the connections of Hakim Sikandar Ali's family to the Mughal court in Delhi, which was confirmed by Persian letters from Shah Alam, which Ansari inspected and transcribed in his diary.[133] This passage reveals the extent to which Mazhar Ansari measured Urdu in Eastern Bengal on a provincial North Indian rubric. In particular, his focus on ethnic markers of *ashraf*-ness, such as Sikandar Ali's North Indian features and Habibur Rahman's family origins in Afghanistan, gestures towards the very real cultural tensions that limited the *Anjuman*'s efforts to expand the scope of Urdu in Bengal.

Mazhar Ansari's understanding of Urdu's potential as a language of connection and scientific education for Muslim in Bengal is fleshed out in a conversation he had late one evening in Dhaka with Syed Aulad Hussain, a former inspector of registration in Dhaka, who was one of the first Indians to reach an advanced level in the Indian Civil Service and a founding member of the Muslim League in Dhaka. In his diary, Mazhar Ansari describes how they "had a conversation

[131] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 108-109.
[132] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 109.
[133] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 108-109.

as to why Urdu could become the mother tongue of all the Muslims of India."[134] Ansari noted that he found this conversation with Aulad Hussain extremely useful.[135] With this long-term goal of making Urdu a wider Muslim language in mind, Ansari and Syed Aulad Hussain discussed the specific linguistic challenges of Urdu in eastern Bengal, where Bengali was the dominant language. Despite this linguistic challenge, in Ansari's telling, Bengali also served a linguistic model for how to integrate scientific *u'loom* into an Indian vernacular language for Urdu.

Acknowledging that "in particular, here in Bengal, Muslims speak Bengali," Ansari and Hussain expounded on what Urdu could learn from Bengali's recent history. Ansari argued that Bangla "is their mother tongue and Bengalis have expanded their own language with the wealth of the sciences and arts (*u'loom va fanoon*) [and] have made it a learned language (*i'lmī zabān*) so that now science (*science*) is also being translated into the Bengali language."[136]

In order to gain a complete sense of the significance of this passage for the *Anjuman*'s politics in Dhaka in the 1910s, it is important to analyze the different terms that Ansari used for 'science' which concretely illustrate the imbrication of the older Islamic Perso-Arabic category '*u'loom*' (the sciences) with the English term '*science*' in the production of contemporary Urdu-medium science. The term '*u'loom*' refers to all branches of knowledge rendered as 'the sciences,' and it was widely used in early modern Persian manuscripts. In this passage, Mazhar Ansari initially used the term '*u'loom*' to describe how Bangla could be 'expanded' with 'the sciences and arts.' In turn, Ansari initially described Bangla became a 'learned language (*i'lmī zabān*)' due

[134] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 80.
[135] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 80.
[136] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 80.

to this infusion of *u'loom*. The terms '*u'loom*' (science) and '*i'lmī*' (learned) come from the same root.

Then in the passage, Mazhar Ansari transitioned from the Persian term '*u'loom*' to the English term '*science*' (transliterated into Urdu) when discussing the successful modern translation of science texts into Indian languages. After having been expanded with '*u'loom*,' Ansari noted that 'now science (*science*) is also being translated into the Bengali language.' Thus, the 'expansion' of Indian vernacular languages with Perso-Arabic *u'loom* was the vital step in allowing modern '*science*' to be translated into these languages. Thus, *u'loom* was crucial for making Indian vernacular languages capable of becoming 'scientific.' Furthermore, the often antagonistic attitude of some urban Urdu-speaking *ashraf* Muslims in Dhaka towards Bengali-speaking Muslims, which Ansari and Aulad Hussain's conversation illustrated, was part of larger political and economic debates in the final decades of colonial rule.

When Mazhar Ansari allied with Hakim Habibur Rahman to establish the *Anjuman*'s first branch in Dhaka, Ansari drew from the hakim's growing social and political prominence in Dhaka's *ashraf* Muslim community. I will briefly analyze Rahman's previously mentioned diary to get a sense of his place in Dhaka's elite Muslim society. Rahman recorded local literary events in his diary at the turn of the century. This is crucial for understanding the *Anjuman*'s interest in Habibur Rahman since it was his social ties to Dhaka's Urdu-speaking *ashraf* Muslim society which made him such a useful mediator for the *Anjuman* to Eastern Bengal.

Rahman's diary provides some clues of his rising social status within the vibrant world of Urdu-speaking and Persian-using Muslims in early twentieth-century Dhaka. Urdu-speaking *ashraf* scholars in Dhaka were the descendants of nobles from North India and Central Asia who had moved to Eastern Bengal in the early modern era with the Mughal Empire. In the middle of

his diary, Rahman transcribed a five-line Persian poem that had been composed in his honor. It is likely that this poem was written by Khwaja Abdul Ghuffar Akhtar, a prominent poet in Dhaka and a member of the Dhaka *nawābī* family who was Rahman's senior in age and literary prominence. The short poem, which is transcribed in full below, demonstrates both the continued use of Persian as a language of elite Muslim communication in early twentieth century Eastern Bengal and the rising importance of Habibur Rahman in Dhaka. To some extent, this poem could be read as an endorsement of the young medical healer's social and spiritual ascendance by Dhaka's Muslim elite.

> With the coming of place and time – From the sanctity of Muhammad Habibur Rahman.
>
> The group of sinners is [now] full of tenderness – Through the intercession of Muhammad Habibur Rahman.
>
> In the Arabic language of the Quran- From the mind of Muhammad Habibur Rahman.
>
> On the Day of Judgement [all] are wandering – Except for Muhammad Habibur Rahman.
>
> I came from India (*Hind*) to be near you [and your] justice- Except for you, there is not even half of Habibur Rahman.[137]

This poem indicates that Habibur Rahman's reputation for piety, fame as a potent spiritual intercessor, and deep knowledge of Islamic sacred texts were central components of his rising medical and social prominence in Dhaka. Given that this poem was written when Rahman was no more than twenty-four years old by a senior poet and member of the *nawābī* family, it indicates both significant local investment in his healing career and support for his leading literary role. This *nawābī* endorsement of Habibur Rahman suggests a gradual shift from the Dhaka Nawab Family to Muslim humoral healers as major pillars of *ashraf* society in Dhaka. Furthermore, if Habibur

[137] Rahman, *Bīyāz* Manuscript No. HR 134, 98.

Rahman's star was already on the rise as a literary figure, spiritual guide, and medical healer in 1918, then Mazhar Ansari's turn towards the young hakim could have been motivated as much by a sense of his cultural potential in eastern Bengal's Urdu scene, as by a pragmatic shift after the failure to connect to the *nawābī* family.

Beyond his influence as a spiritual intercessor, the last line of the poem underlines that some Muslim literati in turn-of-the-century Dhaka conceptualized the city as beyond the borders of India (*Hind*.) In this last line, the poet claimed that he had come out from *Hind* (India) to be near Rahman in Dhaka. Thus, the young medical healer was a potent spiritual intercessor for elite *ashraf* Muslims in Dhaka on the borders of *Hind*.

This section has examined the interactions between the *Anjuman*'s traveling ambassador, Mazhar Ansari, and Habibur Rahman in Dhaka in early 1918. In Eastern Bengal, Ansari turned to *yunānī tibb* healers as capable patrons of Urdu. Along with this, he encouraged other elite Muslims in Dhaka to consider ways to promote Urdu as a language of science and to make it the 'mother tongue' of all Muslims. The following section explores Rahman's main contribution to the *Anjuman*, the documentation of a recent Persian 'Golden Age' in Eastern Bengal to serve as the historical memory for an anticipated cosmopolitan future for Urdu science.

IV. "The Golden Age of the Muslims of Bengal"

This section examines Habibur Rahman's longest lasting textual project, the forty-year effort to document a Persian 'Golden Age' in Bengal in an ambitious three-part anthology of all the Persian, Arabic, and Urdu works ever written in Bengal, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, or *The Three Cleansing Waters*. Habibur Rahman worked on this comprehensive anthology, *The Three Cleansing Waters* for forty years and the draft remained unfinished during his lifetime. The title

of Rahman's anthology, *The Three Cleansing Waters*, referred both to the languages of Persian, Arabic, and Urdu that were documented in the text, and to the three major rivers of the Bengal Delta, the Padma, the Jamuna, and the Meghna rivers. Thus, the title grounded the project within the local riverine geography of the Bengal Delta, while also documenting three languages- Urdu, Arabic, and Persian- that pointedly did not include Bangla, the predominant language of the province. Furthermore, the term '*ghassālah*' can be used in reference to purification before Islamic prayers, which suggests that the three waters of Urdu, Arabic, and Persian could cleanse the province of Bengal, potentially in contrast to the Bangla language that was excluded from the anthology.

Habibur Rahman's work on *The Three Cleansing Waters* reveals two significant aspects of his promotion of Urdu in Dhaka. First, in *The Three Cleansing Waters* Rahman crystallized his conceptualization of a recent Persian 'Golden Age of the Muslims of Bengal' as the foundation for Urdu scientific knowledge in the present. Second, the network of Urdu-using and Persian-reading scholars across Bengal that Rahman connected through the gradual forty-year process of compiling of *The Three Cleansing Waters* constituted his audience for Urdu in Bengal. Habibur Rahman commemorated this recent Persian 'Golden Age' for a local audience of Hindu and Muslim elites to competitively promote the scientific and technical competence of provincial cities, such as Dhaka, in competition with Calcutta, Delhi, and even distant cities in Iran. Of particular significance, both the Persian-using Hindu elites and *ashraf* Muslims who Habibur Rahman commemorated had deep family origins outside of Bengal.

In 1906 the *Anjuman*'s parent organization, the Muslim Educational Conference, held a meeting in Dhaka.[138] At this 1906 conference, Hakim Habibur Rahman was commissioned to compose an anthology of all the Urdu, Persian, and Arabic texts ever written in Bengal. Inspired by the suggestion of the prominent Islamic scholar, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Habibur Rahman modelled *The Three Cleansing Waters* on the classical work *Kashf-ul Zunoon*, which was a massive bibliographic anthology of 14,500 books, by Haji Khalifa.[139] Haji Khalifa was a seventeenth century Ottoman geographer, scientist, and bibliographer. By making this classical Ottoman text his model for *The Three Cleansing Waters*, Habibur Rahman provided an early modern Islamic point of reference for his recovery of Persian in early twentieth century Bengal. Rahman began work on *The Three Cleansing Waters* in 1906 and the massive anthology was still not completed when he died in February 1947. The extant hand-written rough draft is almost six-hundred pages long with clearly delineated sections on Persian, Urdu, and Arabic.[140] The draft is undated, but it is clear from the multiple different inks and the many editorial comments that it was composed in stages over many years. Below, I analyze Rahman's edited rough draft of *The Three Cleansing Waters* and the Persian archive of early modern manuscripts that he collected.

To gather adequate information for his anthology, Habibur Rahman collected a massive library of Urdu, Persian, and Arabic manuscripts and books that he promised to donate to the *Anjuman*.[141] This library also served as the practical historical memory of Urdu medical writings in Dhaka since it was used by Rahman's medical training college from the 1930s. Although he does not explain why, by 1946 Rahman had decided to donate this library to Dhaka University instead of the

[138] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 12.
[139] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 15.
[140] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah* Manuscript No. HR 143 A-C (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library, Dhaka University Library, undated.)
[141] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 2.

Anjuman.[142] Compiling the *The Three Cleansing Waters* was Habibur Rahman's major contribution to the *Anjuman*. Along with this effort to collect a comprehensive history of Persian in Bengal, Rahman held an Urdu poetry gathering for the *Anjuman* every month in his home, with a selection of the poetry published each month. According to later accounts, Rahman's Urdu poetic gatherings would bring traffic in Old Dhaka to a standstill as everyone from shopkeepers to drivers would gather to listen.[143] This subsequent image of popular reception stands in contrast to Habibur Rahman's own writings, which usually emphasize the elite pretensions of Urdu.

In *The Three Cleansing Waters* Rahman detailed the contours of a recent Persian Golden Age in Bengal. He commemorated the status which Persian had enjoyed as the mediator of local knowledge into a more universal framework in the early modern Mughal Empire. For example, one entry in the anthology mourned the lost era when "the nobles of the countryside were great lovers of Persian and Urdu and were interested in poetry and verse" unlike today.[144] More than a memorial to the fading Persianate culture of Bengal's Muslim elites, Rahman re-imagined the history of Persian in Bengal as an integrative force for Hindu and Muslim elites for a future of cosmopolitan ties in Bengal through Urdu. Significantly, for Rahman, this lost Persian 'golden era' was decidedly late in Persian's history in the Indian subcontinent and stretched through the mid-nineteenth century. Much like the *Anjuman*'s scholars in other parts of the Indian subcontinent, he did not harken back to a distant past, but to a very recent history of Persian to which he was intimately connected by ties of family, education, and profession.

Rahman's proposal of a very recent Persian 'Muslim Golden Age' came to the fore in his expansive entry on the Persian translation of *Vidīyā Sundar*, a popular Bengali romantic poem, in

[142] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, i.
[143] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu*, 114 & 234.
[144] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 90.

The Three Cleansing Waters. The famous version of *Vidīyā Sundar* that was composed by Bharatchandra Ray was translated from the Bengali original into Persian by Munshi Nizaratullah in ~1824 and published in Calcutta in ~1852.[145] Rahman began this entry on *Vidīyā Sundar* by launching into a description of why *Vidīyā Sundar* was translated into Persian in the mid-nineteenth century.[146] According to Rahman, "because most people do not know the Bengali language, [they] cannot take pleasure from this poetic tale, [therefore] this Persian *masnavī* poem was written for the recreation of all. This was the Golden Age of the Muslims of Bengal and today, the situation is so changed, that even if a name happens to be written except in the Bengali language, the descendants of these above mentioned authors [who wrote in Persian] would not even give an answer."[147]

Rahman located the 'Golden Age of the Muslims of Bengal' squarely in the past. However, this was not a distant past, but a very recent history in the middle of the nineteenth century.[148] More surprisingly, Rahman located this 'Golden Age' in precisely the time period during which Persian was officially dislodged from the British colonial administration in Calcutta after 1835. Given that Persian was practically receding in the era during which Rahman staked out his Golden Age, I propose that this description of *Vidīyā Sundar* registered the loss of a certain kind of elite Bengali-ness which had been mediated by Persian. This Persian Golden Age was lost, in Rahman's

[145] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 8.
[146] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 7-8.
[147] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 7.
[148] Recent scholarship has argued for a new chronology of literary 'modernity' in Persian and Urdu cultures in India. For example, Ryan Perkins argued that for members of Muslim social associations in late nineteenth century northern India, the Islamic "golden age was not merely present in the past, but … existed all around them. "See: C. Ryan Perkins, "A New *Pablik*: Abdul Halim Sharar, volunteerism, and the Anjuman-e Dar-us-Salam in late nineteenth-century India," *Modern Asian Studies*, 49.4 (2015): 1081. Furthermore, Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi argued that Persian engagements with European science in India and Iran revealed "a different account and periodization of Persianate modernity," Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "Early Persianate Modernity," *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*, Sheldon Pollock, editor (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 264-266, 268-269, & 274.

telling, because the Bengali language, detached from a wider Persian ecumene, was limited to a more local setting. It was this capacity of Persian to connect Bengal to a wider trans-regional framework up until the mid-nineteenth century- along with the prestige of Persian and its medical and magical potential- that Rahman wanted to commemorate as the anticipated future for Urdu science. Rahman's proposal of a Persian 'Golden Age of the Muslims of Bengal' that centered on the translation of *Vidīyā Sundar* also indicates the profoundly local significance of his promotion of Urdu through the Persian past in Bengal since he was inspired to commemorate this local Persian Golden Age at length in an entry on a very popular Bengali poem.

The ambivalent relationship of Bengal's Urdu-speaking Muslim elite to the Bengali language threaded its way throughout this entry. For example, Rahman noted that "a half century ago, *Vidīyā Sundar* had great popularity in Bengal. *Ashraf* [elite Muslim] elders forbade their sons and daughters from listening to it. *Vidīyā Sundar* was also performed in the format of a drama in Dhaka in Urdu and Bengali. In childhood, I had heard the name *Vidīyā Sundar*, but now it is only in old age that I have been successful in reading it."[149] Although *ashraf* Muslims attempted to stop their children from listening to this earthy Bengali romance, it had been rendered into Persian precisely to reach a wider Muslim audience. This framing of nineteenth century Persian as the vehicle to reach a wider audience and of Bengali, the language spoken by the overwhelming majority of Bengali Muslims, as limited, is the reverse of what might be expected. Given the late date of Rahman's Persian Golden Age in the mid-nineteenth century, I suspect that in this anthology of Persian in Bengal, the discussion of Persian was deeply connected to Rahman's anticipation of Urdu's future in the province. Although *The Three Cleansing Waters* commemorated the Persian past in Bengal, it was written in Urdu. Therefore, this claim for the historical breadth of Persian

[149] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 8.

was, in part, a hopeful anticipation of the potential for Urdu to connect Bengal to wider Muslim intellectual networks on the imagined model of Persian.

To support the production of this comprehensive anthology, Habibur Rahman collected a massive library of older hand-written Persian manuscripts, which included many medical manuals. The bulk of Rahman's medical manuscript collection was in Persian with a significant number of Arabic texts. The contours of this collection give a fine-grained sense of how Rahman drew on older Persian hand-written manuscript cultures and medicine. In particular, this Persian manuscript collection informed Rahman's numerological, magical, and poetic medical tools. For example, he collected a Persian medical manuscript, *Zakhīrah-yi Iskandirīya*, which was described as "an excellent copy on different medical subjects …including elixirs, talismans, chronic diseases, [and] animal organs" in which "the author has given more attention to expressing the talismans and particulars of the stars. Likewise, he showed the methods of some physical and spiritual illnesses."[150] This mixture of numerology, astrology, and mysticism deeply informed Habibur Rahman's own medical practice that was described at the beginning of this chapter. Mazhar Ansari, the *Anjuman*'s visiting ambassador to Dhaka, also described Rahman's "manuscripts of hand-written books" in his 1918 travelogue.[151] Ansari drew particular attention to an extremely rare manuscript on the "logic of healing," which was from the library of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and had found its ways into Rahman's collection.[152] According to Ansari, Rahman's library also showcased a copy of *Norus Shāhī*, an Urdu manual on the distillation of perfume

[150] Syeda Farida Parvin, *Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the Dhaka University Library: Part III* (Dhaka: Dhaka University Library, 1968), 56.
[151] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 82.
[152] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 82.

[*i'ttar*], written for the early modern court of Bijapur.[153] These manuscripts, collected from different parts of the subcontinent, undergirded the production of Rahman's anthology.

Since *The Three Cleansing Waters* was not published during Rahman's lifetime it would be difficult to claim that it created a widespread cultural viewpoint in Bengal in the first half of the twentieth century. However, Rahman used the decades-long production of *The Three Cleansing Waters* as a means to connect his intended audience of Hindu and Muslim scholars across Bengal for the commemoration of a deep history of composition in the Perso-Arabic script in the province. Iftikhar Dadi proposed that early twentieth century Muslim artists "attempted to re-create Persian and Mughal classicism in an age of nationalism, capitalism, and decolonization, an age when addressee and patronage were in transition."[154] In a similar fashion, Habibur Rahman memorialized a recent nineteenth century Persian Golden Age in Bengal as a model for Urdu.

In drafting this anthology, Rahman drew together a network of *yunānī tibb* practitioners in Eastern Bengal, corresponded with the descendants of Hindu *munshī*s in Calcutta, and collected the papers of Urdu poets from Chittagong to Murshidabad. A crucial component of Rahman's outreach through the production of *The Three Cleansing Waters* was to Hindu elites whose ancestors had served as Persian scribes and teachers in Bengal. Rahman largely used his entries on Hindus in *The Three Cleansing Waters* to bemoan the loss of a Hindu Persian-using community in Bengal. For example, he described Munshi Jagan Nath and Gokul Munshi as two of the greatest Persian intellectuals of Dhaka. However, while "Munshi Jagan Nath and Gokul Munshi were really

[153] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 82.
[154] Iftikhar Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 89.

famous as Persian scholars from the Hindus of Dhaka, but today, amongst all of their descendants, there is no one who knows Persian, even if some of them can write in Persian."[155]

Habibur Rahman's acute sense of the loss of a Hindu Bengali Persian public is reinforced by his long entry on a Persian grammar textbook.[156] He noted that "*Persian Grammar* [was composed] by Pandit Data Ram Brahman. He was from Kashmiri Pandits originally of Delhi, but who had shifted to Calcutta for commerce. He composed poetry in Persian. He was the Persian *qazi* to the premier local Supreme Court Judge of Bengal, Shanbu Nath. This family has been present in Calcutta ever since, but they have become purely Bengali."[157] This historical shift from Persian textual expertise into a more localized Bengali Hindu identity was precisely the transformation that Habibur Rahman mourned and wished to reverse through Urdu. Another noticeable feature of *The Three Cleansing Waters* is that both the Persian-using Hindu elites and *ashraf* Muslims who Habibur Rahman commemorated had family origins outside of Bengal.

In Habibur Rahman's hand-written and edited drafts of *The Three Cleansing Waters*, there is little detail on when he composed the different sections of the long text. Although it is difficult to date different parts of the text from its commission in 1906 and Rahman's death February 1947, side notes and references dealing with Rahman's friends and scholarly connections across Bengal provide valuable insight onto the contributors and impact of the project on these contributors. Given that the anthology was never published in Bengal- and was only published as a Persian translation in the 1980s in Pakistan- it would be difficult to make many conclusions about its

[155] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 55-56.
[156] Ansari, *Safarnāmah Mazhari*, 61-63.
[157] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 61.

reception. Instead, the production of the text itself forged an audience for Rahman's Persian 'Golden Age.'

Many of the Dhaka entries in *The Three Cleansing Waters* were suffused with personal details of friendship, which indicates both the intimate connections of Rahman's vision of Persian and Urdu across Bengal and the very real limitations of this vision of Bengal-based Urdu science given its limitation to urban elites of external extraction. For example, the edited draft of *The Three Cleansing Waters* included many side notes concerning inquiries which he sent to the families of deceased literati inquiring about their forebears.[158] In one entry on Maulvi Vilayat Hussain, Rahman recorded that "I wrote a number of letters to his son…. [who worked in Calcutta's Madrasa Aaliya] if he could write to me concerning the details of the life and works of his famous father, but it is really to be regretted that these heirs did not want to remember their forebears."[159]

Ihis entry on a famed poet of Dhaka, Hazrat Azad Jahangirnagari, Habibur Rahman detailed how in his youth he spent most every evening in informal poetic gatherings in Hazrat Azad's home and that if he happened to miss one of these daily gatherings, Hazrat Azad would send someone out into Old Dhaka to locate him.[160] Underlining his claim for Dhaka as a leading Indo-Muslim city, Rahman wrote that Hazrat Azad was the greatest poet of the current age.[161] According to him, "the late Hazrat Azad was the singular poet and the pride of the age. He had such command over Persian that native-speakers were jealous and everyone knew that there was no one better than him in Urdu poetry."[162] Not only did Dhaka produce the greatest Urdu poet of the era, but according to Habibur Rahman, his Persian verses even made Iranians envious. Habibur Rahman extolled

[158] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 56-57.
[159] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 57.
[160] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 32.
[161] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 32.
[162] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 32.

Azad's descent from "the most famous nobles of Dhaka" and insisted that "he was extremely well-mannered and observed the ancient customs."[163] While *The Three Cleansing Waters* was aimed at a local audience of urban Muslim and Hindu textual elites of external extraction, the text was aimed to demonstrate Dhaka's superiority to North Indian and Iranian poets and scholars.

For Habibur Rahman, a claimed recent Persian 'Golden Age' was a means to competitively promote the scientific and technical competence of Muslim elites in smaller cities, such as Dhaka. Specifically, he used the anthology to claim that Dhaka, not Delhi, was the preeminent Indo-Muslim Persian princely center of India. In his assessment of the writings of Muhammad Sadiq Munshi of Dhaka, Rahman focused on the superiority of Dhaka to Delhi.[164] Rahman addressed Munshi's efforts to place Dhaka on a wide Indo-Muslim stage in an article titled "The Debate between Shahjahanabad [Delhi] and Jahangirnagar [Dhaka]." In this piece, Munshi comparatively assessed the merits of Dhaka, which was named after the Mughal emperor Jahangir, and Delhi, which had been rebuilt by his son, the emperor Shahjahan. In the hakim's estimation, "in this article the author fulfills the duty of love of country [*vatan*]. Meaning, he gave preference to Dhaka over Delhi. He expressed this claim with great refinement and elegance. For example, this detail is included that just as the father is greater than the son, thus Jahangirnagar [Dhaka] which is related to the father [Emperor Jahangir] should be superior."[165] Rahman thus endorsed the superiority of Dhaka over the most famous Mughal capital and proposed that Eastern Bengal outranked the imperial capital of British India in historical glory.

The material history of Rahman's writing and library also demonstrate the fraught history of Urdu in the frontier spaces where the *Anjuman* attempted to put down roots, such as eastern Bengal.

[163] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 32-33.
[164] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 100-101.
[165] Rahman, *Salāsah Ghassālah*, 101.

Beyond Rahman's writings, it is challenging to get a comprehensive sense of the history of Urdu in colonial-era Dhaka. During the Bangladesh Independence War in 1971 the *Anjuman*'s library in Dhaka, which contained a wide range of print publications and institutional records, was destroyed due to the *Anjuman*'s ultimate association with Pakistan's national language politics after 1947. Habibur Rahman's diaries, edited publication drafts, and medical manuscripts make up the bulk of the textual remnants of Urdu in late colonial Dhaka. The Habibur Rahman collection survived because it was classified as hand-written manuscripts in the Dhaka University Library before 1971.

At the beginning of his medical career, Habibur Rahman used older Persian genres of numerology and love potions in his medical diary to promote Urdu as an everyday means of Muslim healing in turn-of-the-century Dhaka. Then the *Anjuman* built on this local project to establish a regional branch in Dhaka in 1918 that was committed to remaking Urdu as the 'mother tongue' of the Muslims of Bengal and a language of 'the sciences (*u'loom*)." After 1918, Rahman commemorated a recent Persian 'Golden Age of the Muslims of Bengal' through the composition of a comprehensive Persian anthology and the collection of his manuscript library, which served as the historical backdrop for a cosmopolitan future for Urdu. In the final section, I examine contemporaneous discussions in the *Anjuman*'s headquarters in Aurangabad (Deccan) over the utility of Persian for Urdu promotion in order to contextualize these projects in early twentieth century Dhaka within the *Anjuman*'s larger network of Urdu scholars.

V. Debating Persian in Urdu Marginalia in the Deccan, 1920

This final section contextualizes Habibur Rahman's efforts to imagine a Persian Golden Age for Urdu in Bengal within debates over Urdu's relationship to Persian in the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*'s central headquarters in Aurangabad in the early 1920s. Abdul Haq moved the *Anjuman*'s

headquarters from Aligarh, in North India, to Aurangabad, when he took over the leadership of the Urdu promotional outfit in 1913. The *Anjuman*'s central headquarters remained in Aurangabad until 1938. (This era in Aurangabad will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.) The *Anjuman* in Aurangabad was located squarely within Marathwada, the Hyderabad State's Marathi-speaking region. While urban Aurangabad had a sizable Urdu-speaking Muslim *ashraf* population, most of the people living in Aurangabad District spoke Marathi.

In many ways, Dhaka and Aurangabad were similar urban spaces for the *Anjuman* in the first few decades of the twentieth century as former princely centers with significant urban Urdu-speaking *ashraf* Muslim populations within predominantly non-Urdu speaking areas. Just as Dhaka was a competing center to Bengal's major political and cultural capital, Calcutta, Aurangabad was the former capital and second city to Hyderabad within the princely *nizām*'s Deccan dominions. The *Anjuman*'s main audience in Eastern Bengal were *ashraf* Muslims in the former Mughal capital of Dhaka. These Urdu-speaking *ashraf* Muslims were located in a largely non-Urdu speaking province. Similarly, the *Anjuman*'s members and wider audience in Aurangabad were Urdu-speaking *ashraf* Muslims in a predominantly non-Urdu speaking area. The Muslim *ashraf* in Dhaka claimed descent from Mughal governors and armies who came to Bengal in the early modern era. Likewise, in Aurangabad the *ashraf* were the descendants of mobile Muslim elites who had moved to Aurangabad when it was the capital of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth-century and the *nizām*'s first capital in the early eighteenth century.

Although the *Anjuman*'s members in Aurangabad shared a similar cosmopolitan provincial heritage to Hakim Habibur Rahman in Dhaka, in contrast to Habibur Rahman's celebration of Persian, there was significant pushback to the elevation of the Persian past from within the *Anjuman* network in Aurangabad. These institutional conflicts offer a fine-grained look at how the

Anjuman's members debated the relationship of Persian to Urdu and commemorated a contested Persian Golden Age. Soon after taking over the *Anjuman* in 1913, Maulvi Abdul Haq commissioned Maulana Ali Ahsan Marharvi to produce an edited collection of Wali Aurangabadi's poetry. Maulana Marharvi was part of the Bilgrami *syed* family, a North Indian *ashraf* Muslim family whose scribes and gentlemen scholars were spread between Awadh, Calcutta, and Hyderabad in colonial and princely state service from the early nineteenth century onwards. In 1920, Marharvi produced a draft of *Kulīyāt-i Wali* (the poetry of the Wali Aurangabadi.) Wali Aurangabadi was a famous late seventeenth century Urdu poet from Aurangabad who is considered to be a transformative figure in bridging the Deccan's *Dakhini* Urdu literary traditions with Urdu poetry in North India in the early modern era. Once Aurangabad became the *Anjuman*'s center in 1913, Wali became an important historical figure for the organization to reclaim in order to position Aurangabad as a new conjunction of North Indian and Deccani Urdu scholars in the early twentieth century.

Along with his selected anthology of Wali's early Urdu poetry, Marharvi penned an expansive introduction which ran to almost two hundred pages. Although Marharvi submitted the hand-written rough draft in 1920, the *Anjuman* did not publish the text for seven years. Clearly dissatisfied with Marharvi's edition of Wali's poetry, Maulvi Abdul Haq soon replaced Marharvi's tome in the *Anjuman*'s catalogue with a second edition in which he criticized Marharvi.

In reality, Marharvi's introduction was less a gateway into Wali's poetry and more of a long polemic against Persian. In particular, Marharvi blamed the stunted literary history of Urdu on widespread patronage for Persian by Indo-Muslim rulers in the early modern era. In the original hand-written draft, Marharvi poured scorn on early modern Muslim rulers in the Deccan for their

preference for Persian which "was not the mother tongue of India."[166] Marharvi moved seamlessly from the era of the medieval Bahmani Sultanate across the early modern Deccan Sultanates and Mughal conquest to the early period of the *nizām*s of Hyderabad with little concern for drastically different political contexts, condemning them all for their preference for Persian. Marharvi insisted that "no language can become a literary language until a kingdom's kind hand of patronage is placed upon it" since "after gaining a place in the royal administration (*shāhī daftar*), the expansion and universality that will be gained for a language cannot even be described."[167] Marharvi complained that not until "the sun of the [Mughal] *sultanat* began to set" could Urdu shine since "Urdu advanced to the same extent that the significance of the Persian language declined."[168]

In Marharvi's telling, this crucial turn away from Persian and towards Urdu in the late nineteenth century was orchestrated by the Asif Jahi *nizām*s of Hyderabad. Marharvi claimed that "for ages, the royal administration of the kingdom of the Deccan (*mumalakat-i Deccan)* was run through the Persian language, but instead, this blessed era is adorned with the jewel of Urdu and … the honor of the sovereign [to Urdu] does not remain limited only to administrative offices, but the ruler himself with great kindness and interest has increased the literary wealth of this language" since the *nizām* composed Urdu poetry.[169] Marharvi insisted that the entire "population of *Hindustan*'s literati" were grateful for the *nizām*'s patronage for Urdu.[170]

Marharvi asserted that the patronage of the Hyderabad princely state for Urdu had created a "new world" for the language in the early twentieth century. According to Marharvi, due to the

[166] Maulana Ali Ahsan Marharvi, *Dīvān-i Walī ma' savāneh-i Walī* Draft Copy (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu Hind Manuscript Archive, 1920), 205.
[167] Marharvi, *Dīvān-i Walī ma' savāneh-i Walī* Draft Copy, 205.
[168] Marharvi, *Dīvān-i Walī ma' savāneh-i Walī* Draft Copy, 206-207 and 216.
[169] Marharvi, *Dīvān-i Walī ma' savāneh-i Walī* Draft Copy, 217.
[170] Marharvi, *Dīvān-i Walī ma' savāneh-i Walī* Draft Copy, 218-219.

nizām's lavish patronage, thousands of Urdu poets travelled to Hyderabad, Urdu literati held the court of Hyderabad in greater esteem than their own teachers, and "it was visible to the entire world that there was no greater patron of the Urdu language than him."[171] Marharvi concluded with the hope that in the future, "God willing, with this patronage, there will now be even greater advancement and security gained [for Urdu]."[172] While Marharvi drew on older Indo-Persian literary tropes of praising royal patrons, what is noticeable here was the optimistic assumption that even better days were awaiting Urdu in the princely Deccan in the early twentieth century. In reality, Marharvi imagined a populist prince for a population which largely did not speak the Urdu language. In fact, the education policies favoring the small Urdu-speaking elite of the Hyderabad State were increasingly controversial from the 1920s and contributed to the 1946 Telangana peasant rebellion against the princely state's Muslim and Hindu feudal elite.

After receiving Marharvi's rough draft in 1920, Abdul Haq edited the manuscript over a seven-year period before publishing it. This hand-written and edited rough draft was forgotten and mistakenly housed with older hand-written manuscripts in the *Anjuman*'s contemporary archive in New Delhi. Abdul Haq's editorial pen made extensive interventions in the hand-written rough draft which Marharvi submitted to the organization in 1920 for publication. In the final 1927 published version, while Abdul Haq kept the celebration of the *nizām* as a princely patron for Urdu, he excised the entire preceding section rebuking early modern Muslim sovereigns for patronizing Persian instead of Urdu. Across the pages of Marharvi's hand-written rough draft, Abdul Haq carefully crossed out all the sections criticizing historical patronage for Persian in the Deccan.

[171] Marharvi, *Dīvān-i Walī ma' savāneh-i Walī* Draft Copy, 216- 217.
[172] Marharvi, *Dīvān-i Walī ma' savāneh-i Walī* Draft Copy, 218- 219.

Thus, the 'Persian Golden Age' which was carefully constructed by Habibur Rahman and Abdul Haq came under harsh criticism from some of their fellow *Anjuman* scholars.

A careful analysis of discussions of the Persian textual past in the *Anjuman*'s offices in the first decades of the twentieth century reveals both the potency of Persian as a historical imaginary for Urdu promoters and its significant limitations. While Hakim Habibur Rahman in Dhaka proposed a 'Persian Golden Age for the Muslims of Bengal,' Maulana Marharvi in Aurangabad viewed Persian as a historical impediment for Urdu's progress. What for Hakim Habibur Rahman in Dhaka constituted the historical mirror for Urdu's scientific future, remained an antiquated impediment for other *ashraf* scholars in the *Anjuman*.

VI. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates how the cultural authority of science was not limited to English-educated professionals in early twentieth century South Asia, but was instead potently mobilized by Urdu-speaking Muslim elites in provincial cities on the margins of North India to make scientific claims through the Persian past. These debates over Persian's relationship to Urdu reveal the enduring importance of Persian to Muslim scholars in smaller cities and commercial hubs across South Asia into the early twentieth century. For some Urdu language promoters in cities such as Dhaka, which boasted historical ties to princely courts, but were overshadowed by neighboring capital cities or commercial centers in the early twentieth century, the historical mantle of a Persian 'Golden Age' assumed even greater importance. For Hakim Habibur Rahman in Dhaka, the Persian past was a way for Dhaka to compete with other Indo-Muslim cities, including both its local rival, Calcutta, and the distant imperial capital of Delhi. In turn, Persian offered a rich repertoire of healing tools, Islamic magic, and romantic advice that was crucial for the local popularity of Urdu-mediated medicine.

Urdu scientific writing in Dhaka also reveals how the *Anjuman* drew on Urdu scholars with prestigious textual lineages to advance Urdu as a medium of scientific knowledge. The *Anjuman*'s members and audience were largely elite (*ashraf*) Muslims with family histories of Persian scribal service or religious expertise. Not only was the *Anjuman* a mobile organization, but it connected with local elites who themselves possessed family lineages of prestigious textual service and early modern migration for princely patrons. From Dhaka (now the capital of Bangladesh) to Aurangabad and Hyderabad (in southern India) in the 1920s and 1930s, and finally on to Karachi (now in Pakistan) in the early post-colonial era, provincial Muslim elites with family lineages of scribal expertise often aligned their regional literary projects with the *Anjuman* to remake Urdu as a medium of accessible, yet prestigious, scientific knowledge.

Chapter II: *The Lead Letters of Nasta'līq*: Calligraphic Type and Urdu Technology in the Deccan, 1913-1938

I. Introduction

In the 1910s and 1920s, the Urdu promotional association, the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, continued to expand into areas beyond the Urdu language's heartland in North India. In 1913, the headquarters of the outfit moved hundreds of miles south from Aligarh to distant Aurangabad, a provincial city in the Muslim princely state of Hyderabad in southern India. From its new base in Aurangabad, the *Anjuman* attempted to create viable type technology for the Urdu language's calligraphic-style script. For the Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman*, type printing was an essential component of the wider project to recast Urdu as a language of science. In the words of one Urdu type promoter, "it is an established viewpoint that the development of civilized countries depends on the advancement of sciences and arts [*u'loom aur fanoon*] and that the only means for the advancement of the sciences and arts is really the art of printing."[173] At first glance, Aurangabad was an extremely unlikely place for an Urdu promotional outfit with the ambition to transform Urdu into a language of type technology and connective capacity due to Aurangabad's distance from major Urdu presses and Urdu-speaking urban centers in North India. However, Aurangabad proved hospitable for experiments with Urdu type through the confluence of princely patronage, eager provincial elites, and a long history of Muslim technical expertise in the Deccan.

By the early twentieth century, type printing was increasingly seen in India as a key component of 'scientific' modernity. This conceptualization of type was certainly influenced by British colonial projects.[174] Furthermore, the accusation by many Orientalist scholars of Islam in the early

[173] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī ke āijād shudah va tīyār kardah haroof ke numoonah* (Hyderabad: Government Central Press, 1933), 3.

[174] For a critical investigation of the transformative limits of the print revolution see "How Revolutionary was the Print Revolution? [AHA Forum]," *The American Historical Review*, 107:1 (2002).

twentieth century that the invention of movable type in early modern Europe and the allegedly slow adoption of the printing press in the Ottoman Empire were indications of Muslim scientific decline, added urgency to Urdu type promoters in India.[175] In reality, printing presses had a long history in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish in the Middle East and in Persian and Urdu in British India.[176]

In this chapter, I compare how Urdu promoters in Aurangabad and Hyderabad attempted to enrich the Urdu language monetarily and scientifically through the creation of a technically viable and commercially profitable calligraphic-style type press. From 1913 to 1938, the *Anjuman* was based in Aurangabad where it drew together Urdu-speaking educators and scholars from across North India and the Hyderabad State. Muslim intellectuals used the distinctly provincial social and historical space of the city of Aurangabad in southern India to experiment with Urdu type printing and to commemorate a deep history of Muslim technological innovation in India. This provincial context was crucial since it was in Aurangabad that Abdul Haq fully developed his approach of connected local provincial elites with recently arrived Urdu-speaking Muslims from North India that would prove so successful in creating a pan-Indian audience for the *Anjuman*. The Muslim princely state of Hyderabad was ruled from the city of Hyderabad, which was the site of the development of a different kind of Urdu type. [The Hyderabad State was named after its capital city, Hyderabad. Thus, Hyderabad refers both to the city of Hyderabad and to the larger state.]

Between its founding in 1903 and 1913, the *Anjuman* struggled to establish itself among robust Urdu publishing houses and existing Muslim educational institutions in North India. The

[175] See T. F. Carter, "Islam as a Barrier to Printing," *The Muslim World* 33 (1943): 213-216.
[176] M. Brett Wilson, *Translating the* Qur'an *in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014) & Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840-1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

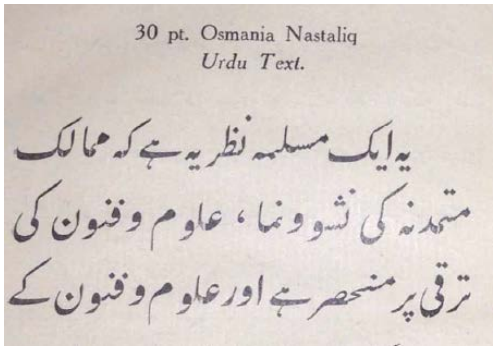
association faced financial challenges that made publishing difficult in its first decade of existence. However, in 1913, Maulvi Abdul Haq, an influential Muslim educator and lexicographer, was appointed as the General Secretary of this fledgling Urdu promotional organization. Abdul Haq immediately moved the association to Aurangabad since he was the District Inspector of Education in Aurangabad District. Although in present-day India, Aurangabad is a dusty industrial city in the western reaches of the state of Maharashtra, in the early twentieth century, the city was ruled by the Muslim princes of the Hyderabad State which stretched across much of southern India's Deccan region. The Hyderabad State was the largest princely state in British India with a population of 16 million people in 1941 and robust (if limited) sovereignty under British paramountcy. The Muslim princely ruler, the *nizām*, was one the wealthiest individuals in the world in the 1920s.

At the same time that the *Anjuman* in Aurangabad experimented with Urdu type technology in the 1920s and 1930s, the Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad, the capital city of the Hyderabad State, also toiled on calligraphic-style Urdu type. In the words of a 1933 promotional pamphlet for the Osmania Type Foundry, "the honor in achieving the revolution in type printing in the East was the good fortune of Hyderabad."[177] Thus, across the Hyderabad State, Urdu promoters experimented with type technology in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Why were the Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* intensely focused on producing viable Urdu moveable type technology in the 1920s and 1930s? In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Urdu printed texts were predominantly produced on lithographic presses and not on type presses. Urdu lithographic printing hinged upon the hand-written expertise of scribes and calligraphers since they composed the first copy of an Urdu page by hand, which was then mass

[177] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī,* 10.

reproduced on lithographic presses. Lithographic presses could easily reproduce the flowing calligraphic style of Urdu hand-writing, which is called *nasta'līq* and shown in the illustration below. However, it was difficult to render the flowing calligraphic style of Urdu's Perso-Arabic script in movable type as opposed to lithography. In contrast to the calligraphic style of *nasta'līq*, the other dominant style of Urdu printing is the flat *naskh* style. *Naskh* was easier to produce on a type press since the letters could be simply separated into moveable type on a flat line. Despite the relative facility of *naskh* for type printing, it was unpopular with Urdu readers who generally preferred the flowing style of *nasta'līq* (This will be discussed in more detail below.)



This is an example of Urdu printing in the calligraphic-style of *nasta'līq*. Urdu's Perso-Arabic script is written from right to left. As seen in this example, in the *nasta'līq* style, Urdu letters are written in a connected and flowing pattern.

In the early twentieth century, promoters of Urdu type were confronted with the challenge of rendering the popular calligraphic-style of Urdu writing (*nasta'līq*) in movable type letters. A significant number of Urdu-speaking Muslim intellectuals, including those in the *Anjuman*, viewed Urdu's reliance on older lithographic presses, which could not produce texts as efficiently or economically as mechanical type presses, as an impediment to Urdu's 'scientific' progress. Along with the cultural capital of type, concerns over speed and monetary returns also contributed to the effort to produce technically viable and commercially profitable *nasta'līq*-style type.[178]

[178] Ghulam Rabbani, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ki kahānī* (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Hind], 1939), 33 and Abdullah Chugtai, "Doctor Maulvī Abdul Haq aur unke khatoot," *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq be-nām Doctor Abdullah Chughtai*, Ibadat Barelvi, editor (Lahore: Majlis Ishāa't Mukhtutāt, Oriental College Lahore, 1972), 35.

In response to these challenges, Urdu promoters in Aurangabad and Hyderabad invested in a series of Urdu type projects to make the case for the Urdu language as the bearer of an integrative scientific modernity that could merge the ethics of Islamic calligraphy with the mechanical speed of type. They attempted to formulate viable type letter sets for Urdu in the calligraphic style of the *nasta'līq* script and proposed contending histories of Urdu technology that drew on different princely and scribal pasts to explain their type experiments in the present. I argue that Urdu promoters in Hyderabad and Aurangabad used the calligraphic and flowing form of Urdu letters themselves to draw together early modern hand-written and modern print textual cultures. The calligraphic-style of Urdu letters visually reinforced the link between older hand-written and modern print textual cultures since the printed pages of lithography closely resembled handwriting. It is not surprising that in the early twentieth century concepts of scientific progress were associated with type, but in the Hyderabad State, the lead letters of type themselves were framed as conduits of both spiritual and scientific advancement.

Despite the logistical and technological challenges posed by Aurangabad's distance from major Urdu presses, the *Anjuman* was based in Aurangabad during its efforts to create a viable calligraphic-style Urdu type press in the 1920s and 1930s. It is difficult to overemphasize how surprising Aurangabad was as a center for Urdu, let alone a hub for technical innovation, in early twentieth century India. Aurangabad had been a prominent city in the late seventeenth century as one of the capitals of the Mughal Empire and in the early eighteenth century as the first capital of the Muslim princely state of Hyderabad. However, the city steadily declined from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. By the time the *Anjuman* arrived in Aurangabad in 1913, its early modern glory had long since faded. Why did the *Anjuman* choose Aurangabad as its base to produce Urdu type in the early twentieth century?

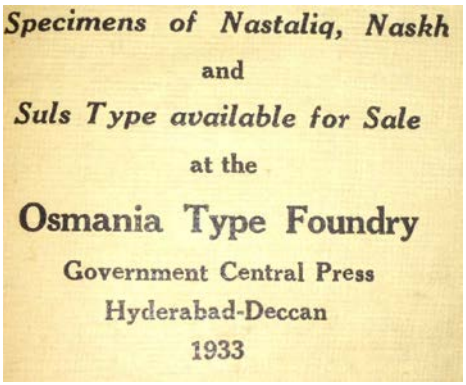
I argue that the Urdu promoters and language reformers in the *Anjuman* used Aurangabad's distinctly provincial social space and its distance from established Urdu centers in North India (and from the city of Hyderabad) to experiment with different forms of Urdu type and to craft Urdu historical materials that could connect diverse Urdu-reading publics outside of North India. If the *Anjuman* successfully drew on provincial centers across the Indian subcontinent to rethink the Urdu 'center,' Aurangabad was an important node in this effort stretching from Dhaka to the Deccan and on to Sindh. Furthermore, Aurangabad's distance from the city of Hyderabad was a useful means to maintain the patronage of the Hyderabad State's government while crafting an alternative approach to Urdu type from that found in the princely city. During its sojourn in Aurangabad from 1913 to 1938, the *Anjuman* fashioned the scientific expectations and conceptualization of Urdu's mobile history that would shape its subsequent approach to national politics, first for late colonial India when the association moved to Delhi in 1938, and then for post-colonial Pakistan when it shifted to Karachi in 1949.

More broadly, this story of Urdu type and local history in Aurangabad from 1913 to 1938 crisscrosses what are usually taken to be transformative moments in the formation of a distinctive Indian Muslim political consciousness, namely the Khilafat Movement (1919-1924) and the rise of the Muslim League in the 1930s. These two historical developments are usually interpreted as contributing to growing Muslim political separatism in India that culminated in the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Instead, across this time period, the *Anjuman* built a pan-South Asian Muslim audience from the provincial town of Aurangabad with explicit political and geographic ambitions

for the Urdu language.[179] This suggests the need for new histories of Muslim politics in early twentieth century South Asia that take a wider geographical lens.

In the first section below, I discuss the Urdu type experiments in the Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad that were centered on royal prestige, esoteric Islam, and transnational comparisons to promote Hyderabad as a new global center for Islamic sciences. Then, in the following section, I analyze the *Anjuman*'s changing efforts to produce viable and profitable Urdu type in the organization's first press in Aurangabad in the 1920s and 1930s. In the final section, I examine how the *Anjuman*'s Muslim intellectuals intervened in the local history of Aurangabad to build a case for a long history of vibrant Muslim technical skills in the Deccan that was centered in the early modern Persian scribes and waterways of Aurangabad.

II. **"The Lovers of the Lead Letters of *Nasta'līq*"**



In 1933 the Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad produced a catalogue, shown above, to promote "Specimens of Nastaliq, Naskh, and Suls Type available for sale at the Osmania Type Foundry."[180]

[179] Kavita Datla and Eric Beverley explored the complicated relationship of the Muslim elite in the Hyderabad State to different national currents in the decades before the conquest of the princely state in 1948. See: Kavita Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam: Urdu Nationalism and Colonial India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013) and Eric Beverley, *Hyderabad, British India, and the World: Muslim Networks and Minor Sovereignty, c. 1850-1950* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015.)

This section examines the technical products and historical claims of the Osmania Type Foundry in the city of Hyderabad in the 1920s and early 1930s. While the Hyderabad-based Osmania Type Foundry and the Aurangabad-based *Anjuman* were both committed to producing viable calligraphic-style Urdu type, the two presses eventually diverged in their use of Persian, Islam, and local history in promoting their competing Urdu type projects. The Osmania Type Foundry in the city of Hyderabad developed the claim that both spiritual advancement and material progress were located in the lead letters of the type press themselves.

The Osmania Type Foundry was funded by the princely Hyderabad State to produce a series of marketable calligraphic-style type letter sets for Urdu. The Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad carefully crafted its type letters and exemplary catalog to make the case for Hyderabad as a new global center for modern scientific progress and deep Islamic learning. Instead of more territorially-grounded notions of nationalism, the Muslim intellectuals in the Osmania Type Foundry conceptualized Urdu technological modernity within a continuing lineage of Islamic monarchy and a wider world of Persian knowledge. Furthermore, they placed the modern pursuit of type technology within pre-print handwritten cultures and esoteric Islamic knowledge. Given the twinned nature of the Urdu and Hindi languages in North India, the modern trajectories of Urdu and Hindi nationalisms are often assumed to be parallel.[181] This has been assisted by the post-colonial mapping of the two languages onto the separate national spaces of Pakistan and India. However, this obscures the extent to which Urdu in the Hyderabad State had a different historical trajectory. The promotion of Urdu type through Persian and classical Islamic references had little to do with nationalism. Instead, in the city of Hyderabad, Urdu type was associated with a trans-

[181] Amrit Rai, *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi-Urdu,* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984 & Christopher King, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India,* Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1994.

regional constellation of Islamic reference points and a deep history of Muslim sovereignty in the Deccan.

