CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

Late seventeenth and early eighteenth century is basically a period of anarchy, chaos and desruption. It was a transitory period where the great Mughal empire was dying, and on its ruins, the other forces were emerging on the political scene of India.

If we turn the pages of history to explore the causes of the decline of Mughal empire, we find that the process begins with the death of Aurangzeb, the mightiest emperor ever born in India. Apart from his religious policies, one of the significant elements of the failure of the great empire was it could not give able and competent successors to its throne.

Jawarlal Nehru states that, "Aurangzeb, far from understanding the present, failed even to appreciate the immediate past" he was a throw-back to all his ability and earnestness he tried to undo what his predecessors had done."(1)

After Aurangzeb the real age of desruption began. In the words of Nehru. " It is true that during this period of destruction when a great empire, was breaking up and many adventures, Indian and foreign were trying to carve out principalities for themselves." (2) At this juncture, the raid of Nadir shah was an important event that shook the very basis of the empire. According to Nehru, "The Nadir Shah’s raids had two consequences. He put an end completely to any precautions that the Delhi, Mughal rulers had to power dominion; henceforth they became vague shadows enjoying a ghostly sovereignty, puppets in the hands of any one who was strong enough. To hard them to a large extent they had arrived at that stage even before Nadir shah came; he completed the process. And yet, so strong is the hold of tradition and long established custom, the British East India company as well others continued to send humble presents to them in token of tribute right up to even of plassey and even afterwords for a long time the Company considered itself and functioned as the agent of the Delhi emperor, in whose name money was coined till 1835.
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The second consequence of Nadir Shah's raid was the separation of Afghanistan from India. Afghanistan, which far long ages; past had been part of India was now cut off and became part of Nadir Shah's dominations. Some time afterwards a local rebellion resulted in the murder of Nadir Shah by a group of his own officers and Afghanistan became an independent states. (3)

Nehru regarding the post Aurangzeb period states, "Death of Aurangzeb in 1707 saw a complicated and many-sided struggle for mastery over India. The Mughal emperor rapidly fell to pieces and the emperial viceroys or the governors began to function as semi-independent rulers, though so great was the prestige of the decendants of the Mughal in Delhi that a formal elegiance was paid to him even when he was powerless and a prisoner of others". (4)

In the age of complexities, "The real protagonst for power in India" as opined by Nehru "During the eightenth century were four: Two of these were Indians and two Foreign. The Indians were the Marathas and Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan in the South, the foreigners were the British and the French". (5)

In other words the four emerging forces were the Marathas, the Muslims, the Britishers and the French. Nehru named Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan but in our opinion it was Muslims, Haider Ali along with Tipu Sultan and Nizam-ul-Mulk on one hand and the Mughals of Delhi on the other, who in their religious spirit were busy in fighting with the foreign forces for their motherland.

In this period of unrest and annoyance, what was needed that the indigenous forces i.e. the Marathas and the Muslims should fight the foreign invaders collectively, and, therefore, our author Bilgirami pleaded the case of unity and harmony between the Marathas and the Muslims. When we go through all the testimonial records of Bilgirami, we obvisously find that it was the only thurst which Bilgirami wanted to teach, to educate and to propogate between the Indians. But it is ironical to state that the Marathas and the Muslims kept themselves busy in fighting with the petty matters. The 'chouth' and the 'sardeshmukhi' were the central points around which the relationship
of the Marathas and the Muslims always seems to be revolved. As R.M.Joshi states, "The chouth affairs which always remained a vexed question between the Peshwa and the Nizam, until it was resolved by recourse to the arbitrament of the sowrd at the battle of Kherda in 1795 A.D. The ruler of Hyderabad appears to have made calculated attempts to shelves his obligations under his head, by executive in action. When however the Peshwa pressed his claims the Nizam tried to gain time by entering into purposeless correspondence. Krishnarao Ballad, whose diplomacy out matched his honesty for the purpose, at last undertook to strengthen out these Marathas by visit in person to Nizam's court. The degree of importance attached to this event can be easily gathered from the priority given to this subject by the Akhbaranawis in the Akhbars. The Karbharis, too, seem to have blessed this mission as they were anxious to accomodate the Nizam on this question if only to hook him into an inactive or passive alliance with them against their common enemies". (