The creation of moveable type products in the Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad city and the *Anjuman* in Aurangabad was intended to make publishing more profitable and efficient while maintaining the skills required of calligraphy. From the late eighteenth century, Urdu books were reproduced on lithographic presses in Calcutta and North India. Early modern Urdu hand-written manuscripts had been written in a variety of script styles that included a popular calligraphic-style (*nastaliq*) and a bureaucratic scribal style (*shikasta*.)[182] However, due to the introduction of lithographic presses in nineteenth century Calcutta and North India by Christian missionary outfits and the British colonial government, calligraphic-style *nastaliq* was gradually standardized for Urdu publishing since lithography was ideally suited to reproduce the hand-written pages of flowing calligraphic *nastaliq*. Furthermore, thanks to the dominance of lithographic presses in nineteenth century Urdu publishing, older Indo-Muslim textual skills, particularly calligraphy, were given a new lease on life by lithographic printing instead of print rapidly eliminating older hand-written textual cultures in India. Lithographic presses employed calligraphers and scribes to make the first copy of an Urdu page that would then be reproduced on the lithographic press. The popularity of lithograph-produced calligraphic-style *nastaliq* produced a challenge for Urdu type promoters in early twentieth century India since it was difficult to render

[182] The calligraphic style of Urdu's flowing *nasta'līq* script, which historically drew on Persian calligraphy, was popularized in published books by lithographic publishing in the second half of the nineteenth century. Lithograph printing itself was widely used in nineteenth century South Asia book printing. See: Ulrike Starks, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2008), 44-47. While initially in the nineteenth century lithography was more efficient and affordable than movable type presses, by the early twentieth century, changes in type technology reversed this advantage As Ulrike Starks observed, Urdu printed texts in "lithography drew much of its cultural authority from its visible proximity to the manuscript tradition" since it was allowed for large scale production of manuscript-style texts and "provided an important visual link between the lithographed book and the manuscript" (46-47.)

the calligraphic-style of *nastaliq* in moveable type letters. This contrasted to the widespread use of type printing in the Perso-Arabic script in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish publishing in the Middle East in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[183]

In response to this challenge of rendering Urdu's popular calligraphic-style in moveable type, the Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad attempted to link early modern hand-written and modern print textual cultures in surprising ways in the 1920s and 1930s. Urdu publishing had long depended upon the hand-written expertise of scribes and calligraphers. Furthermore, the calligraphic-style of Urdu letters themselves visually reinforced these links between handwriting, print, and the genealogy of religious practice through calligraphers. In his work on Indo-Muslim textual cultures, Nile Green has demonstrated the multifaceted ways in which early modern hand-written textual cultures, usually connected to esoteric knowledge and Muslim Sufi saints, shaped the reception and circulation of Urdu and Persian printed texts in modern India.[184]

Scholarship on Urdu in the second half of the nineteenth century following the collapse of Mughal patronage and the onset of direct British rule has examined the ways in which older poetic genres were restructured by colonial policies of moral reform and how lithograph printing shaped the transformation of older Indo-Persian manuscript literary genres into Urdu print.[185] While this

[183] For recent scholarship on vibrant printing projects in the Ottoman Empire, see: Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, 16th- 19th Centuries* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003); Dana Sajda, "Print and its Discontents: A Case for Pre-Print Journalism and other Sundry Print Matters," *The Translator* 15.1 (2009); Kathryn Schwartz, "The Political Economy of Private Printing in Cairo, as Told from a Commissioning Deal Turned Sour, 1871," *International Journal of the Middle East Studies*, forthcoming.

[184] See Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840-1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and Nile Green, "Breathing in India, c. 1890," *Modern Asian Studies*, 42: 2-3 (2008.)

[185] See Frances Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness: Urdu Poetry and its Critics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) and Starks, *An Empire of Books*, 2008. In *Empire of Books*, Ulrike Starks argues that commercial publishing houses emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century as "a new institutional space" in which older textual cultures and scribal professions could find employment and intellectual stimulus as "traditional structures of court patronage were rapidly disintegrating" in North India (266.) She traces how the modern publishing house drew on the model of the early modern "*kārkhānah*' in its drawing together of a range of technical, scribal, calligraphic, and

body of work on nineteenth-century Urdu often over-emphasized the radical rupture of colonialism in Urdu textual cultures, it did attend to the ways in which the material possibilities and limitations of printing technology shaped Urdu book culture.

In the 1920s and 1930s the Osmania Type Foundry hoped to blur the boundary between hand-written and print textual cultures. The Osmania Type Foundry aimed to transfuse the mechanical letters of type printing with the esoteric and princely motifs of early modern manuscripts- or the 'mystery' of the 'scroll of secrets' inside each letter of the Perso-Arabic alphabet, in the words of the Osmania Type Foundry's catalogue. However, it is worth remembering that although the Osmania Type Foundry was able to produce a complete set of calligraphic-style Urdu type letters by 1933, these sets of Urdu type letters were never completely functional or commercially profitable due to the large number of separate lead letters that were required for the complete collection and the weight of the entire collection. There were certainly quixotic elements in the Osmania Type Press's extended experiments with unwieldy and unprofitable calligraphic-style type in the early twentieth century. However, these type experiments revealed an extended effort in the 1920s and 1930s to present Hyderabad as a new center for Islamic science and royal literary prestige that was drawn from Persian literary culture and esoteric Islamic textual practices.

The Osmania Type Foundry forged type letter sets for Urdu, Persian, and Arabic as documented in a 1933 catalogue titled *The Osmania Type Foundry*. [The names of the authors of *The Osmania Type Foundry* catalogue and the technicians who produced the type letters were not included.] The first page of the catalogue for the Osmania Type Foundry announced that "the

literary skills of "traditional learning and craftsmanship" along with its new role "as a patron of literature and learning" in place of princes (267-268.)

varied beautiful faces of the invented types of the Osmania Type Foundry of Hyderabad are presented here."[186] The foundry grouped its type letter sets under the rubric of a new '*Osmania*' style that was named after the ruling dynasty of Hyderabad.[187] The examples found within the catalogue demonstrated the vernacular type capabilities of Hyderabad.

Although the Osmania Type Foundry produced type letter sets in Urdu, Arabic, and Persian, its primary focus was on crafting calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* type for Urdu. In fact, the Type Foundry focused on producing *nasta'līq* type type even when other non-calligraphic styles would have been technically easier and far more affordable due to the comparative ease of producing movable type letters in other styles of the Perso-Arabic script.[188] This was illustrated in an announcement in the *Osmania Type Foundry* pamphlet. The announcement read,

> "You should know that this type production and tremendous efforts and valuable investment are not connected to any commercial goals … rather its sole goal is that the Urdu language, which today is the greatest language of the land of India, will be safe from opposition and will continue to advance to new heights on the wide road of progress."[189]

The Osmania Type Foundry did not even use Urdu to introduce its type goals for the Urdu language at the beginning of this 1933 catalogue. Instead, the Foundry initially relied on Persian to introduce Urdu type. The expansive use of Persian in an Urdu type catalogue raises the question of why the Osmania Type Foundry utilized Persian to market the alleged mass appeal and infinite

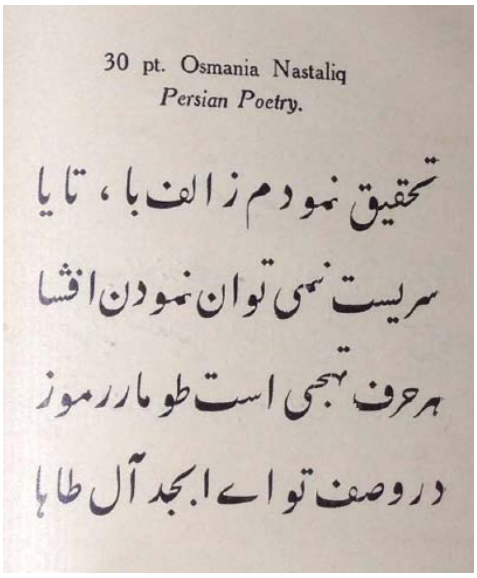
[186] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 1.
[187] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 17 & 22-23.
[188] Given the difficult challenge of producing enough letters for every possible configuration of calligraphic-style *nasta'līq*, it would have been easier for the Osmania Type Foundry to produce complete letter sets for the *suls* or *naskh* styles first since they required far fewer letter sets for the different configurations of letters (*U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 23.) For example, the Osmania *naskh* set included 326 letters and the Osmania *suls* set contained only 258 letters, which were significantly less than the massive *nasta'līq* letter set of almost 600 letters (*Osmania Type Foundry*, 19-20.) However, while the full complement of *nasta'līq* letters was already prepared in 1933, the *naskh* and *suls* styles were marked "under preparation" in the Osmania Type Foundry catalogue (23.)
[189] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 24.

reproducibility of 'modern' Urdu type? Published in 1933 with the goal of creating a profitable audience for Urdu type in India, Persian would initially seem to be an odd marketing choice.

In the early modern era, Persian had operated as a language of empire in South Asia to broadly incorporate a range of flexible conceptualizations of Islamic law, ethics, and philosophy into a vibrant political culture spanning the breadth of the Indian subcontinent.[190] Persian had been the predominant language of scribal administration, elite education, and poetic composition for Hindu and Muslim nobles across the Mughal Empire, which covered much of India in the early modern era. Under the early administration of the East India Company, Persian was patronized as a language of administration until 1835 when it was replaced by English and local vernaculars. Given its presence across the borders of India, Iran, and Central Asia in the early modern era, the historical memory of Persian was also a useful means for Indian Muslims to contest the narrow territorial demands of nationalism and minority religious status in the early twentieth century.

The first example in the Osmania Type Foundry catalogue was for "30 point Osmania Nastaliq" letters that were illustrated in a four-line Persian poem. Below, the example of 30 Point Osmania Nastaliq is given along with the poem. This demonstrates the utility of Persian in communicating both the mechanics and the 'mystery' of the 'lead letters of *nasta'līq* type' type for Urdu.

[190] See Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in India: c. 1200-1800* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004) & Rajeev Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire: Chandar Bhan Brahman and the Cultural World of the Indo-Persian State Secretary* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015.)



This poem for 30 Point Osmania Nastaliq reads:

> "I have done research from *Alif, Beh* to *Yeh* [letters in the Perso-Arabic alphabet]
> But your mystery cannot be revealed.
> Each spelled letter is a scroll of secrets [unto itself]
> The letters of *Tāhā* [a *Surah* of the *Qur'an* that claims that the Arabic letters themselves are a miracle of God] are in praise of you."[191]

Invoking the sacred 'mystery' of the Arabic letters of the *Qur'an*, this short Persian poem advertised the calligraphic print wares of the Osmania Type Foundry as both mechanical and esoteric. Despite the 'research' of the Type Foundry, the 'mystery' of the letters remained hidden. By underlining that each mechanically-produced type letter is still a 'scroll of secrets', the Osmania Type Foundry laid claim to the esoteric mysteries of early modern hand-written manuscripts. More than this, the reference to *Surah Tāhā* located the Osmania Type Foundry in a distinctly sacred Islamic lineage. Given that marketing Urdu type was the primary purpose of the Osmania Type Foundry, it is significant that it turned to Persian to do this work in the early twentieth century.

[191] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 2.

Along with esoteric Islam, the Osmania Type Foundry connected its type 'lead letters' to scientific advancement. This was illustrated by the second example in the Osmania Type Foundry catalogue, "30 point Osmania Nastaliq," which was rendered through a short Urdu prose passage. The passage read "it is an established viewpoint that the development of civilized countries depends on the advancement of sciences and arts [*u'loom aur fanoon*] and that the only means for the advancement of sciences and arts is really the art of printing - the swift advancement of the knowledge of the West was achieved through printing."[192]

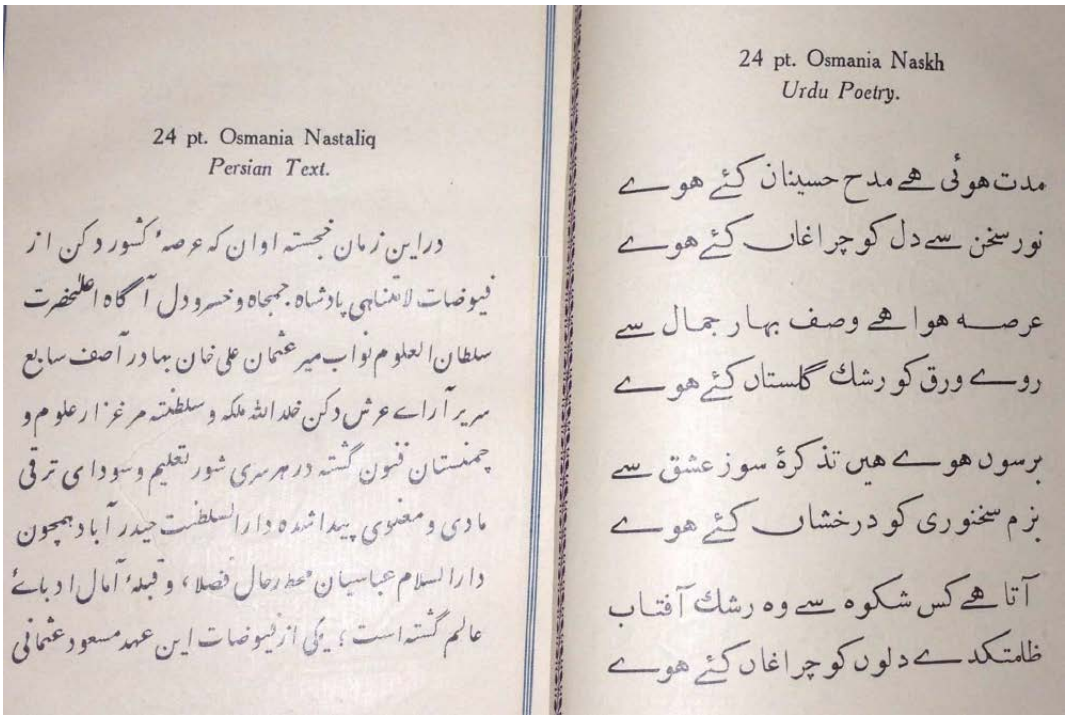
This connection between type and 'sciences and arts' (*u'loom aur fanoon*) was fleshed out in two passages in the Osmania Type Foundry catalogue that dealt with two languages, Persian and Turkish, to which Urdu was linguistically connected. In these two passages, an alternative history of Urdu promotion in the Deccan region was centered on royal prestige, esoteric Islam, and trans-regional comparisons to other languages beyond India. Fusing these concerns with science and the esoteric mysteries of Islam, the Osmania Type Foundry used Persian to promote the city of Hyderabad as a new global center for Islamic sciences and Hyderabad's prince as a model Muslim ruler. Reaching beyond territorially-driven nationalist claims, I argue that Persian was deployed to ground the Osmania Type Foundry in an older genealogy of Muslim royal and literary prestige from the early modern era in the Indian subcontinent and Iran.[193]

In her recent work on early twentieth century Hyderabad, Kavita Datla argued that Urdu educators in Hyderabad fashioned Urdu as "a worldly vernacular that would rival English as a language of business and learned conversation."[194] While this project to replace English with Urdu

[192] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 3.
[193] Unfortunately, there is very little in the catalogue, *The Osmania Type Foundry*, about the Urdu scholars and technicians who worked in the Hyderabad-based foundry or the reception of the Osmania Type Foundry's typefaces. During follow-up research in the British Library, I plan to rectify this limitation.
[194] Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam*, 58, 81, & 118.

was certainly a major component of Urdu intellectual life in Hyderabad, this section examines another aspect of Urdu politics in Hyderabad. Along with this hope to replace English, Hyderabad-based Urdu promoters drew on Persian's early modern trans-regional reach across South and Central Asia to map out an alternative future for Urdu. The Osmania Type Foundry advanced Persian's cosmopolitan prestige and trans-regional connections as a model for Urdu type. It was precisely Persian's geographic reach and capacity to incorporate a wide range of scientific, philosophical, and ethical tools which Urdu reformers in the twentieth-century evoked as the Persian inheritance of Urdu.

In this exemplary Persian passage for "24 Point Osmania Nastaliq" both spiritual advancement and material progress are located in the type letters themselves. Not only were concepts of 'scientific' advancement associated with type, but here the lead letters of type are framed as conduits of both spiritual and scientific progress. The image below from the Osmania Type Foundry catalogue shows the 24 Point Osmania *nasta'līq* example in Persian prose on the left-hand side. On the right-hand side, there is an example of *naskh*. The flat style of *naskh* (on the right) was easy to produce on a type press. In contrast, the more flowing calligraphic style of *nasta'līq* (on the left) was more difficult to render in moveable type.



24 pt. Osmania Nastaliq
Persian Text.

درین زمان خجسته اوان که عرصهٔ کشور دکن از
فیوضات لامتناهی پادشاه جمجاه و خسرو دل آگاه اعلیحضرت
سلطان العلوم نواب میر عثمان علی خان بهادر آصف سابع
سریر آرای عرش دکن خلد الله ملکه و سلطنته مرغزار علوم و
چمنستان فنون گشته در هر سری شور تعلیم و سودای ترقی
مادی و معنوی پیدا شده دار السلطنت حیدر آباد همچون
دار السلام عباسیان محط رحال فضلا، و قبلهٔ آمال ادبای
عالم گشته است ؛ یکی از فیوضات این عهد مسعود عثمانی

24 pt. Osmania Naskh
Urdu Poetry.

مدت ہوئی ہے مدح حسینان کئے ہوے
نور سخن سے دل کو چراغاں کئے ہوے

عرصہ ہوا ہے وصف بہار جمال سے
روے ورق کو رشک گلستاں کئے ہوے

برسوں ہوے ہیں تذکرۂ سوز عشق سے
بزم سخنوری کو درخشاں کئے ہوے

آتا ہے کس شکوہ سے وہ رشک آفتاب
ظلمتکدے دلوں کو چراغاں کئے ہوے

The Persian prose passage for 24 point Osmania *nasta'līq* began by extolling the current prince of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Ali Khan, as a modern-day Persian sovereign. "In this auspicious era … one of the infinite blessings is that the emperor (*Pādshāh*), whose majesty is like that of *Jamshed* [classical Iranian ruler], and who has a heart like the great Persian king *Khusro*, is the elevated Sultan of the Sciences, Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur Asif Jah 7th."[195] The passage flagged the *nizām*'s title "Sultan of the Sciences (*Sultān ul-u'loom*)," which was frequently invoked by Urdu promoters. Proceeding on, the Type Foundry claimed that Hyderabad was "the meadow of science (*u'loom*) and the garden of arts (*fanoon*) where the leadership in the promotion of the material and spiritual progress of education and commerce is manifest."[196]

This passage then proceeded to anoint the modern city of Hyderabad as the new Baghdad, which had been a center of learning, science, and arts during the 'Islamic Golden Age' from the

[195] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 9.
[196] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 9.

eighth to the thirteenth centuries. The Osmania Type Foundry hoped that Hyderabad could become a new global center of Islamic learning and science in the early twentieth century to rival medieval Baghdad. It is worth quoting this passage in full:

> "The capital city (*dār-ul sultanat*) of Hyderabad, like the abode of Islam (*dār-ul Islam*) of the Abbasids [i.e. Baghdad], became the harbor of travelling scholars and the direction of the hopes of the scholars of the world; One of the blessings of this august era of the *Osmani* [i.e. dynasty of Hyderabad] is the invention and casting of the lead letters of *nasta'līq*."[197]

With the "lead letters of *nasta'līq*" the mechanical production of Urdu print was directly connected to the pre-print world of hand-written Islamic manuscripts. This comparison of early twentieth century Hyderabad to classical Baghdad was not just a rhetorical flourish, but located the production of calligraphic-style type in Hyderabad within a classical history of Islamic knowledge production. Furthermore, this passage asserted that like medieval Baghdad, early twentieth century Hyderabad was a global center of knowledge. However, if scholars from all over the world went to Baghdad of old, in this new model, Hyderabad would send its texts, which were printed on calligraphic-style Urdu type presses, all over the world.[198] This promotion of Hyderabad as the new Baghdad could also be read in support of the Osmania Type Foundry and the *Anjuman*'s contestation of the contemporary Turkish language reform, which will be discussed below. Given that, in reality, Hyderabad was the provincial capital of a princely state within British-ruled India, many of these claims were hyperbolic and largely aspirational. However, this passage does flag

[197] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 9.

[198] This representation of the city of Hyderabad as the new *dār-ul Islām* was part of the last *nizām*'s caliphal self-presentation. According to Guy Attewell, when he sponsored the building of a Muslim humoral medical college in Hyderabad, the *nizām* drew on Abbasid architectural themes. Attewell claimed that "this suggests that Osman Ali Khan was looking beyond Hyderabad and saw himself as the patron of a much broader constituency, one resonating with the Khilafat ambitions in which tibb had become a potent symbol of a glorious Muslim heritage." See: Guy Attewell, *A Refiguring Unani Tibb: Plural Healing in Late Colonial India* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2007), 124-125.

the global intellectual ambitions of Muslim intellectuals working with Urdu type technology in the Hyderabad State.

The Osmania Type Foundry acknowledged that there had been earlier efforts to produce type *nasta'līq* letters, but that these projects had proven unsuccessful.[199] According to the foundry, these type letter sets "in this pleasing form and golden and bejeweled noble robes are offered to the well-wishers of publishing in the East and the lovers of the lead letters of *nasta'līq*."[200] Not only was the provincial capital of Hyderabad celebrated as the progressive center of the 'East,' but the modern lead letters of type were wrapped in 'golden and bejeweled robes' that were a common trope in early modern Persian poetry. Furthermore, the advocates of calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* type were presented as the famed 'lovers [*a'āshiqān*]' of Persian poetry.

Immediately after this Persian passage, the Osmania Type Foundry turned to a contemporary warning for the 'lovers of the lead letters of *nasta'līq*' that was provided by the Turkish language reform. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the newly established Republic of Turkey changed the script of Turkish from the older Ottoman Perso-Arabic script to the Latin script in the effort to create a 'modern' national language for Turkey from the older imperial Ottoman Turkish language after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.[201] Given the deep historical and personal ties between the Hyderabad State and the Ottoman Empire, Muslim intellectuals in 1930s Hyderabad would have watched linguistic developments in post-Ottoman Turkey with both deep interest and trepidation.[202] The wide impact of the Turkish language reform would have served as

[199] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 10.
[200] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 10.
[201] For scholarship on the Turkish language reform, see M. Brett Wilson, *Translating the* Qur'an *in an Age of Nationalism: Print Culture and Modern Islam in Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014) and Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.)
[202] The *Asif Jāhī* royal family of the Hyderabad *nizām*s cultivated personal ties with the Ottoman royal family as illustrated by the marriages of the sons of the last *nizām* to Ottoman princesses. Furthermore, according to Eric

a model for Urdu promoters. However, in contrast to the direction of the Turkish language reform, Urdu reformers hoped to harness the future-oriented potential of language reform, without a change in script since Turkey jettisoned Ottoman's Perso-Arabic *nasta'līq* script for Latin letters. Unlike the previous Persian passage, this warning was delivered in Urdu. Below, a translation of the entire passage is provided:

> "In Turkey, in the matter of terminology, the establishment of Latin letters in place of Arabic is a major change. Many people from the previous era still now give preference to the Arabic script in their personal letters and writings, but in official and business writing, for which the new Turkish script is necessary, their mode of practice is this: to prepare the first draft in the Arabic script and then write a version in the Latin script. However, now that the Latin script has been permanently establish for the Turkish language, the younger generations will remain deprived of the treasury of the sciences of the past (*khazaen u'loom mazīh*)."[203]

This passage illustrates both admiration for and opposition to the Turkish language reform on the part of Urdu promoters. On the one hand, the Ottoman Type Foundry accepted that the new Turkish script was irreversible. On the other hand, the Foundry celebrated that many older Turks found ways to avoid the new Latin-style script. The final line of this passage gets to the heart of the conundrum which the Turkish language reform presented to Urdu *nasta'līq* devotees. Although the language reform was future-oriented, it had made "the treasury of the sciences of the past" utterly inaccessible to younger generations in Turkey. The Osmania Type Foundry choose to include this warning about Turkish in its promotional catalogue- immediately after the celebration of Persian- to present Urdu type as a way to circumvent this undesirable choice between

Beverley, despite the prohibition on formal foreign diplomacy for princely states in British India, the Hyderabad State utilized personal and intellectual ties to connect Hyderabad to global circuits of 'Muslim internationalism' in the early twentieth century. The last *nizām* cultivated ties to the Ottoman Empire and there was "enduring concern with the Ottoman state, even after its fall, as a key node in the Muslim internationalist circuit that ran through Hyderabad." See: Beverley, *Hyderabad, British India, and the World*, 101-102 & 121)

[203] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 11.

'modernity' and 'the treasure of the sciences of the past.' Instead, the Osmania Type Foundry offered Urdu *nasta'līq* type as bridge between older sciences and mechanical modernity. Furthermore, this exemplary passage illustrates the diverse and competing ways in which the Turkish language reform in the 1920s was received and reimagined around the globe.[204]

Interspersed throughout these exemplary passages in the Osmania Type Foundry pamphlet were technical and material details of the 'lead letters' of calligraphic type themselves. For example, on the sixth page of the catalogue, there was an entry describing the 594 different letters developed for the complete Osmania *nasta'līq* set of letters. The catalog categorized the letters of *nasta'līq* type as consisting of 457 single letters, 102 compounded letters, and 35 extra letters.[205] Some of the exemplary passages themselves demonstrated the technical capacity of the Osmania Type Foundry, such as the Persian poem for the "expanded characters" of the typeset that was designed for "24 Point Nastaliq."[206] This Persian poem is easy to read since it relied on commonly shared terms between Urdu and Persian. This made the typeset letters more accessible to an Urdu-speaking buyer, while maintaining the elite prestige of Persian. The words in each line were chosen to demonstrate the technical capacity of the 'expanded characters' of the Osmania Type Foundry. For example, the fourth line read "From house to house, door to door, ally by ally, street by street (*khāna be khāna dar ba dar, koche be koche ko be ko*)."[207] In this line the repetition of the word '*koche'* (ally) demonstrated the expanded form of the *nasta'līq* letter *che* ﭽ.

[204] For the book, I will discuss other comparative examples, particularly the consolidation of Bahasa Indonesian/ Malay in the roman script in Indonesia and Soviet language policies in Tajikistan, which shifted Tajik Persian from the Perso-Arabic script to the Cyrillic script in the 1930s.
[205] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 6, 19, & 21.
[206] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 13.
[207] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī*, 13.

At the back of the pamphlet, the Foundry listed the size, weight, and price per pound of each letter with the clear expectation that other presses across South Asia and beyond would be interested in purchasing the wares. Due to the lack of information about the Osmania Type Foundry, it is difficult to assess the reception and circulation of its calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* type. The Osmania Type Foundry insisted that even though the pricing was already inexpensive, they were willing to sell the sets of type letters for half-price in order to reach a wider audience.[208] However this claim of affordability is belied by the actual price listings in the catalog.

In fact, the Osmania Type Foundry's calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* set of letters was physically massive, technically unwieldy, and prohibitively expensive. For example, a full set of Osmania *nasta'līq* weighed 200 lbs and cost 180 rupees per pound.[209] Since there were over 500 letters in the Osmania Type Foundry's *nasta'līq* collection, this would have been a sizable purchase by any measure. A full set of Osmania-style *nasta'līq* was extremely expensive (36,000 rupees in 1933). Furthermore, given how bulky almost six hundred separate lead type letters would have been, the Osmania Type Foundry's *nasta'līq* type letters were not widely purchased. Given the princely aspirations of the Osmania Type Foundry, it is dubious whether widespread consumption was ever the primary goal of the press. Placed alongside the *nizām*'s Abbasid-inspired building projects and Ottoman family ties, the Osmania Type Foundry could be seen as a boutique printing press that aimed to display the wealth and noble virtue of the Muslim prince. This was underlined by the extensive use of Persian in the Osmania Type Foundry's catalogue.

Despite these commercial limitations, the Osmania Type Foundry represented a substantial effort to fuse the mechanical competence of type with the esoteric 'mysteries' of Indo-Persian

[208] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī,* 17 & 22-23.
[209] *U'smānīyah ṭāip founḍrī,* 23.

calligraphy and to locate 'modern' scientific knowledge in Hyderabad within a classical Islamic lineage. The Osmania Type Foundry presented Urdu type as part of a continuous Islamic textual culture dating back to the Abbasids in Baghdad with the *nizām* of Hyderabad as an ideal Muslim patron of science. In the following two sections, I examine the *Anjuman*'s intervention into the urban history of Aurangabad to promote its own version of Urdu type technology in the Hyderabad State and to excavate a lineage of mobile Muslim scribal expertise, which constituted an alternative to the Osmania Type Foundry's projects. Although Aurangabad was part of the Hyderabad State, the Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* developed a robust Urdu type alternative to that found in the city of Hyderabad and pivoted away from the esoteric and princely focus of Urdu promotion in Hyderabad.

III. The Garden of Urdu Press in Aurangabad, 1924-1938

From the mid-1920s, the *Anjuman* under the leadership of Maulvi Abdul Haq, attempted to craft a viable calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* Urdu type press in Aurangabad. Urdu type promoters in the *Anjuman* in Aurangabad and in the Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad cultivated competing Urdu type projects to connect the moral values of older Islamic calligraphy with the mechanical competence of modern type in the Deccan. In turn, these Urdu promoters in Aurangabad and Hyderabad presented contending historical visions. Urdu type promoters in Hyderabad emphasized the Muslim princely ruler's royal lineage and classical Islamic references, particularly to the Abbasids and Ottoman lands, whereas, in Aurangabad, the *Anjuman* underlined mobile bureaucratic and technical skills from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Before discussing the institutional *Anjuman*, it is important to get a sense of Maulvi Abdul Haq's career in the Deccan. Abdul Haq was born in Hapur, near Delhi in 1872 and was educated at Aligarh Muslim University where he became a devotee of the Muslim reformer Sir Syed Ahmed

Khan. After receiving his B.A. from Aligarh, he briefly sought employment in Bombay before permanently relocating to the princely state of Hyderabad where he received his first appointment in 1896 as the headmaster in the *Madrasah Asifīya* in the city of Hyderabad.[210] *Madrasah Asifīya* was a school for the children of soldiers in Hyderabad's army. Thus, from the beginning of his professional career, Abdul Haq was associated with elite education. By 1899 he left the *Madrasah Asifīya* to work for the Hyderabad-based Urdu magazine *Afsar* which dealt with military life.[211] Abdul Haq later worked as an Urdu translator in the Home Office in Hyderabad.[212] This training in education, publishing, and translation would prove crucial for the *Anjuman*.

In her biography of Abdul Haq in Aurangabad, the Urdu scholar Musarrat Firdous argued that although Abdul Haq began his career in the city of Hyderabad, he did not enjoy the city's princely atmosphere. In particular, Firdaus asserted that Maulvi Abdul Haq's "temperament was not suited to the princely attitude (*nawābī mizāj*) of Hyderabadis."[213] Therefore, in 1911, Abdul Haq shifted to Aurangabad where he would largely remain for the next few decades.[214] He was appointed the District Inspector of Schools in Aurangabad where he served from 1911 to 1917.[215] When the *Anjuman* shifted to Aurangabad in 1913, the association became part of a wider effort in the Hyderabad State to expand Urdu educational infrastructure, while preserving the privileges of the princely state's Muslim and Hindu elites.[216]

In Maulvi Abdul Haq's estimation, the *Anjuman*'s specific technological challenges in Aurangabad in the 1920s and 1930s were symptomatic of the larger problems that the Urdu

[210] Musarrat Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq ki khidmāt qīyām-i AurangAbād ke daurān* (Aurangabad: Muhammad Ahsan Siddiqui, 1999), 25-27.
[211] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 28-30.
[212] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 35-36.
[213] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 57.
[214] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 57
[215] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 61-63 & 68.
[216] Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam*.

language faced across India. Formulating a calligraphic-style Urdu typeset that could produce *nasta'līq*'s calligraphic form and slanting style with the ease and speed of movable type became a major objective for the *Anjuman*. However, as the years wore on and the *Anjuman* was unable to produce *nasta'līq* type in Aurangabad, Abdul Haq became more willing than many Urdu promoters to jettison the popular calligraphic-style of *nasta'līq* for the easy reproducibility of the flat *naskh* style of Urdu print.

Abdul Haq utilized the distance of Aurangabad from both North India and the city of Hyderabad to maintain the patronage of the Hyderabad State's government while crafting an alternative approach to Urdu type. The *Anjuman*'s location in Aurangabad provides a fruitful opportunity to explore what the political and cultural politics of India's largest Muslim princely state looked like outside of the city of Hyderabad, particularly from the perspective of a smaller urban center. More broadly, the *Anjuman*'s activities in Aurangabad reveal the multiplicity of contending cosmopolitan Islams in the Deccan in the early twentieth century.

Abdul Haq grappled with the challenges of producing a workable Urdu type press for the calligraphic style of *nasta'līq* from the beginning of his tenure with the *Anjuman* that could both function efficiently and yield profitable print runs for the territorially ambitious Urdu promotional outfit. From 1914, the year after he became the head of the *Anjuman*, he set aside a portion of the annual budget to save for a type press.[217] In 1916 the *Anjuman* was consulted by the government of the Hyderabad State about creating a viable Urdu *nastaliq* type press. Abdul Haq's own interest in creating an Urdu *nasta'līq* type press sprang from the practical challenges of the *Anjuman*'s expanding publishing catalogue. Since Aurangabad lacked printing facilities, he was compelled to

[217] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 176-177.

send the *Anjuman*'s print orders to Urdu lithograph presses in distant North India.[218] The delay caused by reliance on registered mail to exchange drafts and printed copies with external printing presses was an impediment to efficient book publication.[219]

Assuming the leadership of the *Anjuman* in 1913, all Abdul Haq inherited from his predecessors in the *Anjuman* was a single dusty chest filled with unpublished manuscripts and an empty cash register.[220] Abdul Haq immediately embarked on an extensive campaign to increase the *Anjuman*'s revenue. By all accounts, Abdul Haq was an unparalleled fundraiser.[221] The early expansion in membership rolls, was partially the result of the Urdu promotional tours undertaken both by Abdul Haq and by the *Anjuman*'s roving Urdu ambassador Mazhar Ansari, who was discussed in Chapter One. The *Anjuman*'s annual reports from 1914 to 1919 track how the uptick in members and funding was closely associated with the roving Urdu ambassador who successfully enrolled new members from Bengal to Gujarat.[222] Abdul Haq also used his educational tours in Aurangabad District as Inspector of Public Instruction to gather small donations for the *Anjuman*.[223] In 1914 the *Nizām* of Hyderabad made his first contribution to the *Anjuman*. Overall, the organization's revenue increased from less than 1,000 rupees in 1913 to 7,725 rupees in 1914 with an outlay of 955 rupees for the commissioning and publishing of books.[224] By 1916 the *Anjuman*'s monetary intake rose to at least 9,100 rupees and the *nizām*'s contribution to the *Anjuman*'s budget almost tripling from 1,200 rupees in 1914 to a permanent annual grant of 3,500

[218] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 152-153, 156, and 177; Chugtai, "Doctor MaulvīAbdul Haq aur unke khatoot," 35.
[219] Rabbani, Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 33.; Chugtai, "Doctor Maulvi Abdul Haq aur unke khatoot," 35.
[220] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 131-132.
[221] Choudhri Rahm Ali Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works All-India Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu* (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Hind], 1943), 9; Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 148.
[222] Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 25; Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 164.
[223] Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 15-16.
[224] Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 20-21; Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 136-138.

in 1916.[225] By 1920 the *Anjuman*'s annual financial outlay for book production, translation, and writing had drastically risen to almost 20,000 rupees annually (up from only 955 rupees in 1914). It appears that this annual outlay of 20,000 rupees held steady in the early 1920s.[226]

The establishment of regional branches of the *Anjuman* was an important component of this early funding strategy. The regional branches of the *Anjuman* usually consisted of local Urdu scholars, an Urdu-medium school, a night school for adults, or a library.[227] From 1913 the organized balanced between an ever-thickening institutional presence in the Deccan and attention to a wider pan-Indian potential provided by these regional branches. For example, in 1913 and 1914, along with founding its pioneering regional branch in Patna (Bihar), the *Anjuman* established regional branches in the city of Hyderabad and in Parbhani, a provincial town near Aurangabad. By 1916 the *Anjuman* had regional wings in the major colonial ports of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras.[228] By 1921 the number of regional outposts had risen seventy-three.[229] However, while the membership initially grew rapidly in the first few years of Abdul Haq's leadership (from 73 members in 1913 to 323 members by 1915), this quickly plateaued.[230]

So who were the *Anjuman*'s early members in the 1910s and 1920s? Although the *Anjuman* established members and branches for the organization across South Asia, the membership was initially concentrated in the Marathi-speaking districts surrounding Aurangabad. [231] This is evoked in Musarat Firdaus's gloss of the *Anjuman*'s 1920 Annual Report:

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[225] Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 20-21.
[226] Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 30; and Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 172.
[227] *Sī Sāleh Taraqqī ya'nī Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Hind] ki Guzishteh tīs baras ki khidmāt va ravadād ka khulāseh āz 1916 tā 1946* (Delhi: Sadr Dafter Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Hind] Darīyāganj, 1946), 16-17; Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 27.
[228] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 134, 138, & 148.
[229] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 172.
[230] Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 11-12.
[231] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 133.

> "Almost all of the distinguished nobles of Hyderabad the Districts were partners of Maulvi [Abdul Haq.] In particular, Syed Ross Masud, who was the Director of Public Instruction of Hyderabad (Deccan), really favored the *Anjuman*'s works … Maulvi Wahiduddin, the first *ta'luqdār* of Beed (Marathwada), Maulvi Abdul Qadir Khan, the *tehsīldār* of Hingoli (Marathwada), Maulvi Saburzuddin, the second *ta'luqdār* of Hingoli, Maulvi Syed Hashim Ali, the Justice Minister in Osmanabad District (Marathwada), Hakim Muhammad Yusuf of Beed, Maulvi Sajad Ali of Ajanta, Syed Mahboob Ali of Jalna, Maulvi Syed Noor ul Hasnain, the Justice Minister of Beed District were all involved in giving service for the promotion of Urdu in one way or another."[232]

What is so significant about this 1920 list of *Anjuman* supporters is the preponderance of nobles, scholars, and officials in the small cities and *qasbah*s of the Marathi-speaking districts surrounding Aurangabad.[233] The deep relationship which Abdul Haq cultivated with the Urdu *ashraf* of Aurangabad closely resembled the ties the *Anjuman* built with Muslim *ashraf* communities in princely hubs and commercial centers across South Asia.

With these funds and provincial support in Aurangabad, Abdul Haq embarked on various type experiments. Not wanting to delay founding the *Anjuman*'s own press until an operational and profitable Urdu *nasta'līq* type could be formulated, Abdul Haq resolved to solve both the problem of the *Anjuman*'s lack of publishing facilities in Aurangabad and the larger need for Urdu type printing at the same time. In 1924 the *Anjuman*'s Consultative Committee recommended that the organization "introduce type printing for Urdu publications and to popularize type script [i.e. flat *naskh* type] among the Urdu knowing public."[234] Along with this, the *Anjuman* promised to use the technical expertise and earnings accrued from this flat *naskh* type press to develop a viable calligraphic-style Urdu *nasta'līq* press in Aurangabad. In 1924 with great ceremony, the Prime Minister of the Hyderabad State, Akbar Hyderi, opened the *Anjuman*'s first Urdu type press in

[232] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 170-171.
[233] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 163 & 191; and Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 61.
[234] Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 24.

Aurangabad.[235] The *Anjuman*'s press was called *Urdu Bāgh*, or Garden of Urdu. The Garden of Urdu Press was situated in the gardens surrounding Aurangabad's famous Mughal monument *bībī ka maqberah*, which was the tomb of the consort of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, who made Aurangabad his base in the late seventeenth century.

Thus, from 1924, the *Anjuman* had a flat *naskh*-style type press in Aurangabad. Along with this flat *naskh*-style type press, Abdul Haq corresponded with various presses in other parts of India, the Middle East, and Europe over whether they could produce a calligraphic-style Urdu typeset for *nasta'līq*. Along with this trans-national correspondence, Abdul Haq visited numerous printers across India in search of a viable calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* typeset and established a "Committee for making *Nasta'līq* Type in Urdu (*majlis Urdu may nasta'līq type*)" to oversee these efforts.[236] For example, in a February 10, 1927 missive to a friend, Abdul Haq narrated his two-week visit to Hyderabad during which he researched various type letter sets. He confided that "in the matter of type" he had some success since "now I will start to have it [the type press in Aurangabad] constructed" since he had landed upon Urdu type fonts which "were truly in accordance with the rules of *khush navīsī* [calligraphy]."[237] Although Abdul Haq hoped to begin construction on a calligraphic-style Urdu type press in 1927, this did not actually transpire.

Abdul Haq's correspondence in the 1920s testifies to the initial importance of calligraphic-style type for the *Anjuman*. In a February 1927 letter to Abdul Sittar Siddiqui, Abdul Haq described in detail a type machine offered by a German company that could allegedly produce 1,500 copies in an hour. While he was impressed with the technical capacity of the German copying machine,

[235] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 176-177.
[236] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 161, 184-185, 194.
[237] Mualvi Abdul Haq, *Urdu-yi Musafah: Doctor Mualvī Abdul Haq Bābā-yi Urdu madzalham ke khatoot ka majmua'h* (Karachi: Abdul Haq Jubilee Committee [Karachi], 1961), 45.

Abdul Haq was concerned that it was only viable for the letters of European languages since "those details which the German press has given, they are for European printing because there [in Europe] books are not printed from hand-writing. Here a press would surely be given printing work in which we had written the original in calligraphy to be reproduced."[238] In a subsequent letter, Abdul Haq mourned that "it is truly tragic that in India there is not a machine [like the German printing press], otherwise we would be able to observe this work being accomplished with ease."[239]

In another missive to Siddiqui in April 1928, Abdul Haq described his correspondence with the *Lind Type Company* over the production of *nasta'līq* type letters. Evidently, this company claimed that they could produce a *nastaliq* typeset with minor alterations to the circle component of the Urdu letters of *jeem* ج and *ain* ع . According to Abdul Haq, "the full circles of *jeem* ج and *ain* ع cannot be produced in this type. Therefore, the [size of the] circles have to be reduced." After asking for Siddiqui's opinion on the alternatives for these two letters, Abdul Haq concluded that "in my opinion, the second and third examples would be appropriate. In some instances, in calligraphy (*khush navīs*) they are written in this way."[240] This illustrates the ongoing pressure to produce Urdu type letters which conformed to calligraphic-style handwriting.

To secure the means for calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* type, Abdul Haq continued to reach out to contemporary Arabic and Persian presses well into the early 1930s.[241] For example, in a September 18, 1934 letter which he wrote to Dr. Abdullah Chughtai in Lahore, Abdul Haq informed him of the ultimate failure of his efforts to buy type letter sets from Egypt since "a response to the letter came from Egypt and they wrote that we do not sell type [sets], however we

[238] Abdul Haq, Abdul Haq, *Urdu-yi Musafah*, 45-46.
[239] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 185.
[240] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 194.
[241] Abdul Haq, *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq: be-nām Doctor Abdullah Chughtai*, Ibadat Berelvi, editor (Lahore: Majlis Isha'āt Mukhtutāt, Oriental College Lahore, 1976), 22 and 68.

do publish books."[242] The following day he sent Chughtai a second letter discussing the examples of flat Persian *naskh* type which Chughtai had procured. Abdul Haq wrote that "the example of Persian *naskh* which you have sent, it is really very good, from it the letters *re* ڑ, *dal* ڈ, and *te* ٹ etc can easily be used. In terms of this, if it is possible, please write after looking into this matter."[243] Abdullah Chughtai recorded that Abdul Haq not only invested the *Anjuman*'s budget in type experiments, but liberally used his own salary to purchase various type letter sets.[244]

As previously discussed, from 1924 the *Anjuman* had a functioning flat *naskh* type press in Aurangabad. However, despite exchanges with presses in Germany, Great Britain, and the Middle East, a technically viable and commercially profitable calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* press ultimately proved elusive for the *Anjuman*. Due to these challenges, Abdul Haq ultimately abandoned his original goal of forging a viable calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* type press and instead changed his position to encouraging Urdu readers to embrace the speed and ease of flat *naskh* type in the place of calligraphic-style *nasta'līq*. This transformation seems to have occurred in the early 1930s. It is difficult to locate precisely when Abdul Haq decided to jettison the hope for inventing calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* type for the existing type technology for flat *naskh* since retrospective accounts in the late 1930s and early 1940s claim that Abdul Haq always supported replacing *nasta'līq* with *naskh*, which contradicts his correspondence in the 1920s and early 1930s.

The *Anjuman*'s shift from pursuing calligraphic *nasta'līq* type to accepting flat *naskh* type contrasted with the efforts of the Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad to fashion a profitable calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* typeset, which was discussed in the preceding section. Abdul Haq's new found advocacy for flat *naskh* type is illustrated in a 1939 history of the *Anjuman* that was

[242] Abdul Haq, *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq: be-nām Doctor Abdullah Chughtai*, 19.
[243] Abdul Haq, *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq: be-nām Doctor Abdullah Chughtai*, 20.
[244] Abdullah Chugtai, "Doctor Maulvī Abdul Haq aur unke khatoot," 36.

written by Ghulam Rabbani, who was a member of the organization. In this retrospective summary of the *Anjuman*'s history and goals, Rabbani complained:

> "… today in our country and even more than this, perhaps in the entire world, Urdu is the only such language whose books are published through lithograph. Just like for ages our poetry has been caught up in linguistic intricacies, in this same way we are stuck with *nasta'līq*. This is not just the language's misfortune, but its death. There have been previous efforts to establish Urdu type [which were roundly rejected by Urdu readers who 'turned up their noses' at it]… Now the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* has taken up the burden of this task … Therefore, from the day that its press was founded in the Garden of Urdu [in Aurangabad], all of the *Anjuman*'s books, journals, annual reports, and other pieces of writing began to be published in type. Other than the *Anjuman*'s publications, the books and journals of other writers are also being printed in type in the Garden of Urdu Press. Now we will see when this heavy slab of stone [i.e. the popularity of *nasta'līq*] is removed from the neck of our language."[245]

Likewise, in his 1943 promotional history of the *Anjuman* in English, Choudhry Rahm Al-Hashmi mourned that "this lithograph system was a great obstacle in the way of the progress of the Urdu press and literature [and this reality] is now becoming increasingly manifest …".[246] He complained that "the prejudice against this [flat *naskh*] script did not permit universal adoption of it and litho printing continued to hold the day."[247] Continuing on, Al-Hashmi noted that "so far no commercially successful *nasta'līq* type has been molded and in the conditions as they exist to-day it is difficult to prophesy when that happy day will come. In any case, it seems that some attractive features of *nasta'līq* would have to be given up before a workable type in this script can be devised. But will it be wise to hold up all progress till then?"[248]

[245] Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 33-34.
[246] Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 24.
[247] Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 24.
[248] Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 25.

Since Abdul Haq already had a flat *naskh* type press in Aurangabad from 1924, the *Anjuman* was technologically well-situated for this shift towards exclusively *naskh* printing in the early 1930s. However, given the popularity of calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* lithography with many Urdu readers, the *Anjuman* was compelled to print its more lucrative textbook commissions on external lithograph presses to assure their financial success.[249] The *Anjuman*'s financial prospects were transformed in 1929 when the *nizām*'s government commissioned a set of Urdu primary school textbooks, titled *Urdu Readers*. *Urdu Readers* consisted of nine Urdu-medium textbooks for primary and secondary schools in the Hyderabad State.[250] In 1929 the *Anjuman*'s profits from book sales rose from 2,300 rupees to 11,487 rupees and then almost tripled in 1930 to 30,731 rupees as the annual sale of the *Urdu Readers e*xpanded.[251] The continuing annual commission of the *Urdu Readers* textbook series in the Hyderabad State and their sale across India secured this expanded funding for the *Anjuman* until 1947.[252]

The post-1929 *Anjuman* relied on the immensely lucrative print runs of the *Urdu Readers* series along with the financial patronage of the *nizām* of Hyderabad to fund increasingly ambitious printing projects. As Kavita Datla observed, the financial support of the Hyderabad State gave the *Anjuman* the means to develop "an all-India presence."[253] For example, from 1937 until 1947 the *nizām*'s government provided the organization with 45,000 rupees annually for the production of twenty new books a year, which by 1946 contributed almost half of the *Anjuman*'s 100,000 rupee intake of funds.[254]

[249] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 201.
[250] Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 59.
[251] Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 39.
[252] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 187, 190-191, 196-197.
[253] Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam*, 112.
[254] Al-Hashmi, *Brief History & Works*, 18; Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 46; and *Sī Sāleh Taraqqī ya'nī Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Hind]*, inside front cover.

To insure the popular reception of his *Urdu Readers* series, Abdul Haq printed this lucrative textbook series on external lithograph presses in popular *nasta'līq*. The *Urdu Readers* were written to be understandable in every region of India.[255] Beyond the immense financial reward which the *Anjuman* reaped from the *Urdu Readers* series, the textbooks also greatly widened the association's pedagogiccal impact since the textbooks were used in schools in Bhopal, Bombay, and the Central Provinces along with the Hyderabad State.[256] Demonstrating the series immense popularity, by 1935 the *Urdu Readers* series had been reprinted at least five times.[257]

The *Anjuman*'s reliance on external lithograph presses to produce its signature textbooks in calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* concretely demonstrates the limits of Abdul Haq's project to shift the tastes of Urdu readers towards flat *naskh* type. Ultimately due to the material and financial strain of printing the *Anjuman*'s growing textbook catalog on external lithograph presses, in 1934, Abdul Haq conceded and purchased a calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* lithograph press in Aurangabad. Thus, the enduring popularity of lithograph *nasta'līq* (and its real financial returns) compelled Abdul Haq to purchase a lithograph press despite his ideological support for type.

Despite the *Anjuman*'s extensive financial investment in Urdu type printing from 1924 to 1938, ultimately, when the organization's headquarters were transferred from Aurangabad to Delhi in 1938, its press in Aurangabad closed. After arriving in Delhi, the *Anjuman* abandoned the project to print its own books and instead commissioned the Latifi Press.[258] Despite the ultimate 'failure' of its Garden of Urdu Press in Aurangabad, I argue that the *Anjuman*'s varied Urdu type experiments in Aurangabad deeply informed its subsequent technological expectations for Urdu

[255] Rabbani, *Anjuman ki Kahanī*, 38-39.
[256] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 190.
[257] Firdaus, *Bābā-yi Urdu Maulvī Abdul Haq*, 195 and 197-199.
[258] Chughtai, "Doctor Maulvī Abdul Haq aur unke khatoot," 37-38.

in the contentious language debates in late colonial India and early post-colonial Pakistan, which will be more fully discussed in Chapters Four and Five. In contrast to the Osmania Type Foundry in the city of Hyderabad, which grounded its efforts to produce calligraphic-style Urdu type in the promotion of the *nizām* as an ideal Muslim prince and Hyderabad as the new Baghdad, the Aurangabad-based *Anjuman* pivoted to flat *naskh* type and commemorated a more recent history of mobile Muslim technical expertise in the Deccan.

Seen in contrast to Hyderabad, Abdul Haq's decision in Aurangabad to abandon calligraphic-style type by the mid-1930s indicates a gradual shift away from the political goals and cultural policies of the *Anjuman*'s primary patron, the princely ruler of Hyderabad. This slow divergence from princely Hyderabad was also illustrated by the kind of scribal and bureaucratic histories of Muslim technology in the Deccan that the association told for Urdu. The final section below turns to a series of historical publications in which Maulvi Abdul Haq and his students discussed the Persian textual past in the Deccan and the founding of the city of Aurangabad. These historical publications illustrate how the *Anjuman* intervened in the early modern urban history of Aurangabad to support the association's expanding technological claims for Urdu in the present.

IV. A Deep History of Muslim Technical Expertise in Aurangabad

This section explores how the *Anjuman*'s members used the historical space of urban Aurangabad to critique Hyderabad and its approach to 'modernity'. Although distinct from the *Anjuman*'s efforts to promote Urdu type, I argue that these historical interventions were part of a multifaceted effort to advance Aurangabad as a new center for Urdu that prominently included the *Anjuman*'s type experiments. In implicit contrast to the Osmania Type Foundry's representation of Hyderabad as the new 'Baghdad,' the *Anjuman* framed Aurangabad as the center of 'ancient' technical continuity in the Deccan and the city of Hyderabad as the space of 'modern' rupture. For

the *Anjuman*'s reformers, Aurangabad's textual heritage and material past served as a crucial arena for formulating what kinds of 'modern' bureaucratic and technical skills the Urdu language would need in the future. There is an emphasis in the *Anjuman*'s Aurangabad-era publications in the 1920s and 1930s on the scribal competence of Persian (and Urdu) and the technical expertise of mobile Muslim soldiers in the early modern Deccan.

In her study of Urdu in Hyderabad, Kavita Datla made the case that "the politics of the Urdu language have always revolved around place." However, she largely frames the *Anjuman*'s location in Aurangabad as almost incidental to the *Anjuman*'s pan-Indian ambitions.[259] In contrast, this chapter argues that the *Anjuman*'s Muslim intellectuals were deeply invested in making the place of Aurangabad central to their Urdu projects. Of course, the *Anjuman*'s presence in Aurangabad was contingent on the organization's leader Maulvi Abdul Haq's employment there, and Aurangabad was subsequently displaced by the *Anjuman*'s move to Delhi in 1938 and then to Karachi in 1949. However, this project of place-making in Aurangabad is crucial for understanding how the *Anjuman*'s mobile scholars first approached finding a 'new' home for Urdu outside of North India. The *Anjuman* attempted to document a deep history of mobile Muslim technological expertise in Aurangabad to form a bridge between the *Anjuman*'s recently arrived scholars from North India and its local students and workers in the Deccan.

I first examine the historical writings of Maulvi Abdul Haq, the leader of the *Anjuman*, on Persian and Marathi before turning to Sheikh Chand, one of his students in Aurangabad, who made the case for a long lineage of Muslim technical expertise centered on warfare and water in Aurangabad. Abdul Haq and his students positioned mobile Muslims as the bearers of an early modern technical 'modernity' in the Deccan. However, the different roles of Persian in these two

[259]Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam*, 107-109 & 115.

historical accounts illustrate enduring fissures in the early modern historical narrative that the *Anjuman* crafted for Urdu promotion in the early twentieth century.

It is important to contextualize the *Anjuman*'s promotion of Urdu in Aurangabad through the scribal past of Persian in terms of the Hyderabad State's linguistic make-up and politics, particularly Urdu's competition with Marathi in and around Aurangabad. While the Muslim and Hindu elites of the city of Hyderabad largely spoke Urdu, the majority of the Hyderabad princely state's population consisted of Telugu-speakers in rural districts. Although Urdu was the official language of the Hyderabad State, Urdu-speakers constituted only about ten percent of the princely state's population. However, the Hyderabad State also included small Marathi and Kannada-speaking regions in its north and south west corners, respectively. The *Anjuman* in Aurangabad was located squarely within the Hyderabad State's Marathi-speaking western border region. While urban Aurangabad had a sizable Urdu-speaking elite Muslim (*ashraf*) population, most of the people living in Aurangabad District spoke Marathi. Much like the *Anjuman*'s other urban centers across the Indian subcontinent, Aurangabad had a significant Urdu-speaking Muslim community who were located within a predominantly non-Urdu speaking region. In Aurangabad, the Urdu-speaking *ashraf* were the descendants of Muslim elites who had moved to Aurangabad when it was the capital of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth century and the *nizām*'s first capital in the early eighteenth century.

In their scholarship on the Deccan, Kavita Datla and Nile Green have examined how Muslim intellectuals creatively reimagined the Deccan's history for various Urdu projects. In his study of Sufi lineages in Aurangabad, Nile Green demonstrated how different early modern political dispensations in Aurangabad reworked local Sufi saint lineages for potent political claims. Likewise, he argued that Aurangabad's shrines and textual traditions constituted "a means of

writing the epiphanies of local history into the urban fabric of everyday life."[260] However, in contrast to the vernacular historians in Green's account who crafted a local history for Aurangabad from saints' shrines and Sufi texts, the Aurangabad-based *Anjuman* centered its narration on Muslim bureaucratic skills and urban development in early modern Aurangabad.

For Abdul Haq, the early modern relationship between the Persian and Marathi languages was a useful means for making claims for Urdu's technical capacity in the present. As previously discussed, Persian was the dominant language of political power, education, and trans-regional connection in early modern South Asia. In contrast, Marathi is a major regional language that is spoken in Western Indian, including around Aurangabad. While Persian and Urdu were increasingly associated with Muslims in the early twentieth century, Marathi is associated with Hindu communities. In 1921 Abdul Haq wrote an article on the historical influence of Persian on Marathi, which was subsequently reprinted multiple times as a book, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka asr (The Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language). The Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language* was probably less aimed at Marathi-speakers (since it was written in Urdu) and more geared to making a case for Urdu as the bearer of a new kind of integrative scientific and technical modernity to the Deccan on the model of a claimed cosmopolitan Persian past.

In his pamphlet *The Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language* Abdul Haq charted bureaucratic phrases which moved from Persian into Marathi in the early modern era and claimed that Marathi's early modern scribal script, which was widely used in administrative documents, was actually derived from Persian. Why did the *Anjuman* in the early 1920s turn to the influence of Persian on Marathi's scribal development to promote Urdu? I argue that the thinly veiled

[260] Nile Green, *Indian Sufism since the Seventeenth Century: Saints, Books, and Empires in the Muslim Deccan* (New York: Routledge, 2006) & Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam*.

implication of Abdul Haq's pamphlet was that just as mobile Muslims had brought needed scribal skills to the early modern Deccan through the Persian language, so too could the *Anjuman*'s mobile Muslim scholars do the same with Urdu in the present. In reality, the *Anjuman* was part of a competitive language environment in the Hyderabad State where recently arrived Urdu-speaking *ghair mulki* (non-locals) from North India, including many of the *Anjuman*'s scholars, often competed for jobs against local Urdu, Telugu, and Marathi- speakers who resented the preferential hiring of North Indians in the Hyderabad State.[261] Furthermore, Abdul Haq's tract on Persian's influence on Marathi responded to language reform efforts and nascent Hindu nationalist currents within the early twentieth century world of Marathi literature.[262]

Abdul Haq opened the pamphlet *The Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language* with a distinctly transregional (and not national) model for ideal language development. According to him, "in the same way that there is not any nation in the world that can progress without external influences and mixing with foreigners, in the same way, perhaps in the world there is no language in which foreign words are not mixed in [-] and if mixing did not happen, otherwise it is difficult for any language to come into the field of knowledge and advance."[263] Thus, linguistic advancement was tied to the intermixing of different languages according to Abdul Haq.

However, this was not an equal mixing, but one weighted towards cosmopolitan "culture (*tamaddun*)" in Abdul Haq's telling. Expanding on his model of linguistic mixing, Abdul Haq claimed that "this is the rule that when the conjunction of two nations (*do quomoṅ*) happens, then that nation (*quom*) whose *tamaddun* (culture) is more exalted and sustainable, its influence is

[261] Karen Leonard, "Hyderabad: The Mulki – Non-Mulki Conflict," *People, Princes, & Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States*, Robin Jeffrey, editor (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978.)
[262] Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700-1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.)
[263] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr* (Aurangabad: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu, 1933,) 1.

greater on the other *quom* which is less cultured. When Muslims came to the Deccan, then in comparison to the residents here, they were more cultured (*mutammadun*) and this was the reason that Muslim culture had a greater influence on the Marathas."[264] In Abdul Haq's assessment, in the early modern Deccan, Muslims were the bearers of a 'cultured' language (Persian.)

In turn, Abdul Haq criticized contemporary national linguistic projects for attempting to remove older Islamicate terms. Although not mentioned, he clearly directed his criticism towards contemporary efforts to free Indian vernacular languages, especially Hindi and Marathi, from Persian and Arabic terms that were associated with Muslims. This project of purification was advanced by many Marathi scholars in the early twentieth century.[265] Abdul Haq rejected these efforts to 'purify' national languages since "languages are not made from expelling or rejecting words or rendering them pure, rather their progress is from increasing their treasury of words" and mixing with other languages.[266] While Abdul Haq rebuked efforts to 'purify' languages of external influences, this trans-regional turn was weighted towards languages, such as Persian, and communities, such as Muslim elites, that he deemed were 'cultured.'

In explaining the infusion of Persian terminology in early modern Marathi, Abdul Haq asserted that "Marathi-speakers themselves must have felt that in these modern foreign phrases (*jadīd ghair mulkī ālfāz*) there is that power and influence that is not found in their Sanskrit and Prakrit synonyms."[267] Here, early modern Indo-Persian administrative and commercial terms were marked as 'modern (*jadīd*)' and 'foreign (*ghair mulkī*)' or 'non-local.' Significantly, the term used to refer to North Indian Urdu-speakers in the Hyderabad State's administration in the early twentieth century was the same term, '*ghair mulkī*.' Abdul Haq underlined his point by comparing

[264] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 5-6.
[265] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 6-10 & 16-17.
[266] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 13.
[267] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 10.

the trans-regional reach of early modern Persian to the contemporary influence of English around the globe.[268] By claiming unusual 'power and influence' for the 'modern foreign phrases' of Persian in the early modern Deccan, Abdul Haq implicitly made a similar case for the modern prowess of mobile North Indian *ghair mulkī* scholars in the Deccan.

Abdul Haq argued that "from the time that the very first Islamic government was independently established in Maharashtra, the influx of Persian words began to increase slowly like a flood."[269] According to Abdul Haq, early modern Persian had a deep influence on Marathi thanks to the use of Persian in government offices and courts in the Deccan, the preaching of Muslim scholars, and 'Muslim' crafts and professions.[270] To support these claims in his pamphlet, Abdul Haq detailed the formative impact of Persian judicial, administrative, scientific, and commercial terminology on early modern Marathi. He asserted that many 'industries' which Muslims either brought to India or invented there enriched the Deccan with Persian vocabulary. "Especially the art of war and engineering (*fun-i jung aur enjīneerī*) were two such arts that in India, Muslims greatly propagated and locals also had to follow them. Thanks to these arts, many Persian, Arabic, or Turkish words arrived in the Marathi language..."[271] Along with warfare and engineering, Abdul Haq included land revenue and legal vocabulary in the list of Persian professional terms that Muslims 'brought' to the Deccan.[272]

A particularly striking aspect of Abdul Haq's discussion of early modern Persian in the Deccan was the instrumentalist argument that Persian had a range of technical terms and mechanical capabilities to mediate between local and global concerns which other South Asian

[268] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 6 & 9.
[269] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 17.
[270] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 6-9.
[271] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 9.
[272] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 9.

languages did not possess. He claimed that "objectively, the real and true origin of the formation of Marathi's scribal script (*modi*) was the scribal script (*shikastah*) of Persian. And because the Persian script itself also had been created for this purpose, that the work of writing could take place more easily and quickly than was possible with *nasta'līq* [calligraphic style of Persian and Urdu writing.]"[273] According to Abdul Haq, Persian endowed Marathi with administrative ease and speed. He continued that "the Marathas had formatted their scribal style based on this [Persian] original and sample. Persian had just as significant an impact on this scribal style as on the Marathi language, such that Persian's influence will be exhibited as long as the Marathi language is in the world."[274] In Abdul Haq's telling, early modern Persian-using Muslims were the bearers of unusual technical skill and speed to the Deccan.

In conclusion, Abdul Haq framed Urdu and Marathi as the contemporary 'children' of Persian. He asserted that "Marathi and Urdu are sisters. Both are of the Indian race and language family and more or less both drank the milk of Persian and today both live side by side. From this, the connection between Marathas and Muslims is clear. …"[275] This seemingly benign vision of Urdu and Marathi-speakers as the children of Persian is complicated by Abdul Haq's insistence at the beginning of *The Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language* that only 'more cultured' languages deserve to influence each other. While Marathi was certainly shaped by Persian, Abdul Haq usually emphasized Urdu as the successor of Persian.

Although many of Abdul Haq's claims for Persian's influence on Marathi are historically dubious and clearly influenced by contemporary political conflicts, *The Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language* reveals a systematic effort to trace a deep history of Persian technical

[273] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 101.
[274] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 101.
[275] Abdul Haq, *Marāṭhī zabān par fārsī ka āsr*, 123.

influence in Marathi-speaking areas around Aurangabad. This project was taken up in the early 1930s by Abdul Haq's star student, Sheikh Chand.

In 1931 the *Anjuman* published an account of the founding of the city of Aurangabad in the shape of a biography of the city's founder, Malik Anbar, which was written by Sheikh Chand. The *Anjuman* used this 1931 biography of Aurangabad's seventeenth-century founder to popularly advance a historical vision of Aurangabad as possessing a deep history of Muslim technical skill dating back to its founding. Aurangabad's prominence in the early modern period was due to its links to local and trans-regional patterns of trade and administrative reform. In fact, Sheikh Chand comparatively analyzed Aurangabad and Hyderabad's built environments to prove Aurangabad's superiority to the princely state's capital city.

Sheikh Chand was from an Urdu-speaking Muslim family in the small town of Paithan in Aurangabad District. His involvement with the *Anjuman* illustrates how Abdul Haq successfully cultivated ties with small-town scholars in and around Aurangabad. Sheikh Chand was an undergraduate student of Abdul Haq's at Aurangabad College, where Abdul Haq served as the principal from 1923 to 1929. While at Aurangabad College, he edited the magazine *Norus*. After graduating, Sheikh Chand went on to become a close collaborator of Abdul Haq's in the *Anjuman*. He later received graduate degrees at Osmania University in Hyderabad.[276] Along with his work for Urdu magazines, Sheikh Chand published three major historical biographies for the *Anjuman*: his 1931 biography of the founder of Aurangabad, *Malik Anbar*, which will be discussed below, his 1934 biography of a Hindu saint *Shrī Eknāth* from his hometown of Paithan, and finally his 1936 opus *Saudā*, which was a biography of the eighteenth-century North Indian poet Mirza

[276] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar ya'ni sultanat-i nizāmshāhīyah Ahmednagar ke vazīr aur sapeh sālār vakīl ul-sultanat mumalakat midār, Malik A'nbar ki hīyāt, mulkgīrī aur hukamrānī ke mufassil savāneh* (Aurangabad: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu, 1931, inside cover page.)

Muhammad Rafi Sauda. Sheikh Chand has largely been remembered in the *Anjuman* for bringing 'modern' historical tools, including footnotes, historiographical debates, and a conversational prose style, into Urdu historical writing.[277] In terms of the content of his history writing, Sheikh Chand bridged the local history of local Hindu elites in his hometown with the provincial city of Aurangabad and North Indian poetry. In the midst of this promising literary career, Sheikh Chand died at a young age in 1936.

The title of Sheikh Chand's biography of the founder of Aurangabad was *Malik Anbar: The Select Account of the Life, Travels, and Rule of Malik Anbar, the Vazir of the Sultans of Ahmednagar and the Soldier, Prime Minister, and Helper of the Nation*. In this account of the founding of Aurangabad, Sheikh Chand framed Aurangabad as a center of early modern Muslim technical skill. Malik Anbar was a sixteenth and early seventeenth century Ethiopian slave who became a powerful leader in the *Nizāmshāhī* Ahmednagar kingdom in the Deccan. Malik Anbar was born in Ethiopia in ~1549, raised in Mecca, and eventually sold as a slave in the Deccan. Malik Anbar became the lead advisor (*vazīr*) of the *Nizāmshāhī* rulers of Ahmednagar and assembled an army that successfully opposed Mughal expansion in the Deccan. In 1610, Malik Anbar founded the city of Aurangabad, then called Khadki, as his military capital.

In writing the tale of Malik Anbar, Sheikh Chand expanded on Abdul Haq's conceptualization of early modern mobile Muslims as the bearers of a distinctive technical capacity to the Deccan. However, in contrast to Abdul Haq's 1921 account, Sheikh Chand turned a far more critical eye towards Persian in his 1931 biography of Malik Anbar. Sheikh Chand attributed the dearth of historical information to the "prejudice of historians" since "the reality is that Malik Anbar is one

[277] See Khaliq Anjum, *Mirzā Muhammad Rafīa'h Saudā* (Delhi: National Council for the Promotion of Urdu Literature, 2003.)

of those personalities whose name and work historians due to prejudice … brutally tried to erase from the stone plaque of history."[278] This was due to the fact that in Malik Anbar's era "the pen of history, poetry commemorations, and biographies was in the pure hands (*pāk dast*) of Iranians and Persian-knowing scholars" and Malik Anbar was an Arabic-speaker of African origins.[279] According to Sheikh Chand "therefore, Iranian and Persian-knowing scholars did not have much interest in him and usually they gave him little attention."[280] Due to these prejudices, Sheikh Chand claimed that except for a few Arab poets, most early modern historians minimized Malik Anbar's accomplishments.[281]

Resolving to right this historical wrong, Sheikh Chand carved out time amidst his university exams and scholarly work at Osmania University to gather information on Malik Anbar, which resulted in this book.[282] After publishing the book in Urdu, he commissioned his hometown associate, Maulvi Tameezuddin Ahmad, for a translation of *Malik Anbar* into Marathi.[283] Sheikh Chand's insistence on translating this Urdu book into Marathi, along with Maulvi Abdul Haq's writings on the Marathi language, indicate the *Anjuman*'s commitment to making a case for the compatibility of Urdu and Marathi.

The importance of Sheikh Chand's historical biography of the founder of Aurangabad to the *Anjuman* is suggested by the introduction to the book which was written by Syed Hashmi Faridabadi, a prominent North Indian *ghair mulkī* scholar in Hyderabad. Faridabadi began his introduction by enthusiastically promoting the book *Malik Anbar* as a local historical perspective which could inaugurate a new intellectual era for the city of Aurangabad. Faridabadi asserted that

[278] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 1.
[279] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 1.
[280] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 2.
[281] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 2-3.
[282] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 3-4.
[283] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 4.

"I viewed Sheikh Chand's book, *Malik Anbar*, from this point of view that it is the voice of this cotton-producing town [i.e. Aurangabad] which hundreds of years ago Malik Anbar had populated!"[284] Explaining that Malik Anbar had inaugurated a new prosperous era in the Deccan [following an earlier 'Hindu Golden Age'], Faridabadi exclaimed that "God willing, this interesting and exciting book of our brilliant author will establish the beginning of a third and even greater era of prosperity and awakening [in Aurangabad.]"[285] This commemoration of a recent 'era of prosperity' in Aurangabad in the anticipation of ushering a new 'even greater of prosperity' paralleled Habibur Rahman's writings about a recent Persian past for Urdu medicine in Dhaka.

Within Sheikh Chand's own body of publications, this biographical account of the founding of the provincial city of Aurangabad is located between the local (his biography of a Hindu saint in his hometown) and the North Indian (his biography of a famous Urdu poet.) Thus, *Malik Anbar* registered Sheikh Chand's provincial pride. Sheikh Chand divided his biography of Malik Anbar roughly in half. The first half gave a chronological narration of his political and military career with a focus on successful military campaigns against the Mughals for which he was famous.[286] The second half of the book, which will be examined here, chronicled Malik Anbar's innovative approach to governance, warfare, and the urban planning of Aurangabad.[287] Sheikh Chand claimed that in his biography "we will make an overview of the special accomplishments through which Malik Anbar's name is on the tongue of both the elites (*khās*) and common people (*a'ām.*)"[288] These accomplishments included agriculture, finance, justice, building projects, commerce, and welfare schemes.[289]

[284] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, i.
[285] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, i.
[286] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 1-116.
[287] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 117-222.
[288] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 146
[289] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 146.

The two longest chapters in the biography were devoted to Malik Anbar's military innovations and building projects in and around Aurangabad. Sheikh Chand opened the chapter on Malik Anbar's architectural projects with the claim that "Malik Anbar had a special taste for the art of building."[290] Aurangabad (or Khadki, as it was known then) became Malik Anbar's capital after a battle with the Mughal emperor's army in 1604. Aurangabad remained Malik Anbar's capital until his death in 1626. According to the *Anjuman*'s young historian, Malik Anbar "slowly made Aurangabad his military capital. From that time on, there in Aurangabad, he sponsored magnificent buildings, grand mosques, wide streets, and beautiful bazaars. He also had wide canals and ponds dug, and he established pleasing gardens. In a short space of time, the city of Aurangabad bloomed and its layout expanded and it became a populated and vibrant city."[291]

Sheikh Chand emphasized the technical skill and enduring importance of the water supply canal system (*nehr a'nbari*) that Malik Anbar designed in early seventeenth century Aurangabad.[292] Sheikh Chand devoted considerable space in the biography to explaining the technical details of the construction of this water supply canal system in an accessible manner.[293] It is worth quoting one of these passages in full:

> "In his temperament, he [Malik Anbar] was made of the stuff of innovation and change. He thought of really new ideas and measures. He was an expert in the art of building, and the evidence of this is the building of his water supply canal, which is thought to be the first and the last system of water supply that was constructed in India. In building [this water supply canal], he made great and fruitful innovations …"[294]

[290] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 163.
[291] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 164.
[292] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 166-167.
[293] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 167-168 & 170-171.
[294] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 208.

Here Sheikh Chand went to great lengths to describe the unique importance of Malik Anbar's water canal system in Indian history since "this must be said that his system of water supply was the first and the last system of this type that was constructed in India."[295] For Sheikh Chand, what made Malik Anbar's seventeenth century urban canal system so noteworthy was that it was entirely built with local expertise and materials and continued to function into the present.

One of the primary goals of Sheikh Chand's detailed description of Malik Anbar's early modern water supply system in Aurangabad was to prove that it was superior to the modern European-style water canal system that had recently been built in the city of Hyderabad.

> "In the same way that I described the method of water supply in Aurangabad, this is its special importance that from beginning to end, it is local (*desī*). To build the water supply canal, local materials were used and local workers completed the task. … its method of water supply was innovative (*jiddat pasand*) in an extraordinary way and the art of engineering was an exalted example. But in its construction, the easiest materials for the art of building were used and the most ordinary of materials were employed."[296]

According to Sheikh Chand, what made Malik Anbar's water supply system so distinctive was how it combined accessible local materials with the highest level of innovation and technical skill. Early modern Aurangabad was both local (*desī*) and innovative (*jiddat pasand*) in his telling. The importance of this became apparent when Sheikh Chand compared Aurangabad's older water system with the modern water supply system in the city of Hyderabad. He noted that in the present-day Hyderabad State, there were only two water supply systems. "Amongst them, the ancient one (*qadīm tareiṅ*) is Aurangabad and the modern one (*jadīd tareiṅ*) is Hyderabad. The start of Hyderabad's system of water supply was in 1893. This matter is not hidden from you that this was

[295] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 169.
[296] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 171.

really built on the European model of water supply."[297] Sheikh Chand expounded on the inordinate financial strain of this modern water supply system on Hyderabad and mourned that much of this money was spent "outside of the state" on supplies and expertise.[298] There is a clear modernizing impulse in the *Anjuman*'s promotion of Urdu, as illustrated by the earlier discussion of Urdu type. However, in his biography of Aurangabad's founder, Sheikh Chand reversed the roles between 'ancient (*qadīm*)' and 'modern (*jadīd*),' with the ancient (*qadīm*) water system representing a viable economic and technical future in contrast to the exploitations of the modern (*jadīd*) system.

Sheikh Chand concluded his comparison between Aurangabad and Hyderabad by explaining why Aurangabad's 'ancient' system of water supply was superior to the modern methods of Hyderabad. "When we compare our own local (*desī*) system of water supply [in Aurangabad] with the European system of water supply [in Hyderabad], then a strange and wondrous difference becomes apparent. In the local system, not even one penny was spent outside of the state, rather the money that was spent was absorbed in this area or its surroundings and neighborhoods where the building occurred."[299] Sheikh Chand further celebrated how little money and oversight was needed in maintaining the water supply system in Aurangabad since this 'ancient' system still effectively functioned after nearly 300 hundred years.[300] Sheikh Chand thus used this comparison between Aurangabad's early modern canal network and the modern European water supply system in Hyderabad city to make the case for localized technical expertise and economic self-sufficiency in Aurangabad. More than this, Sheikh Chand used the historical space of Aurangabad to critique Hyderabad and its approach to 'modernity.'

[297] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 171.
[298] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 171-172.
[299] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 174.
[300] Sheikh Chand, *Malik A'nbar*, 147.

This section illustrated how Maulvi Abdul Haq and Sheikh Chand commemorated a long history of non-local Muslim leaders moving to Aurangabad where they promoted textual skills and urban development. This history of Muslim mobility and textual expertise in Aurangabad was distinct from the contemporary historical narrative that was fashioned in the Osmania Type Foundry in the city of Hyderabad that elevated Hyderabad as a new 'Baghdad' and the *nizām* as an ideal Muslim ruler. The different ways in which Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* in Aurangabad and in the Osmania Type Foundry in Hyderabad utilized local history to support their contemporary Urdu promotional projects indicates the range of competing 'Muslim modernities' in the space of the Deccan in the 1920s and 1930s. More than this, Sheikh Chand's historical writings about Aurangabad illustrate how Muslim elites within the Hyderabad State, but outside of the city of Hyderabad, challenged the cultural authority of the *nizām* by promoting deep histories of Muslim technical expertise in the Deccan that had little to do with the ruling princely family.

V. Conclusion

Although the efforts in both Hyderabad and Aurangabad to produce a commercially viable calligraphic-style Urdu type press ultimately provided unsuccessful, these projects in Hyderabad and Aurangabad shaped the ongoing efforts of the Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* to fashion the Urdu language as a medium of scientific knowledge and technical capabilities. It was in Aurangabad that Maulvi Abdul Haq, the *Anjuman*'s long-time leader, launched the *Anjuman*'s Urdu-medium science magazine, *Science*. Furthermore, many of the organization's influential historical tracts, poetry collections, textbooks, and dictionaries were first published in Aurangabad. Also, Maulvi Abdul Haq first developed the *Anjuman*'s model of reaching out to elite Urdu-speaking communities in small towns outside of North India, which would prove so effective in

establishing branches of the *Anjuman* across the width of the Indian subcontinent, as the District Inspector of Education in Aurangabad District.

Furthermore, these experiments with type technology in the 1920s and 1930s informed the ways the *Anjuman*'s reformers drew on the early modern Persian past to anticipate cosmopolitan futures for Urdu and illustrated how the trans-regional purchase of Urdu in the early twentieth century depended on early modern circuits of knowledge, language skills, and texts. By bridging the distinctly local space of Aurangabad with the growing trans-regional ambitions of the *Anjuman*'s Muslim intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s, this account of Urdu type offers a vantage point on Indo-Muslim politics that operated both on a smaller urban scale and within a larger transregional frame than the nationalist focus of Muslim political mobilization in North India.

Chapter III:

The Emperor of Dhaka: Urdu Healing in Eastern Bengal, 1930-1945

I. Introduction

While Muslim reformers were debating the kinds of Urdu typeface to use in the Deccan, in eastern Bengal, simultaneous developments centered on the promotion of Urdu as a language of medical healing from 1930 to 1945. This chapter examines the advancement of Urdu as a language of healing in Dhaka, continuing from the arguments in Chapter One. By focusing on the dynamics of medical healing, Urdu promotion, and urban change, this chapter examines a largely forgotten period in the fraught language politics of eastern Bengal before the start of the Bengali Language Movement in 1952. This chapter turns to the final decades of the medical and political career of Hakim Habibur Rahman, a prominent Muslim humoral healer in Dhaka. Hakim Habibur Rahman proposed a vision of urban social health in Dhaka in the 1930s and 1940s in his medical writings and radio show and advanced the Urdu language as uniquely qualified to heal urban social imbalances in Dhaka's body politic during demographic shifts and a famine.

There is a long history of imagining a balanced society through Muslim humoral *yunānī tibb* healing.[301] Building on this, I explore how the language of Muslim humoral medicine itself was constituted as a means to heal society. Dhaka became the site both for developing Urdu into a language of Muslim humoral medicine in the final decades of British colonial rule and for imagining the modern city as balanced through this form of Islamic healing. This chapter proposes that 'Urdu healing' was the result of a decades- long effort of Habibur Rahman to promote Urdu as a new trans-local language of Islamic healing. His ideas of healing were shaped by his training

[301] See Seema Alavi, *Islam and Healing: Loss and Recovery of an Indo-Muslim Medical Tradition, 1600-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.)

as a practitioner of Muslim humoral medicine and by the political pressures of a city that grew dramatically between the 1920s and the 1940s and found itself confronting a larger population of Bengali-speaking inhabitants of rural extraction.

In his medical and political writings, Habibur Rahman attempted to renovate an older social map of Dhaka in the face of rapid demographic changes. In the early twentieth century, Dhaka transformed from an older urban center of mobile Hindu and Muslim elites and trading communities into an expanding modern city of industrial development and rural migration. 'Urdu healing' in Eastern Bengal was one branch of the *Anjuman*'s larger efforts to promote Urdu as a language of science and of modern professional employment for Muslims. This chapter argues that the establishment of Pakistan in East Bengal in 1947, and of Urdu as the state's sole national language in 1949, should not be understood as the culmination of this history of Urdu in Dhaka, but as one iteration of a much longer process of promoting Urdu in eastern Bengal as a language of elite Muslim social power and political control. Building on scholarship on medicine in South Asia, I argue that Habibur Rahman's career illustrates how medicine became a powerful tool for Muslim intellectuals to reimagine local society in the late colonial era.[302]

In the 1930s and 1940s, Habibur Rahman aimed to expand popular access to medical healing by introducing vernacular Urdu medical texts and to use Urdu to revive social distinctions between elite (*khās*) and common (*a'ām*) Muslim bodies. While these dual impulses in Urdu healing towards popular access and social distinctions might appear contradictory, they were, in fact, easily aligned. Habibur Rahman conceptualized Urdu medical knowledge as restoring the hierarchical

[302]David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) & Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 2008.

order of Dhaka's urban society between elite and common Muslim bodies while tying these social classes together through Urdu.

Habibur Rahman advocated for a conservative urban social vision that was implicitly modeled on the humoral body and could revive an implicit social hierarchy between Urdu and Bengali-speakers. In Muslim *yunānī tibb* humoral medicine, the classical four humors of blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile were balanced by changes in diet, weather, and mental temperaments, particularly through the prescription of 'hot' and 'cold' foods. Drawing on the concept of the four humors balancing the organs of the body and their connected temperaments, Rahman proposed that the Urdu language could likewise balance different social groups in the body politic of Dhaka while preserving the elite social status of Muslim urban *ashraf* communities. Instead of approaching his political, medical, and literary efforts in Dhaka as separate endeavors, Habibur Rahman placed medicine, politics, and language within an integrated field of *u'loom* (the sciences) as an ideal Urdu civilizational space in Dhaka.

The first section of this chapter investigates Habibur Rahman's background and early career as a provincial healer with transregional ties. Then I discuss Rahman's initial formulation of a Muslim humoral social theory that was shaped by political and demographic developments in Dhaka, particularly in the wake of World War I. The third section spanning the interwar years examines Rahman's efforts to institutionalize Urdu as a professional language of medicine within the Muslim *mulk* (country) of Bengal. Urban Muslims in Dhaka fashioned themselves modern professionals by recasting Urdu as a language of healing. The final section investigates how Habibur Rahman used humoral medical theory to account for the influx of rural Bengali-speaking Muslims into Dhaka and the lack of food in the city following the 1943 famine in Bengal.

II. The Life & Times of Hakim Habibur Rahman

In 1954, a recently arrived Urdu-speaking scholar in Dhaka who was originally from Calcutta, Iqbal Azim, wrote a history of Urdu in East Bengal that aimed to bridge the history of Urdu as a language of Dhaka's urban Muslim elite in the colonial era and its new controversial status as the national language of Pakistan. As part of this local history of Urdu, Iqbal Azim wrote a glowing memorial to Hakim Habibur Rahman who had died in February 1947. Azim opined that "Hakim Habibur Rahman was one of the great elders of Dhaka, whose efforts enlivened the world of learning and literature here. It could be said that he was just a physician [*hakīm*] of the city, but in reality he was the emperor [*bādshāh*] of Dhaka, without whose permission, nothing could happen here."[303] According to Azim "there was no department of life, from learning and literature, politics, society to religion over which hakim *sāhib* did not dominate."[304] This was certainly a hyperbolic claim since Habibur Rahman never held any government position in Dhaka and relied on his connections to Dhaka's *nawābī* family for his political influence. However, despite the exaggeration of Habibur Rahman's influence in this passage, how did an Urdu-speaking medical practitioner gain significant influence over the social and political life of late colonial Dhaka?

In order to answer this question, I begin by examining Habibur Rahman's background and trans-regional familial and educational ties. Given its location on the eastern edge of the Indian subcontinent, the modern history Eastern Bengal is often conceptualized in a distinctly provincial framework. By mobilizing Muslim humoral medicine's connections to Arabic and Persian sources

[303] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu ya'ni Mashriqī Pākistān ke qadīm va jadīd do sau akīs ahl-i qalam ka tazkirah aur yahan ke lisānī misāi'l ke sīr hāml jāizah* (Dhaka: Mashriq Cooperation Publishers, 1954), 110.
[304] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu*, 110.

and British colonial medicine along with his own family ties to Central Asia, Habibur Rahman connected early twentieth century Bengal to wider Islamic intellectual currents.

As previously mentioned Rahman was born in Dhaka in 1881. He received his early education in at the Government Muhsinia Madrasah in Dhaka before being sent as a young teenager to Kanpur where he completed his *madrasah* education in Arabic grammar, hadith, logic, and Islamic science with prominent scholars including Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. Rahman began his Muslim humoral medical training in Lucknow before completing his humoral medical training in Agra and Delhi with the prominent Delhi-based Hakim Abdul Majid, who founded the influential Hamdard Laboratories.[305] Although there is little information about Rahman's medical training in North India, his correspondence and political and linguistic concerns were clearly shaped by his North Indian education. Furthermore, it is likely that Rahman mobilized his North Indian educational credentials for local purchase in Dhaka.

Habibur Rahman's exchange of letters with Urdu scholars and Muslim *yunānī tibb* humoral medical practitioners across South Asia demonstrated how he drew on these trans-regional educational and familial ties. In particular, in his hand-written diary from 1901, the young Dhaka hakim recorded the destination and origin of all of the letters which he received and wrote when he was a student in Agra.[306] Rahman was studying Muslim humoral medicine in Agra at the time and these letters were an important means both to stay in contact with Dhaka and to build a pan-South Asian professional network. Although the content of the letters was not recorded, their geographic origin and destination reveal Rahman's cultivation of trans-regional links. Taking the

[305] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," *Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Commemoration Volume: A Collection of Essays On History, Art, Archaeology, Numismatics, Epigraphy, and Literature of Bangladesh and Eastern India* (Dhaka: International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, 2001), 11.
[306] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Personal Accounts* Manuscript No. HR 168 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library, 1901), 1.

first day of January 1901 as an illustrative example, Rahman received letters from Sahib Khan in Dhaka, Maulvi Naziruddin in Delhi, Abdul Ghuffar in Dhaka, Qibla Valid Sahib [probably a relative] in Peshawar, and Maulvi Abdul Latif in Calcutta.[307] Rahman's correspondence was centered in Bengal, but his epistolary ties spread across Northern India to Delhi and Peshawar. Habibur Rahman maintained these early trans-regional ties throughout his career in Dhaka. For example, in an otherwise heated exchange with a rival Calcutta hakim in the 1940s over whether to institutionally center *unani tibb* education in Calcutta or Dhaka, the two rival hakims discussed plans to visit Habibur Rahman's ancestral homeland in Afghanistan.[308] The Calcutta hakim reminded Rahman that he wanted "to meet you and make the program for the trip to Afghanistan, but fate did not allow it."[309]

Beyond those he corresponded with, Rahman emphasize his transregional ties. In the introduction to *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, Rahman summarized his life and career. *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, which was a descriptive catalogue of the graves of prominent Muslim saints and noblemen in Dhaka, was one installment of an incomplete five-part series on the history of Dhaka which Rahman attempted to publish in the 1940s. [310] (The radio addresses that will be discussed in this chapter's final section was part of this series.) Although *Asudagān-i ḍhāka* was published in 1946, Habibur Rahman began composing it in his childhood.[311]

> It was in childhood that I learned to read and write in Urdu. From that era, I had the plan that I would write about the condition of the mosques and graves of Dhaka. When my age was only twelve years

[307] Rahman, *Personal Accounts* Manuscript No. HR 168, 3.
[308] *A letter to Hakim Habibur Rahman that contains some info of the examination of Tibb (Herbal Medicine) written in Urdu in July 1944 AD* Manuscript No. 190 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library, 1901), 1-2.
[309] *A letter to Hakim Habibur Rahman* Manuscript No. 190, 1.
[310] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*: *Hindustān ke mashriqī ghavāreh-yi tamaddun aur Bengāl ke markaz tehzīb va ma'āsharat* (Dhaka: Manzar Press, 1946), i.
[311] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 1.

> old, even in that time I had written down the history of so many mosques in my notebook diary (*bīyāz*.) In 1904 after the leisure of education, I returned home. Along with the busy engagements of the [medical] clinic, the start of married life occurred, then the Partition [of 1905] happened so the start of political life also began [-] And day and night along with my political disciple, the late blessed Sir Salimullah [*nawāb* of Dhaka], I started to work constantly. … When in this soil [of Dhaka] the Muslim League was founded, then the late blessed [*nawāb*] became the secretary and I was appointed joint-secretary.[312]

This short autobiographical sketch demonstrates how Urdu, urban history, and political mobilization were intertwined in Rahman's conceptualization of his own life and works. He edited the first two Urdu journals ever published in Dhaka, *āl-mashriq*, which ran from 1906 to 1911 and then *jādu*, which ran from 1924 to 1926.[313] While Rahman described the current *nawāb* of Dhaka, Sir Salimullah, as his 'political disciple (*sīyāsī murshid*)' in this short description, other sources claimed that the hakim was the *nawab*'s "able lieutenant."[314] Upon his return to Dhaka in 1904, Habibur Rahman was appointed as the as the Muslim humoral healer for Sir Salimullah.[315] Thus, Rahman's political influence was grounded in his healing practice.

In the nineteenth-century a preponderance of *ashraf* families, Hindu landholders, and Armenian traders dominated Dhaka. As Rahman described it, "for a long time Dhaka remained a city of the descendants of rulers (*hākam nashīn shehr*) [-] They are the bearers of their own special culture and civilization (*khās tehzīb aur tamaddun*.) The city's large well-healed population, who are called *sikkeh bāsh ya khush bāsh*, they speak Urdu."[316] Urdu-using Muslim families claimed descent from early modern Mughal elite who had gradually migrated to Dhaka with the governors and armies of North Indian Muslim rulers. For example, Dhaka's *nawābī* family migrated from

[312] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 1.
[313] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 14.
[314] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 11-12.
[315] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 11.
[316] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 10.

Kashmir. This elite Muslim influx into Dhaka continued into the early twentieth century, although the urban core of Dhaka had a slight majority of Hindu residents.[317]

However, the influx of rural Bengali-speaking Muslims into Dhaka greatly expanded due to the temporary establishment of Dhaka as the capital of a separate province of Eastern Bengal in 1905 which led to expanding civil service jobs and educational opportunities. As a result, the decade between 1901 and 1911 witnessed a 21 % jump in the city's population.[318] Between 1901 and 1951 the population of the city more than tripled from 104,385 to 335,928 residents.[319] This increase in urban density was particularly sharp in the 1930s and 1940s when the population virtually doubled each decade due in part to rural migration caused by the global economic depression and the 1943 famine.[320] Accompanying these demographic shifts, the 1937 expansion of the franchise in provincial elections following the 1936 India Act transformed politics in Bengal, strengthening the role of rural Muslim voters and further threatening the power of urban elites.[321]

These changes contributed to urban *ashraf* Muslim wariness of the migration of rural Bangla-speaking Muslims into the city and support for Habibur Rahman's conceptualization of Dhaka as a center of Indo-Muslim culture in need of social rebalancing. However, despite this increase in Dhaka's population in the early twentieth century, people living in rural areas still constituted 93% of Bengal's population in 1920.[322] Furthermore, in spite of Habibur Rahman's

[317] Bose, *Recasting the Region*, 86.
[318] Nazrul Islam, *Dhaka from City to Megacity: Perspectives on People, Places, Planning and Development Issues* (Dhaka: University of Dhaka, 1996), 12.
[319] Islam, *Dhaka from City to Megacity*, 2.
[320] Sugata Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital: Rural Bengal since 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 26 & 29; Islam, *Dhaka from City to Megacity*, 2.
[321] Neilesh Bose, *Recasting the Region: Language, Culture, and Islam in Colonial Bengal* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), xxvi, 85-86, and 90-91.
[322] Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital*, 24.

concerns over the increased number of Bangla-speaking Muslims of rural origin in Dhaka, it is doubtful that the city was ever as oriented away from Bangla as Rahman remembered.

III. "The Clear Diction of Urdu"

This section investigates how Habibur Rahman developed a distinctive humoral social theory in Dhaka through the Urdu language. As discussed in Chapter One, Rahman's medical practice centered on distinguishing between elite and common Muslims bodies. The appeal of Urdu as a linguistic medium of medical healing that could connect the city to wider intellectual currents ran deep in Dhaka. Hand-written Urdu drug manuals written by Hakim Qurban Ali, one of Habibur Rahman's teachers, and the drafts of Habibur Rahman's early political essays reveal how he creatively fused healing, ethics, and philosophy into a comprehensive humoral social theory. Habibur Rahman's own early writings reveal a duality in Urdu healing, which aimed to both expand popular access to medical knowledge and reinforce social distinctions.

In her history of *yunānī tibb* Muslim healing in South Asia, Seema Alavi argued that the early modern conceptualization of *tibb* in terms of Persianate aristocratic virtue was displaced in the eighteenth century with "scientistic medical wisdom" through a turn away from aristocratic Persian sources and towards more scientifically-inclined Arabic sources.[323] In Dhaka, the use of Persian in *yunānī tibb* medicine in Dhaka endured, (as Alavi suggested elsewhere).[324] The Urdu medical writings of Habibur Rahman suggest that in elite circles in Dhaka, Persian aristocratic

[323] Seema Alavi, "Medical Culture in Transition: Mughal Gentleman Physician and the Native Doctor in Early Colonial India," *Modern Asian Studies* 42.5 (2008): 853-855, 863, & 865.
[324] Seema Alavi, *Islam and Healing: Loss and Recovery of an Indo-Muslim Medical Tradition, 1600-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 99.

texts- and their stratified concepts of society modelled on the humoral body- deeply informed Urdu healing. In particular, Rahman embedded a stratified social vision for Dhaka in Urdu healing.

The largely complementary relationship between Persian and Urdu texts in early twentieth century Dhaka suggest that *yunānī tibb* followed a different historical trajectory in Dhaka than North India. In North India, Alavi outlined a history of Urdu serving as a tool to challenge medical elites and to localize *yunānī tibb* medicine.[325] In Alavi's telling, the intersection of East India Company printing presses and upward social mobility made Urdu- medium *yunānī tibb* a force for more egalitarian healing and accessible medical knowledge in the nineteenth century.[326] Alavi presented Urdu's appeal as built on its status as an accessible North Indian vernacular used by Company soldiers and officials and in opposition to Persian.[327] While Habibur Rahman certainly aimed to make Persian medical terms more accessible through Urdu, Urdu was not a means for challenging traditional elites in Dhaka, but instead a linguistic bridge to a professional future for traditional Muslim elites.

In her account of family-based professionalization of Muslim *yunānī tibb* humoral medicine in North India, Seema Alavi argued that *yunānī tibb* professionalization led to the imagining of an Urdu-mediated nation (*mulk*) of Hindustan as the national space for this system of medicine. In Alavi's account, in order to carve out "a national space for Unani from within the colonial framework," North Indian hakims claimed a deep history of *yunānī tibb* as the local medicine of Hindustan. This grounding of Urdu-mediated *yunānī tibb* in North India meant that

[325]Alavi, *Islam and Healing*. For the book, I will revise this sub-section to more thoroughly examine the politics of Hakim Habibur Rahman's Muslim humoral medical practice through the contours of his medical manuscript library. Hakim Habibur Rahman's medical library of Persian and Arabic manuscripts is preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Section of the Dhaka University Library.
[326] Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 64-65, 70, & 78.
[327]Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 69-70 & 86.

had to balance the global claims of an Islamic intellectual tradition with these more local concerns.[328] Whereas in North India, professionalization was used by traditional elite *yunānī tibb* families in opposition to the rise of non-elite Urdu-read hakims, in Dhaka professionalization was used by elite practitioners to promote Urdu.[329] This was due to Urdu's status in Dhaka as a non-local vernacular associated with urban Muslim elites and the closer relationship between Urdu and Persian in Eastern Bengal. However, in both North India and Dhaka, professionalization was a means for hakims to endow themselves and their families with both potent local roots and a South Asia-wide professional audience through educational training facilities and book publication.[330]

Although this embedding of a social vision of urban life into a modern system of medicine might seem surprising, there was a long history of "medical theory underlying political governance" and "social balance" in India.[331] Muslim humoral *yunānī tibb* healers traced their system of medicine to Socrates and Aristotle. In the early modern Mughal Empire, the older Aristotelian concept of the sovereign as responsible for the "maintenance of the physical health of both his physical body and that of his body politic or kingdom" was transformed through interactions with Islamic ethical [*akhlāq*] writing and *sharīa'h* into the proposition that "a just society was a healthy society" in which "a state of social harmony, co-ordination, and balance between different classes" was mediated by a Muslim sovereign.[332] This "philosophy of health" centered on healing elite bodies "through the external agencies of proper conduct, comportment and diet."[333] In turn, *yunānī tibb* medicine was central for "sustain[ing] the social hierarchies of

[328] Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 263-265 & 268-269.
[329] Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 295 & 299.
[330] Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 313 & 315.
[331] Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 28.
[332] Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 28-29.
[333] Alavi, "Medical Culture in Transition," 861.

society."[334] Urdu medical writings in Dhaka renovated these early modern Persian concepts of social stratification and political order in Urdu healing.

The contents of Habibur Rahman's medical library reveal how his own early twentieth century Urdu writings built on a pre-existing Urdu textual culture of Muslim humoral medicine in Dhaka. For example, Hakim Habibur Rahman used the hand-written *Tufatul Hussaini ul Maruf*, the humoral drug manual of Hakim Qurban Ali, a late nineteenth-century hakim in Dhaka.[335] This manual illustrates the historical depth of Urdu medical writing in Dhaka in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, particularly how Urdu healing drew on Persian's cosmopolitan capital while opening-up aristocratic medicine to a wider audience.

Given that the turn from Persian to Urdu risked divorcing *tibb* medicine from Persian's cosmopolitan breadth, in his Urdu drug manual *Tufatul Hussaini ul Maruf*, Qurban Ali made sure to emphasize the breadth of Urdu's potential. Qurban Ali claimed that in composing this manual of the "pearls and jewels of the arts and sciences," he felt that "the rules of *tibb* medical practice …. along with commonly known rules for single and compounded healing drugs needed to be written in the diction of clear [*salīs*] Urdu."[336] For Qurban Ali, 'the diction of clear Urdu' was ideally suited to make medical knowledge "easy and accessible for all people."[337]

Nor was the turn from Persian to Urdu in *tibb* textual production a narrowing of the intellectual claims of Indo-Muslim humoral medicine. Instead, in Qurban Ali's telling, Urdu was the medium

[334] Alavi, "Medical Culture in Transition," 858.
[335] While there is no date of composition on Hakim Qurban Ali's Urdu drug manual, *Tufteh ul- Hussainī ul-ma'ruf majmua' ul-favāīd*, another one of Hakim Qurban Ali's texts, a Persian *tibb* manuscript, that is found in Hakim Habibur Rahman's library, was copied in ~ 1875 (1292). This suggests that *Tufteh ul- Hussainī ul-ma'ruf majmua' ul-favāīd* was probably written in the late nineteenth century.
[336] Hakim Qurban Ali, *Tufteh ul- Hussainī ul-ma'ruf majmua' ul-favāīd* (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library), 63.
[337] Hakim Qurban Ali, *Tufteh ul- Hussainī ul-ma'ruf majmua' ul-favāīd*, 63.

for connecting multiple intellectual streams into an integrated system of medical healing. For example, Qurban Ali poetically claimed that he had garnered "great experience [and] philosophical articles from *Yunān* [Greece] and medicine from *Hindustān* and doctor-knowledge from *Farangistān* [Europe]" in the compilation of his drug guide.[338] After consulting information on the "nature of dispositions" and "*sharīa'h* [Islamic law]," Qurban Ali then "collected [Hindu] religious manuscripts on many diseases … [and] he searched in them and found specialized knowledge of botany from Hindu Bengal."[339] Thus, 'the clear diction of Urdu' became a cosmopolitan conjunction of local Bengali botany, older Islamic and Greek medical philosophies, and contemporary European medical knowledge. Much like the *Anjuman*'s members conceptualized Urdu *u'loom* as capable of integrating diverse fields of knowledge, Qurban Ali viewed Muslim humoral medicine as incorporating diverse intellectual systems.

Qurban Ali used his drug guide to embed a stratified Persianate social order into Urdu medical prose. In the introduction to his drug manual, Qurban Ali explained that God "through his power forged all creatures from his own varied elements and with great difficulty he made them different from each other and created different kinds of humans … he favored some humans with different robes of honor [i.e. stations in life] and …. appointed some humans to lower stations and appointed some other humans above [and] gave other humans different stations....."[340] This hierarchically ordered conceptualization of society, which was replete with royal "robes of honor" drew from Indo-Persian courtly literature. Building on this in the early twentieth century, Habibur Rahman proposed a humoral social theory in his initial medical writings and political speeches. As discussed in Chapter One, Habibur Rahman sharply distinguished between elite and common

[338] Hakim Qurban Ali, *Tufteh ul- Hussainī ul-ma'ruf majmua' ul-favāīd*, 63.
[339] Hakim Qurban Ali, *Tufteh ul- Hussainī ul-ma'ruf majmua' ul-favāīd*, 63.
[340] Hakim Qurban Ali, *Tufteh ul- Hussainī ul-ma'ruf majmua' ul-favāīd*, 62.

bodies in his 1904 medical compendium, *The Distinguisher*. In turn, Rahman applied this humoral social theory of accessible healing knowledge and class distinction to the body politic of Dhaka in the decades that followed.

The political application of humoral social theory is illustrated in the hakim's essays from World War I. Rahman's essays suggest that he did not conceptualize medicine, politics, and literature as separate fields but intertwined enterprises in restoring social balance in Dhaka. For example, during World War I, Rahman composed an essay titled "What Should Muslims Do?" The essay largely consisted of an appeal to Indian Muslims to remain loyal to the British imperial government during the war and divided Muslim society between *khās* and *a'ām* strata.

Rahman began the essay by claiming that "Muslims are always faithfully established in their own ancient traditions [*qadīm rivāyīt*] and we are proud that Muslims have always understood this point of view." The result of this adherence to 'ancient tradition' was loyalty to the British government in Rahman's assessment.[341] This forceful location of loyalty to the British Empire within Muslim 'ancient traditions' was probably aimed at undercutting popular Muslim mobilization in opposition to the British Empire fighting the Ottoman ruler who claimed to be the Caliph. Acknowledging that "at this time in Europe a terrifying war is underway," Rahman insisted that "India has nothing to worry about with this war."[342] He rebuked "the common public [*a'ām publik*] who due to senseless information and all types of pointless and useless [ideas] … are worried."[343] Rahman contrasted this portrait of potentially disloyal and easily swayed '*a'ām publik'* with "the work of wise and farsighted men."[344]

[341] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *Essays (Risāleh)* Manuscript No. HR 185 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library), 9.
[342] Rahman, *Essays (Risāleh)* Manuscript No. HR 185, 9.
[343] Rahman, *Essays (Risāleh)* Manuscript No. HR 185, 9.
[344] Rahman, *Essays (Risāleh)* Manuscript No. HR 185, 9.

Rahman dismissed the "uninformed" nature of the "*a'ām public*" and called on Muslims to be loyal to the British government since "the duties of our loyal Muslims at this moment is that we prepare to serve that *sultanat*" which currently rules over India, i.e. the British [and not the Ottoman Empire.][345] This essay reveals how Habibur Rahman directed this *khās*/*a'ām* social distinction towards advocating that *a'ām* (common) Muslims follow the guidance of *khās* Muslim elites in political affairs. This essay was written in the wake of both the founding of the Muslim League in Dhaka as an all-India party for Muslim elites and the 1916 Lucknow Pact, which demonstrated the Muslim League's capacity to bargain with the growing Congress Party. The Muslim League was the political party that eventually led the movement to create a separate homeland for India's Muslim communities.

Habibur Rahman's early speeches and medical writings suggest that along with medicine, he was also deeply interested in language, literature, politics, and urban wellbeing. Thus, instead of conceptualizing medicine as a singular scientific field, Rahman promoted Urdu *u'loom* as a unified system of science that connected many different fields of knowledge, including politics and language, in contrast to 'modern' scientific specialization. Rahman's political writings and the content of his medical library further indicate that he viewed Urdu *u'loom* as the integration of various fields of learning to create an ideal Urdu civilizational space. By drawing together medicine, language, and politics into a wider conceptualization of 'science,' the Dhaka hakim certainly tapped into a deep intellectual tradition in South Asia of science as the integration of a

[345] Rahman, *Essays (Risāleh)* Manuscript No. HR 185, 8-9.

range of fields.[346] This conceptualization of modern Urdu *u'loom* drew on early modern Persian and Sanskrit conceptualizations of 'the sciences.'[347]

However, an inherent component of this cosmopolitan ecumene of Urdu healing in Eastern Bengal was Habibur Rahman's fraught relationship with Bengali-speaking Muslims. This tense relationship between *ashraf* Muslim urban elites and the predominantly rural Muslim peasantry is a largely unexamined factor in the Muslim League's significant lack of political traction in Bengal until the late 1930s.[348] While the Muslim League rose to power in the 1940s in Bengal, it had little success in Muslim majority Eastern Bengal until then. Given that Urdu-speaking *ashraf* Muslims, such as Habibur Rahman and the Dhaka's *nawābī* family, dominated the leadership of the Muslim League in Bengal until the 1930s, it is not surprising the League had so little appeal to rural Bengali-speaking Muslims until it began to incorporate more explicitly rural Bengali cultural and economic concerns.[349] At the same time, by the early 1940s, Habibur Rahman's institutionalization of Muslim humoral medicine in Dhaka began to intersect with Muslim League demands for

[346] For a comparative example of early modern concepts of 'the sciences' being renovated in the modern era, see: Michael Dodson, "Re-Presented for the Pandits: James Ballantyne, 'Useful Knowledge,' and Sanskrit Scholarship in Benares College During the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies*, 36: 2 (2002): 263-270. Dodson argues that British colonial efforts to hitch Sanskrit knowledge to an "Enlightenment project" contributed to the 'reinvigoration' of the Sanskrit language itself (274, 286-287, and 298.) Dodson critiqued scholars who equate Indian intellectuals' engagement with 'traditional knowledge' with 'resistance' to colonialism and instead proposed that Sanskrit pandits creatively utilized European knowledge to undermine claims of civilization superiority (296-297.)

[347] For scholarship on early modern South Asian languages and science, see: Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Sheldon Pollock, *Forms of Knowledge on Early Modern Asia: Explorations on the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Sheldon Pollock, "Introduction: Working Papers on Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 30:5 (2002); Christopher Minkowski, "The Pandit as Public Intellectual: the Controversy of Virodha or Inconsistency in the Astronomical Sciences," *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship In India*, Aithal K. Parameswara and Axel Michaels, editors (New Delhi: Manohar), 2001; & Karin Preisendanz, "The Production of Philosophical Literature in South Asia during the Pre-colonial Period (15th to 18th centuries): the Case of the Nyayasutra Commentarial Tradition," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 33 (2005.)

[348] Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital*, 168.

[349] Bose, *Recasting the Region*.

Pakistan. Yet the elite social claims and linguistic ties of Urdu healing inherently limited its potential for popular nationalism in eastern Bengal.

Thus, a sharp distinction between elite and common Muslim bodies had extended from Habibur Rahman's early medical writings at the turn-of-the-century to his later political activities in Dhaka. Habibur Rahman foregrounded the capacity for Urdu as a language of healing to retrench Muslim social distinctions while reaching a wider audience. Building on this humoral social theory in the 1930s and 1940s, Rahman advocated for a Muslim medical *mulk* (country) of Bengal centered in Dhaka as an ideal *ashraf* Indo-Muslim city.

IV. Developing the Muslim Medical *Mulk* of Bengal, 1930-1945

From the 1920s through the early 1940s, Rahman attempted to institutionalize Dhaka as the Muslim humoral medical center of an Urdu medical *mulk* (country) of Bengal. A crucial element of this institutionalization of Muslim humoral medicine in Dhaka was the promotion of Dhaka as a viable alternative political and cultural center in Bengal to Calcutta. Calcutta and Dhaka were the largest urban centers in the province of Bengal with Calcutta's political status as the provincial capital and cultural importance as the historical center of the Bengali Renaissance often overshadowing Dhaka. Hakim Habibur Rahman's efforts to promote Dhaka as a rival healing center to Calcutta via Urdu resemble the *Anjuman*'s advancement of Aurangabad as an alternative Muslim cultural center in the Deccan to the city of Hyderabad. In each of its urban centers, the *Anjuman* capitalized on the provincial pride of local elites to advance a different form of Urdu scientific knowledge.

The 1930s in Bengal also witnessed a shift in political weight from urban centers to predominantly Muslim rural areas. This shift was in part driven by the 1935/1936 expansion of the franchise in provincial elections, which added urgency to Rahman's efforts to promote urban elites

in Dhaka.[350] This section examines the professional and institutional developments of Urdu healing in the 1930s and early 1940s and how this was connected to Rahman's proposal of Dhaka as a cultured Indo-Muslim city that could rival Calcutta.

Throughout his career, Hakim Habibur Rahman proposed Muslim humoral medicine as a bulwark against the moral and medical threats of English-style education in Dhaka. Skepticism of the moral implications of English education was a long-standing concern of Habibur Rahman's writings dating back to his school days as demonstrated by disparagement of '*angrīzī ta'līm* (English education)' in his diary. [With English education, Rahman glossed English-medium schools and the general decline of *madrasah* education for Muslim elites.] For example, in an undated diary entry, the Dhaka hakim penned an essay entitled "English Education (*angrīzī ta'līm*)." Acknowledging the predominance of English-influenced schools in Bengal, Rahman conceded that '*angrīzī ta'līm'* does spread "enlightenment through its illuminating light."[351] However, "beneath the lamp there is also darkness" since "the godless part [*la-mazhabī ka hissah*] of common (*a'ām*) Hindus and Muslims is increasing due to their [English] education."[352] Rahman contrasted the "spreading of godlessness" amongst common Hindus and Muslims through English education to traditional schools where "*adab* (comportment) and *akhlāq* (ethics) [are taught], which are the true rules of education."[353] Although he began the essay with concern for the moral downfall of *a'ām* Hindus and Muslims, as he wrote the essay, Rahman circled back to elite Muslims whom he described as 'our *quom* [community.]' In particular, he asserted that "the

[350] Bose, *Recasting the Region*, xxvi & 122.
[351] Rahman, *Personal Accounts* Manuscript No. HR 168, 55.
[352] Rahman, *Personal Accounts* Manuscript No. HR 168, 55
[353] Rahman, *Personal Accounts* Manuscript No. HR 168, 55-56.

situation of our community is really depressing" since due to English education, "our community" of the "educated group [*ta'līm yāftah girohah*]" has been morally degraded.[354]

In response to the threat of English education, Rahman institutionalized *yunānī tibb* education in Dhaka. First, in the 1920s, he attempted to convince the provincial government to establish state-funded *yunānī tibb* colleges in Calcutta and Dhaka. After this failed to garner government support, in 1930 Rahman founded a college in Dhaka, *Tibbīya Habībīya College*, with his own funding.[355] *Tibbīya Habībīya College*, which was named after Habibur Rahman, was Dhaka's first Muslim humoral medical college where instruction was given to young *tibb* hakims in Urdu. Rahman conceptualized *Tibbīya Habībīya College* as an important antidote in Dhaka to the spread of English education which he saw as a threat to the city's health and social balance. For example, in one of his 1945 radio addresses, he insisted "that the moral influence [of English education] has not been beneficial and in this way, decay is entrapping each heart in our city in both the physical and spiritual senses."[356] Dwelling in particular on the decline of traditional forms of exercise, such as *akhāṛā* wrestling, he insisted that "the tradition of wrestling has ended, and in this way not only an old art has been ruined, but more than this, a means for the city's health and the avoidance of diseases has been undermined."[357]

Furthermore, Habibur Rahman hoped that *Tibbīya Habībīya College* would serve as a practical means for Muslim elites to transition towards respectable professional employment since "*Tibbīya Habībīya College* had been established with this goal to provide a secure means of livelihood for the educated class."[358] This turn towards *yunānī tibb* professionalization in the 1930s in Eastern

[354] Rahman, *Personal Accounts* Manuscript No. HR 168, 55.
[355] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 12.
[356] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library), 56.
[357] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 56.
[358] Iqbal Azim, *Mashriqī Bengāl may Urdu*, 115.

Bengal paralleled an earlier push towards professionalization by hakims in North India in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[359]

Tibbīya Habībīya College was a crucial means to both counteract the ill effects of English education on the body politic of Dhaka and to transform the social capital of the *ashraf* Muslim elite into profitable professional pursuits. Therefore, in 1943 Habibur Rahman submitted a petition for more funding to Khwaja Nazimuddin, the scion of Dhaka's princely family, who had recently become the chief minister of Bengal.[360] In this petition, Rahman drew on his relationship to Dhaka's *nawabi* family to argue that Dhaka should be the center of Indo-Muslim medicine in Bengal. Khwaja Nazimuddin, who had previously served as the Minister of Education in Bengal (and would briefly become the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1951), lead a Muslim League government in Bengal from 1943 to 1945. Nazimuddin's Muslim League-backed government was able to bring down the previous government of Fazlul Haq in 1943 due to the transformation of the Muslim League in Bengal from an elite landowning party into one with significant support from rural Muslim voters.[361] While Nazimuddin benefitted from this comingling of the Muslim League's Pakistan demand with local Bengali economic and cultural concerns, this configuration ultimately sat uncomfortably with Nazimuddin's own elite political and linguistic inclinations.[362]

Habibur Rahman approached Bengal's chief minister for financial support for *Tibbīya Habībīya College* in 1943 since "whether in terms of the economy or in terms of education, this

[359] Seema Alavi investigated how professionalization was utilized by families of elite hakims in North India to secure control over Indo-Muslim humoral medicine in the colonial era in the face of challenges from non-elite practitioners. Thus, professionalization was a tool of reforming and extending elite power through *unani tibb* medicine See: Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 254.

[360] It is possible the petition was delivered as an address to Khwaja Nazimuddin during the annual college function at *Tibbīya Habībīya College*.

[361] Bose, *Recasting the Region*, 190-192, 196-197, & 242-243.

[362] Bose, *Recasting the Region*, 197 & 245.

was a truly awful year."[363] This acute demand for *tibb* healing in 1943 sprang, in no small measure, from the devastation of the famine that year in Bengal. The hakim noted that the past fourteen months had been particularly difficult for Bengal due to the famine and the previous provincial administration, which had reversed some of the financial support for *tibb* education that Khwaja Nazimuddin had instituted during his previous stint as Bengal's Education Minister.[364] In response, Rahman demanded that the provincial government provide more funds for his college's "pure work."[365] Even though Rahman established *Tibbīya Habībīya College* with private donations, he regularly pursued a relationship with the colonial government. In 1939 in reward for his medical work, the colonial government awarded him the title '*shifā ul-mulk.*'[366]

The hakim began the petition by lauding Nazimuddin as a cultured eastern prince: "Without a doubt, all of the thoughtful and active residents of Bengal derive confidence and security from your chief minister-ship since you are an upright orthodox Muslim… And also, all of Bengal knows that, in spite of having received Western higher education, you also give great importance to the good qualities of the East. And it is your long-held view that our own culture [*tamaddun*], society, [and] history are really the essence of our existence. You are the supporter of this glorious tradition."[367] Rahman framed Nazimuddin as a princely patron of arts and sciences in the guise of

[363] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin in the Urdu Language* Manuscript No. HR 184 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library), 4.
[364] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 2 and 4.
[365] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 2-3.
[366] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 12. In follow-up research for the book in the British Library, I plan to search for more information on the establishment of Tibbia Habibia College in 1930 and the shifting role of the British colonial government in sponsoring the college during the 1930s and 1940s. This information was not available in the Hakim Habibur Rahman Collection in the Manuscript Library of Dhaka University in Bangladesh.
[367] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 1.

an Indo-Persian prince.[368] Rahman further drew on older tropes of princely praise by punctuating the petition with honorific titles for Nazimuddin, such as "*Hazur wālā!*" and "*Janāb wālā!*."[369]

Woven throughout this petition to Khwaja Nazimuddin was the conceptualization of Bengal as a *mulk* (country) in particular need of Muslim humoral healing. Rahman assured Nazimuddin that "today we thank the Creator of the world that this college solved one of Bengal's most pressing needs- and in this infested age seventy-three [new] authentic *tibb*-practitioners are giving service to creation in this *mulk*."[370] He opened a new paragraph in the petition with the rhetorical question "At what level was the need felt that the *mulk* [of Bengal] needed *tibbī* [medical] education?"[371] Rahman hitched this appeal to an economic critique of Western allopathic medicine since the new hakims whom his college had educated were desperately needed "when due to the high price and scarcity of Western medicines, [they] are not available to the poor."[372] This intense demand for medicine was acute in the aftermath of the 1943 famine.

Sugata Bose argued that the devastating economic and social impact of the 1943 famine on the majority Muslim peasantry in Eastern Bengal led to a major political shift towards the Muslim League since "the vague and undefined demand for Pakistan" began to include "the economic aspirations of the peasant masses."[373] Whereas initially the elitist nature of the Muslim League leadership in Bengal undermined its appeal with rural Bengali Muslims, from the late 1930s through 1947, communal politics and the famine "enabled upper-class Muslims to appropriate the

[368] This evokes Eric Beverley's concept of "patrimonial modernity" where Muslim princely officials effectively fused older rhetoric of princely patrimonial authority "with languages of technocratic, rationalist, or modernist political change." See: Beverley, *Hyderabad, British India, and the World*, 6-8.
[369]Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir* Nazimuddin,1-4.
[370] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 1.
[371] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 2.
[372] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 2.
[373] Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital*, 168.

fruits of agrarian struggle" for the Muslim League.[374] Rahman responded to these political pressures and opportunities by attempting to secure political support for Urdu healing. He assured Khwaja Nazimuddin that other than their "profession" the Muslim healers whom his college produced could not be providing "the *mulk* with a better service."[375] In turn he demanded that the provincial government fulfill its promise to pass a bill in the legislature concerning the registration of hakims, and claimed that "all of Bengal was waiting for the registration of hakims to begin as soon as possible."[376] Thus, this petition was one node in Rahman's efforts to advance the professionalization of *unani tibb* medicine in Bengal and to institutionally center it in Dhaka.

What exactly were the contours of the medical *mulk* of Bengal? A clue is found in the marginalia of this 1943 petition. Rahman stated that "for us this fourteen-month duration of the infestation of Bengal [1943 famine], in which we have even been deprived of our own basic rights, has been a really terrible ordeal."[377] In the original draft of the petition, he first wrote "Muslim's own basic rights" in this line before crossing out "*musalmān*" and replacing it with "*hum* [we]."[378] This indicates the imagining of a Muslim Bengal that existed in barely concealed tension with a more shared concept of the province. If Bengal- as a *mulk*- was particularly desirous of humoral healing, Dhaka- and not Calcutta- was the center of Urdu healing since Rahman insisted that "the advancement of *tibb* in Bengal is at this time tied to the advancement of this college [in Dhaka]."[379] Just as Seema Alavi argued that the diseases and plagues of the late nineteenth-century "became a way also of mapping the fight for Unani onto the fight for one's country, mulk" in the wake of the

[374] Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital*, 168.
[375] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 2.
[376] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 3.
[377] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 2.
[378] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 2.
[379] Rahman, *A letter from Hakim Habibur Rahman to Khwaja Al-Haj Sir Nazimuddin*, 3-4.

1943 famine, Habibur Rahman territorialized Muslim humoral *tibb* healing in Bengal, and in particular, in the city of Dhaka, which was surrounded by a Muslim majority population.[380]

A further clue as to the developing conceptualization of a medical *mulk* of Bengal centered in Dhaka (and not Calcutta) is provided in Habibur Rahman's heated correspondence with a rival *tibb* hakim in Calcutta. A July 1944 letter exchange between Rahman and his rival Calcutta hakim provides a window onto the debate over *tibb* registration and education that roiled the *tibb* profession in Bengal. This debate was part of a larger controversy over the provincial government's involvement in *tibb*, which in turn was a contest over whether the institutional center of Muslim humoral healing should be in Calcutta or Dhaka. This rival Calcutta hakim wrote to Hakim Habibur Rahman on July 27 1944, responding to a furious missive accusing him of opposing the registration of hakims in Bengal and deliberately excluding Habibur Rahman from the recently established State Faculty and General *Yunan* Medical Council in Bengal.[381]

The Dhaka and Calcutta hakims were on opposing sides of debates over whether the provincial government in Bengal should institute an official registry for hakims. While the Dhaka hakim was an adamant supporter of mandatory registration (in order to advance the professionalization of Urdu healing), the Calcutta hakim questioned the need for universal registration since there were many self-taught hakims and "after registration will the rights of self-registration be worthless?"[382] However, what really fed their disagreement was Rahman's sense that he was being deliberately excluded from the operations of the newly established State Faculty in the city of Calcutta.

[380] Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, 276-277.
[381] *A letter to Hakim Habibur Rahman* Manuscript No. 190, 1.
[382] *A letter to Hakim Habibur Rahman* Manuscript No. 190, 1.

In response to the accusation that Rahman (and thereby Dhaka) was excluded from the newly established State Faculty, the Calcutta hakim assured Habibur Rahman that the reason the new committee met in a private was because the government had banned public meetings during World War II. Furthermore, the Calcutta hakim insisted that soon there would be a public meeting dealing with the certification of *tibb* proctors in which "certainly you will be included in this [and] probably I had already made this suggestion"[383] In 1905 the Urdu-speaking Muslim elite in Dhaka considered the first partition of Bengal as a moment of political opportunity. This correspondence suggests that they were a potential constituency in Dhaka for new separatist discourses of the 1940s to pare off Dhaka from Calcutta, at least in terms of the institutionalization of Muslim medicine.

Rahman's petition to the chief minister of Bengal and the competition between Calcutta and Dhaka over the institutionalization of *tibb* administration indicates that proposals for a territorial space for Urdu healing in Bengal intersected with evolving Muslim League politics as the 1940s progressed.[384] Yet the contours of Rahman's Urdu medical *mulk* in Bengal also drew on Dhaka's much older history as a provincial capital of the Mughal empire. Habibur Rahman advanced Dhaka as a cultured Indo-Muslim city, which was implicitly better suited as the center of Muslim healing than Calcutta, which had been founded as a trading post of the East India Company. This difference is illustrated by Rahman's previously mentioned anthology of Dhaka's Muslim graves, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*. Published in 1946, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka* was part of Habibur Rahman's efforts to promote Dhaka as a rival city to Calcutta in the last decade of his life. In the extended sub-title of *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, Habibur Rahman described Dhaka as "the last cradle of Eastern culture [*tamaddun*] and civilization in India" and "the cultural and societal center [*markaz*

[383] *A letter to Hakim Habibur Rahman* Manuscript No. 190, 1-2.
[384] Although the Muslim League initially struggled in Bengal, from 1939 the party's presence rapidly expanded due to outreach to rural Bengali Muslims and their economic interests. See: Bose, *Recasting the Region*.

tehzīb aur ma'āsharat] of Bengal."[385] In the narrative he referred to Dhaka as "this Islamic city" and emphasized that Dhaka and its surrounding districts had more Muslim graves than any other city in Bengal.[386]

Raisur Rahman recently argued that the turn from Persian to Urdu as the primary literary language for history writing in elite North Indian Muslim communities led to a transition to more on local themes "rather than ideal Islamic cities."[387] While this may have been true of North India, Habibur Rahman tightly interwove local details with claims of Dhaka's position as a cultured Indo-Muslim city. Given its deep history of Muslim political sovereignty as the former Mughal provincial capital of Bengal and Islamic architecture, literature, and trade, Dhaka was well-suited for narrations of 'local' history that also made claims to Islamic ideals.[388]

Given that Indo-Muslim Urdu princely culture [*tammadun*] was far more associated with North Indian cities and Hyderabad (Deccan) than Bengal, it is surprising that Rahman presented Dhaka as the last remaining center of Indo-Muslim civilization (*tammadun*.) Furthermore, he framed Dhaka, a city deep in the Bengali-speaking hinterlands of eastern India, as the redoubt of Urdu, a language linked with the North Indian cities of Delhi and Lucknow. The layout of *Asudagān-i ḍhāka* underlined these claims and incorporated the developments of colonial infrastructure. The first hundred pages of *Asudagān-i ḍhāka* was organized around the British colonial municipal wards which divided the city's neighborhoods. In Rahman's own words, "I have written down the historical condition of the seven wards of the city's municipality … this compilation has also

[385] Hakim Habibur Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92 (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Habibur Rahman Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library), 1; Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, cover page.
[386] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 2 and 4-5.
[387] Raisur Rahman, *Locale, Everyday Islam, and Modernity: Qasbah Towns and Muslim Life in Colonial India* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2015), 105-106, 108, & 210-211.
[388] Bose, *Recasting the Region*, 84.

become a kind of guide book."[389] Instead of grouping the significant Muslim graves of Dhaka around Sufi lineage or traditional neighborhoods as would have been the case in earlier genres of Persian history, Rahman used the colonial wards to organize *Asudagān-i ḍhāka* as a guide book.

However, in the final chapter of *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, Rahman described Shi'i graves in Dhaka not by district, but as a category. Given that Shi'i Urdu-speakers, including the *nawābī* family, made a up a prominent part of the city's elite, this shift away from the city's British-era districts indicates a return to the Indo-Muslim civilizational framework with which he began the narrative- and an emphasis on Dhaka as a prestigious Indo-Muslim city. In the early twentieth century, much of Dhaka's Urdu-speaking population were Shia including the *nawābī* family. Habibur Rahman narrated how "From Jahangir's era Shi'a gentlemen started to come, they were mostly foreigners (*ahl-vilāyīt*), some of these gentlemen, thanks to trade, had bought ancient landed estates …"[390] Rahman noted that "ultimately, in the Mughal era, a large section of Dhaka's leaders (in the city) were Shi'a. In reality, the society and culture [*ma'āsharat va tamaddun*] of Dhaka was the society and culture of Agra, but the fresh culture [*tāzah tammadun*] of Iranians gave lots of new life and color to this soil."[391] Thus, in Rahman's telling what made Dhaka unique as a center of Indo-Muslim *tamaddun* was not only its cultural connections to the early modern Mughal centers of Delhi and Agra, but the infusion of Iran's 'fresh culture' through the migration of Shi'i notables to the city.[392]

[389] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 6-7.
[390] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 139.
[391] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 139.
[392] Although in his other writings Hakim Habibur Rahman pointedly contrasted Dhaka from Calcutta, he did not draw a contrast between the cities in terms of the infusion of Iranian and Shi'a 'fresh culture' in *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*. One reason for this could be that a large component of Calcutta's Urdu-speaking *ashraf* were Shi'a with familial ties to the royal houses of Awadh and Tipu Sultan. This history of Muslim Calcutta has not been told.

Habibur Rahman's plea to recognize Dhaka as an ideal Muslim city inserted this provincial outpost into an originary conception of the relationship between the city and language. One of the Urdu language's original names, *zabān-i urdu-yi mua'llah-yi shāhjahānAbād* (language of the exalted camp of *ShāhjahānAbād*), refers to Delhi, one of capitals of the Mughal Empire, and the historical claim that Urdu was born in the imperial city. In the Mughal Empire, the capital city was conceptualized as a microcosm of the larger empire centered on the body of the ruler.[393] Eric Beverley and Razak Khan recently demonstrated how this conceptualization of an ideal early modern Muslim city centered on the sovereign who balanced the city's various social communities was reworked in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in smaller Muslim princely centers across India.[394] Building on this recent work on modern 'ideal' Indo-Muslim cities, this chapter argues that the unique contribution of Habibur Rahman to Muslim humoral medical theory was fusing contemporary concerns of urban health and language promotion with these early modern concepts of an ideal Muslim urban space. Expanding on Dhaka's status as a cultured Indo-Muslim city, Rahman took to the radio waves in 1945 to promote urban social balance through Urdu in Dhaka in the aftermath of a massive famine and changing demographics.

[393] Stephen Blake argued that Delhi was remade as an early modern Indo-Muslim 'sovereign city' through the management of urban space and the imperial family in Delhi. See: Stephen Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.) For example, in his account of the Emperor Akbar's administration, *Ain-i Akbari*, the court historian Abul Fazl detailed the elaborate regulations of the imperial administration, court, and kitchen centered on the bodily health of the emperor.

[394] Razak Khan recently illustrated how early modern concepts of an ideal Muslim sovereign city were reinvented in the small princely city of Rampur in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See: Razak Khan, "Space, Emotions and Identities in Vernacular Histories of Princely Rampur," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 58.5 (2015): 693-731. In his work on Hyderabad, Eric Beverely claimed that the princely city developed an urban "Islamicate cosmopolitanism" in which older concepts of royal patrimonial responsibility for cities existed in productive tension with modernist tools of urban planning. See: Beverley, *Hyderabad, British India, and the World*, 222, 223, 225, 239-241, & 248-250.

V. A Humoral History of Dhaka on the Radio, 1945

The 1943 famine in Bengal accelerated local efforts to position Urdu as a medium of medical healing both for individual bodies and for Dhaka's body politic that was under strain from tensions in the city between urban Muslim elites and rural Muslim migrants. This famine was caused by crop failures and draconian British food allocation policies that directed agricultural produce towards Europe during the war. Due to the famine around three million people in Bengal died of starvation and starvation-induced diseases and thousands of rural Bengali Muslims moved into urban centers.[395] Habibur Rahman seized the moment of crisis of the 1943 famine to demonstrate that the Urdu language was uniquely suited to apply Muslim humoral medical healing to Dhaka and its residents. Drawing on the concept of the four humors as capable of balancing the organs of the body and their temperaments, Habibur Rahman proposed that Urdu could likewise balance different social groups in the body politic of Dhaka. Rahman especially emphasized the healing qualities of food in this system of Muslim humoral medicine in the aftermath of the famine.

Habibur Rahman gave a series of sixteen radio addresses in 1945 on the culture and urban geography of late nineteenth century Dhaka titled *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago* from the Dhaka station of All-India Radio. Situated soon after the 1943 famine and during the close of World War II in Asia, these radio addresses represented Habibur Rahman's final attempt to use Urdu to reorder the body politic of Dhaka. Originally, the sixteen broadcasts of *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago* were envisioned as the first part of a series of radio shows on Dhaka's history that Rahman would give. Although he initially planned to deliver twenty addresses on traditional idiomatic sayings and then

[395] Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital*, 32.

twelve more radio talks on "Dhaka's historical buildings," Rahman's ill-health prevented him giving any other radio addresses beyond *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago*.[396]

By the time he gave these radio addresses, Habibur Rahman was the most famous Muslim medical healer in Dhaka, as well as an influential Urdu writer and local historian. Through the radio, Rahman addressed the residents of Dhaka as a renowned healer capable of diagnosing the social ailments of the city. He also outlined a vision of Dhaka as a cultured Indo-Muslim city. In turn, he diagnosed the social ills that were threatening to undermine Dhaka's urban social balance. Ideas developed over Rahman's long career were crystallized in these radio addresses. First, Rahman's 1905 disease compendium, *The Distinguisher*, had distinguished between elites (*khās*) and commoners (*a'ām*) for Urdu healing. In the intervening years since its publication, Rahman built-up his Muslim humoral medical practice and institutionalized Urdu healing in Dhaka through his medical college, *Tibbīyā Habībīyā College*. Finally, in these radio addresses, Rahman applied this humoral social theory to diagnose Dhaka's ills and propose ways to rebalance urban society. By 1945 Rahman was a regular fixture in historical circles in Dhaka. He compiled influential collections of coins, Islamic manuscripts, Bengali textiles, and epigraphs, which eventually he donated Dhaka's museum (now the National Museum of Bangladesh.)[397] Rahman also helped to shape history writing in Eastern Bengal as illustrated by his participation in Dhaka University's History of Bengal Publication Committee in 1935.[398]

Rahman began the radio series of *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago* by announcing that he would describe "that Dhaka which was famous the world over as the last cradle of Eastern culture and civilization

[396] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 2.
[397] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 12-14.
[398] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 14.

in *Hindustan* and to some extent still is today."[399] This representation of Dhaka as the last remnant of 'Eastern' Indo-Muslim princely culture would have been familiar to Urdu audiences as a trope often applied to North Indian cities, such as Lucknow. However, why was Rahman deploying it here, in the far reaches of eastern Bengal, in 1945? Given Rahman's earlier ties to the Muslim League, how did this framing of Dhaka as the last redoubt of Indo-Muslim princely culture fit into territorial claims for Indian Muslims? I propose that by placing the last remaining center of 'Eastern *tamaddun*' in Dhaka, Rahman claimed Bengal as an integral component of a re-imagined Urdu civilizational space.

Across the radio addresses, Rahman outlined a humoral social vision of Dhaka, proportionally balanced between elite Hindus and Urdu-speaking Muslims with the temperamental balance of the city mediated by the food of different neighborhoods.[400] Yet in Rahman's telling, this urban balance was threatened by the gradual influx of rural Bengali Muslims. Habibur Rahman foregrounded these concerns over rural migration to Dhaka in his discussion of the scientifically balanced cuisine of the city's Muslim *ashraf*. Of particular importance was the finely balanced 'science of proportions [*i'lm tanāsib*]' that Rahman claimed that Dhaka's Urdu-speaking Muslims had developed to balance their food and bodily dispositions. This *i'lm tanāsib*, or science of proportions, refers to a system of measuring the spices and ingredients in accordance with *yunānī tibb* theories of balancing the four humors in the body through food. In Rahman's estimation, this 'science of proportions' not only balanced the humors in elite Muslim bodies, but mediated the social health of the city of Dhaka. He complained that "fifty years ago this science of proportions

[399] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 1.

[400] For scholarship on "the tradition of Indo-Persian praise of urban life" and the importance of a city's commerce and diverse communities in older Indo-Persian poetic and historical genres, see: Sunil Sharma, "'If There Is a Paradise on Earth, Here It Is': Urban Ethnography in Indo-Persian Poetic and Historical Texts," *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*, Sheldon Pollock, editor (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011,) 249 and 252.

was employed like a law and it firmly established Dhaka's art of cooking. But today the coming and settling in Dhaka of new families from outside had obliterated this art of proportions … And now the traditions of many ancient foods, which are actually quite simple, have died out ..."[401] While this 'science of proportions' had balanced the bodies of the city's intertwined elite urban Hindu and Muslim communities, this science of humoral proportion was undermined by the influx of Bengali-speaking Muslims who were not aware of these "true rules."[402]

This reimaging of Dhaka in terms of humoral balance in this series of 1945 radio addresses evoked the Indo-Persian "conflation of medical theory and political theory" in the cultivation of aristocratic comportment.[403] Addressing the city as its healer, Rahman drew on a much older history of *yunānī tibb* as a model for an ideal Muslim political and social order in South Asia. For example, the early modern Mughal court historian Abul Fazl asserted that "the political constitution is made good tempered by a judicious division of ranks."[404] Of particular significance, Abul Fazl proposed that "each [social] rank contributes to the prosperity of the 'ideal city' with goods and virtues."[405] By recreating this older concept of an ideal city socially balanced through medicine, Habibur Rahman demonstrated that older Persian aristocratic concepts of *yunānī tibb* outlasted the eighteenth century turn to Arabic. Although Rahman drew on this older Persian concept of social order, he reworked it for a distinctly modern imagining of urban politics.

In his 1945 radio shows of *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago*, Rahman promoted Dhaka as the premier Muslim cultural center of Bengal by making the case that Dhaka, in contrast to all other previous capitals of Bengal, enjoyed an uninterrupted history of Muslim cultural efflorescence. This

[401] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 48.
[402] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 49 & 75-76.
[403] Alavi, *Medical Culture in Transition*, 857.
[404] Alavi, "Medical Culture in Transition," 857.
[405] Alavi, "Medical Culture in Transition," 857.

presentation of Dhaka was particularly aimed at Calcutta, the political capital of Bengal. In his first radio show, Habibur Rahman began by narrating how "Dhaka grew …. more splendid from the Dhaka of the Pashtuns to the Dhaka of the Mughals and from the Dhaka of the Mughals to the Dhaka of the [English East India] Company and from this old Dhaka to the Dhaka of today."[406] He emphasized that Dhaka was the capital of Bengal during the Mughal era and that "also in the era of the East India Company's reign, Dhaka was not forgotten since it was established as the second capital of Bengal."[407] He maintained that in contrast to Dhaka, the other early modern capital cities of Bengal, such as Murshidabad and Sonargaon, "today are really not more than a village or a regular town."[408] In his estimation "Dhaka has this wondrous specialty that in every era and time it remains cutting edge and famous and glorious."[409]

Rahman's problematic relationship with Bengali-speaking Muslims undergirded his entire career. If the changing social balance of Dhaka between Urdu and Bengali-speakers was one of the primary ailments which he diagnosed as threatening the body politic of the city, Rahman turned to the radio waves to revive an implicit social and linguistic hierarchy between Urdu and Bengali-speakers. The conflict over whether Urdu or Bengali was the preferred linguistic medium was deeply tied to contending economic and political interests represented by these languages. Significantly, the social class of urban Urdu-speaking *ashraf* Muslims in Eastern Bengal, of which Habibur Rahman was a part, neither made up the majority of Muslims in Bengal, who were overwhelmingly rural Bengali-speakers, nor dominated landholding elites, who were predominantly Hindu in Eastern Bengal. Thus, urban *ashraf* Muslims had a particularly fraught

[406] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 1.
[407] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 1.
[408] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 6.
[409] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 6.

relationship with both their predominantly Hindu fellow landholding elites and their rural Muslim coreligionists. Therefore, the Urdu language emerged as a powerful tool to strengthen the social position of the urban Muslim *ashraf* in Eastern Bengal and distinguish them from other residents.

Throughout these radio talks, Habibur Rahman barely concealed his sense of urban superiority towards rural Bengali-speaking Muslims.[410] In contrast, he framed elite Hindus and Urdu-speaking Muslims as integral to Dhaka's urban constitution since Hindus were "the original residents" of Dhaka and *ashraf* Muslims were the traders, healers, and poets responsible for developing the city.[411] Rahman described elite Muslims as those "called *khush bāsh aur sikkah bāsh* (ones who live comfortably and are well-heeled.) These are the people whose ancestors and population came from Delhi and Agra. Their language is Urdu even though they give no attention to distinctions of masculine and feminine, but the pronunciation and ancient sayings and extremely old idioms [of Urdu] are still on their tongues today."[412] With this narration of the external origins of the *ashraf* of Dhaka, Rahman claimed a deep history of Urdu mobility in Eastern Bengal. In another of his histories of Dhaka, which was published a year after these radio broadcasts, the hakim described how as waves of *ashraf* Muslims slowly moved into Dhaka with different early modern rulers, "in this way these outsiders (*ghair mulkī*) became insiders (*mulkī*)."[413] In his recent study of North Indian *qasbahs*, Raisur Rahman claimed that *qasbatī* Muslim intellectuals "internalized Urdu as a mode of social formation."[414] While Rahman largely leaves this tantalizing proposition unanalyzed, Habibur Rahman's ethnic- and class-based construction of Urdu versus Bengali suggests how Urdu served as a means of elite 'social formation.'

[410] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 5.
[411] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 4 and 9-10.
[412] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 4.
[413] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 9.
[414] Rahman, *Locale, Everyday Islam, & Modernity*, 24, 93-94, & 101.

Habibur Rahman contrasted these Muslims of external extraction from local Muslims, or in his words, "the other Muslim group are those who speak *Musalmānī Bangla* at home, and outside use both local Urdu and *Islāmi Bangla*."[415] In the opening address, he emphasized that "in the series we are going to discuss the culture and society and traditions that are especially connected to these well-heeled (*khush bāsh*) Muslims," while admitting that "however, the Hindu residents here and this new community [of Bengali-speaking Muslims] will also come up."[416] Thus, from the beginning of *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago*, Rahman flagged the communities who he estimated were crucial for maintaining the healthy social balance of the city.

Rahman's disregard for the Bengali-speaking Muslim majority anticipated the exclusionary politics of Urdu in post-colonial East Pakistan when the Pakistani state attempted to impose Urdu as the sole national language. However, his radio addresses also illustrated the strategies employed by some Muslim landed elites to maintain a social and linguistic hierarchy between Urdu and Bengali-speakers. Rahman punctuated his general dismay at the growing numbers of Bengali Muslims in Dhaka with the paternalistic admittance that some Bengali-speaking Muslims had successfully adapted to Dhaka's cosmopolitan ways by becoming respectable professionals, such as rice merchants and small-time contractors.[417] In another publication, Rahman conceded that over the years "these people kept speaking their own Bengali language, but along with the passing of time, their men became acquainted with Urdu" and "now present amongst them, *māshā'Allah*, there are really important titled [*khitāb yāftah*], educated *[ta'līm yāftah*] people."[418]

[415] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 5.
[416] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 5.
[417] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 5.
[418] Rahman, *Asudagān-i ḍhāka*, 11-12.

Despite this general elite focus, Habibur Rahman's Urdu-mediated social vision for Dhaka also emerged in his discussion of non-elite professional communities, particularly potters [*kumhārī*] who were a low-caste Hindu community. He mapped the geography of the city around different professional activities since "the city's neighborhoods were located in relation to the professions of the residents."[419] In his assessment, "potters [*kumhārī*] are a really large commercial profession of Dhaka and in many ways they are highly valued. Among them is one community, the *Rāj Mahelī* potters, who speak Urdu."[420] After narrating how the *Rāj Mahelī* potters live in neighborhoods between Dhaka's bangle bazaar and the famous *Lāl Bāgh* Fort, Rahman insisted that "seeing their homes, you will know clearly from where these people have come."[421] This was a pointedly positive assessment of a low-caste professional community who spoke Urdu. Rahman emphasized both the enduring signs of the community's external origins and their importance to the wellbeing of Dhaka. It was as the everyday professional linchpin of Old Dhaka for food preparation and small-scale artisanal activities that included both non-elite professional communities and *ashraf* Muslim healers, upon which Rahman staked his claim to Urdu's importance. One of Rahman's main claims for Dhaka's inherent urban balance was that the city's robust range of craft and textile products had allowed the city to weather changing political and economic fortunes.[422] This commemoration of Urdu as the mediator of urban artisanal wellbeing is taken up in Chapter Five.

Furthermore, during these radio talks, Rahman often listed Urdu terms developed by non-elite communities to demonstrate how Dhaka's economy depended on already well-established Urdu technical terminology. There was a consistent focus on uncovering "which arts and sciences

[419] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 1 and 3.
[420] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 31.
[421] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 31.
[422] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 6.

[*u'loom aur fanoon*] were prevalent" in Dhaka and their connection to the Urdu language.[423] For example, Rahman centered the sixth installment describing Dhaka's culture on the "old professions [*qadīm pesheh*]" in different neighborhoods.[424] While most cities in India were famous for one craft, he reveled in the range of specialized products from muslins to *huqqah* pipes found in Dhaka.[425] For example, at the end of the radio series, he introduced the humble community of *huqqah*-makers by noting that in Dhaka "the tradition of *huqqa* was widely spread here and because of it there was much [gentlemanly] politeness."[426] Rahman claimed that the extraordinary technical expertise of Dhaka's *huqqah*-makers depended on elaborate Urdu professional terminology since "the *huqqah* greatly increased the number of terms in our dictionary since all the different names of the various types of pipes, tobacco, and *huqqah* and their essentials make a long list."[427]

Urdu-using professional activities in Dhaka indexed an imagined social hierarchy with the Dhaka's *nawābī* family, who were the descendants of Kashmiri merchants, at the top, followed by *tibb* hakims, such as Rahman. This focus on the deep history of Urdu-speaking professions in Dhaka was not opposed to a princely history. Instead, as the economic potential of the Dhaka *nawabi* family declined due to the division of the estate amongst multiple heirs, Rahman attempted to re-orient Urdu towards professional employment. This could explain Rahman's hyperbolic epithet, "*Bādshāh* of Dhaka," since the *tibb* profession that he institutionalized in Dhaka became a new center for Muslim textual patronage and lucrative professional training.

[423] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 1.
[424] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 27-30.
[425] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 6
[426] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 89.
[427] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 89-91.

Regulating food was an essential element of Muslim humoral *tibb* healing. Therefore, a central concern in Habibur Rahman's daily medical practice in Dhaka was diagnosing the causes of the humoral imbalances in the bodies of the city's residents and prescribing 'hot' and 'cold' foods to restore humoral bodily balance. Even when Rahman did not explicitly state in his radio shows that he was discussing humoral medical theory, it would have been clear to his listeners- many of whom were his patients- that he was drawing on *yunānī tibb*. It would have been especially apparent that the discussion of food cultures in *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago* was part of *yunānī tibb* diagnostic tools for individual bodies and the body politic.[428] For example, in one radio discussion, Rahman rejected a certain form of *kebāb* as inappropriate for "Dhaka's common temperament," which drew on the *yunānī tibb* concept of *mizāj* (temperament.)[429] In another address, he mentioned in passing that of all the different limes used in *pān* [traditional mouth freshener], apple lime "is the best lime from the *tibb* perspective."[430]

The 1945 radio addresses discussing food cultures in Dhaka foregrounded how healing, religion, and class coincided in the construction of Dhaka as a cultured Muslim city. In particular, the role of *ashraf* cuisine in simultaneously marking Muslim elites in Dhaka as locally unique and part of a global Muslim ecumene emerged in Rahman's discussion of *kebāb* and *pulā'o* [popular meat and rice dish] in the eighth radio address. He first asserted that "the shared tastes of the Muslims of every part of the world is *kebāb* and *pulā'o*."[431] Then he detailed the unique methods of *pulā'o* preparation in Dhaka since "the common temperament of Dhaka does not prefer" the

[428] For example, the healing qualities of various foods and plants came up frequently in Hakim Habibur Rahman's previously discussed medical compendium, *The Distinguisher* that was published in 1905. A series of entries dealt with drugs that involved roses [*ghulab*], the art of mixing and blending medicines, and particular kinds of medicinal herbs. In *The Distinguisher*, Rahman also included an entry delineating Persian terminology for medicinal snuff and medicines which are ingested through the nose (Habibur Rahman, *Al-Fāriq* Manuscript No. HR 167, 14 and 16.)
[429]Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 41, 45, & 48.
[430] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 87.
[431] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 38-39.

kebāb of other locales.[432] According to the hakim, "Dhaka's particular *pulā'o* is very special [*khās*]… It is praised since [the flavor of] the meat and rice are almost melted together. … This type of *pulā'o* is not prepared anywhere else except in Dhaka, and nor does anyone cook it except for residents of Dhaka."[433] Thus, the *pulā'o* and *kebāb* consumed by elite Muslims in Dhaka proclaimed both their participation in a wider Muslim culture and localized cosmopolitanism.

This eighth radio address was titled "The Special Food of Dhaka." Throughout this show, Habibur Rahman highlighted the role of food in distinguishing Dhaka's Muslim elite of external extraction from local Bengali Muslims. In many ways, he narrated a long history of Dhaka in terms of the constant influx of new populations into the city and their social balancing through scientific food preparation. Along with the original title in Urdu "*ḍhaka ke mukhsoos khānā* [The Special Food of Dhaka]," the alternative title "Inhabitants & Immigrants" was subsequently scribbled in English in the margins, which reinforced this social distinction through cuisine.[434] Rahman began this eighth radio show with a narration of the genesis of the city's elites. Noting that "the civilized component of the present Muslim population of Dhaka is a memorial to the Mughal era," he then recounted how prosperous Armenian traders had also come to Dhaka in the Mughal era where they eventually bought landed estates.[435]

Continuing with this theme of medically- informed food preparation, Rahman claimed that elite Muslims endowed their cooking with scientific expertise as exemplified by the preparation of *dāl bhāt* [a popular rice and lentil dish.] First, he declared that "all over Bengal *dāl bhāt* is the famous cuisine. About it I will just say this much that *bhāt* is the exalted science [*āa'lah u'loom*]

[432] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 41.
[433] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 38.
[434] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 39.
[435] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 38.

of the Muslims here…."[436] Thus, while *dāl bhāt* was the most famous dish of Bengal, preparing it was a distinctly 'exalted science of the Muslims'. Food marked elite Urdu-speakers as distinctive in their cosmopolitan cuisine and scientific modes of preparation. To prove this, Rahman noted that once, Sir Ahsanullah, the *nawāb* of Dhaka, sent such an amazing dish of *dāl bhāt* to a local poet that in thanks, the poet composed a verse for the Dhaka *nawāb*.[437]

Rahman located Dhaka's local distinctiveness in the deep history of elite mobility through the city since "here in the cuisine of old, there is some Iranian food, there are some Armenian dishes, and some which the cultivated taste of Dhaka has created."[438] This elevation of the descendent of immigrants as the elite over those framed as local reversed what one might assume to be the local social hierarchy. This was further solidified with Rahman's insistence that "Dhaka has this strange and wondrous specialty that despite rice being the common food of Bengal, but in Dhaka even in regular bazaars you can find such a range of *roṭī* [a type of bread more associated with North India] that even in countries where only *roṭī* is eaten, such diversity is not [found] even there."[439]

Dhaka's distinct cuisine and culinary tastes did not just distinguish the city from its rival urban centers in Bengal and North India, but indexed a social hierarchy between elite *ashraf* Muslim homes and their Hindu and Bengali Muslim counterparts within Dhaka.[440] This was exemplified in the hakim's discussion of *bhorta*, a popular East Bengali vegetable dish. In his discourse on *bhorta*, Rahman united the variegated communities of Dhaka around one dish, while clearly distinguishing them from each other as well.[441] He specified that "from the nobles to the poor and

[436] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 47.
[437] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 47-48.
[438] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 38.
[439] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 22.
[440] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 46-47.
[441] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 47.

from women to men all are fans of *bhorta.*" However, while there are many different ways to prepare this dish, "but only a few special *bhorta* which are prepared in elite homes are worthy of mention. … With *bhorta* it is necessary to mention *raita* [yogurt side-dish] because here only eggplant *rāi'ta* is made and it is mostly eaten with *roṭī* during *Ramadan*, but in the place of *rāi'ta* other things can be prepared which usually are found in local [Muslim] and Hindu homes …"[442] While *bhorta* was universally consumed in Dhaka in the hakim's telling, Bengali Hindus and Muslims prepared alternative types of the dish, with the *bhortas* of elite Muslims being the best of all. Thus, food preparation in Dhaka - much like the Urdu language- forged a wide urban social vision that was clearly differentiated between different communities.

The professional focus in *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago* provides more clues as to the continuing development of the concept of an Urdu *mulk* of Bengal culturally centered in Dhaka. In particular, the discussion of traditional textile and commercial professions in the radio addresses offer a window onto how the *Anjuman*'s local actors viewed the cultural borders of Bengal and Dhaka's status as a rival capital to Calcutta within a wider Muslim framework. Eastern Bengal was often conceptualized as a cultural backwater on the eastern edge of colonial India. Instead, Rahman narrated a history of Muslim trade that connected Dhaka across the Indian Ocean.

Much of the first radio address was spent narrating the geographic location and the urban expansion of Dhaka over time.[443] At the beginning of the second radio show, after recounting how Dhaka's rival capitals in Eastern Bengal, are now "nothing more significant than a village or regular *qasbah*," Rahman noted that even during the eighteenth century expansion of Murshidabad "even then Dhaka did not disappear and become nameless and unknown."[444] According to him,

[442] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 47.
[443] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 1-6.
[444] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 6.

"the reasons for this are due in part to Dhaka's geographical importance and to a great extent to Dhaka's excellence in textile production."[445] Rahman narrated how Dhaka's long history of fine cloth production connected the city globally since "Arab ships have always come and gone on the shores of Bengal [and in this way] the products of Bengal reached Europe and distant kingdoms."[446] He insisted that up until his youth, there was a vibrant trade of embroidered cloth between Dhaka and the Middle East.[447] The products of Dhaka's embroidery [*kashīdah karī*] were popular as turbans and sashes for Arab Muslims in Rahman's telling since "embroidered handkerchiefs [from Dhaka] which Arabs, and especially those from Yemen and Syria, tied in Mecca [during *hajj*] or wore tied on their heads [were popular] … "[448] Thus, Dhaka was an important source of clothing for Arab Muslims during the *hajj*.

Not only were Dhaka's embroidered textiles sent to the Middle East, but Rahman insisted that Dhaka's produce was widely worn by *ashraf* Muslims across South Asia. He described how Dhaka's embroidered cloth was a sign of nobility amongst Mughal elites since "until recently, all of the *u'lamah* and *sheikh*s of Hindustan tied embroidered turbans and wore [embroidered] sashes-those people who went on the *hajj* would bring embroidered turbans and [embroidered] handkerchiefs as souvenirs from Arabia since few of them knew that these were products of their own country (*mulk*)."[449] Thus, Dhaka was connected to both the Middle East and *ashraf* Muslims in North India through its fine textile trade. In fact, Rahman told how Dhaka's textile products so suffused the pilgrimage market in Mecca, that Indians mistakenly brought back Dhaka embroidered cloth from the *hajj* thinking it was a local product.

[445] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 6.
[446] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 9.
[447] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 10.
[448] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 10.
[449]Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 10.

Habibur Rahman largely avoided any direct mention of contemporary events. However, his description of the historical origins of Dhaka's Bengali-speaking Muslim community points to the potent intersection of famine and unwanted residents in his conceptualization of Dhaka. This was particularly significant since the radio addresses of *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago* were broadcast after the devastation of the 1943 Bengal Famine. The 1943 famine also encouraged large-scale migration of rural Bengalis to urban centers in search of food and employment. This helps to contextualize Rahman's emphasis on food as both a social distinguisher and a means to heal the urban body politic.

In describing the origins of the Bengali-speaking Muslim community of Dhaka, with the very recent memory of the 1943 famine in mind, Rahman claimed that "this community came and settled here [in Dhaka] in 1770 [-] this was the year in which Bengal had been struck with a terrible famine and people were dying of hunger."[450] He directly linked the economic devastation of the famines of 1770 and 1943 to the expanded presence of Bengali-speaking Muslims in Dhaka. The famine of 1770 caused "drastic depopulation and loss of cultivation," particularly in the districts of Western Bengal.[451] Thus, for Rahman, the 1943 migration of rural Muslims following a famine echoed an earlier moment of rural migration to Dhaka which was induced by a famine. Lack of food was clearly embedded in Rahman's mind as the primary cause of unwanted Bengali Muslim migration and urban social imbalance. This adds another layer to Rahman's conceptualization of the city's body politic as regulated by a 'science of proportions' of different foods that was threatened by rural Bengali-speaking Muslim migrants.

[450] Rahman, *ḍhāka ab seh pachās baras pehleh* Manuscript No. HR 92, 5.
[451] Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital*, 17-18.

Rahman proposed a social order in Dhaka balanced between Hindu and Muslim elites and healed through scientifically proportioned food and traditional exercises. Urdu healing certainly responded to the weakened political voice and social position of Muslim landed elites after the 1911 reversal of the 1905 partition of Bengal, as well as the expanding political influence of rural Bengali voters after the provincial elections of 1937 and the devastation of the 1943 famine. In response to these political and social challenges, Rahman wove together humoral healing and Urdu's association with elite Muslim culture to propose an urban vision of Dhaka as balanced between different communities and healed by scientific food preparation. He also positioned Dhaka as locally superior to Calcutta and as historically connected to Muslim communities in the Middle East by ties of family and fine trade. Muslim humoral healing in Dhaka that was aimed at urban social balance fit well within a wider Urdu civilization space that the members of the *Anjuman* constructed in cities across the Indian subcontinent in the late colonial era.

Dhaka Fifty Years Ago has become Habibur Rahman's most influential publication. Initially broadcast on the radio in 1945, Radio Pakistan published the sixteen addresses in Urdu in Lahore in 1949. This version of *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago* was printed at the request of the same Khwaja Nazimuddin to whom Rahman had addressed his 1943 petition, who had become the Governor-General of Pakistan.[452] *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago* was not only a central text in the 'local' Urdu canon of East Pakistan from 1947 to 1971, but was revived as an influential local historical resource in contemporary Bangladesh after its translation into Bangla in 1995. Thus, through the technology of radio and print, Dhaka's body politic was imagined through humoral medicine.

[452] Enamul Haque, "Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhundzada," 15.

VI. Conclusion

Urdu-mediated humoral medicine served as a powerful social imaginary that operated in the contentious political era in eastern Bengal from 1930 to 1945 across a world war, an expanding independence movement, and a devastating famine. In the radio addresses of *Dhaka Fifty Years Ago*, Habibur Rahman outlined a medical vision of Dhaka, proportionally balanced between elite urban Hindus and Urdu-speaking Muslim communities with the temperamental balance of the city mediated by the food of different neighborhoods. In turn, he diagnosed the social ills which he believed could undermine Dhaka's body politic, particularly the influx of rural Muslims into the city who threatened this social balance. Rahman foregrounded these concerns over rural migration into Dhaka in his discussion of the scientifically balanced cuisine of the city's Muslim urban elites.

Habibur Rahman's social views undergirded his medical texts as much as humoral healing infused his social and literary writings. It would be a mistake to conceptualize his medical and literary writings as separate genres. Instead, Rahman argued for a balanced social order, loosely modeled on the humoral balance of the body, in which Urdu would make scientific knowledge more accessible, while renewing a hierarchically-organized society. Instead of conceptualizing medicine as a singular scientific field, Rahman placed medicine within a renovated category of *u'loom* ('the sciences') that could connect many different fields of knowledge, including politics, literature, and language. The final decades of Rahman's career as a healer, political actor, historian, and local litterateur illustrate the formation of an ideal Urdu civilizational space in Dhaka that paralleled developments in the *Anjuman*'s other provincial centers across British India.

Neilesh Bose recently demonstrated how eastern Bengali support for Pakistan in the 1940s built on the decades-long development of a popular Muslim literary culture in the Bangla langauge

that was centered in Dhaka.[453] In contrast to the obvious depth and richness of Bangla literary cultures in eastern Bengal, it has often been assumed that the imposition of Urdu as the national language in East Pakistan after 1949 created social tensions and political violence due to Urdu's lack of historical roots in eastern Bengal. In contrast to this narrative of national linguistic oppression drawing from Urdu's historical absence in eastern Bengal, this chapter suggests that the socially exclusive and politically oppressive elements in Urdu promotion in eastern Bengal were not solely introduced by the Pakistani state after 1947. Instead, the political tensions and violent failure of Pakistan's language policies in eastern Bengal in the 1950s built on a much longer history of Urdu as a tool of elite exclusion and urban social prestige in colonial-era Dhaka. More broadly, the *Anjuman*'s Urdu healing project in Dhaka in the 1930s and 1940s suggest that Pakistan's advancement of Urdu at the expense of Bangla in East Pakistan after independence significantly built on older, deeply local, exclusionary urban politics in Bengal.

[453] Bose, *Recasting the Region*, 190 and 239.

Chapter IV:
Queen of the East: Urdu Promotion and Naturalist Observation in Karachi, 1941-1947

I. Introduction

Moving from the *Anjuman's* projects in Dhaka, this chapter shifts focus to the other end of the Indian subcontinent and follows the promotion of the Urdu language in Karachi from 1941 to 1947 as the city was transformed from the margins of the Urdu-speaking world into a major center of Urdu literary production. In contrast to the economic and social disruption of the wartime famine in Dhaka, Karachi became a major military and economic hub for the British Empire during World War II due to its geo-strategic importance as an Indian Ocean port between the European and Asian theatres of the war. Yet in similar ways to Dhaka, the rapid economic and social changes of the early 1940s fueled ambitions to establish Karachi as a new center for Urdu-medium knowledge production that could connect Karachi to Muslim communities across the Indian subcontinent and beyond. Much like Dhaka, Karachi was a predominantly non-Urdu speaking city in a Muslim majority province. Karachi was the primary port city of the province of Sindh.

Although Urdu became the national language of Pakistan after the 1947 Partition of British India, initially Urdu was not widely spoken in the territories of the new nation-state. This was especially true in the port city of Karachi, which became the first capital of Pakistan. Historically, Karachi was distant from Urdu's North Indian heartland and closer to Central Asia and the Hijaz. Before the migration of hundreds of thousands of North Indian Muslims in 1947, the city of Karachi had few Urdu speakers. The 1947 Partition rapidly transformed the city's demographics from a distant frontier of Urdu into the largest Urdu-speaking city in the world. As a result of these demographic changes that accompanied partition, the history of Urdu in Karachi has been told as

a national story of the migration of North Indian Muslims (*muhājir*s) to Pakistan after 1947. This chapter tells a different history of Urdu in Karachi by placing the post-1947 story of *muhājīr* migration and Urdu in Karachi within a deeper framework. Karachi's initial marginal position in the early 1940s shaped a distinctive project of making Urdu into a language of 'ancient' and 'modern' sciences and the meeting point between Persian, English, and 'Hindustani.'

Broadly, this chapter examines debates over the linguistic boundaries and scientific content of Urdu from the vantage point of Karachi, through the promotional activities of the regional branch of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* in this western Indian city in the final years of colonial rule. The forgotten history of Urdu-promoters and science writers in Karachi before Pakistan is a useful vantage point on debates over the linguistic contours and territorial base of Urdu. While the larger history of language politics in Pakistan focuses on events after partition, the history of the *Anjuman* in Karachi reveals what the city's polyglot populations signified for Urdu promoters before 1947. Some Sindhi educators and scholars saw great potential in Urdu as a language of naturalist observation, esoteric Islam, and social revolution in Karachi long before the creation of Pakistan.

There were intense disputes over language and nationalism in British India in the early 1940s. Studies of national language politics have largely centered on North India's Urdu-Hindi conflict, with the different scripts of Hindi and Urdu mapped onto religious difference.[454] While this scholarship has examined disputes between Urdu and Hindi promoters, it has obscured debates within the Urdu sphere over Urdu's own contours and limits, particularly in relation to 'Hindustani.' 'Hindustani' was the term used by the British colonial administration to describe the shared spoken language in North India between the literary registers of Urdu and Hindi. Hindustani

[454] Amit Rai, *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi-Urdu* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984); Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Christopher King, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1994.)

could be written in Urdu's *nasta'līq* script, Hindi's *devanāgarī* script, and Roman letters.[455] Beyond the blurry boundary between Urdu and Hindi, the distinction between Hindustani and Urdu was even more hazy since Urdu was often called Hindustani in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the 1930s and 1940s, some nationalist leaders in India advanced Hindustani in both the *nasta'līq* and *devanāgarī* scripts as a viable national language that could avoid increasingly communal linguistic debates. However, many Hindi and Urdu devotees were suspicious that advocates of Hindustani provided a political opening to their linguistic opponents.[456]

The history of the *Anjuman* in Karachi before 1947 is a story of aspirations for Urdu to intellectually connect the province of Sindh more effectively to the rest of the subcontinent. Much like Aurangabad and Dhaka, the provincial space of Karachi on the margins of the Urdu-speaking heartland proved to be a useful base to connect Muslim intellectuals to global scientific and literary currents. However, what distinguishes the *Anjuman*'s provincial projects in late colonial Karachi from its bases in Dhaka and Aurangabad was that the city of Karachi was transformed after 1947 into the new national center for Urdu in Pakistan. This suggests that the role of provincial cities in shaping 'national' trajectories needs to be more fully explored. This chapter does not approach the history of the *Anjuman* in Karachi as one of either trans-regional failure or nationalist success. Instead, this history of aspirations for Urdu's connective reach in Karachi reveals the role of the sciences (*u'loom*) in fueling debates over Urdu's linguistic and territorial boundaries in the 1940s.

[455] Ulrike Starks, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India, 1858-1895* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007.)

[456] See Kavita Datla's description of Maulvi Abdul Haq's falling out with Mohandas K. Gandhi over the status of Urdu, Hindi, or Hindustani as a future national language for India. Kavita Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam: Urdu Nationalism and Colonial India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 133-136.

In 1914, soon after its founding, the *Anjuman* established a regional branch in Karachi.[457] A cohort of Sindhi scholars, merchants from Bombay, and North Indian educators advanced the city as a new Urdu center. They hoped that Karachi's commercial ties across the British Empire would open-up new horizons for the language and expected that Urdu could connect Sindh to wider intellectual networks without excluding Sindhi-speakers. While Sindhi was overwhelming spoken in the province's rural interior, in the port city of Karachi, Gujarati and English also were widely spoken. In the opinion of the *Anjuman*'s intellectuals in Karachi, due to the imbalance between the regional limitations of the Sindhi language and the growing global commercial connections of Karachi, Sindhi-speakers needed to learn a second language for commerce and mobility.

The *Anjuman* in late colonial Karachi was led by Mahmooda Rizvi, an editor and writer of esoteric and naturalist tracts. Mahmooda Rizvi led a branch of the *Anjuman* in Karachi from 1941 to 1946 when she was in her mid-twenties. Mahmooda Rizvi occupied a unique position in the *Anjuman*. She was one of the few women in the organization's leadership and she published more books than any other single author within the *Anjuman* in the 1940s. What makes this record more remarkable was that Rizvi published during the paper restrictions and censorship of World War II. Under Rizvi's direction, the missionary zeal of the *Anjuman* was focused on women readers and non-Urdu speakers in Sindh. As Karachi's urban space and economic structure were transformed in the 1940s, naturalist writing emerged as a potent means to critique the expanding urban economy. The ways in which World War II shaped her career are illustrated by a review of Rizvi's writings by a fellow Urdu author. Rizvi's peer wrote, "the famine of Urdu writers, the restrictions on paper … the inflation in [the price of] all things except the blood of humans – and then to have the publication of an Urdu journal from the province of Sindh? This could be achieved only by

[457] *Hindustānī* (January/ February 1943), 54.

that person who is brave in the face of the challenging realities of life. That figure of courage is Mahmooda Rizvi."[1]

In the early 1940s, Mahmooda Rizvi advanced Urdu as a viable '*lingua franca*' to connect Sindh to wider worlds of knowledge, commerce, and science. In the Karachi *Anjuman*'s monthly magazine, Rizvi asserted that Urdu was uniquely qualified to bridge 'ancient' and 'modern' *u'loom* (sciences.) A goal of the magazine was to promote a deep history for Urdu in Sindh and to claim a prestigious lineage for Urdu in the province through the older history of Persian. This historical project took a number of routes, including the discovery of fragments of Urdu poetry in Sindh's early modern past, the appropriation of Sindh's robust early modern Persian literary culture for Urdu, and the narration of Sindh's seventh century history on the eve of the 'Muslim' conquest.

Mahmooda Rizvi grounded these expectations for Urdu as connective language of scientific knowledge through the publication of textbooks of stylized Urdu literary science, particularly esoteric naturalist observations that melded Persian and English romantic poetry. Rizvi wrote thirteen textbooks for schools in Sindh in the early 1940s in which she relied on Persian terms to craft her Urdu prose observational accounts. In contrast to the socially conservative *ashraf* elites and Muslim landowners who made up the bulk of the *Anjuman*'s members in the Deccan and eastern Bengal, Rizvi advocated for revolutionary social change in Sindh during World War II. Rizvi's use of highly stylized Persian poetic themes in revolutionary Urdu prose challenges the conflation of accessible Hindustani with progressive politics and Persianized Urdu with conservative orientations that has characterized studies of Urdu literature in the 1940s and 1950s.[458]

[458] See Rakhshanda Jalil, *Liking Progress, Loving Change: A Literary History of the Progressive Writers' Movement on Urdu* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.)

Before the British conquest of Sindh in the 1840s, Persian was the language of administration and elite education in Sindh. Persian was patronized in Sindh under the Mughals and the Kalhora and Talpur successor state in the eighteenth century. Since the British institutionalized Sindhi and English to replace Persian in nineteenth century Sindh, the history of Persian was well-suited for twentieth century Urdu promoters as a transregional alternative to English. However, there were serious limitations to this Persian historical imaginary. If Persian terms were the bridge between 'ancient' and 'modern' science for Urdu, they also constituted a major impediment for writing easily accessible textbooks since few educated Sindhis studied Persian by the 1940s.

Rizvi's writings also reveal the kind of 'science' that the *Anjuman* was developing late colonial India. In many ways, Rizvi published in a far more literary register than an explicitly scientific one. However, this might have been precisely the point for the *Anjuman*'s Urdu educators in late colonial Karachi who wanted to make Urdu a bridge between ancient and modern *u'loom* as a way to promote the language to non-native speakers. More broadly, Rizvi aimed to widen the ambit of those who could learn about and contest scientific knowledge by creating a capacious world of Urdu naturalist writing grounded in English and Persian terms, encircled by the Indian Ocean, enriched by Islam, and geared towards revolutionary social change. This is a largely ignored world of Indo-Muslim intellectual life. Conceptualizing Rizvi's writing as a form of highly stylized naturalist observations expands our notions of what constitutes 'modern science' in South Asia in the 1940s by reintegrating literature into vernacular understandings 'the sciences.'

Locating Rizvi's naturalist observational tracts in 1940s Karachi alongside Habibur Rahman's Urdu healing in Dhaka and the *Anjuman*'s type experiments in Aurangabad points to the ways in which Muslim intellectuals forged a new form of vernacular science that was concerned with urban harmony, medical healing, and social balance. Recent scholarship on scientific knowledge in

Muslim societies has foregrounded how 'modern science' was made legible in the Middle East by locating European 'science' within classical Islamic genres.[459] In contrast to this classical textual focus, the *Anjuman* focused on the health and economy of contemporary cities.

Despite her prominence in the early 1940s, Mahmooda Rizvi quickly disappeared from the world of Urdu letters in early post-colonial Karachi as *muhājir* Urdu authors from North India rapidly displaced her in the *Anjuman*'s offices in Karachi. The erasure of her part in the history of Urdu in Karachi has been told as a tale of *muhājir* migration, thus conceiving the *Anjuman* in post-colonial Pakistan as derived from North India and the Deccan, with little acknowledgment of the history of the regional association in Karachi before 1947. Illustrating this displacement, the magazines that form the foundation of this chapter were found in Hyderabad (India), not Pakistan. However, the presence of this rich vein of Urdu publications from colonial Sindh in southern India demonstrates the reach of this aspirational project to make Karachi a new center for Urdu.

The first section of the chapter examines the *Anjuman*'s promotion of Mahmooda Rizvi as the leading Urdu scholar of Sindh in the early 1940s. The second section investigates how the Karachi *Anjuman* advanced Urdu as a practical *lingua franca* for Sindh that could bridge ancient and modern sciences in the magazine *Hindustānī*. The following section explains how Mahmooda Rizvi attempted to realize this promise of vernacular scientific accessibility by fashioning a heavily Persian register for Urdu in Sindh to discuss naturalist and revolutionary themes from 1942 to 1945 in her textbooks. Finally, I explore the rift between the Karachi *Anjuman*'s local promotion of Urdu and Maulvi Abdul Haq's increasingly national ambitions for Urdu in 1946 and 1947.

[459] See Daniel Stolz, "Positioning the Watch Hand: ʿUlamaʾ and the Practice of Mechanical Timekeeping in Cairo, 1737-1874," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47 (2015): 489-510.

II. Mahmooda Rizvi, the 'Leading Woman Author of Sindh'

In Mahmooda Rizvi's writings and in the *Anjuman*'s advertisements, images of women, particularly feminized personifications of the city of Karachi, merged with the promotion of Urdu as a connective language of scientific learning. While the use of feminine figures to represent a language or a nation was not unique to South Asia in the twentieth century, what distinguishes the *Anjuman* in Karachi was that a woman author was the major proponent of this feminized vision of stylized Urdu literary science.[460] The importance of Mahmooda Rizvi to the *Anjuman* was illustrated by the circulation of her publications far beyond Karachi in the 1940s and the frequent narration of her singular impact on Urdu in Sindh in the association's advertisements and magazines.

Mahmooda Rivzi's books were widely distributed beyond Karachi and regularly reviewed in popular Urdu periodicals in Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad in the early 1940s. The *Anjuman*'s regional branch in Karachi and the organization's central offices in Delhi heavily promoted Mahmooda Rizvi as the exemplary pioneer of Urdu in Sindh. The advancement of Rizvi frequently emphasized her significance as a woman author. A constant refrain in the Karachi *Anjuman*'s advertisements and the central *Anjuman*'s books reviews was that she was the '*Adībah-yi Sindh*' or the 'leading woman author of Sindh' who was paving a verdant road for the Urdu language in the deserts of Sindh.[461] [The term '*adībah*' is the feminine form of the Urdu term '*adīb*' which is used for scholar of literature and language.] The Karachi *Anjuman* merged its

[460] In her work on Tamil language devotees in southern India, Sumathi Ramaswamy discussed how representations of the Tamil language as a goddess were overwhelmingly produced by male scholars and language promoters. See: Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.)

[461] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.4 (October 1944.)

appeal to women readers with the image of Karachi through the feminized personification of the city as "*Mallikah-yi Mashriq* (Queen of the East)" in poetry, prose, and illustrated magazine covers. The larger institutional *Anjuman*'s growing interest in Sindh in the early 1940s could be attributed to the fact that it was a Muslim-majority province where Urdu had little presence. Thus, much like Bengal, it represented a potential frontier to Urdu promoters in the *Anjuman*.

Mahmooda Rizvi, who was in her early twenties in 1941, came from a prominent Urdu-speaking Muslim family in Sindh.[462] She was described by her fellow Urdu promoters as "the light of the Rizvi family who are patriotic, literarily cultivated, and hold exalted intellectual tastes." [463] She was educated at Bombay University and Karachi's D. J. Sindh College. Her father was the wealthy literary patron Hafiz Sharif Husain Rizvi, and in the early 1940s her brother Iqbal Hussain Rizvi pursued a PhD on the famous Urdu poet Muhammad Iqbal. In the early 1940s the Rizvi family became patrons of the regional branch of the *Anjuman* in Karachi.[464]

The Karachi *Anjuman* expressed its hope for Karachi through the feminized personification of the city as "Queen of the East (*Mallikah-yi Mashriq*)" in poetry, prose, and illustrated magazine covers. The *Anjuman*'s promotion of Mahmooda Rizvi as the *Adībah* of Sindh and Karachi as 'Queen of the East' in the early 1940s coincided with other iterations of women as symbols of language and nation.[465] What makes the figure of Karachi as an Urdu 'Queen of the East'

[462] Although Mahmooda Rizvi lived in Karachi, her deep knowledge of Persian and frequent references to Shi'a theology suggest that her family could have originated in the Khairpur princely state in Sindh, which was ruled by a Shi'a Muslim princely family that cultivated Urdu and Persian in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
[463] A. J. Karavani, "Peshnāmah," *Lālazār*, Mahmooda Rizvi (Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu- Karachi, 1942), ii.
[464] A. J. Karavani, "Peshnāmah," *Lālazār*, Mahmooda Rizvi (Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu- Karachi, 1942), ii.
[465] In her study of Tamil language devotion, Sumathi Ramaswamy traced the representations of Tamil as mother, beloved, and goddess with the feminization of the language situated as a distinctively modern development "symptomatic of a fundamental regendering of cultural and community under colonial rule and modernity. See: Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue*, 81 and 121.

distinctive among the gendered representation of modern South Asian vernacular languages is its paradoxical relationship to place. On the one hand, Karachi as 'Queen of the East' intimately tied the Urdu language to Karachi as a beacon of knowledge and a frontier for Urdu. Yet in contrast to the personification of goddesses who reigned over an Indian heartland, Karachi was geographically distant from Urdu's North Indian base and on the eastern edge of a Persian-speaking world.[466]

Charles Napier established Karachi as the new capital of Sindh after he conquered the province in 1843. Much like Bombay and Calcutta, Karachi initially flourished as a colonial trading hub that linked the commerce of western India with other Indian Ocean colonial ports and the Middle East, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal. Karachi was governed within the Bombay Presidency until 1936 and the city emerged as a competitive port to Bombay, particularly for shipping from northern India.

Mahmooda Rizvi's promotion of Urdu was fueled by Karachi's economic rise and expanding population. The history of Urdu in Karachi can be situated within a longer history of mobility in Sindh.[467] In the early twentieth century, the migration of predominantly Hindu Gujarati trading communities to Karachi and Punjabi agriculturalists into rural Sindh were transformative developments that contributed to the development of a Sindhi Muslim political consciousness of continual threat from external domination.[468] World War II cemented Karachi's growing importance as an Indian Ocean commercial hub and "a strategic port" for the British Empire since it was a secure port city in between the Asian and European theaters of the war.[469] In her study of

[466] Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue*. 90.
[467] Sarah Ansari, *Life after Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh: 1947-1962* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 23; and Claude Markovits, *Merchants, Traders, Entrepreneurs: Indian Business in the Colonial Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.)
[468] Ansari, *Life after Partition*, 32-34.
[469] Ansari, *Life after Partition*, 25-27

modern Sindh, Sarah Ansari argued that "by the end of the 1920s, despite the global depression, Karachi had emerged as India's third port, and though there were fluctuations in the content of its trade, it maintained this position through independence."[470]

Karachi's growing economic heft was given added impetus between the two world wars and Sindh's establishment as a separate province in 1936.[471] Muslims constituted about 80 percent of colonial Sindh's population and the significant Hindu minority often lived in urban centers.[472] During the interwar era, Karachi's population almost doubled and by 1941 ~386,655 people lived in the city.[473] An important result of Karachi's transformation into a global port city in the first four decades of the twentieth century was the influx of trading communities into the city, many of whom were Hindu traders from Gujarat.[474] While Hindu and Muslim communities were roughly equal in Karachi until the early 1920s, the city subsequently gained a slight Hindu majority in the years before Partition.[475] Gujarati was the predominant language in late colonial Karachi.[476] Along with English, newspapers in Persian, Sindhi, and Gujarati were printed in Karachi.[477]

The *Anjuman* benefitted from this linguistic ferment and economic activity. Along with Mahmooda Rizvi, the cohort of Urdu-promoters in late colonial Karachi included Hassamuddin Rashidi, who became a major Sindhi scholar in post-colonial Pakistan, and Asif Jah Karavani, an Urdu educator from the Deccan. Asif Jah Karavani was a revolutionary-minded Urdu educator at Karachi's D. J. Sindh College where he taught Rizvi and became her intellectual mentor. Rizvi

[470] Ansari, *Life after Partition*, 26.
[471] Yasmin Lari and Mihail Lari, *The Dual City: Karachi During the Raj* (Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 1996), 116.
[472] Ansari, *Life after Partition*, 20.
[473] Lari & Lari, *The Dual City*, 116.
[474] Ansari, *Life after Partition*, 26.
[475] Ansari, *Life after Partition*, 34.
[476] Ansari, *Life after Partition*, 34.
[477] Lari & Lari, *The Dual City*, 112-113.

and Karavani became the primary leaders of the Karachi *Anjuman* in the 1940s and served as co-editors of the regional Urdu magazine. The Karachi *Anjuman* heavily invested in Rizvi with a total of 4,000 rupees spent on publishing twelve of her books by 1945.[478] By February 1944, the *Anjuman* was regularly running advertisements for Rizvi's books under the heading "The Immortal Writings of the Leading Woman Author (*Adībah*) of Sindh Mahmooda Rizvi."[479] The Karachi *Anjuman* convinced Sindh's Department of Education to stock all school libraries with Mahmooda Rizvi's books from 1943. For example, in April 1943, Sindh's Director of Public Instruction accepted Rizvi's *Naame Tahdeed*, which concerned early Islamic history, and short story collection *Sooz aur Sāz* as Urdu textbooks for all school libraries in the province of Sindh.[480]

Asif Jah Karavani used his connections to the *Anjuman*'s headquarters in Delhi and to Urdu scholars in the Deccan to promote Mahmooda Rizvi's status as "Karachi's famous woman author (*adībah)*." He requested that prominent journals in Lucknow, Delhi, and Hyderabad, including the central *Anjuman*'s own magazine *Hamārī Zabān (Our Language*), publish review her books. For example, in the stacks of the Hyderabad-based Urdu organization the *Idārah-yi Adabīyāt-i Urdu*, copies of Rizvi's books can be found with hand-written notes from Karavani in which he appealed to Urdu scholars in Hyderabad to publish reviews of her books. Karavani selectively reproduced these reviews in the Karachi *Anjuman*'s monthly magazines to demonstrate Mahmooda Rizvi's pan-Indian reach to her local audience in Sindh.[481] Ultimately, the *Anjuman* affixed a seal on the back cover of Rizvi's publications celebrating her pan-South Asian status. On this seal Rizvi's

[478] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.11 (May 1946), 3.
[479] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.5 (February 1944), ii.
[480] *Hindustānī* 2.11 (May 1943), 19-20.
[481] *Hindustānī* 2.11 (May 1943), 19-20.

initials were emblazoned on a map of British India with two palm trees extending upwards to represent the province of Sindh.

"Mahmooda Rizvi, Editor of the monthly Beams of Urdu"

Mahmooda Rizvi was also appointed the leader of Karachi *Anjuman*'s women's branch in March 1943.[482] Her father Hafiz Sharif Hussain Rizvi regularly provided donations to the Karachi branch of the *Anjuman* to fund its printing press and new headquarters, which were to be named either "Rizvi Press" or "Rizvi Hall." He also purchased a lithograph press for the Karachi *Anjuman*.[483] Mahmooda Rizvi was crucial for securing this financial largesse as illustrated by a 1943 review that "in the land of Sindh, for a woman to have published seven books in the Urdu language is a good omen for the advancement and expansion of the Urdu language."[484]

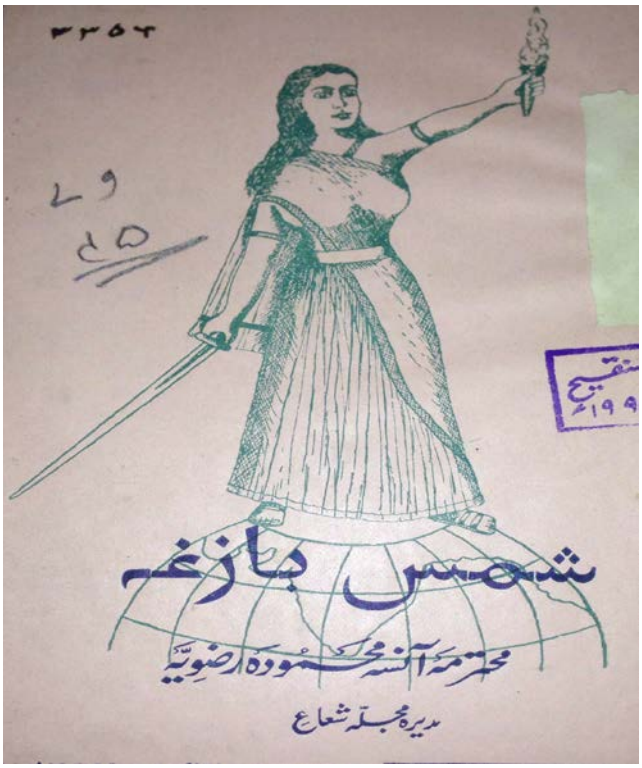
Along with promoting Mahmooda Rizvi as the '*Adībah*' of Sindh, the *Anjuman* in Karachi often characterized its aspirations to make Karachi a new center for Urdu under the rubric of Karachi as "Queen of the East (*Mallikah-yi Mashriq*)," a cosmopolitan port city figuratively reigning over the Indian Ocean. The personified figure of Karachi as 'Queen of the East' appeared in the Karachi *Anjuman*'s books, poetry gatherings, magazines, and illustrated book covers.

[482] *Hindustānī* 2.9 (March 1943), 39.
[483] *Hindustānī* 2.9 (March 1943), 39 & *Hindustani* 2.11 (May 1943), 38.
[484] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* (October 1943.)

Exemplifying this personification of Karachi, Akhtar Rizwani, a North Indian poet who visited Karachi in 1943, penned an ode to Karachi as "Queen of the East." In the poem "Queen of the East," Rizwani wrote that "in its [Karachi's] lap is the spirit of a boundless sea- [Karachi is] the meeting place of a retinue of Afghans from one direction and the spirit of intoxication [from the sea.]"[485] Rizwani framed Karachi as the meeting place between the Indian Ocean and Central Asia.

Nor were the Karachi *Anjuman*'s aspirations for Urdu in Sindh limited to poetry and prose. Instead the cover art on Mahmooda Rizvi's books and the Karachi *Anjuman*'s magazines illustrated the organization's ambitions to make Karachi a new center for Urdu. For example, the covers of Rizvi's books were transformed in 1944 with an image of a sari-clad woman standing on top of the globe. The woman held a torch aloft in her left hand and an unsheathed sword in her right hand. She stood atop a globe which was centered on the Indian subcontinent. However, her feet spanned from Central Asia across the India subcontinent and into Burma.

[485] *Hindustānī*, January/ February 1943, 20.



So who was this woman striding across the globe on the cover of the Karachi *Anjuman*'s books? I theorize that she was most likely a fusion of Mahmooda Rizvi as the '*Adībah* of Sindh' and Karachi as 'Queen of the East.' This figure resembled contemporary illustrations of the nineteenth century anti-British *Rani* of Jhansi, as well as contemporary representations of India as mother and goddess and the Statue of Liberty in the United States.[486] The figure of Karachi as 'Queen of the East' increasingly appeared in Rizvi's writings as the 1940s progressed. For example, in September 1943 Rizvi dedicated one of her books "in the name of my own Queen of the East, Karachi."[487] Rizvi even wrote a guide book to Karachi in 1947 that was titled "Queen of the East." Moreover, the figure of a woman stood immediately above the book's title and

[486]Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue*.
[487] Mahmooda Rizvi, *Abshār* (Karachi: Hindustānī Dār-ul Ishāa't, 1943.)

Mahmooda Rizvi's name. Thus, this globe-striding figure merged Rizvi as the 'leading literary woman of Sindh' and Karachi as 'Queen of the East.'

In an era when political imagery of India as goddess and mother had assumed tremendous importance in Indian nationalist discourse, the promotion of Karachi as 'Queen of the East' and Rizvi as the leading '*Adībah* of Sindh' provided an implicit counterpoint to the nationalist 'Mother India.'[488] The Karachi *Anjuman* attempted to carve out an alternative space for Urdu (and Islam) amidst competing figures of the nation and language through the figure of Karachi as 'Queen of the East' bearing light and knowledge on a global scale.

III. Hindustani in Karachi before Pakistan, 1941-1946

From 1941 to 1946 the regional branch of the *Anjuman* in Karachi published a magazine, first titled *Hindustānī* and later *Beams of Urdu (Shua'āe' Urdu)*, under the leadership of Mahmooda Rizvi and Asif Jah Karavani. The magazine advanced Urdu educational schemes in Sindh, showcased poetry and cover art that lauded Karachi as a new center of Urdu, and claimed a deep history for Urdu in Sindh. The trans-regional Muslim networks of the former Bombay Presidency, as well as Karachi's increasing importance as a globally connected port city in the 1930s and 1940s, provide a useful framework for contextualizing the goals and reach of the magazine.[489]

The previously discussed pictorial representation of Karachi as a 'Queen of the East' that was oriented towards the Middle East and Central Asia became caught up in debates over Urdu's linguistic orientation towards either North India (via Hindustani) or Iran (via Persian) in 1940s

[488] Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.)
[489] See Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: the religious economy of the west Indian Ocean, 1840-1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.)

Karachi. This section tracks how Rizvi and Karavani advanced Urdu as a '*lingua franca*' for Sindh that could easily connect the province to wider commercial and scientific trends. However, differences soon emerged over whether Urdu as '*lingua franca'* should favor terms drawn from Persian or the register of Hindustani. While the Karachi *Anjuman*'s magazine, *Hindustānī*, advanced Urdu in the accessible register of Hindustani, in her textbooks, Mahmooda Rizvi utilized more elite and inaccessible Persian terminology for stylized esoteric and naturalistic observations. This tension between Persian and Hindustani orientations was illustrated by ambiguities in the personification of Karachi as 'Queen of the East,' when the city was in fact located on the western edge of the Indian subcontinent. If *Hindustānī,* promoted Urdu in Karachi facing the heartland in North India, Mahmooda Rizvi's textbooks connected Karachi to the Hijaz and Iran.

This debate over how to advance Urdu as a viable *lingua franca* in Sindh was one node in the *Anjuman*'s wider promotional activities for Urdu in the early 1940s across the Indian subcontinent. For example, the central office of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, which was based in Delhi, promoted Urdu as the only viable *lingua franca* and national language for a future independent India. For example, in a 1943 promotional pamphlet, the central *Anjuman* in Delhi asserted:

> "The claim of Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India is established by long usage and convincing testimony and, without prejudice to the merits of other languages, we can say that no other language spoken or understood in any part of this country has ever enjoyed or is now enjoying this important position. … Urdu, on the other hand, is a polished language useful and handy in speech as well as writing. No fair-minded person can dispute the fact that it is the most widely spoken and understood language in India and the most common vehicle of expression and exchange of ideas between different communities inhabiting this vast sub-continent. From Kashmir in the extreme north to Mysore and Malabar in the south and in all Provinces of northern India and the major portion of southern peninsula it is Urdu alone which

> can enable a person to make himself understood in cities and towns and even in remote villages."[490]

The Karachi *Anjuman* began to publish the monthly magazine *Hindustānī* in October 1941.[491] The title of the magazine remained *Hindustānī* for two years until the magazine's title changed to *Beams of Urdu* (*Shua'āe' Urdu*) in October 1943.[492] The initial title of 'Hindustani' signaled a commitment to a shared linguistic register in-between Urdu and Hindi. No official explanation was given for the name change from *Hindustānī* to *Beams of Urdu (Shua'āe' Urdu*) in the October 1943 issue of the magazine. A potential explanation for this shift is provided by an earlier notice in the magazine in February 1943. In this notice, the Karachi *Anjuman* thanked Sindh's provincial government for instituting 'Hindustānī' classes in primary schools, but appealed for the classes to be called "Urdu" not "Hindustānī," which suggests the *Anjuman*'s local branch in Karachi was moving towards an explicitly Urdu policy throughout 1943.[493]

More broadly, the change in title from 'Hindustānī' to 'Beams of Urdu' was probably part of the intensification of the Hindi-Urdu conflict in North India in these years. In fact, the pages of the Karachi magazine suggest that in the early 1940s Sindh became an important frontier arena for Hindi and Urdu advocates to gain adherents for their ideological battles in North India. For example, Karavani addressed the role of Hindi/Urdu tensions in the June 1943 issue of *Hindustānī* magazine. In an article entitled the "Sindhi Script," Karavani rebuked a Hindu nationalist Hindi supporter (a "*prachārak" of a "rāshṭrīya bhāshā*") who had recently toured Sindh promoting Hindi and calling for the Sindhi script to be changed from the Perso-Arabic *naskh* script to *devanagārī*. In his response, Karavani placed Sindhi in a wider constellation of languages

[490] Choudhri Rahm Ali Alhashmi, *All India Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu (A Society for the Advancement of Urdu, Brief History & Works* (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Hind], 1943), 3-4.
[491] *Hindustānī* 2.9 (March 1943), 2.
[492] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.4 (October 1943), 2.
[493] *Hindustānī* (January/ February 1943), 55-56.

written in the Perso-Arabic script that were under attack from "the enemies of *naskh* and *nasta'līq*."[494]

According to Karavani, this Hindi-promoter claimed that the Sindhi and Hindi languages were deeply connected, but that "the Arabic script had created otherness (*ghairīyat*) in it [i.e. Sindhi]."[495] Karavani accused this Hindi advocate in Sindh of attempting to 'kill two birds with one stone' and "to exile Urdu from Sindh [and thereby] wave the flag of Hindi there." In response, Karavani insisted that "the script of Sindhi remains *naskh* and it will always remain so. Urdu is successful in Sindh and will remain [-] those who try to erase the *naskh s*cript and exile the Urdu language will themselves be destroyed."[496] Despite this defense of the depth of the Arabic script in Sindh, early modern Sindhi was written in a range of uncodified scripts and it was only after the mid-nineteenth century British conquest of Sindh that Sindhi in the Arabic *naskh* script was standardized.[497] Despite the fervor of Karavani's appeal, there were close parallels between the Hindi supporter's arguments for Hindi and the *Anjuman*'s own advocacy for Urdu in Sindh.

The magazine was primarily funded by the Minister of Education of Sindh, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh who was the honorary president of the Karachi *Anjuman*.[498] The magazine's cover announced that both the Karachi *Anjuman* and Sindh's provincial Department of Education were the magazine's patrons. One of the primary goals of *Hindustānī* was to advocate for expanded resources for Urdu education in Sindh's schools.[499] In the early 1940s, the provincial Department of Education in

[494] *Hindustānī* 2.12 (June 1943), 3.
[495] *Hindustānī* 2.12 (June 1943), 3.
[496] *Hindustānī* 2.12 (June 1943), 3.
[497] See Ali S. Asani, "At the Crossroads of Indic and Iranian Civilizations: Sindhi Literary Culture," *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions From South Asia,* Sheldon Pollock, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.)
[498] *Hindustānī* 2.9 (March 1943), 39.
[499] *Hindustānī* January/ February 1943, 54 & 55.

Sindh gradually expanded Urdu classes in colleges and primary schools.[500] The Karachi *Anjuman* attempted to shape the Urdu curriculum being developed in late-colonial Sindh.[501] Control of Sindh's Urdu curriculum would eventually become a point of tension between the *Anjuman*'s regional branch in Karachi and its center in Delhi. This focus on promoting Urdu education was accompanied by articles in the magazine on Urdu-medium science education in primary school.[502]

It is difficult to assess the Karachi magazine's audience since the *Anjuman* did not record the print runs or geographic distribution of the magazine. However, the range of contributors gives some sense of its reception. Along with Karachi, a significant number of readers and contributors were from Punjab and the Deccan. There was also a robust vein of contributions from southern India and Bengal. In addition, in 1940 the Karachi *Anjuman* established a regular Urdu conference in Sindh and invited poets and scholars from Sindh and beyond for its annual meeting.[503] These literary gatherings created both a local base and a pan-Indian network of readers and contributors for the magazine. A sign of the magazine's initial popular reception was that in July 1942 it was transformed into a monthly magazine despite the wartime difficulties of procuring paper.[504]

Mahmooda Rizvi was particularly adept at cultivating a network of women readers and contributors from across India. This was exemplified by the geographic range of women she encouraged to submit articles to the magazine. For example, from Mysore, two women, Memuna Abdul Kareem Mysori in 1943 and Memuna Tasneem, regularly contributed articles and a serialized novel.[505] Memuna Tasneem became a major contributor to the magazine in 1945 along

[500] *Hindustānī* January/ February 1943, 54
[501] *Hindustānī* 2.11 May 1943, 37-38.
[502] Siraj Hussain Naqvi, "Science ki ibtedāī ta'līm ka nisāb," *Shu'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.4 (October 1943.)
[503] *Hindustānī* 2.11 (May 1943), 37.
[504] *Hindustānī* 2.11 (May 1943), 38.
[505] *Hindustānī* 3.1 (July 1943), *Shua-yi Urdu*, 4.3 (September 1944), and *Shua-yi Urdu* 4.8 (February 1945).

with Jahanbanu Naqvi of Hyderabad (Deccan.)[506] Also, Mahmooda Rizvi encouraged the progressive author Zeenat Sajida from Hyderabad to regularly publish in the magazine, including a piece titled "If *Allah* Were a Woman."[507] From Hajipur (Bengal), Shahida Adeeb also regularly contributed stories.[508] While the Karachi magazine did not start out as a magazine primarily addressing women readers, under Rizvi's leadership it rapidly developed a trans-regional cohort of women contributors and readers stretching from Karachi to southern India and on to Bengal. The contributions of women writers suggest that Rizvi successfully cultivated a trans-regional cohort of women authors and readers for the Karachi *Anjuman*'s monthly magazine.

Urdu *U'loom* for Sindh:

In the pages of *Hindustānī* and *Beams of Urdu,* Asif Jah Karavani and Mahmooda Rizvi made the case that Urdu could be a '*lingua franca*' in Sindh with 'ancient and modern' sciences. With '*lingua franca*,' Rizvi glossed the reality that Urdu/Hindi/Hindustānī was understood not only in North India, but also by small communities in urban centers across the subcontinent. Rizvi hoped that this geographic width could be harnessed to make Urdu into an integrative medium science and trans-regional connection from Sindh.

At least initially, *Hindustānī* magazine marked out a space for Urdu in Sindh as an integrative *lingua franca*. Given the terminological connection of the term '*lingua franca*' to the Urdu term '*farangī*' for foreigner since they both referred to France, Rizvi's frequent reiteration of Urdu as a viable *lingua franca* for Sindh underlined the language's 'foreign' status in the province. What did Rizvi mean with this repeated reference to Urdu as a '*lingua franca*'?

[506] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.4 (October 1944).
[507] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.8-10 (February- April 1946), 21- 24.
[508] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.11 (May 1945.)

In her regular columns in *Hindustānī* magazine, Mahmooda Rizvi addressed Urdu's potential as 'lingua franca.' For example, in an April 1943 editor's note in *Hindustānī,* Rizvi complained that "despite the Urdu language's versatility, common accessibility, and daily progress, there are still many necessary courtesies which are needed." She noted, with some hopefulness, that "our language (*hamārī zabān*) has already accomplished its first phase of being called a *lingua franca* and with amazing success."[509] She then spent the rest of the article bemoaning those who were holding Urdu back from completing its transformation into a *lingua franca* in Sindh, particularly elite "poets and literati."[510]

Mahmooda Rizvi's own literary and religious position in Sindh emerged in her critiques of Urdu poets and religious scholars for having circumscribed the language's ambit by limiting Urdu publications to poetry and theological tomes She first criticized Urdu poets in this April 1943 editorial note by claiming that despite the immense amount of monetary patronage that poets had received, they were incapable of spreading anything except confusion about Urdu in Sindh. Her criticism of poetry as inaccessible and confusing could have contributed to her own determination to write in prose instead of poetry. However, as will be discussed below, a number of her reviewers observed that her own writings read like 'poetry in prose.' In turn, Rizvi accused both Muslim religious scholars (*maulvī*s) and the Hindu Mahasabha of attempting to separate Urdu and Hindi along religious lines.[511] Although Rizvi does not state her religious affiliations, her writings suggest that she had strong *sufi* leanings, which would explain her criticism of trained religious scholars.

[509] *Hindustānī* 2.10 (April 1943), 2.
[510] *Hindustānī* 2.10 (April 1943), 2.
[511] *Hindustānī* 2.10 (April 1943), 2-3.

In 1943, the *Anjuman* helped to organize the Sindh Provincial Urdu Conference to formulate these proposals for Urdu as a '*lingua franca*' in Sindh. The conference was presided over by the provincial education minister and the Karachi *Anjuman*'s honorary president, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh. While acknowledging that an *Anjuman* regional branch had been present in Karachi since 1914, the conference proposal noted "but in such a large province and whose language [Sindhi] has such a deep tie to Urdu, it is truly sad that the branches of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* remain limited to only one library." The proposal called for smaller branches of the *Anjuman* to be set up all over Sindh so that "the message of Urdu will arrive in each and every corner of Sindh."[512] The proposal called for Urdu classes to be expanded to secondary schools and all of Sindh's colleges and for the Karachi *Anjuman* to publish historical texts from Sindh that were relevant for Urdu.[513]

In March 1944, Karavan announced that "*Bābā-yi Urdu* Doctor Maulvi Abdul Haq" and his main assistant Pandit Brijmohan Kaifi would be attending the next Sindh Provincial Urdu Conference in Karachi in April 1944. To prepare the way for their auspicious arrival "one month before the conference the ambassador of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu (Hind)- Delhi* will arrive in Karachi and accompanied by a few members of the regional *Anjuman* will tour the interior of Sindh to provide information in relation to Urdu and also preach for Urdu (*tablīgh-i Urdu*.)"[514] Maulvi Abdul Haq would then spend a month touring Sindh after the conference. Karavani hoped that representatives from Punjab and Balochistan would also participate in Sindh's provincial Urdu conference in 1944.[515]

[512] *Hindustānī* (January/ February 1943), 54.
[513] *Hindustānī* (January/ February 1943), 54-56.
[514] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.9 (March 1944), 2.
[515] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.9 (March 1944), 2.

Karavani went to great lengths to emphasize that the promotion of Urdu in Sindh was not aimed at replacing Sindhi, but bringing the 'arts and sciences (*u'loom va fanoon*)' to Sindh. In particular, Karavani appealed to Sindhis to attend the upcoming Urdu conference without fear since "Sindhi is our mother tongue … but this also cannot be denied that it is only a specific regional language. The ease of resources of going and coming and the expansion of business (*kārobār*) has connected us beyond [the borders of] Sindh."[516] Therefore, Sindhis needed to choose a second language for commerce and mobility. In Karavani's assessment, "the time to choose this second language has presented us with two considerations. That [second] language must be spoken and understood in all of *Hindustān* and its literature must be enriched with ancient and modern sciences and art (*qadīm va jadīd u'loom va fanoon*.)"[517] Therefore, "other than the 'Urdu' language, there is no other option. It is not a local language or a regional language."[518]

Karavani presented Urdu as a cosmopolitan language endowed with ancient and modern sciences that could connect Sindh to global networks of commerce because the linguistic connections between Urdu and Sindhi would make Urdu easy for Sindhi students to learn.[519] These claims about the compatibility of Sindhi and Urdu in Karachi reflect Maulvi Abdul Haq's earlier efforts in Aurangabad in the 1930s to make the case that the regional language, Marathi, and Urdu were the conjoined 'daughters' of Persian that was discussed in Chapter Two.

In his post-conference report in June 1944, Karavan insisted that by promoting Urdu, the *Anjuman* was neither dismissing Hindi nor trying to supplant Sindhi, but that "we definitely feel that from clinging solely to the Sindhi language, neither can our cultural needs be fulfilled nor will

[516] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.9 (March 1944), 2.
[517] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.10 (April 1944), 2.
[518] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.10 (April 1944), 2.
[519] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.10 (April 1944), 2.

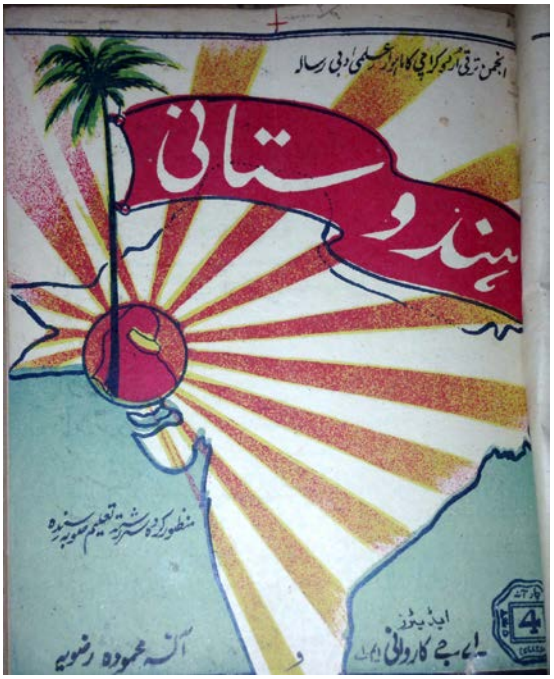
we be able to fulfill our economic, commercial, and political duties."[520] Karavani insisted that if Sindh occupied a more prominent position in the globe, it would not be necessary to cultivate a second language, but that "around us many nations (*quom*) are settled- whose languages are different from our language but to whom our political, commercial (*tijāratī*), economic (*ma'āshī*), social (*ma'āsharatī*), and religious life is connected."[521] Therefore, Urdu could do "the work of a pan-provincial language (*ben-ul subāī-yi zabān*)" since it was "popular with the elites (*khās*) and commoners (*a'ām*.)"[522] Here Karavani injected Urdu promotion in Sindh into larger discussions in the *Anjuman*'s branches across India over whether the social base for Urdu should be 'elite' or 'common' Muslims and the role of science in connecting diverse audiences for the Urdu language. The *Anjuman* celebrated that in 1944 Urdu was established as a subject in post-primary schools in Sindh and anticipated that soon it would be extended to primary schools.[523]

The Changing Cover Art of *Hindustānī* Magazine:

These connective and scientific aspirations for Urdu were illustrated in the changing cover art of *Hindustānī* magazine. The cover art registered the hopeful expectations that Karachi would become a new center of an expanding Urdu world. Mahmooda Rizvi and Asif Jah Karavani inaugurated the cover art on Karachi's flagship Urdu magazine in spectacular fashion in March 1943. This March issue of *Hindustānī* depicted Sindh simultaneously as the both the masthead and the sun of Hindustani. As shown in the attached illustration, this cover consisted of a brightly colored map of British India with a massive flag entitled "*Hindustānī*" waving a top a palm tree growing up from the demarcated province of Sindh. This flag of *Hindustānī* waved across the entirety of North India from Sindh, which suggests a radically altered geographic balance for Urdu.

[520] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3. 11-12 (May-June 1944), 3.
[521] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3. 11-12 (May-June 1944), 3.
[522] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3. 11-12 (May-June 1944), 3.
[523] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3. 11-12 (May-June 1944), 4.

Instead of representing North India as the homeland of Urdu, the Karachi *Anjuman* imagined Sindh, not as the periphery, but as the center for Urdu. The demarcated province of Sindh was simultaneously depicted as the sun shooting out rays of light across the rest of India and into Central Asia.[524] The magazine was described as "the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu Karachi*'s monthly intellectual [and] literary journal" which was "approved by the Department of Education in the province of Sindh."[525] This cover continued until June 1943.



Hindustānī, March 1943

In July 1943 the cover of *Hindustānī* was simplified. Rizvi replaced the elaborate illustration of Sindh as the sun and masthead of Urdu with a simple black and white depiction of 'Hindustani'. In this revamped cover, a sign post with the name of the magazine *Hindustānī* was planted in the ground of the "*Anjuman Taraqqī Urdu-Karachi's* monthly magazine."[526]

[524] *Hindustānī* 2.9 (March 1943.)
[525] *Hindustānī* 2.11 (May 1943.)
[526] *Hindustānī* 3.1 (July 1943.)

November 1943.

The November 1943 cover of *Beams of Urdu* expanded on this theme of light, as shown above. In the left-hand corner, Karachi is inscribed on the sun, depicting the city as capable of shooting out rays of light that were labelled 'Beams of Urdu.'[527] If the earlier cover art of *Hindustānī* depicted Sindh projecting Urdu across North India, the revamped cover promoted Karachi as the center of Urdu capable of projecting the language far and wide detached from any geographical limitations. This cover continued from November 1943 to June 1944.

The economic exigencies of World War II intervened on these expansive imaginings for Urdu. Due to the wartime paper controls, the cover art was eliminated in July 1944 and the size of the magazine was markedly reduced.[528] However, the Karachi *Anjuman* quickly found a way around these paper control restrictions. In December 1944 they introduced a new cover that endured until March 1945. This cover imposed the image of a torch over a red rose intertwined with the letters of the title. The image of a shining torch growing out of the letters of the term '*shua*' or 'beams' expanded on the theme of the light of Urdu.[529]

[527] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.5 (November 1943.)
[528] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.1 (July 1944.)
[529] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.6 (December 1944.)

In the summer of 1945 as World War II drew to a close, the *Anjuman* introduced its most spectacular cover art that crystallized its ambitions for Urdu. The cover of the June/ July 1945 issue, which is below, presented a view of the sun rising over the ocean. The rising sun in this illustration both anticipated the rising potential for Urdu in Karachi and referenced the *Anjuman*'s frequent depiction of the city as 'Queen of the East.' Given that Karachi was located on the Indian subcontinent's western flank, these illustrated references to the 'East' indicated that despite the efforts of the *Anjuman* to secure new 'homes' for Urdu, the language's geography was in flux.

Beams of Urdu, June/ July 1945

In August 1945, Karavani and Rizvi replaced the Urdu sunrise with a cover depicting *Beams of Urdu* as a light-bulb illuminating British India from Karachi. This cover depicted a map of British India with many major cities marked in Urdu. While earlier covers had emphasized the region of Sindh as the new center of Urdu, this cover labelled the city of Karachi and other cities, such as Lucknow, Delhi, and Hyderabad, long associated with Urdu. However, only Karachi emitted electric 'beams of Urdu.'

Beams of Urdu, August 1945

While earlier covers had depicted the titular 'beams of Urdu' as shooting out from the sun, this cover shifted to an electric bulb- a major tool of 'modern science'- as the producer of the light of Urdu. The cover included the tagline "The sole literary monthly of the land of Sindh (*sarzamīn-i Sindh*)" and the magazine's affiliation with the provincial education department.[530] Furthermore, the letters of the magazine's title were rendered in modernist block letters, further solidifying the promise of the enlightening 'beams of Urdu' for Sindh.

In the next issue of the magazine, in September 1945, there was no cover art, however the title *Beams of Urdu* was written in a highly calligraphic style. This calligraphic cover [shown below] contrasted with the previous rendering of *Beams of Urdu* in the shape of a light bulb with modernist block print. By juxtaposing Karachi as a modern lightbulb with this calligraphic format, the *Anjuman* intertwined the claimed depth of Urdu calligraphy with the technical capacity of

[530] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.2 (August 1945.)

modern print. This echoed the Karachi *Anjuman*'s promise that Urdu could bridge 'modern' and 'ancient' science. These two images of a calligraphic and electric *Beams of Urdu* also revealed the enduring tensions within the *Anjuman* over utilizing either a princely past or scribal bureaucratic roots for Urdu science. [These scribal and princely lineages were discussed in Chapter Two.]

Beams of Urdu, September 1945

Locating Urdu in Sindh's History:

The Karachi *Anjuman* heavily utilized Persian's eighteenth-century textual past in Sindh to make a case for Urdu's future in the province. This of course closely resembled Habibur Rahman's narration of Persian's recent 'Golden Age' in Bengal and Abdul Haq's efforts to commemorate an early modern Muslim technological past in Aurangabad. In the early issues of *Hindustānī*, Asif Jah Karavani ran a series titled "Urdu in Sindh" that showcased fragments of eighteenth-century Urdu poetry from the Kalhora court (which was the Sindhi 'successor state' to the Mughals.) Many of the verses were small Urdu sections included in larger Persian manuscripts. Before the British conquest, Persian was the language of administration and elite education in Sindh.

For example, in the January 1943 issue of *Hindustānī*, Karavani included an Urdu *nazm* from a 1722 Persian translation of the Bhagavad Gita in Sindh. According to Karavani, "in the pages at the beginning and end of the translation of the Bhagavad Gita, some Persian, Urdu, and Hindi poetry is given."[531] Karavani added to this "Urdu in Sindh" series in subsequent issues.[532] While most of the examples of poetry were small segments of Urdu poetry contained in larger Persian hand-written manuscripts, Rizvi and Karavani also discussed examples of early modern Persian poetry from Sindh in the magazine. For example, in March 1944, they included a selection of the major Sindhi Persian scholar Mir Ali Sher Qanu Thatvi's Persian poetry *Qand Pars*.[533] This range of Persian and Urdu poetry played a crucial role in creating an (imagined) historical narrative that Urdu could have emerged out of early modern Persian in Sindh. Given the far more robust literary heritage of Sindhi and its dominant position in education and administration, these articles were crucial for Urdu promotion, even if their historical accuracy was dubious.

Beams of Urdu also reached farther back into Sindh's past to ground its efforts. For example, in 1942 and 1943 *Hindustānī* ran a historical series "Chach aur Rānī," which was framed as "a historical event from the land of Sindh."[534] The legend of Chach and Rānī was the story of a seventh-century illicit love affair that led to the overthrow of Sindh's final Buddhist king by an oppressive Brahman ruler which precipitated the Muslim conquest of Sindh.[535]

Beams of Urdu also used Sindh's eighteenth-century past as an exemplary linguistic lesson to encourage contemporary Sindhi students to study Urdu. For example, in September 1945 *Beams*

[531] *Hindustānī* (January 1943), 14.
[532] *Hindustānī* 2.10 (April 1943), 14.
[533] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 3.9 (March 1944), 15.
[534] *Hindustānī* (January 1943), 34.
[535] For recent scholarship on the retelling of the history of the Muslim conquest of Sindh and its formative impact on concepts of politics and sovereignty in Sindh see Manan Ahmed Asif, *A Book of Conquest: The Chachnama and Muslim Origins in South Asia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016.)

of Urdu ran an article by Mister Mahmud Ahmed, who was a frequent visitor to Sindh, titled "A Sindhi Poet of Urdu!" The article chronicled Mahmud Ahmed's visit to the historic city of Thatta, near Karachi, and his enthusiastic 'discovery' of an eighteenth century Urdu poet there. In his account, Ahmed framed Thatta as an early modern center of Islamic culture *par excellence*. Ahmed narrated how "in the province of Sindh, it was an extremely ancient and historical place." According to Ahmed, "since this era this city has remained a cradle of Islamic sciences (*u'loom*) and civilization (*tamaddun*)."[536] Ahmed gave particular attention to Thatta's importance as a center for Muslim tombs, particularly the expansive necropolis of Makli Hill. "Perhaps in the province of Sindh, there is no other place that has more ancient remains than Thatta."[537] Echoing Mahmooda Rizi's dystopian depictions of Karachi that will be discussed below, Ahmed framed Makli Hill as a "city of silence" containing thousands of graves of "masters of knowledge and bounty (*arbāb i'lm va fazl*)" and rulers, which was an extraordinary "place of pilgrimage (*zīyāratgāh*) for enthusiasts of ancient monuments ..."[538]

Amongst the many dead scholars of Thatta, Ahmed highlighted the Urdu poetry of Syed Ziauddin Zia, who lived in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[539] Zia came from a wealthy scholarly family and was educated in Arabic and Persian. He wrote poetry in Persian and Urdu/Hindi in the court of Thatta.[540] In his analysis of Zia's Urdu verse, Ahmed wrote that "two hundred to two hundred and fifty years ago, the usage of Urdu was also present in a far distant province such as Sindh [-] and [the fact] that a Sindhi composed rhyme in the cultivated (*parvarish yāftah*) language of *ShāhjahānAbād* Delhi is a marvelous thing. And this is extraordinary proof of

[536] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.3 (September 1945), 22.
[537] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.3 (September 1945), 22.
[538] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.3 (September 1945), 22.
[539] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.3 (September 1945), 23.
[540] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.3 (September 1945), 23.

the world-seizing (*a'ālamgīr*) impact and authority of the Urdu language."[541] Ahmed noted that although the poet Wali in eighteenth century Aurangabad was often considered the "inventor" of Urdu, Zia's Urdu composition in Sindh was in close chronological proximity to the claimed founding of Urdu in the Deccan. He thus implied that Sindh could have been an alternative place of origin for Urdu. Building on this point, Ahmed reminded his reader, "if only after Zia other people had followed in his path of imitation, then today Sindh would be the most ancient center of Urdu. We hope that the young people of Sindh will take a lesson from the poetic biography of Zia [and] understand the importance of Urdu."[542] The implication was that Sindhis in the mid-1940s had a renewed opportunity to establish their province as a new center for 'the cultivated language of *ShāhjahānAbād*' [royal court of the Mughals in Delhi].

IV. The Poetic Prose of the Adībah of Sindh, 1942-1945

The relationship between Persian and Urdu in Sindh was further extended in Mahmooda Rizvi's writings on nature. From 1942 to 1945, Mahmooda Rizvi published thirteen Urdu textbooks that dominated the pre-Partition *Anjuman*'s catalog in Karachi. If the Karachi *Anjuman* laid out the challenge that Urdu should become an accessible *lingua franca* that could bridge 'ancient' and 'modern' sciences and arts (*u'loom aur fanoon*) in the pages of its magazine, Mahmooda Rizvi breathed life into these ambitions through textbook writing in which she imagined a future for Urdu as a medium of naturalist observation, spiritual interpretation, and revolutionary critique of worldly capitalism. In Rizvi's writing and political activities there was a

[541] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.3 (September 1945), 23.
[542] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.3 (September 1945), 23.

revolutionary undercurrent, which both tapped into contemporary progressive themes in the Urdu literary world and was influenced by the political restrictions of World War II in British India.

Rizvi's Urdu register in these thirteen textbooks is unexpected in its mixture of romantic and modernist literary themes and its distinct mélange of esoteric notes and dystopian modernism in the purported provincial backwater of 1940s Sindh. Rizvi's surprising Urdu register indicates her own religious and education training in British romantic poetry, Shi'a esoteric thought, Urdu progressive writing, Persian poetry, and communist literature. Mahmooda Rizvi drew on older English Romantic critiques of urbanization in the 1940s. Scholarship on English romanticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries points to the role of poetry in social critiques of the rise of urban capitalism and the documentation of social estrangement and disaffection in urban life.[543]

This chapter conceptualizes Rizvi's highly stylized esoteric writings with naturalist themes as a 'science' within the renovated category of Urdu *u'loom* that the *Anjuman* advanced in the 1940s. Rizvi's stylized prose is certainly more 'literary' than 'scientific' at first glance.[544] However, by publishing this stylized prose under the rubric of modern *u'loom* in Sindh, Rizvi attempted to reintegrate certain kinds of literary genres into 'the sciences.' She drew on an older Persianate form of naturalism that was highly stylized in form, philosophical in orientation, and rife with Shi'i esoteric themes.[545] At the same time, Rizvi also invoked British late romantic poetry.

These thirteen textbooks provide a glimpse onto Rizvi's efforts to fashion a register of Urdu which would be appropriate for Urdu scientific writing in Sindh. However, Rizvi's heavy use of

[543] See Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.)
[544] For scholarship on the development of the concept of 'natural poetry' in Urdu poetic circles due to British colonial literary influence in the nineteenth century and its enduring impact see Frances Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness: Urdu Poetry and Its Critics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994,) 167-168.
[545] See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.)

Persian terms in her Urdu books made her writings difficult to read. Her books were probably inaccessible for many Sindhi students studying Urdu as a second language and the Gujarati merchants and North Indian dockworkers in Karachi who were familiar with spoken Hindustani.[546] Ironically, as the *Anjuman* attempted to promote Urdu as a commonly used language, Mahmooda Rizvi's use of extensive Persian terms moved Urdu *u'loom* (sciences) in Sindh away from the early Hindustani-focus of the *Anjuman*'s monthly magazine.

Highly stylized naturalist observations of the excesses of capitalism were at the heart of Mahmooda Rizvi's oeuvre. This raises the question of how Rizvi, in late colonial Sindh, fits within scholarship on the history of scientific observation? The history of scientific observation has largely been told in terms of a Western European trajectory from general knowledge towards scientific specialization. In her study of scientific observation, Lorraine Daston argued that eighteenth-century European cultures of precise observation were a crucial step in the transformation from early modern general knowledge compendia into modern professional scientific expertise.[547] In contrast to this narrative of eighteenth-century scientific observation as a stepping stone towards scientific specialization in Europe, Mahmooda Rizvi in 1940s Karachi conceptualized naturalist observation as a modern means for educated Muslim women in South Asian vernacular languages to intervene in scientific debates.

Mahmooda Rizvi's career as the "*Adībah* (leading woman author) of Sindh" suggests that stylized scientific observation was an overlooked arena for non-specialist Urdu-writers, especially

[546] See Hamdam, *Kalīm-i Adab* (Karachi, 1921.)

[547] Lorraine Daston, "The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800," *Histories of Scientific Observation*, Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck, editors (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, 89-93 and Lorraine Daston, "Attention and the Values of Nature in the Enlightenment," *The Moral Authority of Nature*, Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal, editors (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 104.

women, to participate in popular scientific knowledge production. Scholarship on nineteenth century Britain positioned non-professional 'popular' writings on natural wonders and connections between religion and science as an important way for British women science writers to challenge expert male science professionalization.[548] For example, Bernard Lightman argued that popular natural science writings dealing with moral and religious themes offered an avenue for nineteenth-century British women to participate in science as male professionalization and norms of middle-class respectability limited their scope.[549] Instead of a quixotic project to replace English as a medium of professional science, Mahmooda Rizvi did not challenge the dominant role of English in professional science in South Asia. Instead, she positioned Urdu as an accessible language of scientific knowledge for students and educated Muslim women in Sindh.

Mahmooda Rizvi fashioned a Persian lexicon for Urdu in Sindh and drew on the 'moral authority of nature' to critique contemporary social ills. Rizvi emphasized Urdu's potential for observational accounts of 'natural' wonders and social ills in the early 1940s in response to the economic dislocations and suffering of World War II and the ongoing transformation of Karachi's urban space and demographics through immigration from Bombay, Gujarat, and mainland India. Even before 1947, Karachi was already undergoing a significant urban expansion due to growing trade and the influx of Gujarati traders and North Indian laborers. As Karachi's urban space and economic structure were rapidly transformed during World War II, idealized writings about natural wonder emerged as a potent means to critique the economic exploitations and social exclusions of the expanding urban economy and to call for revolutionary social change. Rizvi's writings

[548] Bernard Lightman argued that non-expert science popularizers "assumed the role of interpreters of science for the growing mass reading audience" by "providing both entertainment and instruction to their readers" See: Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007, viii-ix.)

[549] Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science*, x-xi, 95-96, 99-100, 489,494-495.

paralleled the social and economic critiques that are found in English romantic poetry of industrialization and urbanization. In his seminal work on English poetry and culture, Raymond Williams argued that the concept of 'culture' as a separate sphere of life developed in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain in response to industrialization and as a way to critique urban expansion and modern capitalism. Williams demonstrated how English Romantic poetry served as a 'court of appeal' to critique the social and economic failings of industrial capitalism.[550]

A Persian Idiom of Urdu for Sindh:

Rizvi's 1943 book *The Milky Way (Kehkishān)* is particularly illustrative of how she relied on Persian terms to write naturalist observations in Urdu. In *The Milky Way*, Rizvi recorded her musings on the stars, the universe, and the heavens across eighty short chapters. For example, in the second chapter of *The Milky Way*, which was titled "Anxiety without Cure," Rizvi heavily relied on Persian terminology. However, Rizvi's use of Persian here was not aimed solely at connecting to the early modern Indo-Persian past, but also at drawing European literature into Urdu. Here are a few lines from *The Milky Way*:

> "What a magical impact the melodious song of the lovesick nightingale has. Oh, the attractive songs floating in the atmosphere!
>
> The beloved nightingale of Keats! It has presented such an environment as if any of the flowery-toned *rubāa'īyāt* of Omar Khayyam are recited in a court of song.
>
> But oh! I know that joyful song as the voice of mourning and as the perspective of the world of imagination."[551]

[550] See Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.)
[551] Mahmooda Rizvi, *Kehkishāṅ: Natījah-yi Takhīyul* (Karachi: Hindustānī Dār-ul Isha'āt, 1943), 12.

Here the figure of the 'nightingale' in Urdu prose drew on both Keats' English Romantic poetry and classical Persian literature.[552] Due to the popularity of Edward Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam in the nineteenth century, both Omar Khayyam and the nightingale constituted bridge figures between Persian and English poetry. In crafting Urdu prose, Rizvi drew on a highly stylized form of literary naturalism that was found in both Persian and English romantic poetry to position Urdu as a global bridge language. In her seminal work on classical Persian poetry, Annemarie Schimmel demonstrated that naturalist themes, especially related to birds, the heavens, and the oceans, played a prominent role in early modern Persian poetry in India and Iran.[553] Schimmel argued that "the vegetable kingdom inspired Persian poets" as "a replica or weak reflection of the heavenly abode" and that plants and 'nature' were well-situated to express themes of romantic and esoteric love.[554] Recent scholarship on modernist poetry in Iran explored how naturalist themes were not limited to early modern Persian poetry, but were instead a prominent component of the modernist turn in Persian poetry in Iran.[555] Mahmooda Rizvi's writing suggests that she drew on both English romantic poetry and modernist prose and on both classical and modern Persian poetry.

In the following passage, Rizvi made 'naturalist' observation the springboard for a biting critique of capitalism and earthly gain. She wrote "that creature of the sky [i.e. nightingale] reminds me like a hidden passion of the stigma and shame of capitalism." According to Rizvi, capitalism

[552] For the role of the nightingale in classical Persian poetry see Annemarie Schimmel, "The Rose and the Nightingale: Persian and Turkish Mystical Poetry," *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.)
[553] Annemarie Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry* (Durham: University of North Carolina, 1992.)
[554] Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade*, 162
[555] Majid Naficy, *Modernism and Ideology in Persian Literature: A Return to Nature in the Poetry of Nima Yushij* (New York: University Press of America, 1997.)

"dominates each and every moment of life with sadness and [is] busy in the endeavors of fighting the passions of the teardrops of the poor."[556] Here Rizvi used the Persian construction '*falakāt zadah hastīoṅ*' to refer to birds and the high register Persian phrase '*bāa's-yi nang va a'ār*' for cause of disgrace and shame' instead of the regular Urdu term '*sharam*.' She clearly preferred high register Persian terminology over everyday Urdu. More than this, Rizvi situated the critique of capitalist exploitation as the result of her observations of the beauty of the sunrise and of the nightingale's song. This critique of worldly ambitions clearly drew on English romanticism, but also invoked classical Persian tropes that made their way into modernist Persian poetry via naturalist themes.[557] But why did Rizvi utilize Persian to observe nature and criticize capitalism?

Although nineteenth-century Urdu writing made extensive use of Persian terms, in the 1930s and 1940s the Progressive Writers Movement promoted a more accessible register of Urdu shorn of the princely pretensions of Persian. While Rizvi shared many of the social and economic goals of the Progressive Writers Movement, she chose Persian terms in Urdu to express her economic and social critiques. Rizvi's extensive use of Persian terms was surprising for her contemporary reviewers and confounds easy distinctions between accessible Hindustani as progressive and stylized Persian as conservative in Urdu prose in the 1940s.

Rizvi's choices occasioned debate among reviewers. One reviewer, Musadiq Abid Hussain *sāhibah*, both praised Rizvi's writing style and complained about her use of Persian terms. She grumbled that "there is more than necessary elements of Persian in the language."[558] However, not all reviewers objected to her linguistic style. For example, in his introduction to *Sooz aur Sāz*,

[556] Rizvi, *Kehkishāṅ*, 13.
[557] See Naficy, *Modernism and Ideology in Persian Literature*.
[558] *Hindustānī* 3.1 (July 1943), 2.

Afsar Siddiqui Amrohavi celebrated that "I am very happy that in the 'desert of Sindh' such a woman is present whose well-watered thoughts have achieved such success in giving birth to a breezy 'oasis of articles.'"[559] He lauded Rizvi for contributing to the "blossoming and green road" of Urdu literature.[560] He noted that her writing "is connected to natural landscapes [-] in various stories there are different places and environments."[561]

Rizvi's use of Persian was less of a return to an older idiom of North Indian princely Urdu, than an attempt to fashion a new register of Urdu scientific observation that was appropriate for Sindh, which had its own robust Persian textual history. As illustrated in the pages of its magazine, the *Anjuman* presented early modern Persian as a viable past for Urdu in Sindh. Given the lack of an actual deep history of Urdu in Sindh, Rizvi's heavy use of Persian terms could have been an explicit effort to craft a linguistic past for Urdu. However, this Persian strategy also ran the risk of fashioning an Urdu idiom for Sindh that was inaccessible to most readers. The small Urdu-knowing public in Karachi largely consisted of North Indian laborers and Gujarati traders who had some knowledge of Urdu from Bombay. These Urdu-knowing laborers and Gujarati traders used the accessible register of spoken Hindustani, rather than Persian-heavy literary Urdu.

Transnational Connections and Naturalist Observations in Urdu:

Throughout her textbooks, Rizvi laid emphasis on Muslim women as perceptive observers of natural wonders and the transnational connects of Karachi. This was exemplified in a 1945 account of Rizvi's travels from Karachi to Iraq, which was titled *Dunīya-yi Sheherazād* (*The World of Sheherazād*.) This travelogue combined naturalist observations with mystical accounts of Rizvi's

[559] Mahmooda Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz: Natījah-yi Takhīyul* (Karachi: Hindustānī Dār-ul Isha'āt, 1942), 8.
[560] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 8.
[561] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 7-8.

visits to the shrines of early holy figures in Islam and detailed records of industrial and scientific developments in Iraq. The title, *The World of Sheherazād*, referenced the famous narrator of the *One Thousand and One Nights*, which emphasized the cultural and literary connections between Karachi and the Middle East. Furthermore, the figure of Sheherazād stood alongside Karachi as 'Queen of the East' and Mahmooda Rizvi as 'The Leading Woman Author of Sindh' in the panthoen of personified women who represented the Karachi *Anjuman*'s ambitions. The introductory passage to the 1945 travelogue gives a sense of the role of naturalist observation, mystical Islam, and Karachi's global ties in Rizvi's thought. Furthermore, this travelogue made explicit Mahmooda Rizvi's Shi'a and *sufi* orientations in which esoteric meanings were found in the 'natural world.'[562]

> "The Arabian Sea is that silent sign of the future and that alluring anticipation of what is to come that noisily announces its arrival with the proud and playful waves that at every moment keep washing the shores of the city of Karachi. This view of the Arabian Sea comes clearly from the window in my room and it had already become second nature for me to be absorbed by this intoxicating view in the morning and evening. … I have tried to understand Iraq's secrets until today, but I have not been able to grasp at all whether this is the land of the destruction of Babel and whether the *nohah khwānī* (praise of a prophet) is for Nineva, or if the *marsīyah khwānī* (mourning poetry) is for the murder of Ali with which the righteous caliphs came to an end? Whether the heart of Iraq was the witness to the martyrdom of Hussain [which led to the revival of Islam] or to the mourning for the fall of Islam [or] whether the story of the endless rise of the Abbasids is heard in Iraq or the song of the fall of the majesty and glory of the Abbasids is sung there. Therefore, those crashing waves that were born from the Tigris and Euphrates in Iraq, they first passed the Arabian Peninsula to arrive at the Persian Gulf. Then from there, these waves crashed into the shores of Karachi where they came to rest."[563]

[562] See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.)
[563] Mahmooda Rizvi, *Dunīya-yi Sheherazād* (Karachi: Shua'āe'-yi Urdu Dār-ul Ishāa't, 1945), 1-2.

In this passage, Mahmooda Rizvi moved from observing the mysterious waves of the Arabian Sea crashing on the shores of Karachi to dwelling on Iraq's ancient history and Islamic sacred history and finally to the rise of classical Islamic sciences under the Abbasids. She also invoked Shi'i esoteric themes connected to the stars and water in which esoteric meanings are attached to the natural world.[564] Rizvi concluded this introduction to her travelogue by following the waters connecting Iraq to Karachi where she sat observing the waves at her window.

In the Indian Ocean framework of *The World of Sheherazād*, Urdu was oriented westward through its ties to Persian and Arabic and Karachi's Indian Ocean commercial ties. Although Rizvi largely bypassed North India in her geographic imaginary of Urdu, she did not erase Urdu's aristocratic and royal roots, but instead re-oriented them westward towards Iran and Iraq. If Urdu promoters in contemporary Hyderabad drew on Abbasid themes and Ottoman reforms as explored in Chapter Two, Rizvi was far more oriented towards contemporary Iraq and Iran.

The first part of Mahmooda Rizvi's travelogue, *The World of Sheherazād*, catalogued her trip by sea from Karachi to Iraq. In turn, she wrote sections on the different districts of Iraq, the varied religious communities of the country, the current education system, "commerce (*tijārat*)," "the life of women," and "the economy (*ma'āsharat*.)"[565] Rizvi mused on the potential economic, scientific, and spiritual connections between Karachi and Iraq, which drew simultaneously on older Islamic ties and the global reach of the British Empire, which included both India and Iraq at this time. In contrast to Urdu science promoters in the Hyderabad State, who focused on Abbasid

[564] For the relationship between poetry and Islamic esoteric thought see Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* and Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam,* Chapel Hill.
[565]Rizvi, *Dunīya-yi Sheherazād*.

Baghdad and Ottoman connections, in her travelogue to modern Iraq, Rizvi highlighted connections between Sindh and Iraq that were grounded in trade, science, and piety.

Rizvi often returned to the Arabian Sea as the font of her imagination from her window. For example, in the June/July 1945 issue of *Beams of Urdu*, she transcribed her observations of the Arabian Sea in an article titled "The World of Dreams." Rizvi recorded that "going to my special window, I stood there deeply tired from the conflicts of life …At this time, my glance fell on the thunderous 'Arabian Sea' which is the repository of my imagination (*takhīyulāt*), and the center of imagery (*tasawurāt ka markaz*), and- and!! the greatest mine of my commentary."[566]

'Natural' wonders and esoteric Islam came to the fore in Rizvi's 1943 book *The Milky Way*. Rizvi drew on Muslim dream interpretation (*ta'bīr*) as she observed the stars and interpreted the heavens for mystical meaning. Rizvi did not compose a guide for Muslim dream interpretation, which was the usual genre of *ta'bīr* writing. Instead, *ta'bīr* informed her observational accounts. The eighty short chapters of *The Milky Way* were not organized chronologically or thematically. However, considered comprehensively, *The Milky Way* was a compilation of Rizvi's mystical observations on the night sky, which positioned her as a unique observer of the natural world.

Rizvi's approach to Muslim dream interpretation (*ta'bīr*) was illustrated in the chapter "The Star of the Morning." Rizvi began this chapter by describing the scene of the stars setting in the early morning light.[567] Rizvi narrated that "I had wanted that for a little longer I could enjoy this story-like atmosphere. I can obtain the necessary juice of life from the opening freshness of the universe [-] therefore my uneasy heart can gain comfort and my depressed soul can become

[566] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4-5.12-1 (June/ July 1945), 2.
[567] Rizvi, *Kehkishāṅ*, 108.

fresh."[568] She expounded on the profound spiritual impact of the light of the morning star since "I felt that the beams of comfort have completely filled the dark recesses of the heart with light …"[569] The light of the morning star reached such an extent that "the atmosphere was transformed from the brightness" and "the morning star has become the *ta'bīr* (dream interpreter) of my forgotten dreams."[570] Here Rizvi drew on the genre of *ta'bīr* for her stylized discussions of the stars and their esoteric meanings. Instead of 'scientific' observation as separate from literature, Rizvi's stylized poetry-in-prose drew together scientific and literary registers for a wider conceptualization of Urdu *uloom* as modern science. This renovated concept of 'the sciences' including literature, art, naturalism, and poetry, might appear impractical in the 1940s. Instead, given that Mahmooda Rizvi's writings were meant to serve as promotional textbooks for a largely unspoken language in Sindh, this all-encompassing approach to knowledge in Urdu was a savvy move on the part of promoters of a language-on-the-make in an expanding urban environment.[571]

In her books, Rizvi used the observation and mystical interpretation of 'natural' wonders to critique contemporary social ills in Karachi. This was particularly illustrated in her 1942 book *Lālazār*. Rizvi published *Lālazār* in 1942 as her second book for the *Anjuman*.[572] It was named after both the Lālazār port neighborhood in Karachi, which bordered the city's dockyards, and Lālazār, an increasingly popular summer vacation spot in the Kaghan Valley of British India's Northwest Frontier Province. In fact, the book *Lālazār* could be read as Rizvi's musings on the

[568] Rizvi, *Kehkishāṅ*, 108.
[569] Rizvi, *Kehkishāṅ*, 109.
[570] Rizvi, *Kehkishāṅ*, 110.
[571] Nor were the Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* alone in attempting to integrate a wide range of distinct disciplines into vernacular languages in the twentieth century. For example, in her study of Arabic translations of Darwin in early twentieth century Egypt, Marwa Elshakry argued that translating Darwin into Arabic helped to forge a "new class of 'Renaissance men' who brought together science, literature, and the arts for the sake of cultural revival" [Marwa Ekshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 294.]
[572] *Hindustānī* 2.12 (June 1943), 2.

contrast between the natural beauty of the distant frontier valley of Lālazār and the economic oppression of the port neighborhood of Lalazar in Karachi. The book *Lālazār* consisted of sixty-five observational essays, which, like *The Milky Way,* lacked a linear narrative.

Lālazār was not an optimistic account of a nation-in-waiting, but instead a series of observations about the fear produced by economic oppression. In its pages Rizvi contrasted the doleful atmosphere of "the city of silence" with a perfected "land of dreams" where "neither sadness and relief, nor life and death, nor poverty and riches are necessary."[573] *Lālazār* presented an often deeply pessimistic economic, spiritual, and naturalist critique of Karachi as a deathly "city of silence" in which observations of the night sky sat side by side biting economic critique.

Rizvi's musings on the 'city of silence' revealed a deep ambivalence to Karachi- it was both her destroyer and source of inspiration. She opined that "in the same way that for the onset of the night, an entourage of birds searches for the respite of a nest. In this way (!) I also see no shame in being concealed in your [the city's] depths."[574] However, she rejected the possibility of the city providing long-lasting spiritual sustenance since "the destroyer, the city of silence! Do not be proud of my misery- I refuse to accept the source of my own life."[575] She most fully developed this urban dystopian theme in a chapter aptly titled "Address to the City of Silence" in which she contrasted the dreadful city (the neighborhood Lālazār in Karachi) with the beautiful valley (of Lālazār.) Rizvi addressed the city, describing "your nightmarish walls and tragic atmosphere made this mortal body tremble for some time…."[576] Rizvi mourned that "your dreadful stories have made me afraid, but my (imagined) pictures of [verdant] valleys! What is the connection of [this

[573] Mahmooda Rizvi, *Lālazār* (Karachi: Hindustānī Dār-ul Isha'āt, 1942), 23-24.
[574] Rizvi, *Lālazār*, 67.
[575] Rizvi, *Lālazār*, 68.
[576] Rizvi, *Lālazār*, 66.

dreadful city] to the dream world of wide [verdant] valleys!"[577] Along with her use of Romantic poetic themes, Mahmooda Rizvi had a distinctly modernist orientation towards dystopian scenes and discordant notes in many of her texts.

This urban dystopia, *Lālazār*, produced both awe and confusion amongst Urdu readers. In his book review of Mahmooda Rizvi's writings, Hazrat Niaz Fatehpuri, the editor of Lucknow's *Nigar* journal, concluded his review of *Lālazār* by stating that he would like to ask Rizvi "why did you write this volume and under the inspiration of which writing, and I would give the suggestion that she should also include this discussion in the second edition."[578] These reviews highlighted the important place of her naturalist writings in contemporary Urdu literature. For example, the May 1945 issue of *Beams of Urdu* showcased a long article celebrating her literary abilities by Asrar Ahmad Suhrawardi.[579] He foregrounded her skill in "*Nāchur ka mutāli'ya* (the study of nature)" and attributed her ability to her familiarity with English literature. According to Suhrawardi, "she has mentioned with passion the darkness of night, the refinement of the half-light of dawn," the songs of birds, and "the dances of butterflies."[580] He praised her naturalist writings as having the feel of poetry in prose.[581] This conceptualization of Mahmooda Rizvi's writing as poetry-in-prose is crucial for understanding her literary style. As her contemporary reviewers indicated, Mahmooda Rizvi drew extensively on themes from late English romanticism which itself had been in conversation with Persian poetry, particularly through Edward Fitzgerald's widely read translation of Omar Khayyam.[582] Rizvi's stylized accounts do not read

[577] Rizvi, *Lālazār*, 67.
[578] *Hindustānī*, 2.11 (May 1943), 19.
[579] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.7 (May 1945), 19.
[580] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.7 (May 1945), 21.
[581] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.7 (May 1945), 21.
[582] For the impact of Edward Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam see W. H. Martin and Sandra Mason, *Edward Fitzgerald's Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám: A Famous Poem and its Influence* (London: Anthem Press, 2011.)

like 'modern' science. However, conceptualized as part of Urdu *u'loom* along with calligraphic type, medical healing, and urban commerce, stylized naturalist observation became another arena for renovating the Persian past for a scientific future for Urdu across the subcontinent.

Although her publications were written as textbooks and Urdu materials for school libraries in late colonial Sindh, for most students in Sindh who studied Urdu as a second language, Rizvi's writings would have been practically difficult to follow given her philosophical approach and non-linear organizational scheme. However, despite the practical limitations of Rizvi's book publications as accessible Urdu textbooks, book reviews and literary submissions to the Karachi *Anjuman*'s magazine from women readers suggest that Rizvi's books were widely distributed and inspired similar literary observational writing in the *Anjuman*'s readers, especially women. Along with positioning herself as a keen observer of the 'natural' world, Rizvi encouraged other women writers to submit naturalist observational accounts to the Karachi *Anjuman*. For example, in the May 1945 issue of *Beams of Urdu*, Rizvi began a series for women readers to contribute their own observations of the night sky. The section was aptly titled "*The Milky Way (Kehkishān*)" after Rizvi's book of the same name. The first installment of this "Milky Way" section included a submission from Saroor Hussain *sāhiba* titled "Romantic View of the Moonlit Night."[583]

The 'Moral Authority of Nature' for Revolutionary Social Change

In *Lālazār* and *The Milky Way*, Mahmooda Rizvi utilized her naturalist and mystical observations to criticize contemporary social and economic ills. These links were made more explicit in her 1942 collection of short stories, *Sooz aur Sāz*. What made *Sooz aur Sāz* particularly important was that it was one of the two Urdu books initially commissioned for school libraries in

[583] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.11 (May 1945), 42-43.

Sindh by the provincial Department of Education. In her short stories as well as her observational essays, Mahmooda Rizvi cultivated a distinctive authorial voice that was attentive to social dissonance and presented a critical view of contemporary economic and social structures. In *Sooz aur Sāz* the major themes of economic oppression, naturalist observation, and the need for revolutionary social change coalesced in the short story format.

In two short stories in the textbook *Sooz aur Sāz* that were titled "The Revolutionary" and "The Altar of Capitalism," Rizvi directly discussed contemporary society.[584] "The Revolutionary" told the story of Asif, a revolutionary son of a *zamīndār* family in UP who was disowned by his wealthy parents, became a revolutionary leader, and returned to his family's estate at the head of an army of disposed farmers to murder his father. "The Altar of Capitalism" narrated the oppressions of Kashmiri Muslims at the hands of Hindu merchants. Rizvi presented a critique of capitalism in these short stories centered on the excesses of Muslim *zamīndār* landholders, the oppressions of Hindu merchants, and the degradations of British colonial rule. '*sarmāīyadārī*' (capitalism) for Rizvi was represented by the twinned figures of the Muslim *zamīndār* and Hindu merchant.

The short story "The Revolutionary" began with the protagonist Asif looking out of his window at the moonlight glistening on a long row of trees stretching out before his mansion.[585] While much of the rest of the narrative centered on Asif's revolutionary plans, Rizvi initially framed Asif's reflections on his beautiful surroundings as the spring board for revolutionary ideals. In Rizvi's account "for a long time he kept studying (*mutāli'ya*) with heart and mind this calamity of a soul-enriching scene [of the moonlit trees], but among the charms of the universe no emotional

[584] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*.
[585] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 79.

appeal remains for him."[586] "The leaves of the trees were trembling with a happy emotion, but Asif had realized that the deprived and suffering poor are trembling in the iron grip of the capitalist (*sarmāīyadār*)."[587] Asif declaimed "in the world there is no power which can shake my constant intention. I have already become aware of my poor and oppressed brothers. I have no regard for the pride of my position [as the son of a *zamīndār*.]"[588] Asif concluded that he could not support the rights of the "*malik* and *zamīndār*" to supersede the rights of the farmer.[589]

Sooz aur Sāz was heavily promoted by the Karachi *Anjuman* in its magazine advertisements and accepted by Sindh's provincial education department as an appropriate Urdu textbook for schools. This raises the question of why the provincial government, run by British officers and Muslim League-affiliated Sindhi politicians, most of whom were deeply tied to Sindh's landholding economy, would endorse a textbook which directly called for the annihilation of landlords. A noticeable feature of the short story was that it took place far from Sindh. Rizvi could have located "the revolutionary" at a distance to insulate herself from local political opposition. However, some local readers found the character of Asif inspiring. Asrar Ahmad Suhrawardi praised Rizvi's cultivation of 'revolutionary emotion' since she was sympathetic to "workers and farmers" and "intensely opposed to capitalism."[590] He mourned that "If only *Hindustān* could find a few sincere men like Asif (sic), our fortunes would wake up. That day will come."[591]

The second short story "The Altar of the Capitalism" shifted to the scenic hill-station of Gulmarg in Kashmir. In "The Altar of Capitalism" Rizvi told the story of an impoverished

[586] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 79.
[587] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 80.
[588] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 80.
[589] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 80-81.
[590] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.7 (May 1945), 22-23.
[591] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 4.7 (May 1945), 23.

Kashmiri Muslim man, Abdullah, who was literally killed by the weight of a Hindu capitalist. "The Altar of Capitalism" began with the observation that the physical beauty of the famous hill-station Gulmarg was matched only by the poverty of the Kashmiris, who she described as "living corpses."[592]According to Rizvi, "the residents of this land which is the dream of poets are bound by the harsh chains of poverty whose strong grip becomes more tightly twisted day by day."[593] Rizvi often located the economic tensions between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindu capitalists on the mystical eve of Eid since "it is the sacred and really blessed evening of Eid. The golden rays of the universe keep smiling and the colorful valley of Gulmarg appears like a brand new flower of a rose in its own new light."[594] In fact, "in the atmosphere, a wondrous vitality (*ajīb shaguftagī*) is spreading …" as if Gulmarg was "a world of dreams."[595] Rizvi directly contrasted this mystical enchantment with the poverty of those who lived in tattered huts in the valley, including the short story's main character Abdullah, "the living picture of the poverty and exhaustion of Kashmiris."[596] The reader first encounters Abdullah as he waits to find a passenger for his small wooden carriage in which he carries people across mountains. Abdullah's family had been without basic resources for three days, so he was desperate.[597]

As Abdullah waited for a passenger, a wealthy Hindu merchant "Sethji" called out to Abdullah "*oh dande wallah*, what will you charge to go to Khilanmarg?" Rizvi depicted Sethji as obese and loaded with wealth in contrast to the impoverished and emaciated Abdullah.[598] The wealthy merchant demanded that Abdullah carry him the four mile mountainous road between Gulmarg

[592] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 95.
[593] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 95.
[594] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 95.
[595] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 96.
[596] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 96.
[597] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 96.
[598] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 96-97.

and Khilanmarg. If Abdullah was not able get to him there before nightfall, Sethji, a raging "viper of wealth" in Rizvi's assessment, threatened that Abdullah would have to return his money.[599] Rizvi spilled considerable ink expanding on this caricature of an oppressive Hindu merchant, with Abdullah serving as a representative of all Kashmiri Muslims.[600]

However, in the narrative of economic exploitation there was an interlude provided by Abdullah's contemplation of the splendid mountain views. This paralleled how naturalist observation served as a springboard for Rizvi's own social critiques.[601] This beautiful view spurred the suffering Abdullah to contemplation since "in his imagination (*takhīyul*), Abdullah was traversing those valleys where the young Rahman [his son] got a small clay toy as a gift for Eid …"[602] But suddenly Abdullah's imaginings were brutally interrupted. "'*Chitakh*' The voice of Sethji's whip echoes in the endless extent of the universe and the trembling song of the atmosphere [was interrupted] by the harrowing cry of forlorn Abdullah [and] with extraordinary pain he continued trembling."[603] Rizvi rebuked Sethji for his "constricted humanity and animal-like mentality."[604] The story culminated in Sethji using a whip to try to force Abdullah to carry him faster. Battered by Sethji's whip, crushed by the heavy load, and starving, Abdullah eventually collapsed on a rock and died.[605] Rizvi's choice of an impoverished Kashmiri Muslim man as the victim of a Hindu merchant was not incidental. Given growing Kashmiri Muslim opposition to Dogra rule in the 1940s as well Sindhi Muslim political mobilization against predominantly Hindu

[599] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 96-97.
[600] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 98.
[601] For the relationship between poetry and social critique in British romanticism see Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society*.
[602] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 99.
[603] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 100.
[604] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 100.
[605] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 100-101.

bankers in Karachi, Rizvi's choice of characters reflected an effort to connect Sindhi Muslim political grievances to a wider Urdu-reading Muslim audience.

Rizvi interwove her narration of Abdullah's brutal death with mystical observations of the significance of *E'id*. This is particularly illustrated by the following passage:

> "Blood started flowing from his mouth and nose and … in the heartless hands of capitalism, [Abdullah] began to tremble … This moment! Yes, this very moment!! When the sun … had already turned towards the lands [of the earth] full of secrets [on this eve of *E'id*] …… Abdullah, drinking from the fountain of death, had finally received relief from the darkness of the pains of life. The stars saw this tragic scene from their half-open eyes [at dusk] and started to sob at this constricted humanity. The new month hid its beautiful face behind the white *purdah* of clouds and began to scatter Abdullah's grave-less corpse with the golden flowers of the large tears of the dusk light."[606]

The economic exploitation of Muslims, the spiritual power of the *E'id* moon, and natural beauty were thus tightly interwoven in the story's conclusion. More than this, the stars and the moon served as moral judges mourning the oppression of Kashmir's Muslims. Stretching from Karachi to Kashmir and on to UP, Rizvi represented Indian Muslims as in dire need of economic liberation from Hindu merchants and Muslim landowners and the Urdu language as capable of delivering this economic and social critique. Yet in order to develop a register of Urdu for Sindh to deliver this revolutionary summons, Rizvi was subject to the dueling pressures to make Urdu either easily understandable or socially prestigious through reliance on Persian terminology.

Across her thirteen textbooks, Mahmood Rizvi advanced stylized esoteric and naturalist observations as part of a renovated category of Urdu *u'loom* that could draw together a diverse range of fields of knowledge. Given poetry's prominence as a 'science' in both Sanskrit *shāstra*

[606] Rizvi, *Sooz aur Sāz*, 101.

and Persian *u'loom* in the early modern era, Rizvi could have used stylized prose that resembled poetry as a method to integrate poetry into 'the sciences' at this late date in the 1940s.[607] More than in Dhaka or Aurangabad, Urdu in late-colonial Karachi was promoted as a tool for radically transforming urban Indo-Muslim society. Yet Rizvi's books were largely abstract and discussed Karachi only indirectly through literary metaphors of the 'City of Silence' and 'Queen of the East.' In turn, Rizvi's choice of Persian terms potentially limited the accessibility of the *Anjuman*'s textbooks in a province with a small number of Urdu-speakers.

V. Conclusion

In 1946 the ties between the central *Anjuman* under Maulvi Abdul Haq and the regional branch in Karachi led by Asif Jah Karavani and Mahmooda Rizvi began to fray over the issue of what register of Urdu to advance in Sindh, ambiguous Hindustani or explicit literary Urdu. This fracturing relationship between Sindhi Urdu promoters in Karachi and the Delhi-based *Anjuman* was ultimately irretrievably broken by the 1947 Partition and the influx of North Indian Urdu-speakers to Karachi. Once the Delhi-based central *Anjuman* and many of its scholars moved permanently to Karachi in 1949, Maulvi Abdul Haq pragmatically shifted away from this older network of Sindhi scholars who had worked in the late colonial regional *Anjuman* and towards the massive urban audience of recently arrived Urdu-speaking North Indian Muslims in Karachi.

The break between Abdul Haq and the Karachi *Anjuman* began in 1946 over control of Urdu textbook production in Sindh. In January 1946, Karavani celebrated how Sindh's Department of Education had instituted mandatory "Hindustānī" classes in post-primary education. He framed

[607] See Murtaẓá Muṭahharī, *Understanding Islamic sciences: philosophy, theology, mysticism, morality, jurisprudence* (London: Saqi, 2002); and *Forms of Knowledge on Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*, Sheldon Pollock, editor (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.)

this decision by the provincial education department as part of a larger effort "to establish the 'Hindustānī' language in the position of *lingua franca* in Sindh," which he had long encouraged, to "remove Sindh's intellectual decline and also to breath a pan-provincial spirit into Sindhi language and literature."[608] However, Karavani rebuked the *Anjuman*'s central office in Delhi for unnecessarily taking control of this local process. Instead of "entrusting the writing and compiling of 'Hindustānī' textbooks to a Sindhi Hindustani-knowing educational expert who could prepare books in view of this province's history, culture, civilization, traditions, and needs … what happened was that the workers of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu- Delhi* through their special influence took this work into their own custody."[609] As a result, many Sindhi Hindus opposed mandatory "Hindustānī" classes which resulted in the provincial government mandating "Hindustānī" classes for only Muslim students.[610] Karavani thought that religiously ambiguous Hindustānī textbooks written by a local scholar would have avoided this religious divide and practically provided for a wider audience for Urdu-as- Hindustānī in Sindh.

Karavani noted that when the central *Anjuman* submitted its textbook manuscript drafts to Department of Education in Sindh in 1946, he had advised the provincial education department to use the flat *naskh* script since this was closer to the Sindhi script and would make the lessons much easier to read for Sindhi students, instead of printing the books in Urdu's calligraphic-style *nasta'līq* script. Attempting to ward off opposition from *nasta'līq* devotees in the central *Anjuman*, Karavan claimed that "with the *naskh* script my meaning is that script that is used to publish the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu (Hind)*'s magazine *Science.*"[611] He thus used the script style of the central *Anjuman*'s flagship science publication to limits its influence in Sindh. Although Karavani

[608] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5. 6-7 (December 1945-January 1946), 3.
[609] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5. 6-7 (December 1945-January 1946), 3.
[610] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5. 6-7 (December 1945-January 1946), 3.
[611] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5. 6-7 (December 1945-January 1946), 2-3.

was pleased that the department accepted his request to use *naskh* type and admitted that the *Anjuman* was the best Urdu publisher in India, he complained that the textbooks submitted by the central *Anjuman* to Sindh read "as if the books were prepared by an irresponsible person who did not have any experience with education."[612] This conflict between the central *Anjuman* and Karavani in Karachi led to a final drastic transformation for *Beams of Urdu* magazine.

In early January 1947, *Beams of Urdu* announced that Karavani had suddenly left Karachi for Europe, and that the magazine had been shifted from Karachi to Allahabad (UP) in North India.[613] Aijaz Hussain, who was the newly appointed editor, praised Karavani for devoting himself to the promotion of Urdu in distant Sindh. However, "even though his heartfelt wish was that the magazine would remain and continue its work in Sindh, due to a number of necessities, Karavani *sāhib* was compelled to go to Europe for a period of time."[614] Although Hussain did not elaborate, it was probably due to Karavani's vocal opposition to the colonial government in Sindh. For example, in early 1946 Karavani was briefly jailed for revolutionary activities. Karavani sarcastically described how "our 'peace-loving' and 'freedom-supporting' government compelled me to go to the 'big house (*baḍā ghar*)' for the 'crime' of fomenting 'rebellion (*bhagāvat*)'."[615] Given his anti-*zamīndār* political orientation and support for revolutionary social change, the incoming post-colonial administration in Sindh was also probably happy to have Karavani out of Karachi. Karavani's arrest and exile further illustrate the revolutionary orientation of the Karachi *Anjuman* that was discussed earlier in Mahooda Rizvi's fictional short stories.

[612] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5. 6-7 (December 1945-January 1946), 2.
[613] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 6.5-7 (November-December 1946 –January 1947), 3-4.
[614] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 6.5-7 (November-December 1946 –January 1947), 3
[615] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 5.8-10 (February- April 1946), 3.

The new editor of *Beams of Urdu*, the Allahabad-based Aijaz Hussain explained his appointment as the new editor even though he did not live in Sindh by claiming that Karavani did not believe that there was anyone in Sindh with whom he could entrust the magazine.[616] This suggests the extent to which Karavani became politically isolated by 1947. This transfer of *Beams of Urdu*, which had advanced Karachi as a new center for Urdu for years, to North India occurred only a few months before the *muhājir* migrations from North India to Karachi permanently transformed Karachi into a predominantly Urdu-speaking city.

Undeniably, the large-scale influx of Urdu-speaking *muhājirs* into Karachi in 1947 drastically transformed the linguistic and cultural make-up of the city. However, while the migration of Urdu-speakers during Partition constituted a significant rupture in the province's linguistic make-up and intellectual life, it can also be located within longer trends of migration to Karachi and the cultivation of transregional ties from the city that stretch back to the early twentieth century. This is particularly illustrated by the Urdu promotional career of Mahmooda Rizvi in late colonial Karachi and her writing about Iraq, social revolution, and esoteric naturalism.

While Asif Jah Karavani and Mahmooda Rizvi were sidelined in the *Anjuman* after 1947, not all of their literary and scientific projects for Urdu in Karachi failed. Although Maulvi Abdul Haq did not cultivate Urdu scientific writing after his arrival in Pakistan in Mahmooda Rizvi's vein of stylized naturalist observation, Karachi did become the hub of the *Anjuman*'s efforts to produce popular Urdu science textbooks after 1947. Furthermore, Rizvi's cultivation of a network of Urdu authors centered in Karachi and stretching across the subcontinent was mirrored by the post-colonial *Anjuman*'s efforts to forge literary centers in Pakistan's major cities – from Peshawar to

[616] *Shua'āe'-yi Urdu* 6.5-7 (November-December 1946 –January 1947), 3.

Karachi and on to Dhaka- in order bring together Urdu authors and science educators to produce accessible Urdu science textbooks.[617] Both Mahmooda Rizvi's transregional network of scholars that stretched from Karachi across the subcontinent and the ambitious geographic imaginary for Urdu from Karachi that she proposed in the early 1940s paved the way for the *Anjuman*'s in early Pakistan.

[617] Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Urdu behīsīyat zarīya'h-yi ta'līm-i science* (Karachi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu [Pakistan], 1951), 30.

Chapter V: Coming to Terms with a Global Economy: Defining Urdu Economics, 1939-1962

I. Introduction

During the final decade of British colonial rule and the transition to independence in South Asia, the headquarters of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, made two dramatic geographic shifts. First, in 1938, Maulvi Abdul Haq moved the association's headquarters from Aurangabad in the Hyderabad princely state in southern India to Delhi, the capital of British India, to more effectively intervene in debates over the future national language of an anticipated independent India. Second, in the wake of the end of British colonial rule in 1947 and the violent division of India and Pakistan, Abdul Haq moved from Delhi to Karachi, the newly established capital of Pakistan, with much of the organization's archive and publishing catalogue and many of its leading scholars in January 1949. During this decade of national migrations, first to Delhi and then to Karachi, the *Anjuman* invested in an expansive series of economics-themed magazines, professional glossary series, and commercial guidebooks that made the case for Urdu as a medium of national economics and commercial education, first in India and then in Pakistan. After its initial focus on Persian, medicine, and type from 1913 to 1938, the central *Anjuman* shifted its attention to economics and commerce-related professional activities in the 1940s and early 1950s.

At first glance, many of the economics and commercial publications of the *Anjuman* had a distinctly national framework, even if the precise contours of the nation for Urdu (and for Indian Muslims) kept shifting. For example, from 1946 to 1952, the *Anjuman* published a monthly magazine, *Ma'āshīyāt (Economics)*, that discussed national economic policies and the development of agriculture and heavy industry, first in India, and then in Pakistan. An advertisement for *Ma'āshīyāt (Economics)* in 1947 framed this Urdu economics magazine in terms

of national ambitions since "due the position of *Ma'āshīyāt (Economics)* as the journal of such a widespread and glorious an institution as the All-India *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, it is read with great interest and focus in every corner of the nation."[618]

Despite the investment of money, paper, and time in promoting Urdu as a medium of national economic planning and commercial education, this nationally-framed Urdu economics project was a commercial flop both in late colonial India and early post-colonial Pakistan. The *Anjuman*'s finances and its Urdu scientific publications series, including *Ma'āshīyāt (Economics)* magazine, collapsed in India in 1948 with the fall of the Hyderabad princely state. Although the association re-founded *Ma'āshīyāt* magazine in Pakistan in 1947, the Urdu economics magazine closed again when the *Anjuman* went bankrupt in Pakistan at the end of 1952.

However, around the edges of this failed national Urdu economics project, the *Anjuman*'s local members across the subcontinent wrote extensively about small-scale Urdu-mediated commercial and artisanal activities in urban centers in the 1940s and 1950s. These alternative Urdu economics writings focused on Indo-Muslim cities and spanned commercial glossaries and guides to Muslim humoral healing, which expanded on concerns with urban wellbeing and social balance that had long been features of the *Anjuman*'s provincial centers. Alongside commercially unsuccessful 'national' Urdu economics magazines, I argue that there was sustained attention in the *Anjuman*'s many branches to documenting small-scale urban crafts, Indo-Muslim fine arts, and the work of women in cities across the breadth of the Indian subcontinent during World War II, the Quit India movement, the Bengal famine, the end of British rule, and the violence of Partition.

[618] *Ma'āshīyāt* 2.2 (February 1947.)

While not explicitly repudiating national projects, these economic writing instead conceptualized Urdu as a pan-South Asian shared language that was both local and global.

In contrast to the nationalist contours of *Ma'āshīyāt (Economics)* magazine, the *Anjuman* produced an illustrated eight-part dictionary series, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ*, or *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*, to promote and protect Indo-Muslim artisanal crafts and commerce from 1939 to 1944. In the introduction, the author of the series, Zafarul Rahman, anticipated that "this professional terms series would remain such a stable foundation for India's common language, Urdu, that our language would be safe from national and political revolutions (*mulkī aur sīyāsī inqilāb*)."[619] That this goal of protecting Indo-Muslim commerce 'from national and political revolutions' coincided with the nationalist Quit India Movement and growing mobilization for a separate Muslim homeland in India in the late 1930s and early 1940s makes the claim even more significant. *The Glossary of Professional Terminology* framed small-scale Urdu-mediated commercial activity as a bulwark for Urdu-speaking Muslim elites against drastic political changes and displacement. This represented both a profoundly conservative effort to entrench an older Urdu-speaking *ashraf* elite against nationalist mass politics and the growing electoral prominence of rural Muslims and a creative effort to re-center Muslim politics in urban centers on the eve of independence. Just as Hakim Habibur Rahman's attempts to shore up a conservative urban Muslim elite in Dhaka took the shape of a creative reworking of older humoral medical theories for modern urban society, Zafarul Rahman turned to urban commerce to imagine Muslim urban life for a non-national future.

[619] Zafarul Rahman Dehlavi, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum* (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu (Hind), 1940), i-ii. In Urdu, the complete title was "*Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Hindustān ke mukhtalif fanoon aur sana'toṅ ke istilāhī ālfāz va muhāvarāt ka jāma' majmu'ah*," or *The Glossary of Professional Terminology: The Comprehensive Collection of the Terminology and Idioms of the Different Arts and Industries of India*."

The *Glossary of Professional Terminology* series was one of the longest-running of the *Anjuman*'s non-literary textual projects. Published between 1939 and 1944, the series offers a glimpse into how some Indo- Muslim elites positioned the Urdu language in response to the economic dislocations and opportunities of the 1940s. More broadly, the content and iterations of this professional glossary series are symptomatic of the *Anjuman*'s changing understanding of Urdu *u'loom* as an integrative form of modern science and of the location of a political 'home' for Urdu. Furthermore, the all-encompassing encyclopedic impulse behind *The Glossary of Professional Terminology* is an appropriate endpoint for this story of the *Anjuman*'s efforts to constitute Urdu *u'loom* as an integrative field of scientific knowledge in the modern era.

The *Anjuman*'s encyclopedic fascination with professional terms and focus on collecting commercial vocabulary speaks to recent debates over the relationship of 'vernacular' economics to changing ideas of political space in colonial South Asia.[620] Building on scholarship that has explored the relationship between global capitalism across the British Empire and cultural politics in South Asia, this chapter examines how Urdu was proposed as commercial language for an amorphous territorial space. In her study of how India was imagined as a coherent territorial unit, Manu Goswami explored the social and economic production of the Indian national space. Goswami illustrates how the imagining of India as a Hindu nation emerged out of the economic and territorial demarcation of the colonial state space of India. If Goswami productively examined how the Indian nation emerged from the tension between the 'unbounded space' of capitalism and the 'bounded space' of the nation, for Urdu promoters, the territory of Urdu was paradoxically far

[620]See Manu Goswami, *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), and Ritu Birla, *Stages of Capital: Law, Culture, and Market Governance in Late Colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.) For example, in her study of vernacular capitalism, Ritu Birla productively bridged colonial cultural and economic categories to demonstrate how Indian capitalist utilized colonial categories of cultural autonomy to creatively advance their economic interests.

more unbound than its economic contours. This study of Urdu economics offers the chance to examine the proposal of a vernacular economy for a national space that did not (yet) exist. An ideal Muslim civilizational space in the form of Urdu economics was both deeply rooted in specific urban localities in South Asia and unusually detached from broader territorial borders.

Along with grounding an Urdu-mediated economy in a territorial space, the different content in these two series- the national economics magazine *Ma'āshīyāt* and *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*- attempted to resolve the long-running debate in the *Anjuman*'s knowledge community over how Urdu was situated between elite (*khās*) or common *(a'ām*) Muslims. During the decline of British colonial power in India and decolonization, some Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* positioned small-scale Urdu-mediated commercial activity in cities across the borders of India, West Pakistan (now Pakistan), and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) as capable of connecting and protecting Urdu-speaking elites. By documenting already-existing Urdu-mediated commercial activity and economic discussions, the *Anjuman* hoped to create a pan-South Asian audience for Urdu economics texts that included both elite and non-elite readers.

The Glossary of Professional Terminology did not primarily aim to displace English. Instead, the author of the series, Zafarul Rahman used the pages of the glossary to contend that Urdu already possessed robust terms for contemporary urban commerce and professional life due to the language's global linguistic ties to Persian, Arabic, and Turkish and its colonial interactions with English. A significant component of the series was devoted to documenting thriving small-scale urban artisanal crafts and Indo-Muslim fine arts that already used Urdu for commercial communication and education. The *Anjuman* published this Urdu professional dictionary series in the late 1930s and early 1940s, during World War II, local economic crises, and ongoing political

debates over India's political future. In this uncertain political context, some Muslim elites turned to Urdu as a secure arena for commercial and professional activities.

This chapter untangles the divergent goals of the two Urdu scholars responsible for *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*, Abdul Haq and Zafarul Rahman. Abdul Haq was the leader of the central *Anjuman* who sponsored the publication and Zafarul Rahman was the author. Both Zafarul Rahman and Abdul Haq were mobile Urdu educators from North India who found success in the Hyderabad princely state in the Deccan. Zafarul Rahman was a non-local (*ghair mulkī*) civil servant in the Ministry of Education in the Hyderabad princely state, which was the same department in which Abdul Haq had been employed for decades.[621] However, a close look at the progression of this dictionary series from 1939 to 1944 suggests that these two intellectuals had diverging understandings of the content and goals of Urdu-mediated economic activity in South Asia and of where an Urdu-mediated economy was located, or should be located, in the future.

In his introduction to the first volume of the dictionary, Abdul Haq laid out his objectives for the series in 1939: "This is the era of the machine and science (*science aur machine*). Today, commerce and industry also have been included in education. Therefore, inevitably, there is the need for terms. This book is really useful for this objective."[622] As previously mentioned, in his own introduction, the author of the series, Zafarul Rahman, anticipated that Urdu-medium professional and commercial terms would constitute "a stable foundation" for Urdu so "that our language would be safe from national and political revolutions (*mulkī aur sīyāsī inqilāb*)."[623] While Abdul Haq introduced the series with a focus on the needs of 'machine and science,'

[621] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum* (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu (Hind), 1940), iv.
[622] [622] Zafarul Rahman Dehlavi, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul* (Delhi: Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu (Hind), 1939), i-ii, 1.
[623] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, i-ii.

Rahman was far more concerned with protecting Urdu from political change and social dislocations.

Broadly, this chapter explores Urdu economics writing in the Deccan, Delhi, and Karachi from 1939 to 1962 as the *Anjuman* strained to include all of these areas in an ideal Urdu civilizational space. The first section examines the tension between Zafarul Rahman's conceptualization of Urdu-mediated commercial activity as a conservative bulwark for Muslim elties and Abdul Haq's increasingly national goals from 1939 to 1944 in *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*. The next section contrasts the national ambitions of the *Anjuman*'s economics magazine, *Ma'āshīyāt*, with the commercial failure of this economics monthly in both late colonial India and early post-colonial Pakistan. Finally, I conclude with an analysis of a guidebook to Urdu commercial letter writing for the exchange of Muslim humoral medical products between East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and Karachi in 1959.

II. The Glossary of Professional Terminology between Deccani Terms and National Ambitions

Maulvi Abdul Haq commissioned *The Glossary of Professional Terminology* in 1914 and Zafarul Rahman composed the first drafts in the 1920s and early 1930s when the *Anjuman* was based in the Hyderabad princely state. Although it was not published until the late 1930s and early 1940s, the development of this glossary series was contemporary with Habibur Rahman's development of a humoral medical social theory for urban life in Dhaka and the central *Anjuman*'s efforts to commemorate a deep history of Muslim technological innovation in the scribal texts and waterways of Aurangabad. Therefore, the *Anjuman*'s attempt in *The Glossary of Professional Terminology* to document Indo-Muslim artisanal and commercial life at both the level of specific cities and on an all-India scale suggest an increased intensity to the association's promotion of

Urdu *u'loom* as an all-encompassing system of knowledge that was particularly located in Indo-Muslim cities in the final years of British colonial rule in India.

Retrospectively, Abdul Haq claimed that he initially came up with the idea to compile this professional dictionary at the beginning of his tenure at the *Anjuman*, but that he was forced to abandon this project due to the difficulty of locating someone to undertake the project who could work both with textual materials and contemporary professional communities of "artisans (*kārīgarān*)."[624] Eventually, Abdul Haq concluded that Zafarul Rahman was "really skilled and temperamentally compatible with these things."[625] According to Abdul Haq, Zafarul worked furiously 'day and night' on the project. "He himself toured different places. He met artisans, watched their work, understood the process of the work, inspected their machines and objects, and made pictures. The artisans were very hard-hearted in this matter and somewhat skeptical as well (and their skepticism was valid too)…"[626]

Although the first volume of *The Glossary of Professional Terminology* was not published until 1939, Maulvi Abdul Haq and Zafarul Rahman regularly corresponded about the series during the preceding two decades.[627] Their letters reveal the exchange of advice, money, and manuscripts between Rahman and the head of the *Anjuman* as he composed the dictionary series. For example, a letter from Maulvi Abdul Haq to Zafarul Rahman on March 12, 1923, Abdul Haq assured him that "I have complete faith that except for you there is no other that could complete this work" and discussed the details of getting illustrations commissioned for the series.[628]

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[624] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 1.
[625] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 1.
[626] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 1.
[627] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, Muhammad Akbaruddin Siddiqui, editor (Hyderabad, India: Hyderabad Urdu Academy, 1966), 24.
[628] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, 24-25.

Zafarul Rahman ultimately organized the *Glossary of Professional Terminology* into eight volumes that encompassed approximately 200 professional communities with the number of terms reaching almost 20,000.[629] The eight volumes moved from an initial interest in Indo-Muslim architecture in 1939 through sustained descriptions of the preparations of clothes and jewelry in 1940 and 1941. The series then progressed through varied Urdu terminology for the transportation of goods and people and concluded with attention to shop-keeping and crime. However, in the late 1930s, there was considerable confusion over how to begin the professional dictionary series and the order in which these different professional activities should be published.[630] For example, even though publication on the first installment did not begin until 1939, the third volume of the series was already prepared by May 1936.[631] However, as late as November 1938, the *Anjuman*'s leadership was discussing whether to start the series with a volume on architecture or not.[632]

There is certainly a broad shift from *khās* (elite) arts to *a'ām* (common) professions across the installments of *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*. However, throughout the entire series, the princely was woven into the commercial and a concern with faded Indo-Muslim crafts was matched by attention to small-scale urban industries with contemporary economic viability.[633] Instead of assessing whether this project to make Urdu a language of modern economics succeeded or failed, I am concerned with how Zafarul Rahman presented Indo-Muslim cities, small-scale artisanal crafts, and women's work as the center of already thriving Urdu-mediated economic

[629]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, ii.
[630] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, 52.
[631] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, 43.
[632] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, 47
[633] For scholarship on Indo-Persian writing on urban spaces and commerce, see: Sunil Sharma, "'If There Is a Paradise on Earth, Here It Is': Urban Ethnography in Indo-Persian Poetic and Historical Texts," *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*, Sheldon Pollock, editor (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.) Sharma illustrates the importance of rich descriptions of urban spaces and topography in Indo-Persian poetic and historical genres, particularly centering on commercial professions and exchanges in the bazaar. The *Anjuman*'s *Glossary of Professional Terminology* clearly draws on these older Indo-Persian forms.

activity- and the foundation for making Urdu a bulwark against 'national and political revolutions.' It is significance that *The Glossary of Professional Terminology* was published at the same time that Mahmooda Rizvi in Karachi was writing her dystopian critiques of industrialization and urbanization in late colonial Karachi and Habibur Rahman was giving radio addresses documenting the decline of Dhaka's Indo-Muslim urban culture. This professional glossary series could be read as the central *Anjuman*'s answer to its provincial scholars dystopian and pessimistic accounts of urban social imbalance and rural migration that provided a way forward for Muslim urban artisanal and professional life.

In his introduction to the first volume which was published in 1939, Abdul Haq located the decline of indigenous professional terminology in relation to the expansion of the English language in South Asia. "From when we became apathetic towards our own commerce and industries (*sana't aur harfat*), we also forgot our own words."[634] Abdul Haq claimed that Indian professionals and artisans began using English instead of Urdu terms for commercial activity.[635] In his introductory notes at the beginning of each volume, Abdul Haq contested the role of English in South Asian economic activity. For example, in his introduction to Volume One, Abdul Haq narrated the history of architecture (*fan-i ma'mārī*) to illustrate how "in this way our light and balanced words were expelled and in their place distorted and wooden English words became established."[636]

The author the series, Zafarul Rahman, also engaged with the impact of the English language on Indian artisanal crafts. However, he was far less concerned with displacing English with Urdu than with documenting already thriving arenas of commercial and professional life in

[634]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 1.
[635]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 1.
[636]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 1-2.

Indo-Muslim urban centers that were not mediated by the English language. Rahman's focus on documenting already vibrant arenas of commercial activities in Urdu shaped his methodology in collecting, organizing, and presenting Urdu's professional terminology. In his own introduction to Volume One, Rahman described how only 15-20 % of the terms which he included could be found in other Urdu dictionaries and there were often mistakes in their definitions.[637] This meant that at least 80 % of the terms in the dictionary series were gleaned from Rahman's quasi-ethnographic surveys of contemporary professions and mining of manuscripts. In fact, interacting with professionals seems to have made up the bulk of Rahman's research. These extensive personal interactions across South Asian cities informed Rahman's cautious confidence in the continuing economic viability of many 'traditional' crafts.

How Zafarul Rahman evaluated whether Indo-Muslim artisanal crafts were already thriving and had continuing vibrancy comes through in his description of his ethnographic methods. According to Rahman, "in short, to the extent that words have been collected [it has been through] the great effort of sitting with craftsmen (*peshehwar*) and listening to them and attentively having understood and comprehended [them]… All of these terms have been collected from the famous old cities of Hindustan (*Hindustān ke qadīm mashur shahr*) and from the craftsmen (*peshehwar*) of these places whose languages is the [commonly] understood standard and whose industry (*sana't*) was special."[638] Of particular importance, Rahman evaluated industries and professions 'whose language is the understood standard' in 'the famous old cities of Hindustan.' Although Zafarul Rahman did not explicitly reference concepts of urban health and social balance that were advanced by the *Anjuman* in Dhaka, as discussed in Chapter Three, his documentation

[637]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul,* i.
[638]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul,* iii.

of varied and profitable small-scale urban artisanal crafts indicates the *Anjuman*'s enduring concern with urban wellbeing across the subcontinent.

Along with quasi-ethnographic surveys, Rahman consulted a wide range of printed books and hand-written manuscripts in Urdu, English, and Persian. Although Rahman gave greater emphasis in the introduction to the role of his quasi-ethnographic interactions, he listed forty-two texts which he employed in composing this eight-part Urdu professional terms series.[639] In total, five of the texts were Persian and Urdu hand-written manuscripts, eleven were printed English books, and the remaining 26 were printed Urdu and Persian books.[640]

Architecture: Princely or Professional?

The first volume of the Urdu *Glossary of Professional Terms* encompassed terminology and illustrations for traditional Indo-Muslim architecture and home embellishment.[641] It was published in 1939, and was therefore one of the earliest publications of the *Anjuman* after it relocated from the Deccan to Delhi. At its inception, Rahman framed his professional terms' project as one of recovery of a fast-receding Indo-Muslim princely past as he aimed to 'recover' older Urdu architectural terminology. He argued, in order "to collect ancient Indian terminology (*qadīm Hindustānī istilāhāt*), [words] are found in the special examples of ancient methods of building and what are now seen as ancient monuments and in mosques, temples, and tombs."[642]

While certainly grounded in Muslim princely nostalgia, Volume One also made a compelling case for Indo-Muslim cities as the arena for Urdu-mediated economic activity in the

[639]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, iii-v.
[640]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, iv.
[641]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*.
[642]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, vi.

present. Rahman claimed that "Except for cities inhabited by the English, the [elite] building terminology in the rest of Hindustan's great cities … is very close, mixed, and similar to the terminology of workers (*mazduroṅ ki istilāhāt*). The apparent reason for this is known to be that in the Muslim era [i.e. Mughal era], their culture (*tamaddun*) spread and became popular. From the capital (*dār-ul sultanat*) wherever Mughal governors would go, they would also take artisans and craftsmen with them [-] where [their] language became common, then their handicraft terminology was included in the local language."[643] According to Rahman, Indo-Muslim cities, such as Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad, had preserved a shared architectural lexicon for elites (*khās)* and common people (*a'ām*).

Rahman narrated how he consulted noted experts in architecture and fine stone-work in cities such as Delhi, Jaipur, and Agra who presented themselves as the descendants of famed Mughal era architects.[644] For example, "In this work, a famous and family-based artisan titled Ramzan Khan Valid Rasool Baksh not only gave assistance with every type of building research with great help and tremendous generosity and effort, but also took part in explaining the meaning of hidden terminology with such efficiency and enthusiasm that he is truly deserving of thanks."[645] Although Rahman celebrated Urdu as both 'the terminology of workers (*mazduroṅ*)' and the language of the elite, distinctions between the elite (*khās*) and common (*a'ām*) continuously surfaced in these inclusive claims. For example, Rahman complained that "Being face to face with the craftsmen, especially the uncivilized craftsmen (*jāhil peshehwaroṅ*) of our nation (*mulk*) is not

[643]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, vii.
[644]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, vi.
[645]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, vi-vii.

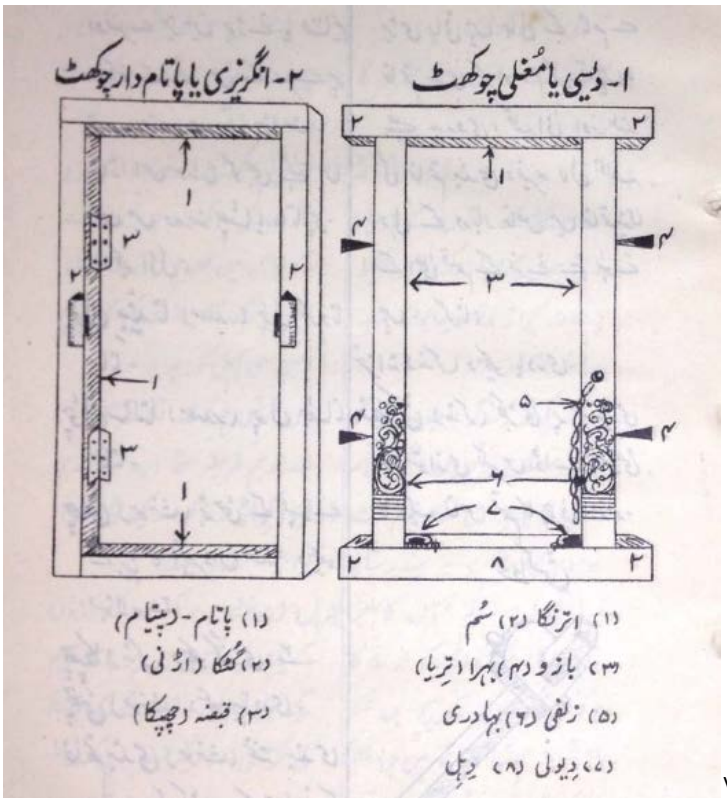
easy work. … The greatest difficulty was that in most situations they themselves could not express the meaning of their words. They only knew [how] to put [it] into action."[646]

Yet, Rahman's choices of what to define in the glossary included terms that balanced between the princely and the practical. Volume One on Urdu architectural terminology foregrounded Rahman's initial concern with documenting (and preserving) artisanal terms related to Indo-Muslim princely centers. This was illustrated by the first-subsection in the glossary: *"Pesheh khīmeh aur chatri sāzī* (Profession of Tent and Umbrella-making)," which had deep connections to kingship in South Asia.[647] The first illustrations were devoted to different kinds of regal tents, pavilions (*shāmīyāneh*), and *manḍal*s.[648] However, the terms which accompanied these illustrations encompassed both the materials used in constructing tents and pavilions as well as the non-elite professionals who operated and repaired the tents and umbrellas. For example, on the second page of Volume One, Rahman both defined a "court pavilion (*darbārī shāmīyān*)" and a "*khīmgī*" as "the person who protects, fixes, and repairs tents."[649] Along with this, Rahman provided an illustration of the terms for the component parts of a modern affordable umbrella.[650]

In other sections of the volume, Rahman drew on both older Indo-Muslim and contemporary British architectural terms and materials. In the illustrated definition of the term *chokaṭ*, which means 'doorway,' Rahman defined the term as "*chokaṭ* is made in two modes [:] one is the *Hindustānī* style without *pītām* [-] the other with *pītām* is what is called the English

[646]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, ii.
[647]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 1.
[648]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 3-4.
[649]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 1-2.
[650]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 7.

(*angrezī*) style."[651] In this dual definition, Rahman compared the constituent parts of a "*desi* or *Mughal* doorway" versus an *angrezī*-style doorway.[652]



Volume One, page 35.

In this illustration, the *Anjuman* incorporated British architectural developments into an Urdu-mediated economy. Rahman glossed the '*Hindustānī* style' threshold as both Indo- Muslim princely ('Mughal') and local 'desi' terms. More than this, Rahman did not depict the *Hindustānī* Mughal threshold as antiquated in contrast to the *angrezī* threshold. Instead, both were viable architectural options that small-scale artisans could build Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad. The detailed hand-drawn illustrations that accompanied many of the terms in *The Glossary of Professional Terminology* were a crucial component of the project. A consistent theme in Zafarul

[651]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 34-35.
[652]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul*, 35.

Rahman and Abdul Haq's letter exchange was the importance attached to these illustrations. During the preparation of the professional series, Abdul Haq regularly sent Rahman photographs and illustrations of craftsmen in Delhi and other cities as possible suggestions for illustrations in the professional glossary series. In a March 1928 missive, Abdul Haq expresses his concern that the "the real difficulty will be the illustrations" for completing the dictionary series and appeals to Rahman to work with a drawing master on the illustrations during the Ramadan vacations.[653]

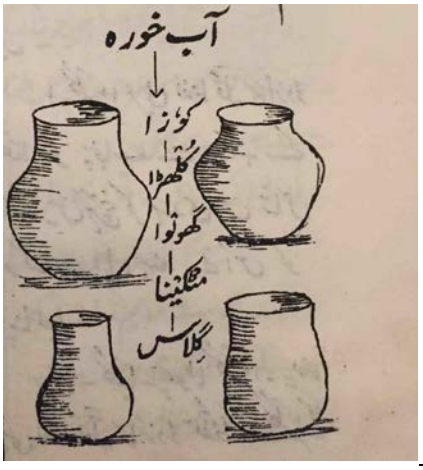
Non-Elite Crafts:

The third volume of the *Glossary of Professional Terms*, which was published in November 1940, marked a significant shift in Rahman's depiction of an Urdu-mediated professional economy. In Volume Three, Rahman turned to the art of making pots, basket, and pottery along with food-related professions.[654] In contrast to the initial two volumes which had an elite focus and centered on recovering professional terminology from a lost Muslim princely past, in this third volume, Rahman turned towards less elite professional communities for documenting an Urdu economy.

At the beginning of the third volume of the *Glossary of Professional Terms*, Rahman used cooking and pottery-related activities to demonstrate how 'foreign' words were historically incorporated into Urdu.[655] [These concerns with non-elite Urdu professional terminology related to cooking and pottery closely resembled Hakim Habibur Rahman's radio addresses in 1946 Dhaka which was discussed in Chapter Three.] The first entry in Volume Three was for the term '*Ab Khorah*,' which is the high-register Urdu term for drinking glass and is drawn from Persian. In his

[653] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, 30-31.
[654] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*.
[655] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, i-ii.

definition Rahman explains "In Urdu [a glass] made from glass and metal is called *glass* [the English term rendered in Urdu] and the one made from clay is called *Ab khora*. In northern India, the common people (*a'wām*) especially the Hindus (*ahl-i hinud*), use the terms *kulhaṛā*, *maṭkīnā* and *gunvār gholu*."[656] Thus, at the beginning of the entry Rahman squarely located Urdu in a Persian idiom removed from the common *a'wām* of North India. He included an illustrated chart of these various terms, which marked a linguistic hierarchy with the high register Urdu term '*Ab khorah*' at the top, the English term 'glass' at the bottom, and the range of vernacular terms in between.



Volume 3, Page 8

In the definition for glass, Rahman spatially ordered the linguistic origins of Urdu pottery terminology as well as the social hierarchy indexed by different terms in the following pages. He described the origins of the North Indian popular term '*kulhaṛā*' for glass. In Rahman's assessment, "*kulhaṛā* is the Urdu pronunciation of the Arabic word *qala*. From Punjab to the Doab region it has been included in Hindi and the people of India (*ahl-i Hind*) have made it their own."[657] This imprecise boundary between Urdu and Hindi, Indian languages and Persian reflected wider

[656]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, 7.
[657]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, 7.

debates in elite Muslim society over Urdu's status. Continuing with his discussion of the various terms used for 'glass' in Urdu, Rahman explained the "common term" for various types of glasses and cups.[658] Rahman's entry on a certain type of clay pot, *sikorā*, expanded on this conceptualization of how Arabic and Persian terms became localized in Urdu terminology as 'Hindi.' According to Rahman, "In reality, *sikorā* is the Urdu pronunciation of the Arabic word *sakarrah* which from frequent use has become Hindi ..."[659] Furthermore, he distinguished various social registers in the two terms for 'jar' in Urdu: "In Urdu the word *martabān* for jar is common (*a'ām*) and the term *boyām* for jar is special (*khās*)."[660] He later turned to the term *jīṛī* for dish, which he defined as used by those of exalted tastes in "the language of the exalted fort (*qila' mau'llah*)" of Delhi and the consumption of *sharbat* and *pān*.[661]

In this volume, Rahman mobilized terms from the making pots, baskets, and food to illustrate the Urdu language's linguistic breadth and flexibility. He asserted that "a shared and natural language (*mushtarak aur fitrī zabān*), which all of the people of the nation/ community (*mulk*) having gathered together and have given the title of Urdu … has thousands of words like these [which are formed from mixing terms from other languages.]"[662] Expanding on this, Rahman posited that "this speech (*bol*) possesses such flexibility, width, and capacity to mix …. which not only will constitute wealth for the *mulk*'s shared language of Urdu in the expression of fine and modern (*jadīd*) ideas of the sciences, arts, and literature (*u'loom, fanoon, aur adab*), but also will give great expansion to its ambit."[663] He framed opponents of Urdu as "conservative (*qadāmat*

[658]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, 8.
[659]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, 13.
[660]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, 9.
[661]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, 10.
[662]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, ii.
[663]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, ii.

pasand)" factions who wanted to destroy the "long periods of shared efforts" which had slowly developed Urdu over time.[664] Rahman went to great lengths in this volume on food and pottery to 'naturalize' Urdu across the breadth of the subcontinent since "nature (*qudarat*) had accepted [the responsibility] of protecting this natural and shared language …"[665]

Changing Terms in the *Bazaar*:

In the seventh volume of the *Glossary of Professional Terms*, which the *Anjuman* published in 1943, Rahman's shift towards non-elite commercial activities took full shape with shop-keeping and urban commercial terms.[666] Whereas earlier volumes squarely focused on Indo-Muslim professional activities, this volume deliberately foregrounded the role of predominantly Hindu trading communities in shaping Urdu terminology. For example, in his introduction Rahman wrote "the terminology of the profession of trade and commerce were lodged in the Urdu language thanks to Hindu traders and shopkeepers and they have such a deep connection to business issues, that not just in northern India but in every corner of *Hindustān* where Marwari traders have gone [they have had an influence]… and they have established influence beyond India too."[667]

While there were few illustrations accompanying the shop-keeping terminology, Rahman instead provided frequent examples of how the terms could be used in everyday sentences. Much of this sub-section could be read as presenting the materials, tools, and terms of an urban bazaar as the arena for everyday Urdu-mediated commerce. Underlining the practical utility of the dictionary, Rahman insisted that he had included shop-keeping terms "even though it is not a

[664]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, ii.
[665]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald sovum*, iii.
[666] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, iii.
[667] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, i.

special (*khās*) profession" since this volume is meant to demonstrate "those terms in these professions which are part of the Urdu language [and] are commonly spoken and understood."[668]

The importance of a Persian-influenced Muslim princely past to an Urdu commercial economy was brought home in Rahman's expansive entry on the Urdu term '*dām*', which was originally a term for a type of copper coin in the Mughal Empire that eventually came to mean 'price'. The entry on '*dām*' was one of the longest entries in the entire glossary series and encompassed exemplary sentences and everyday idioms.[669] Rahman historically and lexically mapped the transformation of this early modern Indo-Persian term for a type of coin, *dām*, into a term used for pricing goods in the modern era. Rahman first described the changing meaning of the term '*dām*' since "in the Muslim era [i.e. the Mughal era] this was the name for a type of copper coin." Then Rahman detailed how during the initial phase of the "*angreezī raj*" the weight of a '*pāī dām*' came to signify a precise weight which approximated to one English *sikkah*, even though the copper coin *pāī dām* itself became obsolete.[670] Rahman narrated how as British control expanded across the subcontinent, the term '*dām*' continued to be used in Agra, Awadh, Punjab, and Delhi, but increasingly signified certain measured amounts, instead of referring to a coin.[671]

Rahman also provided granular detail of the changing values attached to *dām* during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, he described how during the initial phase of British rule, the weight of a '*pāī dām*' came to signify 1 *tola*-8 *māsheh*-7 *rati* which easily approximated to one English *sikkah*, even though the copper coin *dām* itself became obsolete.[672]

[668] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, iii.
[669] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, 18-19.
[670] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, 18.
[671] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, 18-19.
[672] Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, 18.

Then Rahman told how as the British colonial era advanced, the term '*dām*' continued to be used in Agra, Awadh, Punjab, and Delhi, but primarily conjoined to other words to signify certain measurements, such as '*dumṛi dām*.' Initially, Rahman described how this term *dumṛi dām* meant 100 units and then 24 of the *koṛiyoṅ* coin.[673] Since this type of coin gradually fell into disuse, Rahman reported that the term *dumṛi dām* itself was beginning to fade in the present as a signifier of a precise measurement of 24. However, Rahman recorded how the term was still used in Urdu literature and everyday exchanges. To prove this point, he provided a series of idiomatic proverbs which used the term '*dām*,' along with examples of how the term '*dām*' could be employed in everyday commercial settings. He included the exemplary sentence: "These days in the bazaar the price (*dām*) of everything is increasing. When the *dām* goes down, then buy supplies."[674]

In this entry in *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*, Zafarul Rahman traced how a term from the Mughal era developed into a commonly-used Urdu commercial terms. Instead of pitching Urdu professional terminology as a replacement for English in the future, Rahman carefully traced how a widely used Urdu professional term gradually developed in conjunction with early modern Persian and English during the colonial era. Rather than a project of future replacement of English, Rahman underlined that Urdu already possessed viable commercial and professional terms. In contrast to Rahman's conceptualization of Urdu-mediated economic activity as existing alongside English across the Indian subcontinent, the head of the *Anjuman*, Abdul Haq, located the decline of indigenous professional terms in relation to the expansion of the English language, with the hope that Urdu could replace English in the future. Rahman's framing of Urdu

[673]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, 18-19.
[674]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald haftam*, 19.

as an accessible business vernacular in this volume of commercial terms sat uneasily between competing pressures on Urdu as a national language and a broad-based cosmopolitan language.

Women Consumers and Producers of Urdu Professional Terms:

Building on the initial focus on preserving traditional Indo-Muslim crafts for elite consumers, the second volume of the *Glossary of Professional Terms*, which was completed in March 1940, dealt with the preparation of garments (*tīyārī libās*) and the decoration, beautification, and embellishment of garments (*tazein libās*.)[675]

In his introduction to Volume Two on embroidery and textiles, Rahman celebrated those small-scale textile activities that continued to thrive thanks to Muslim women. Volume Two encompassed sub-sections on *pārcheh bānī* (weaving or cloth making), *pārcheh douzī* (embroidery of cloth), *zar bānī* (making gold threads), *zar douzī* (embroidery with gold thread), *charm sāzī* (leather work), and *pāpush douzī* (embroidery of shoe wear.)[676] According to Rahman, "In the Muslim era in *Hindustan*, the art of *pārcheh bānī* [weaving] and *tazein libās* [decorating garments] had arrived at a level of perfection that was known to all the world. There were hundreds of words of this art that were part of our language. The decline of the industry of weaving began under English rule (a*ngreezī rāj*) and along with this, a part of our language was also damaged [and] hundreds of words became obsolete."[677] He then narrated the process by which some Indo-Muslim small-scale textile crafts had survived. According to Rahman, "some [of *pārcheh bānī* weaving terminology] by becoming local has survived, some [terms] were destroyed by a foreign language, and a fair amount have remained thanks in general to the industries and handcrafts of women and

[675]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, i and iv.
[676]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, i.
[677]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, i.

homemakers- these [terms] are all very valuable for our national language and literature (*mulkī zabān aur adab*.)"[678] Once again, Rahman delineated an Urdu-mediated economy that was distinct from the economic impact of the '*angrezī rāj*.' Furthermore, "From the perspective of culture (*tamaddun*), *zar bānī* embroidery also was hurt [by British economic policies] … but women's interest in golden threaded *zarī* has saved this [art] to some extent …"[679]

Zafarul Rahman moved uneasily between a celebration of Urdu as a nascent 'national language (*quomī zabān*) and a bulwark against 'national and political revolutions' in this volume. While not explicitly repudiating national projects, Rahman instead conceptualized Urdu as a pan-South Asian shared and common language that was both local and global. Rahman anticipated that this professional dictionary series would encourage scholars to compile more collections of professional terminology so that "a glossary of such a comprehensive collection [of terms] could be prepared for skilled craftsmen and artisans of all of India (*Hindustān*) which will be a valuable masterpiece for the country's common language (*mulk ki mushtarkeh zabān*)."[680]

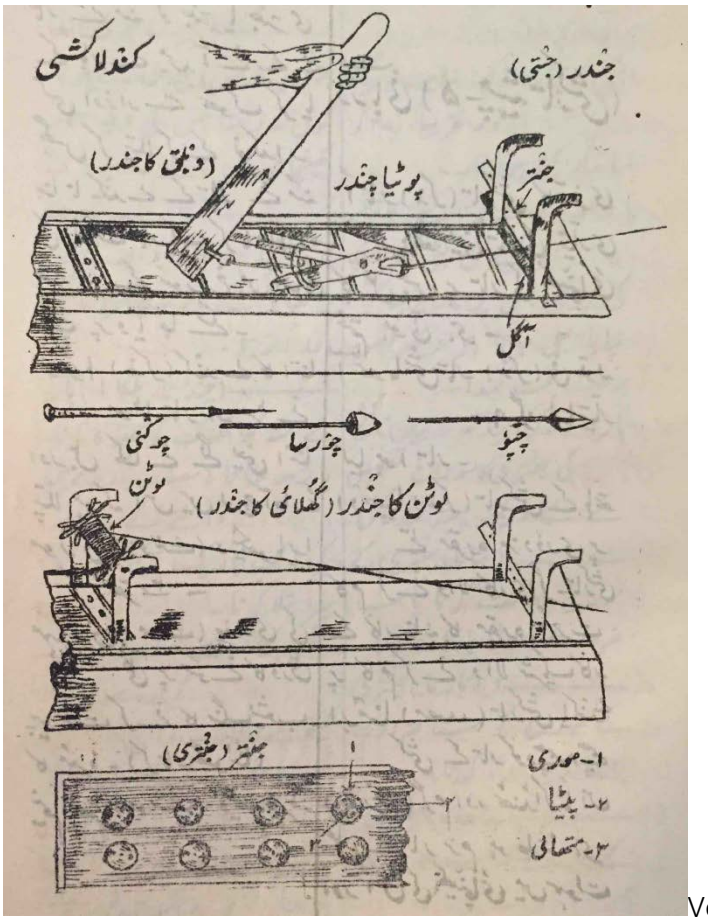
While in Volume One, Zafarul Rahman complained of the challenges of interacting with non-elite workers, in Volume Two, he was more appreciative in his assessment of skilled garments' craft communities. "Skilled craftsmen and artisans are the life (*jān*) of culture (*tamaddun*). In their industrial craft (s*ana'tī*) language, there is such a wondrous ease and in their temperament (*mizāj*) there is great openness and friendliness [and] there is space for the words of every language [.] In the expression of their *Mānī*-like consciences, skilled craftsmen give voice to terms and fashion new words and make them their own, which slowly and gradually are included

[678]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, i.
[679]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, iii.
[680]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, ii-iii.

in literature ..."[681] Much like Abdul Haq's argument that commercial life and science enriched Urdu literature, Rahman here emphasized that craft communities enriched the Urdu language.

Rahman collected evidence for an arena of Urdu-mediated textile skill alongside automated machines and suggested that robust small-scale technologies undergirded Urdu commercial terms and economic life. This documentation of different kinds of technologies was illustrated in a section on "the Embellishment of Clothes (*tazein libās*)" in Volume Two that was situated between the dueling impulses to commemorate a lost past and record a vibrant present.[682] Rahman documented the scale of Urdu-mediated artisanal activity from the individual artisan to hand-operated machines and on to a small factory. This attention to scale was particularly evident in the section on *zarī* embroidery. Rahman organized the section on *zarī* embroidery around the technical terminology of particular artisanal skills (*sāzi*) that were component steps of *zarī* embroidery preparation. Each skill-based *sāzi* subsection was centered on a detailed sketched illustration of the tools and manual techniques of this aspect of *zarī* work. For example, Rahman provided a page-length illustration of hand-operated small machines for producing thread for *kundlā kushī* embroidery.[683] The illustrated page both demonstrated how the machines were operated by hand and noted the Urdu terms for the various components of the simple machines.

[681]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, ii.
[682]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 164.
[683]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 181.



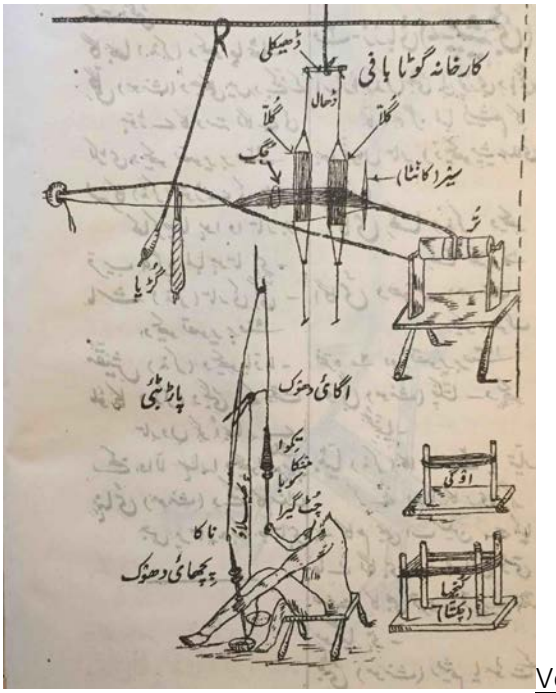
Volume Two, Page 181

This illustration was preceded by six pages detailing the terms and processes of the professional craft of *kundlā kushī* embroidery.[684] In contrast to many other sub-sections throughout the dictionary series, in which Rahman often collected and summarized as wide a range of professional and technical terminology as possible, for *zarī* embroidery, Rahman selected few terms but described them in rich detail and organized the terminology around specific manual activities, such as listing the constituent parts of the hand-operated machine for thread production. This was exemplified by Rahman's definition of the machine *jundar* for producing a type of thread that was commonly used *zarī* embroidery. He began, "The Persian word *yandaral* began to be

[684]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 175-180.

pronounced as *jundar* in Urdu [- it is] a type of tool for pulling together the thick thread of silver, gold or *kundlā* into a circle."[685]

After describing the hand-operated machines used for various stages of *zari* embroidery, Rahman expanded the scale from the individual-operated machine to the space of the workshop. In the sub-section for *pesheh goṭā sāzī*, which is the profession of embroidering the edges of clothing, Rahman provided a page-length illustration of the "workshop of edge-making" that depicted an artisan operating the elaborate machine for doing embroidered edge work.[686] Combining the technical terms for the various parts of the elaborate machine along with the illustrations of the machines in action, Rahman made the case for Urdu as a highly technical language for small-scale workshops.



Volume Two, Page 194

[685]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 177.
[686]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 194.

Accompanying this detailed illustration of a small-time workshop, Rahman provided an expansive entry on the artistic skill of '*goṭā*' (embroidered edges) with poetry and examples of how modern Urdu-speakers used the term. In the definition, he emphasized the importance of '*goṭā*' to "the beautification of the edges of the clothes of women."[687] Rahman chose a poetic couplet about '*goṭā*' that emphasized the technical skill of the art: "What [extraordinary] a tool (*sāz*) of inlaid jewelry and what [amazing] jewelry are in the side of the shop of *goṭā*."[688] The exemplary sentences demonstrated the everyday use of the term '*goṭā*' from *sāṛī* purchasing to wedding preparation.[689] Across these illustrations and terminological entries, Rahman gradually expanded the scale of an Urdu-mediated economy from specific individual designs to hand-operated machines and finally to the space of small workshops.

In the *Glossary of Professional Terminology*, Rahman acknowledged the ways in which certain automated machines were replacing some artisanal crafts since "now look how machines have started running [and] therefore this local (*desi*) industry [*zarī* embroidery] is also very closed to being finished off."[690] Along with this narrative of decline, Rahman also demonstrating the depth of technical Urdu terms in skilled textile crafts that were still in demand.

Jewelry-Making:

In the fourth installment of the dictionary series, which was published in September 1941, Rahman expanded his documentation of women's role as producers and consumers in Urdu-mediated commerce. This fourth volume dealt with *Fanoon Latīfeh* (Fine Arts), including the

[687]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 204.
[688]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 204.
[689]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 204.
[690]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald dovum*, 193.

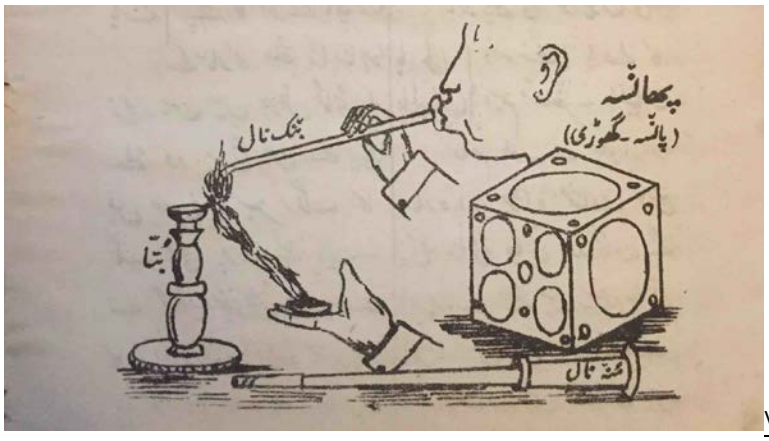
preparation of jewelry.[691] While the focus on jewelry might indicate a return to the series' initial focus on princely crafts, instead this fourth volume used the Indo-Muslim aristocratic origins of much Urdu jewelry production to point towards the global linguistic ties of Urdu terminology.

Urdu was seen as a language of poetry in the early twentieth century, which the *Anjuman* was attempting to transform from a poetic medium into a language of scientific knowledge. However, in contrast to this standard poetry-to-science chronology, in the professional dictionary series, Maulvi Abdul Haq reversed these claims to argue that Urdu is a language of poetry now because the *bazaar* and commerce had enriched Urdu in the early modern era which had allowed it to become a language of poetry by the early twentieth century. In particular, he insisted that Urdu literature had richly benefitted from words drawn from professional and artisan communities. This defensive posture on the part of Abdul Haq to assert Urdu's deep commerce-related credentials was presumably shaped by accusations that Urdu was not 'modern' enough and too poetic for commerce and modern science.

Using examples of terms from masonry, carpentry, small shopkeepers, and mathematicians, which were incorporated into poetry and Urdu idioms, Maulvi Abdul Haq observed that "like this there are many words and idioms which thanks to *peshehwarān* have arrived in our literature *(adab.)*"[692] Instead of presenting Urdu as a literary and poetic language in search of scientific and commercial terms, Abdul Haq reversed the relationship between poetry and science and instead framed Urdu poetry as the result of pre-existing commercial and professional developments. This

[691]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram,* ii.
[692]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald āwul,* 2.

was supported by the illustrations throughout Volume Four on jewelry-making, which showcased artisanal skills that shaped Urdu terminology.



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While Rahman provided only a short introduction to this fourth volume, it crystallized many of the specific goals and ambitions of the *Anjuman* for Urdu as uniquely suited for modern economic work due to its transnational linguistic ties. In Rahman's own words, "In the section on beautification (*sanghār*), the chapter on the preparation of jewelry (*tīyārī zīwar*) is particularly worthy of attention [-] In it, words from Hindi, Persian, and other famous languages, which having been incorporated [into Urdu] have become commonly understood [are described-] so that in nearly every place [these words] are spoken and understood in our language [-] To explain these terms, the poetry of well-established Indian poets is paired [with the terms] and documented proverbs have been copied down when appropriate."[693] In Rahman's assessment, Urdu's professional terms derive their potency and force due to this mixing of the local (Hindi), wider Islamicate (Persian), and other global languages.

[693]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, ii.

The second sub-section of the chapter on the Preparation of Jewelry was *Pesheh Sunārī (zazgirī)*, which is the profession of making jewelry. A detailed analysis of this sub-section illustrates how the *Anjuman* drew together prose and poetry, past and future, urban women and princely patrons in imagining an Urdu-mediated economy. This sub-section on the professional terminology of making jewelry was the only sub-section in the entire *Glossary of Professional Terminology* that incorporated couplets from Urdu poetry to define professional terms. In addition to poetry, Rahman used widely known idioms to help explain many of the terms in this sub-section. Rahman did not understand Urdu as primarily a literary and poetic language in search of scientific and commercial terms. Instead, reversing common assumptions about Urdu, he framed Urdu poetry as benefitting from commercial and professional innovations.

In Rahman's assessment, the mixing of the local (Hindi) with wider Islamicate languages gave Urdu its potency and force across a wide geographic space. This was evoked by the definition of the term '*Arsī*', which is a type of ring that includes a small mirror.[694] According to Rahman, this mirrored ring "now it has become obsolete, but in a few places, such as *qasbehs* that are scattered from place to place, the memory of this term barely remains."[695] While this Urdu term '*Arsī*' for a forgotten style of mirrored ring might seem distant from the practical concerns of a mid-twentieth century professional dictionary, Rahman provided a riddle with the dictionary definition, which illustrated the trans-national reach of Urdu:

[694]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, 12.
[695]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, 12.

"In the Persian dialect, it is called a mirror [*Fārsī bolī A'ī'nah*]

In Turkish the term '*pāī'nah'* is found [*Turkī ḍhunḍī pāī'nah*]

In Indian dialects the term *Arsī* comes [*Hindī boloṅ Arsī Aeh*]

Khusro may have said it, but no one knows."[696]

Throughout the remainder of the section Rahman used varies entries to expound on the lexical connections of Urdu jewelry-related terminology. While frequently acknowledging the Persian and Hindi origins of certain names of Urdu jewelry, Rahman did not ignore English-influenced jewelry terminology. For example, he included the "*bazār* pronunciation" of the English term 'earing.'[697] He also located certain types of jewelry (and their terminology) squarely within *Hindustān*. For example, he described *bālīyāṅ*, which is a small type of earring, as "the tradition of this jewelry is only in Hindustan."[698]

Rahman claimed that Urdu jewelry terminology originated in the commercial and princely fusion of early modern Indo-Muslim capital cities. This was illustrated in an entry on "*jahāngīrī*," which is a type of bangle worn on the wrist that was also called *parī band*. The name clearly referenced the Mughal emperor Jahangir. Rahman defined the term as "in Urdu *parī band* is called *jahāngīrīyāṅ* and it is said to be the invention of Queen Noor Jahan [the Mughal emperor Jahangir's most famous consort.]"[699] Rahman further explained this royal invention with a couplet: "On her forearm, the world of *Jahāngīr* is unique – This letter is a universe, the fragrance around her is like the circle of the moon."[700] Rahman continued with the narrative of the 'inventions'

[696]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, 12
[697]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, 14.
[698]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, 15-16.
[699]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, 27.
[700]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, 27-28.

attributed to Noor Jahan in the Mughal court. In the definition for a type of bracelet, Rahman claimed that "it is said that it is the invention of Queen Noor Jahan."[701]

Urdu Criminal Terminology in the Deccan:

In the eighth and final installment of the *Glossary of Professional Terminology* in February 1944, Zafarul Rahman extended the ambit of Urdu professional terms to include soldiery, traditional sports, homemaker games, and criminal professions in the Deccan.[702] Although this segment on Urdu criminal terminology was the last published volume of *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*, its framing reveals the changing geographic contours of the *Anjuman*'s Urdu-mediated economy.

Before 1938, Abdul Haq conceptualized the glossary series as a contribution to the Hyderabad State, using Hyderabad as a base for the *Anjuman* from which to connect with Urdu-speakers in other princely centers and commercial hubs across the Indian subcontinent. In 1938, in response to the intensification of the Hindi-Urdu conflict in North India, Abdul Haq moved the *Anjuman* from the Deccan to Delhi in order to more effectively intervene in contentious debates over the future national language of India. Zafarul Rahman did not follow Abdul Haq to Delhi and remained in Hyderabad. The first volume of the professional dictionary series was published from Delhi in the following year in 1939. Ultimately, the full eight volumes of this Urdu professional dictionary series were steadily published until 1944. However, following the Partition of India in 1947, Abdul Haq moved the *Anjuman* to Karachi. Once again, Zafarul Rahman remained in Hyderabad.

[701]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald chahāram*, 31-32.
[702]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, i.

Across these shifts, Abdul Haq attempted to repackage *The Glossary of Professional Terms* for changing political goals. Given that much of the initial work on the series was undertaken in the 1920s and early 1930s when the *Anjuman* was based in the Hyderabad State, the contours and goals of the glossary series shifted repeatedly from the Deccan-based Hyderabad State, to late colonial Delhi, and to an anticipated Muslim nation. Thus, differences between the introductions to the volumes, which were written in the early 1940s, and the content of the series, illustrates tensions over where an Urdu-mediated economy was (or should) be located.

What makes the final volume on Urdu criminal terms particularly distinctive was the geographic focus on terms from *dakhinī* Urdu and Telugu, the two major languages of the princely Hyderabad State. At the beginning of this final volume, Rahman described how he became acquainted with Urdu terminology related to criminal activity. During his service in the office of the Inspector of Schools in Delhi District, his responsibilities included distributing the monthly stipends and recording the statements of prisoners in the district's reformatory school.[703] There he learned about criminal professions since "when they would come to get their stipends, then they would also tell their own life stories and also include the situation of others.[704] While Rahman considered some of the criminal terms inappropriate, he found many highly relevant for this dictionary series.[705] Although Rahman flagged his work in Delhi as providing the knowledge of criminal terminology, most of the crime-related terms were drawn from the Deccan where he lived and worked from the 1920s onwards.

[703]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, ii-iii.
[704]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, iii.
[705]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, iii.

While there are no illustrations in this sub-section, the terms and geographic references point towards an Urdu-mediated criminal economy in the Deccan. Rahman described the very first term in this criminal sub-section '*Aleh bhāī*' as "the local pronunciation of the phrase '*Areh bhāī*' of Dakhini criminals."[706] Two pages later, Rahman underlined this focus with a term drawn from *dakhinī* Urdu and Telugu, '*ākkāsī baṛār*', which he defined as "the term of Dakhinī criminals meaning the thunder which happens at the time they are leaving, which is known to be a powerful augury and for three days they do not leave their lodging."[707] On the following page, Rahman expanded on his exposition of Deccan-related criminal terminology with four terms drawn from *dakhinī* Urdu and one from Telugu.[708] Rahman described the term '*āukīṛā*' as "the term of Deccani criminals that means to be introduced as a servant to a wealthy man" (presumably in order to rob him.)[709] Rahman also provided the term for food which is hastily eaten by criminals on the run.[710]

While Rahman did expand his gaze to criminal terms in other parts of India, this focus on the Deccan remained constant throughout this criminal section of the glossary. On the final page, Rahman inserted the term '*nivālā*' which was "the term of Deccani criminals meaning turban (*pagṛī.)"*[711] Thus, in the final installment of his dictionary series, Zafarul Rahman wove together Urdu criminal terms and experiences from Delhi and the Deccan to make a case for the language's existing trans-regional economic reach from Hyderabad to North India.

The different contributions of Maulvi Abdul Haq, the leader of the *Anjuman*, and Zafarul Rahman, the author, to *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*, reveal the contending goals at

[706]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, 166.
[707]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, 168.
[708]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, 169.
[709]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, 169.
[710]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, 169.
[711]Rahman, *Farhang Istilāhāt-i Peshehwarāṅ: Jald hashtam*, 207.

the heart of this Urdu economics project. Abdul Haq hoped that Urdu could replace English (and displace Hindi) in a future national set-up in India (and later in Pakistan.) In contrast, Zafarul Rahman anticipated a future for Urdu commercial and professional terms alongside English and within a pan-South Asian framework that was loosely centered in different Indo-Muslim cities across the subcontinent, including Hyderabad and Delhi. For Rahman, an Urdu-mediated economy would serve as a barrier to 'national and political revolutions' and not as the harbinger of a nation-state. While both scholars conceptualized an Urdu-mediated economy on an all-India scale, this anticipated vernacular economy was centered on distinct political imaginaries.

III. National Urdu Economics and Commercial Failure, 1946-1952

After the eight volumes of *The Glossary of Professional Terminology*, the *Anjuman*'s next major economics-focused publication series was its monthly economics magazine, *Ma'āshīyāt*, which was inaugurated in January 1946 in Delhi. Along with the economics magazine, the Delhi-based *Anjuman* founded an economics-focused publishing house, *Idarah Ma'āshīyāt*, to publish Urdu books on economics. This economics publishing house printed Urdu books including *The Population of India* by Anwar Iqbal Qureshi and *The Economic Problems of India*.[712] In May 1947, the *Anjuman* announced that it was now focusing its energies on publishing pamphlets in "an easy and accessible language" about national and international economic issues.[713] Although the 1947 Partition interrupted these accessible economics publications, they indicate the direction of the association's ambitions on the eve of independence.

[712] *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.1 (January 1946) and *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.3 (March 1946.)
[713] *Ma'āshīyāt* 2.5 (May 1947.)

The monthly economics magazine *Ma'āshīyāt* was advertised as "the monthly economics journal (*ma'āshī risālah*) of the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*," which was then based in Delhi. Tufail Ahmed Khan served as the editor until Partition.[714] In an advertisement for the economics magazine in the first issue in January 1946, the *Anjuman* asserted that *Ma'āshīyāt* had no political affiliation and had reached out to Economics' teachers and article-writers across India to submit articles to the magazine.[715]

In the pages of *Ma'āshīyāt* from January 1946 to June 1947, the *Anjuman* advanced egalitarian economic reforms and encouraged state economic planning within the framework of late colonial *Hindustān*. For example, in the February 1946 issue, the *Anjuman* included the article "The Buying and Selling of Agricultural Products in Hindustān" under the "Contemporary Problems of Hindustān" series.[716]The magazine included charts on India's commercial exports.[717] The magazine also presented extensive information on the budgets and economic undertakings of late colonial Indian provinces.[718] Along with this Indian national focus, there was a steady critique of capitalism and support for state-directed economic activity. For example, this February 1946 issue showcased articles "Along with the Atom Bomb, Bring an End to Free Competition" and "Government Oversight of Industry and Business."[719] Also, from the April 1946, the *Anjuman* included lists of Urdu "economics terminology. This aimed at both popularizing Urdu economics terms and publicizing the association's ongoing glossary series.[720] The *Anjuman*'s economic monthly conjoined critique of British economic exploitation with robust support for state planning.

[714] *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.1 (January 1946) and *Ma'āshīyāt* 2.7 (July 1947.)
[715] *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.1 (January 1946.)
[716] *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.2 (February 1946.)
[717] *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.4 (April 1946.)
[718] *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.4 (April 1946.)
[719] *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.2 (February 1946.)
[720] *Ma'āshīyāt* 1.4 (April 1946.)

The international focus of *Ma'āshīyāt* was conjoined to local economic issues in India. For example, the February 1947 issue dealt with both "Bengal and the Zamīndārī System" and "Industrial Progress in Central Asian Muslim Republics."[721] As the magazine progressed, there was an increasing focus on international Muslim comparisons, particularly to Soviet Muslim republics.[722] This culminated in a June 1947 article titled "American Capitalism: A Great Threat for the Islamic World."[723]

However, the *Anjuman*'s ever-expanding activities in Delhi were brought to an abrupt halt in late 1947 by the conjoined crises of Partition and the decline of the Hyderabad State. After July 1947, *Ma'āshīyāt* magazine ceased publication in Delhi along with the *Anjuman*'s other magazine and book publications. During post-Partition violence in Delhi, the *Anjuman*'s central offices and library were ransacked and partially destroyed and its scholars fled to Indo-Muslim princely cities across India, including Rampur, Hyderabad, and Bhopal, as well as to Karachi for safety.

In response to Partition in 1947 and the *Anjuman*'s economic and institutional collapse in Delhi, Abdul Haq spent the following year moving between Pakistan and India in the attempt to reconstitute the former subcontinent-wide *Anjuman*- and its Urdu science projects- in both of the new nation-states. Abdul Haq initially envisioned himself as a travelling ambassador for Urdu between India and Pakistan with "a leg in each country" since, according to his own admission, "I want to work in both places, rather even farther than this in Afghanistan, Iran, China, Arabia,

[721] *Ma'āshīyāt* 2.2 (February 1947.)
[722] *Ma'āshīyāt* 2.5 (May 1947.)
[723] *Ma'āshīyāt* 2.6 (June 1947.)

Indonesia, etc."[724] In many ways, more than fueling a national retreat for Urdu, Partition seems to have initially fed Abdul Haq's increasingly mobile and global ambitions for the language.

This mobile turn, may have also been born out of necessity given the collapse of the *Anjuman*'s princely patron, the *nizām* of Hyderabad. In September 1948, a little over a year after the Partition of Britain's Indian empire, independent India used military force to incorporate the Hyderabad State, the subcontinent's largest princely state, and overthrow the *nizām*. However, the *Anjuman*'s political and economic relationship with the Hyderabad princely state had already begun to fray in the years before Partition due to the Hyderabad government's dissatisfaction with Abdul Haq's political activities in Delhi and failure to publish enough Urdu scientific texts, including economics and commercial magazines and guides. In 1946, the *nizām*'s government announced a financial audit of the *Anjuman*, which sparked a furious backlash from Abdul Haq. This in turn led to the publication of a series of pamphlets, written by Haji Ahmed Khan, accusing the *Anjuman* of squandering the *nizām*'s largess, neglecting important research on Urdu's history in the Deccan, and failing to produce adequate scientific or technical materials.[725] This pamphlet war is illustrative of the financial and ideological problems that plagued the *Anjuman*'s Urdu science projects in the 1940s, including its leading economics publication, *Ma'āshīyāt* magazine.

The intensity of the conflict between the *nizām*'s government and Abdul Haq from 1946 to 1948 is illustrated by Abdul Haq's accusation that the *nizām* had become "the enemy of Urdu", which Khan asserted was totally inappropriate for the "pure intellectual and literary goals" of an institution like the *Anjuman*.[726] Khan instead defended the rights of the Hyderabad Government to

[724] Maulvi Abdul Haq, "Taqsīm-i Hind ke fasādāt aur Anjuman ki hijrat," *Panjāh Sāleh Tarikh-i Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, Syed Hashmi Faridabadi (Karachi: *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, 1987), 204.
[725] Haji Ahmed Khan, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ke masleh par roznāmah sahīfeh ke idāriyeh* (Bombay: Ajmal Press Printers Building, 1947), 2-4 and 11.
[726] Khan, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ke masleh par*,1

investigate the finances of an institution it had funded and claimed to represent the scholarly and educated classes of Hyderabad.[727]Evidently, this war of words spread through Urdu newspapers across India with Muslim League politicians, the provincial government of Bengal, and even the interim government of India getting entangled.[728] This pamphlet war reveals the unravelling of the alliance between *ghair mulkī* Urdu educationists, *dakhinī* Urdu-scholars, and Marathi-speakers, which Abdul Haq had built in Aurangabad from 1913 to 1938 and was discussed in Chapter II.

The *nizām*'s government established an investigative committee, under Haji Ahmad Khan's leadership, to financially audit the *Anjuman* in response to a swelling tide of complaints lodged against Abdul Haq by Urdu scholars of Hyderabad.[729] Running through these pamphlets was a critical assessment of the failings of the *Anjuman*'s science projects and of its limited success in expanding the geographic boundaries of Urdu.[730] For example, quoting an article in a 1943 issue of the periodical *Vaqt* (*Time*), Khan unfavorably compared the *Anjuman*'s Urdu science production to that of *Jamia Millia Islamia* in Delhi.[731] The author of the quoted article noted that *Jamia Millia Islamia* successfully ushered a new cohort of scholars into the field and engaged a wide audience with Urdu, while the *Anjuman* had failed to produce anything worth mentioning.[732] Khan also lambasted the *Anjuman* for not completing its science terminology projects and mocked the low scientific quality of *Science* magazine.[733] Making a comparative analysis of Osmania University's records and the *Anjuman*'s annual reports from 1937 and 1938, Khan asserted that less than half of the forty books the organization claimed to have produced for Osmania University even dealt

[727] Khan, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ke masleh par*, 1-2.
[728] Haji Ahmad Khan, *Anjuman Taraqqī-yi Urdu aur Hokumat-i HyderAbād* (Bombay: Ajmal Press Printers Building, 1947), 2; Khan, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ke masleh par*, 2.
[729] Khan, *Anjuman Taraqqī-yi Urdu aur Hokumat-i HyderAbād*, 1-2.
[730] Khan, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ke masleh par*, 4.
[731] Khan, *Anjuman Taraqqī-yi Urdu aur Hokumat-i HyderAbād*, 9.
[732] Khan, *Anjuman Taraqqī-yi Urdu aur Hokumat-i HyderAbād*, 9-10.
[733] Khan, *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu ke masleh par*, 3.

with "modern science and skills" and that only five of the forty texts could legitimately be claimed as new publications.[734]

Although Haji Ahmad Khan did not specifically criticize the *Anjuman*'s economics-related publications, Maulvi Abdul Haq's letter reveal that the commercial publications were part of the growing tensions between the *Anjuman* and Hyderabad's government. For example, as early as June 1942, Abdul Haq wrote to Zafarul Rahman about the need to quickly proofread and publish the fourth and fifth volumes of the previously mentioned *Glossary of Professional Terminology* in order to help Abdul Haq meet the Hyderabad government's demand that the *Anjuman* publish twenty books a year. The letter suggests that the *Anjuman* struggled to meet this annual publication quota and was in danger of losing its funding.[735] Again in November 1942, Abdul Haq confided in Rahman that he was under intense pressure to publish more books that year to meet the *Anjuman*'s annual quota. Based on Abdul Haq's letters, by September 1944 these tensions over funding and publication quotas had blossomed into full-fledged political fight in the elite circles of the Hyderabad princely government over the *Anjuman*.[736] In August 1946, the head of the *Anjuman* complained about the political maelstrom over the *Anjuman*'s future in Hyderabad. In particular, Abdul Haq bemoaned that "the nobles there [in Hyderabad] are always creating fights in the matter of the *Anjuman* to the extent that there is no way to unravel [their disagreements.] For those people, the *Anjuman* can only be a child of Hyderabad.[737]

Beyond these accusations of financial mismanagement and the exclusion of Hyderabadis from the *Anjuman*, the larger ideological issues underlying the acrimony between the *Anjuman*

[734] Khan, *Anjuman Taraqqī-yi Urdu aur Hokumat-i HyderAbād*, 6.
[735] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, 63-64.
[736] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, 71.
[737] *Khatoot-i Abdul Haq*, 75.

and its princely patron in 1947 are not specified in this pamphlet war. However, given the Hyderabad State's increasingly desperate attempts to maintain independence within the territories of newly independent India and Abdul Haq's efforts to expand the *Anjuman*'s presence in Pakistan, Abdul Haq's transnational projects could have become unpalatable for the Hyderabad State.[738]

In the wake of the collapse of the Hyderabad State in September 1948 and escalating tensions between the *Anjuman* and the Indian government in Delhi, Abdul Haq permanently migrated to Karachi in January 1949. Initially, it appeared that post-colonial Karachi could provide both the demand and practical means to revive and expand the *Anjuman*'s Urdu science and economics projects. In a 1953 retrospective on the *Anjuman*'s mobile history, Syed Hashmi Faridabadi noted that "coming to Pakistan, the glossaries of geography, astronomy, chemistry, and 'banking' were actually published" whose "process of printing was started in India."[739] In addition to bringing a large segment of the *Anjuman*'s manuscripts and publishing catalog to Karachi, Abdul Haq also transplanted the *Anjuman*'s decades-old Urdu medium science magazine *Science*, which had been published in Hyderabad since 1927, in Karachi, along with the *Anjuman*'s recently launched Urdu economics journal *Ma'āshīyāt (Economics*).[740]

Although *Ma'āshīyāt* magazine moved from India to Pakistan, its focus on national economics and modern industry stayed constant across this migration. In fact, in its final pre-Partition issue in Delhi in July 1947, *Ma'āshīyāt* began to switch its focus from India to Pakistan.

[738] Khan, *Anjuman Taraqqī-yi Urdu aur Hokumat-i HyderAbād*, 19.
[739] Syed Hashmi Faridabadi, *Panjāh Sāleh Tarikh-i Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* (Karachi: *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, 1987), 257.
[740] Faridabadi, *Panjāh Sāleh Tarikh-i Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, 259-260.

This was highlighted by two articles at the beginning of this July issue titled "The Foundational Challenges of the Pakistani Economy" and The Economic (Central) Planning of Pakistan."[741]

The Pakistani national focus of the recently relocated economics magazine was illustrated by the contours of the January 1952 issue which showcased articles on Pakistan's sea trade, Pakistan's millet crop, and a summary of economic developments in Pakistan in 1951, according to Muhammad Ahmed Sabzwari, the new editor of *Ma'āshīyāt*.[742] This focus continued with articles in subsequent issues on "The Economic Relationship between the Center and Provinces in Pakistan," on the budget in Eastern Bengal for the year 1952-1953, and on the annual report of the National Bank of Pakistan.[743] There was a steady focus on the National Bank of Pakistan, including October 1952 articles on the speech of the Governor of the National Bank of Pakistan.[744]Along with this focus on Pakistan's national economy, there was a stream of articles on comparative Muslim societies, including Saudi Arabia and on foreign trade in Indonesia.[745] This included a July 1952 article evocatively titled "Economic Glimpses of Iran" that drew attention to Iran as a fellow Muslim nation that shared many cultural, economic, and linguistic ties to Pakistan.[746]

The *Anjuman* attempted to generate more readers and revenue for *Ma'āshīyāt* economics magazine in Karachi. In October 1952, the magazine announced that it was going to produce inexpensive editions of *Ma'āshīyāt* magazine for students in Pakistan based on the request of students in Urdu College in Karachi, which Abdul Haq had founded and which was closely affiliated with the *Anjuman*. The announcement claimed that the Urdu economics magazine was

[741] *Ma'āshīyāt* 2.7 (July 1947.)
[742] *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.1 (January 1952.)
[743] *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.2 (February 1952); *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.3 (March 1952); and *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.5 (May 1952.)
[744] *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.10 (October 1952.)
[745] *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.2 (February 1952) and *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.5 (May 1952)
[746] *Ma'āshīyāt* 2.7 (July 1952.)

popular with students in Karachi.[747] This ambitious announcement claimed that an inexpensive edition of *Ma'āshīyāt* magazine would be produced for students with "the thought to make the science of economics (*i'lm-i ma'āshīyāt*) popular by means of the Urdu language …"[748]

However, these ambitions were undercut by the second collapse of the *Anjuman*'s national economics project and its finances in Pakistan. Despite the plans to encourage students to read *Ma'āshīyāt*, the magazine abruptly closed in 1952. Simultaneously, the Pakistani *Anjuman* went bankrupt in Karachi.[749] Within the space of five years from 1947 to 1952, the *Anjuman*'s efforts to produce an Urdu-medium economics magazine that was focused on national economic planning, heavy industry, and egalitarian economic reform failed commercially in both India and Pakistan.

IV. Urdu Economics in Pakistan: *The Book of Commerce*

Far from resolving the question over where an Urdu-mediated economy should be located, the 1947 Partition projected the debate into the new nation-state of Pakistan. In a speech soon after the fall of the Hyderabad State, Maulvi Abdul Haq responded to the collapse of his princely patron in Hyderabad by announcing a global future for the Urdu language, detached from nationalism's more localized concerns and constraints. Abdul Haq proclaimed that "India is happily trying to hurl Urdu out of its borders, but they cannot completely succeed in expelling [Urdu]. There are still many supporters [of Urdu] in this world. It [Urdu] will remain alive, it will advance, and it will achieve a high position, and it will become the common language not only of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but of all of Asia!"[750] This claim built on an argument Abdul Haq had long been developing, that Urdu was "a universal, world-seizing language (*a'ālamgīr*

[747] *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.10 (October 1952.)
[748] *Ma'āshīyāt* 6.10 (October 1952), 505.
[749] Toor, Saadia, *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan* (London: Pluto Press, 2011), 39.
[750] Faridabadi, *Panjāh Sāleh Tarikh-i Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu*, 230.

zabān)."[751] Yet within a few months of this global announcement, Abdul Haq permanently migrated to Karachi where he contentiously advanced Urdu as the national language of Pakistan, claiming "that neither Jinnah nor Iqbal had made Pakistan: rather, Urdu made Pakistan."[752]

These enduring national and global tensions for Urdu in Pakistan were illustrated in a 1962 publication, *The Book of Commerce [Kitāb-i Tijārat*], in Karachi. The prominent *muhājir* poet Syed Qamar Hashmi, who worked in the trade department of the international Indo-Muslim healing (*yunānī tibb*) medical company *Hamdard Laboratories*, published *The Book of Commerce*, a compilation of exemplary Urdu commercial letters. *The Book of Commerce* drew together Syed Qamar Hashmi's poetic skills and experience exporting Muslim humoral healing products across the globe. The text was aimed at students of commerce, commercial agents, and "common people."[753] Hamshi, who earlier had made a name for himself penning romantic poetry, had briefly worked as a journalist and short-story writer before finding permanent employment in the Directorate of Trade of *Hamdard*.[754] In 1962, the *Anjuman* endorsed *The Book of Commerce [Kitab-i Tijārat*], with Maulvi Abdul Haq's endorsement appearing on the first page. [755]

The 1962 *Book of Commerce* indicates the enduring projects of preserving and protecting Urdu commercial terms that began in 1939 with the *Anjuman*'s *Glossary of Professional Terminology*, but was now located within a Pakistani national space. Syed Qamar Hashmi did not

[751] "Bazm-i Urdu Calcutta ka salaana jalsa,"*Hamārī Zabān* (New Delhi, 14 Aug, 1939.)
[752] Alyssa Ayres, *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 16.
[753] Syed Ayub Ali, "Ta'āruf," *Kitāb-i Tijārat: Urdu may tijāratī marāsalat aur mufīd ma'loomāt va hidāīyāt ka majmua'h*, Syed Qamar Hashmi (Karachi: Sultan Hussain, 1962), 11; Rais Amrohavi, "Muktubīyah," *Kitāb-i Tijārat: Urdu may tijāratī marāsalat aur mufīd ma'loomāt va hidāīyāt ka majmua'h*, Syed Qamar Hashmi (Karachi: Sultan Hussain, 1962), 16.
[754] Syed Qamar Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat: Urdu may tijāratī marāsalat aur mufīd ma'loomāt va hidāīyāt ka majmua'h* (Karachi: Sultan Hussain, 1962), 7-8, 10, 21, and 114.
[755] Maulvi Abdul Haq, "Taqrīz," *Kitāb-i Tijārat: Urdu may tijāratī marāsalat aur mufīd ma'loomāt va hidāīyāt ka majmua'h*, Syed Qamar Hashmi (Karachi: Sultan Hussain, 1962), 6.

craft new Urdu commercial vocabulary in *The Book of Commerce*, but instead, he documented the already existing Urdu commercial terms that were forged at the intersection of 'modern' global commerce and 'traditional' Indo-Muslim healing in Pakistan. The introduction to *The Book of Commerce* stated "Urdu is a flexible language which has taken and can still take into her laps, like mother earth, thousands of words, phrases and idioms of different languages of the world."[756] However, at this moment, this statement claimed a Pakistani national space that was conceived as pan-Asian and facing the Indian Ocean due to the nation-state's two separate wings.

In many ways, *The Book of Commerce* fused the two contending threads of the *Anjuman*'s efforts to document an Urdu-mediated economy: the need for a national space for Urdu-mediated commercial activities and the lived reality of continuing connections between Indo-Muslim urban centers across the borders of the post-colonial subcontinent. The world of Urdu-mediated commercial exchange that was imagined in *The Book of Commerce* largely centered on Karachi with ties of trade and technology connecting Pakistan's first capital city to eastern Bengal, the interior of West Pakistan, to Saudi Arabia, and finally on to Europe. [757] This not only drew on Karachi's importance as a major Indian Ocean port, but its political status as the home of Pakistan's national government until 1959.[758] While there are model letters sent between smaller cities in East and West Pakistan, the bulk of *The Book of Commerce* involve Karachi either as place of origin, destination, or stopping point along the imagined lines of commerce connecting East and West Pakistan and the entirety of Pakistan to a wider world of trade.[759]

[756] M. Irfan Siddiqui, "Review!," *Kitāb-i Tijārat: Urdu may tijāratī marāsalat aur mufīd ma'loomāt va hidāīyāt ka majmua'h*, Syed Qamar Hashmi (Karachi: Sultan Hussain, 1962), 18.
[757] Syed Ayub Ali, "Ta'āruf," 11; Amrohavi, "Muktubīyah," 16.
[758] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 68-69.
[759] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 74-89.

Although *The Book of Commerce w*as ultimately published in 1962, Maulvi Abdul Haq penned his endorsement of the book in September 1959. Promoting this commercial guide was one of the final textual projects of his life. In his commentary on *The Book of Commerce*, Abdul Haq noted that this text brought him great joy since it disapproved the common opinion that it was difficult to write modern commercial correspondence in Urdu. Abdul Haq primarily blamed the belief that Urdu was incompatible with modern commercial exchanges due to English. "This belief is widespread that commercial correspondence is not possible in Urdu. The true cause of this is that in particular under British jurisdiction (*britānvī a'maldārī*) and after the independence of the subcontinent, the common tendency remained that our commercial companies would write correspondence in the English language ..."[760] Abdul Haq implored that "I am appealing to the commercial class that they correspond in their own language so that even the bosses of commercial companies of foreign countries are compelled to correspond in the Urdu language."[761] Resembling his introductions to *The Glossary of Professional Terms* from 1939 to 1944, Abdul Haq hoped to displace English with Urdu as a medium of global commerce.

Other *muhājir* Urdu scholars in Karachi read the commercial letters found in *The Book of Commerce* as part of a wider world of older Muslim letter-writing cultures, particularly in Persian, that Urdu was finally capable of joining from its new base in Pakistan. For example, the prominent Karachi-based Urdu critic Rais Amrohavi framed Urdu commercial letter-writing within older textual cultures of Persian and Arabic exemplary correspondence.[762] In particular, Rais Amrohavi advocated for the need for more Urdu exemplary letter-writing guides since "other than a few translated Persian books, I have not seen any original books on this subject in the Urdu

[760] Maulvi Abdul Haq, "Taqrīz," 6.
[761] Maulvi Abdul Haq, "Taqrīz," 6.
[762] Amrohavi, "Muktubīyah," 12-16.

language."[763] However, Amrohavi confidently anticipated that "in terms of the constitution, Urdu has already been accepted as the language of government in Pakistan. That time is also near when the Urdu language will also be accepted in the position of the language of business (*kārobārī zabān*.)"[764] Amrohavi concluded his introduction with the hope that Hashmi's *Book of Commerce* would be used not only by "persons of the business profession," but "that it is necessary for regular people too" and should be included in the regular curriculum of Pakistan's schools and colleges.[765]

A refrain running throughout the multiple introductions and book reviews of *The Book of Commerce* was the surprising dexterity with which Qamar Hashmi drew on his literary skills to pen artful, yet effective, Urdu letters of commerce.[766] For example, in his introduction, Syed Ayub Ali noted that Urdu *adab* [literature] was usually insulated from "the practical world" and therefore, he was "amazed" to see Qamar Hashmi, with whom he was acquainted "in the position of a poet and literati," write such a useful commercial book.[767] Syed Ayub Ali claimed that while the offices of most international corporations in Pakistan exclusively used English in commercial correspondence, written Urdu was widely used in *Hamdard Laboratories*. In particular, merchants and traditional Muslim medical experts in *Hamdard* did not forge new Urdu "technical genres," but instead Urdu had become the everyday medium of all bureaucratic, practical, and organizational work in its offices.[768] Furthermore, Syed Ayub Ali admitted that before reading *The Book of Commerce* he was of the opinion that it would be impossible to write commercial correspondence in Urdu without "having to write really long phrases and employ such kinds of

[763] Amrohavi, "Muktubīyah," 13.
[764] Amrohavi, "Muktubīyah," 15.
[765] Amrohavi, "Muktubīyah," 16.
[766] Amrohavi, "Muktubīyah," 14.
[767] Ali, "Ta'āruf," 7.
[768] Ali, "Ta'āruf," 8.

cumbersome and unfamiliar words through which the language would start to feel unfamiliar."[769] However, thanks to "the sweet seasoning that Qamar Hashmi *sāhib* established in these letters," due to his poetic experience, "the language which he employed in these letters was extremely current, clean, and relatively accessible."[770]

The trans-national presence of the *Hamdard* medical company structures the text with one of the first exemplary letters consisting of a note from *Hamdard Laboratories Pakistan* concerning its medicinal products.[771] A subsequent exemplary letter between the "Pak Eastern Medical Company," which was the fictional name which Syed Qamar Hashmi employed for *Hamdard*, and a trader in Berlin demonstrates how *Hamdard*'s own global reach matched the *Anjuman*'s ambitions for Urdu commercial exchanges. In the letter from the "Pak Eastern Medical Company" to a German trader, Hashmi presented the medicinal products of *Hamdard*, in the guise of this fictional "Pak Eastern Medical Company," as not only compatible with the humoral "national disposition [*mulkī mizāj*]" of Pakistan, but as subject to ever-growing demand in foreign markets.

Throughout the letter, Hashmi both claimed that the Pak Eastern Medical Company worked for the good of the Pakistani national economy and was a global enterprise. For example, he began by claiming that traders are actively participating in "the new construction of the nation (*mulk ki ta'mīr-i no ke liye*)" since "At this time our commerce … is being firmly established on national foundations …"[772] However, Hashmi's enthusiastic promotion of Pakistan's national economy was resolutely outward-facing. He claimed that the Pak Eastern Medical Company "is the only pharmaceutical institution in the entire subcontinent which can compete with foreign medicines

[769] Ali, "Ta'āruf," 20.
[770] Ali, "Ta'āruf," 10.
[771] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 34.
[772] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 53.

due to its own popular common medicines."[773] Expanding on this, Hashmi noted that it was a particular point of pride that "in foreign markets, the increasing daily demand for the drugs produced by our company is a clear example of our country's excellence (*mulk ki sarbalandī*.)"[774]

However, Hashmi also directed Urdu's wider Islamic heritage towards explicitly anti-Hindu themes in the commercial guide. The national space of Pakistan opened-up opportunities for some Muslim intellectuals to both decisively distance Urdu from Hindi and connect Urdu to linguistic currents in Persian and Arabic. For example, he described coining new commercial terms to replace older, more 'Hindustani' terms.[775] Hashmi supported the use of the new Urdu term '*amīnān*' for 'banker' to replace the more common Hindustani term '*rokaṛiye*' which was associated with Marwari banking networks. According to Hashmi, "the correct meaning of 'bankers' is made from the term '*rokaṛiye*,' but this term, which is connected to the Marwaris, seems unsavory to me. It is from that *Baniya* rule (*Banīya shāhī*) that we should forget [and] establish our own free commerce of our own [-] its true spirit is much closer to trust (*amānat*) and not *rokaṛ*. Our Holy Prophet also engaged in commerce … And you know that throughout all of Arabia his *amīn* (trustworthiness) was renowned. I translated bankers as '*amīnān*' from this image of trust (*amānat*) and *raqam* (amount.) If only we would make the exemplary character of our Holy Prophet the enlightened path and advance in every department of life, and then, God willing, one day our entire nation will become *amīn* (trustee or faithful.)"[776] Thus, Hashmi not only conceptualized an Urdu-mediated economy as distinctly Muslim and trans-local, but often as anti-Hindu and in opposition to Hindi terminology.

[773] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 54.
[774] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 54.
[775] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 23.
[776] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 23-24.

Along with this project of linking Urdu to a growing identification with Muslims in Pakistan, Karachi was presented as a global hub for Indo-Muslim medicine and household products. In these new relationships between Karachi and other places in Pakistan and around the globe, letters dealing with eastern Bengal presented Pakistan's eastern wing as a source of raw agricultural products, medicinal healing, and beauty products for Karachi's markets and appetites. Syed Qamar Hashmi avoided explicitly mentioning the troubled relationship between West and East Pakistan in *The Book of Commerce*, or the reality that Urdu was barely spoken in East Pakistan or much of rural West Pakistan. However, his presentation of Urdu as an accessible language of commerce for all of Pakistan, including internal trade within East Pakistan, inadvertently illustrated the deeply unequal economic, political, and cultural relationships between the two wings of Pakistan. There was no mention of Bangla, the majority language of East Pakistan, and then the second national language of Pakistan, in the pages of *The Book of Commerce*.

Throughout the letters dealing with East Pakistan, Hashmi focused on popular products from eastern Bengal, such as *tanzīb*, a fine cotton cloth produced in eastern Bengal, and agricultural products, such as *pān*, that were associated with Indo-Muslim healing.[777] Short commercial notes for East Bengal trace the sea-routes connecting Karachi to Chittagong for the exchange of products, bills of lending, and other materials between Karachi and eastern Bengal.[778] For example, Hashmi represented East Pakistan as a crucial producer of *pān* for the appetites of Urdu-speakers in Karachi. He included a missive sent from the East Pakistan-based "Rajshahi Pān House" to a *pān* seller in Karachi's Juna Market that began "Honored Sir … We are sending you one thousand Rajshahi *pān* parcels via the British India Company steamer …"[779] The letter detailed the weight,

[777] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 72-73.
[778] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 38-39.
[779] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 91.

price, and packing details of a thousand parcels of *pān* from Rajshahi Pān House to Karachi via the intriguingly named "British India Company" ships.[780] Rajshahi Pān House insisted that they had taken extra care in packing the Karachi-bound *pān* from either the impact of inclement weather or the vagaries of travel. [781] *Pān* played an important role both in Indo-Muslim 'traditional' healing and elite Urdu literary culture.

Furthermore, Hashmi included references to urban commercial infrastructure, addresses, phone numbers, and official markers to make the Urdu commercial exchange letters as realistic as possible. For example, Hashmi included a letter related to income tax that was sent by *Shāhī Markaz Tanzīb* (The Royal Beauty Center), which was located on Mughal Road in Dhaka, to the Income Tax Collector in Dhaka.[782] The letter incorporated heavily Persianized tax terminology and a chart of income reports from 1953 to 1958 in Urdu.[783] Hashmi's efforts to make the pedagogical letters as realistic as possible was exemplified by the letter from the Bogra-based Jessore Cotton Mills to its Dhaka-based agent which included the official seal (*mehr*) of the Jessore Cotton Mills in Bogra. The seal, which was written in Urdu, reinforced Hashmi's (dubious) claim that internal commercial transactions in East Pakistan could be conducted solely in Urdu.[784]

The exchange of humoral health products between Karachi and East Pakistan is brought full circle with a letter towards the end of the collection between the Karachi-based "Ta'ām Ghee Store" and the Pakistani Department of Commerce concerning the shipment of *ghee* to East Pakistan. Locating this *ghee* producer in the Lalazar neighborhood of Karachi, which was close to the dockyards, and addressing the model letter to the Pakistani Government's Shipping Controller,

[780] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 91.
[781] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 91-92.
[782] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 72.
[783] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 72-73.
[784] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 83.

Hashmi framed the letter at the intersection of Karachi's oceanic commerce and status as Pakistan's federal capital. In this commercial request, the "Ta'ām Ghee Store" urgently appealed to the Shopping Controller in Karachi for space on the next ship sailing from Karachi to Chittagong, so that they could send "for our own East Pakistani brothers, their absolute favorite *ghee*."[785] Hashmi claimed that East Pakistanis loved Karachi-produced *ghee* for its many medicinal qualities. For example, Hashmi appealed to the Shopping Controller that, "Sir, as you know, the people of East Pakistan extensively use *Ta'ām ghee* because this *ghee* is made from such select materials that are beneficial for health which have been accepted due to their own powerful and nutritional effects. This blend of Vitamin J and Vitamin D is equally popular in both branches of our country."[786] Hashmi thus grounded the national unity of Pakistan on the exchange of healthy food products between Karachi and Chittagong.

In addition to the export of *pān* and the import of healing *ghee, The Book of Commerce* also showcased a series of letters from a Dhaka-based cosmetics firm, "Bihar Cosmetics." Not only did these letters mark Dhaka as the source of beautiful cosmetics, but it framed the Urdu-speaking migrant Bihari community as possessing expertise in the preparation of cosmetics.[787] The advertisement promoted the products of Bihar Cosmetics to an Urdu-reading public in Dhaka and Karachi through the fictional story of the beautiful "Salma Bihar." Salma, who came to Dhaka from the "the Paradise of Kashmir," eventually was renamed "Salma Bihar" in the advertisement's narrative due to her consumption of the beauty products of Bihar Cosmetics Dhaka. The advertisements encouraged the residents of Dhaka to buy these beauty products if they wanted to

[785] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 97-98.
[786] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 97-98.
[787] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 57.

be as lovely as Salma.[788] Salma's transformation from Kashmiri to Bihari in the advertisement parallels the shift of the Urdu world of Dhaka from one centered on the remnants of Urdu-speaking Kashmiri princes and Mughal traders in the early twentieth century into one dominated by recently arrived Urdu-speaking Biharis to East Bengal after the 1947 Partition.

In a subsequent letter found at the end of *The Book of Commerce*, "Bihar Cosmetics" sent another advertisement to Urdu newspapers in Karachi for its newly minted product, "Cleopatra Beauty Cream." The advertisement, which was titled "The Beauty of Egypt and Beauty Cream," began by juxtaposing the age-old fame of Cleopatra's beauty which "continued for thousands of years after her death in ancient Egypt" with contemporary "modern scientific research (*jadīd sciencī tehqīqāt*)" in Dhaka which has revealed the secret of her beauty. [789] Bihar Cosmetics claimed that "now in the light of modern scientific research (*jadīd sciencī tehqīqāt ki roshnī*), this secret has been revealed that this beauty of the world (*hasīnah-yi a'ālam*) applied select mixtures of vitamins on her face and body and particularly used vitamin oils for making [her skin] soft quickly."[790] Distilling these secret vitamins and oils into its modern beauty cream, this Dhaka-based company of Bihari immigrants sent its "Cleopatra Beauty Cream" to Karachi. Hashmi thus framed Dhaka as a modern center for scientific research on ancient beauty secrets for Urdu-speaking readers and medical consumers.[791] *The Book of Commerce* illustrates both the enduring tensions between national and global ambitions for Urdu in Pakistan and how Muslim intellectuals drew on the intersection of 'traditional' Indo-Muslim professions and global commerce to promote Urdu as a connective language of commercial exchange.

[788] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 56-58.
[789] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 99-101.
[790] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 101.
[791] Hashmi, *Kitāb-i Tijārat*, 101.

V. Conclusion

The Book of Commerce, which was one of the final textual projects of Maulvi Abdul Haq's long career, illustrates the continuing tensions within the *Anjuman* between conceptualizations of Urdu as a global language or a national language, and between supporters of Urdu as an elite (*khās*) language or an *a'ām* (common) language, in early Pakistan. However, seen in contrast to the failure of the *Anjuman*'s national economics magazine, *Ma'ashīyāt*, and in connection to the older *Glossary of Professional Terminology*, this *Book of Commerce* also reveals the surprising endurance of the project to document the lived reality of small-scale Indo-Muslim commercial connections and artisanal crafts across South Asia. This expansive vein of economics-related Urdu writing in professional glossary series and commercial guides reveals debates in the 1940s and 1950s over where an Urdu-mediated economy was, or should be, located. The changing content and location of Urdu-mediated economic activity was in conversation with the *Anjuman*'s own changing economy as the organization moved from Hyderabad to Delhi and on to Karachi.

The encyclopedic efforts in these glossary series in the 1940s and 1950s to document vibrant and continuing Indo-Muslim urban artisanal cultures constituted a final effort on the part of the intellectuals in the *Anjuman* to connect a diverse array of urban spaces, professions, and bodies of knowledge within integrative Urdu *u'loom*. In turn, both *The Glossary of Professional Terminology* and *The Book of Commerce* provide an alternative Urdu urban imaginary that was grounded in commercial continuity to the dystopian and pessimistic accounts of urban social imbalance that were present in late-colonial Karachi and Dhaka in the writings of Mahmooda Rizvi and Habibur Rahman.

Conclusion

The Language and the City:

One of the Urdu language's many names, *zabān-i urdu-yi mua'llah-yi shāhjahānAbād* (language of the exalted camp of *ShāhjahānAbād*) refers to Delhi, one of capitals of the Mughal Empire, and to the claim that Urdu originated from the linguistic mélange of Delhi's early modern royal court and military camps.[792] The Urdu promotional association, the *Anjuman-i Taraqqī-yi Urdu* successfully reworked this foundational myth of Urdu's relationship to the Mughal sovereign city in order to promote provincial cities outside of North India as new 'homes' for Urdu in the twentieth century. The lives and writings of Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* on the margins of the Urdu language's North Indian heartland illustrate the need for more histories of Muslim politics in early twentieth century South Asia that link the provincial to the global in new ways.

Finding a Home for Urdu explores the history of Urdu from multiple provincial spaces, the Deccan, Eastern Bengal, and Sindh, each with its own deep history and different provincial literary culture. Despite these differences, all three areas were similar kinds of provincial spaces that shared an Indo-Persian princely past. In the cities of Aurangabad, Dhaka, and Karachi, the *Anjuman* relied upon a disparate array of charismatic individuals to build the Urdu association and its audience at the local level. The impact of these individual scholars, healers, and teachers in each of the *Anjuman*'s cities fed on older Indo-Muslim traditions of pedagogy and knowledge circulation that were centered on individual teachers and saintly lineages. From the Muslim healer, Hakim Habibur Rahman, in Dhaka, to the *Anjuman*'s young historian, Sheikh Chand, in Aurangabad, to the naturalist writer, Mahmooda Rizvi, in Karachi, and finally with the urban lexicographer, Zafarul

[792] Shamsur Rahman Faruqi and Frances Pritchett, "A Long History of Urdu Literary Culture, Parts 1 & 2," *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, Sheldon Pollock, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.)

Rahman, in Hyderabad, the *Anjuman* was successful at reaching multiple *ashraf* Muslim audiences in provincial urban centers. The *Anjuman* not only successfully tapped into patrimonial patronage networks, such as the nobles surrounding Hyderabad's *nizām*, but also renewed older understandings of Indo-Muslim knowledge communities as centered on charismatic and learned individuals.[793]

The members of the *Anjuman* successfully connected a range of cities within a wider Indo-Muslim civilizational space. From their first migration from North India to Aurangabad in 1913, the *Anjuman*'s intellectuals conceptualized cities as the central feature of Muslim politics. This model of urban Muslim politics certainly worked in the Hyderabad State where a ruling prince was opposed to democratic reforms or in an expanding Indian Ocean port city, like Karachi, or for a besieged urban elite in Dhaka. However, this provincial urban success was ultimately challenged by the pressures of nationalism and mass politics. In fact, the *Anjuman*'*s* very success with the Muslim *ashraf* was also symptomatic of wider class tensions in the first half of the twentieth century between different Muslim socio-economic communities, often glossed as *khās* (elite) and *a'ām* (common), that the association's leadership was ultimately unable to bridge. Although provincial actors in the *Anjuman* in eastern Bengal, the Deccan, and Sindh remained committed to a project of connective and integrative Urdu *u'loom* until at least 1947, Maulvi Abdul Haq and many scholars in the central *Anjuman* began working towards a pan-Indian national framework for Urdu from at least 1938, when the association's headquarters moved to Delhi.

[793]For a discussion of the interconnected role of books and scholarly persons in the circulation of knowledge in Indo-Persian textual culture in the early modern era, see Nile Green, "The Uses of Books in a Late Mughal Takkiya: Persianate Knowledge between Person and Paper," *Modern Asian Studies* 44.2 (2010.) Green argues that "knowledge was located primarily in persons, rather than in books" since books "were appendages to personal pedagogical relationships through which knowledge was transferred …" (243.) This older Indo-Persian person-centered mode of knowledge circulation informed the highly biographical and at times quixotic structure of the *Anjuman*'s provincial centers and the scientific projects they pursued in the early twentieth century.

Although Maulvi Abdul Haq eventually left India in the wake of the 1947 Partition and the fall of the Hyderabad State in 1948, Urdu was established as the national language of the new nation-state of Pakistan which the *Anjuman* initially celebrated. Despite this apparent success, once Abdul Haq permanently migrated from Delhi to Karachi in January 1949, he was confronted with the demands for local depth and defined national boundaries, which Urdu struggled to meet. The national challenges of the 'Father of Urdu' in early Pakistan resemble those experienced by contemporary Arabic-language science promoters in Egypt, who were caught both between older transnational ambitions and the growing demands of national publics and between older expectations of science popularization and new professional pressures.[794]

This concluding note will first track the contributions of the five chapters of *Finding a Home for Urdu*. Then it draws this story to a close with an assessment of the larger implications of this dissertation for scholarship on South Asia and the continuing vitality of the *Anjuman*'s transregional ties and local projects long after Maulvi Abdul Haq's death in 1961.

Chapter Summary:

Chapter One explores how *ashraf* Muslims in provincial Dhaka drew on the recent Persian literary past to make scientific claims for Urdu in the early twentieth century. Beginning the story in eastern Bengal illustrates how relationships between mobile North Indian Muslims and 'settled' provincial *ashraf* elites were crucial for the *Anjuman*'s efforts to secure a new political base for

[794]This comparison is exemplified by the career of the most influential translator of Darwin into Arabic, Ismail Mazhar, who died in 1961, one year after Abdul Haq. In her analysis of Ismail Mazhar's translation of Darwin, Marwa Elshakry argued that his career of "refined scientific popularization" ultimately ran aground as "part of the generation caught between the rise of the professional, laboratory scientist … and former science popularizers" [Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 293.] In the 1950s in Egypt, although Mazhar "hoped that translation would allow him to mediate and then ultimately bridge the worlds of the East and the West, to most Arabic readers in his time he seemed caught uncomfortably between them" (301.)

Urdu outside of North India. Chapter Two turns to the first of the *Anjuman*'s new 'homes' for Urdu in the Hyderabad State. In the Deccan, the association's mobile scholars were part of a competitive language environment in which Urdu-speaking Muslim elites fashioned contending histories of Muslim technological expertise and Urdu type. Competing understandings of the relationship of modern type to the early modern past illustrates how Muslim intellectuals in the Deccan advanced Urdu *u'loom* as an integrative space for different types of systematic knowledge.

Chapter Three and Chapter Four explore how provincial Muslim elites in two of the *Anjuman*'s regional branches on either side of the subcontinent- in Dhaka and Karachi- advanced Urdu during the medical crises, economic challenges, and political opportunities of World War II. Demographic changes, urbanization, and industrialization in Karachi and Dhaka shaped local efforts to remake both cities as new global centers for Urdu through urban healing and naturalist writing immediately before the creation of Pakistan. Finally, Chapter Five investigates the *Anjuman*'s encyclopedic attempts to document urban artisanal and small-scale commercial activities in Urdu during the transition from colonial rule to independence in Delhi and Karachi. This turn to economics as an all-encompassing genre for renovated Urdu *u'loom* illustrates the range of urban spaces, varied social classes, and fields of technical knowledge that the *Anjuman* attempted to weld together in an Indo-Muslim civilizational space.

Future Implications:

Finding a Home for Urdu examines a knowledge community of influential Muslim scholars, healers, and writers who both led distinctly local literary projects and were connected at a trans-regional scale across the Indian subcontinent. This dissertation builds on recent scholarship that advanced social and intellectual histories of South Asia from "small-scale histories of

individuals and their networks."[795] Said another way, the focus on specific individuals within a pan-South Asian knowledge community allows *Finding a Home for Urdu* to move across Urdu's own range of scales since at different times the language was national, trans-regional (if not quite transnational), and part of comparative Muslim conversations in the early twentieth century.

The archives of the institutional *Anjuman* and the private papers of its scholars across the contemporary borders of contemporary India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are not official state archives, explicitly political archives, or even professional scientific archives, but instead the putatively literary record of an Urdu promotional association. *Finding a Home for Urdu* argues for the importance of non-state vernacular archives for telling cross-border political and cultural histories in South Asia that can creatively cross the chronological divisions between the early modern, colonial, and early post-colonial eras. In turn, this dissertation argues for the importance of non-professional and vernacular literary archives in South Asia for revealing new histories of science that move beyond distinctions between professional and popular science and categories of colonial science and local knowledge.

Finding a Home for Urdu has highlighted the critical importance of bridging the early modern and modern eras to tell histories of Muslim collectives of belonging in twentieth century South Asia that are not overdetermined either by colonialism or subsequent national divisions. The *Anjuman*'s scholars made claims about Urdu, scientific modernity, and the success of elite Muslim that initially sound out of place in the early twentieth century. However, placed in the context of older Indo-Persian urban cultures in South Asia, the *Anjuman*'s scientific and civilizational discourses not only make sense, but clearly influenced the trajectories of Indian and Pakistani

[795] Anne Blackburn, *Locations of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 203.

national imaginaries. For example, both Mahmooda Rizvi in Karachi and Habibur Rahman in Dhaka drew on the stylized, magical, and esoteric aspects of early modern Persian as ways to respond to the challenges of industrial development and urban expansion in the 1940s. However, they utilized this Persian past for very different political ends. If Habibur Rahman promoted Urdu healing for a hierarchical and conservative social vision of Dhaka, Mahmooda Rizvi geared her stylized prose for social revolution in Karachi. Given that both Dhaka and Karachi were included within an Urdu national space soon after Rahman and Rizvi published their proposals, these diverging Urdu science projects at the local level indicate the challenges to the *Anjuman*'s efforts to integrate these varied urban centers into a wider Urdu space.

Along with crossing chronological boundaries, *Finding a Home for Urdu* argues that scholars should further explore how older trans-regional Muslim imaginaries shaped national collectives of belonging. As Francesca Orsini observed in her study of Hindi, the early twentieth century in South Asia was an 'era of nationalism.'[796] Complicating this claim, *Finding a Home for Urdu* argues that Urdu's trans-regional, and at times cosmopolitan, imaginaries shaped Pakistan in unexplored ways. Although the scholarly turn to the trans-national and the cosmopolitan is usually geared towards destabilizing the nation to recover alternative collectives of belonging, the *Anjuman* offers the opportunity to draw together the national space of Pakistan with the cosmopolitan Indo-Muslim political imaginaries that preceded (and often contributed to) it.

For example, even though Mahmooda Rizvi was eventually displaced in Karachi after 1947, her vision of Karachi as a globally connected Indian Ocean port city in the late colonial era

[796]Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.)

was not radically different from an early postcolonial Karachi that was linked via Indian Ocean sea routes to Dhaka. Furthermore, the very disparate geography of early Pakistan that was divided between eastern and western wings fit well with the multi-sited Urdu imaginaries of many of the Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman*.

Furthermore, by following the story of this Urdu association into the post-colonial era, the real political and social exclusions of Urdu cosmopolitan imaginaries come into focus. One of the implications of the *Anjuman*'s Urdu healing project in colonial-era Dhaka is that the socially exclusive and politically oppressive elements in Urdu promotion in Eastern Bengal were not solely introduced by the Pakistani state after 1947, but instead that Pakistan's advancement of Urdu at the expense of Bangla in East Pakistan at least partially built on older, deeply local, exclusionary urban politics in Bengal. This suggests the need for future work investigating the real social exclusions of Indo-Muslim cosmopolitan connections in the colonial era that have often been studied as routes around imperial hierarchies and subsequent national borders.

Finally, *Finding a Home for Urdu* advocates for an expanded horizon for scholarship on comparative Muslim modernities that connects local South Asian Muslim cultural and political projects to transnational ties and comparisons. For example, this study of *ashraf* Muslim intellectuals in the Indian subcontinent can be contextualized with studies of elite Muslim *syed* communities in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Much like *Hadrami syed*s in Engseng Ho's scholarship transitioned from older trans-local Muslim circuits to national leadership in Southeast Asia, many of the *Anjuman*'s scholars quickly adapted to the national contours of Pakistan.[797]

[797] For comparative studies of *syed* communities in South East Asia, see: Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); and Michael Francis Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton University Press, 2011.)

However, the linguistic limitations of Urdu in early Pakistan hampered this transition to the nation-state for many of the *Anjuman*'s writers, readers, and patrons.

The *Anjuman*'s Muslim intellectuals responded to similar catalysts in the modern era as other Muslim knowledge communities both within and beyond South Asia, but they proceeded according to different genealogies and prized pasts. Viewed alongside Darwin's translators in Arabic or astronomical calculators in modern Egypt, to just name a few recent works related to Islam and science in the modern era, the *Anjuman* is part of a rich range of Muslim intellectual communities who made claims on a past of Islamic sciences. However, the classical pasts upon which these different groups drew are also quite distinct. In conclusion, the Muslim intellectuals in the *Anjuman* presented a set of arguments about language, technical learning, and modernity in the twentieth century that are difficult to understand without recovering the register of a shared prestigious Indo-Persian urban past**.** However, the career of Urdu *uloom* as modern science in early twentieth century South Asia is crucial for better understanding the range of political and intellectual possibilities in the wider world of comparative Muslim modernities.

The *Anjuman* after Science:

After Maulvi Abdul Haq's death in 1961, the *Anjuman*'s focus on scientific education and science textbooks declined. Although accessible scientific knowledge was no longer the vehicle for making the case for Urdu's connective potential, the circuits across literary boundaries and regional borders that the *Anjuman*'s intellectuals had long cultivated continued in other forms. The vitality of the *Anjuman*'s Urdu civilizational space after the national divisions of 1947 has been illustrated by the robust informal connections between the two separate *Anjuman*s in post-colonial

Pakistan and India. In turn, each branch of the post-colonial *Anjuman* reworked Urdu's multi-sited past and the *Anjuman*'s trans-regional ambitions in different ways from the 1960s onwards.

For example, following the fall of the *nizām*'s government in the Hyderabad State, the regional *Anjuman* in the city of Hyderabad became a patronage hub for unemployed Muslim notables and established a commerce-focused school to train young urban Muslims.[798] The central Indian *Anjuman* first retreated from Partition-wrecked Delhi to Aligarh, its place of origin, in 1949. From Aligarh, the Indian *Anjuman* was relaunched with a focus on documenting contemporary Urdu poetic composition in India and advancing Urdu as a medium of modernist literary theory from the mid-1950s through the mid-1970s.[799]

During the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War, the offices and library of the regional *Anjuman* in Dhaka were destroyed. However, the remaining Urdu scholars in Dhaka eventually formed an influential Urdu-Bangla literary foundation that has become a successful advocacy group for Bangladesh's Urdu-speaking minority.[800] Finally, since 2014, the central Pakistani *Anjuman* in Karachi has been led by Fatema Hassan, an influential Pakistani feminist poet. Reaching to both the urban and trans-regional pasts of the Urdu association, she established a new headquarters in Karachi for the *Anjuman* that was named after the association's first office in Aurangabad, *Garden of Urdu (Urdu Bāgh)* and re-established ties with Urdu scholars across South Asia's national borders. Thus, the *Anjuman*'s integrative Urdu civilization space continued in unexpected ways that both responded to- and worked around- the borders of the nation-state.

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[798] See Habibur Rahman, *Chand Yād Dāshteiṅ: HyderAbād Deccan may Urdu ke U'rooj aur Zawāl ki Dāstān* (Karachi: Bahādur Yār Jung Academy, 1986.)

[799] See the writings of Ale Ahmad Saroor, who led the India-based *Anjuman* from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, on Urdu modernism.

[800] See Ahmed Ilias, *Urdu In Bangladesh: A Glance at the History and Literatures* (Dhaka: Bangla-Urdu Sahitya Foundation, 2012) and Ahmed Ilias, *A Brief Profile of Urdu Poets of Bangladesh: August 1947 – September 2010* (Dhaka: Bangla-Urdu Sahitya Foundation, 2012).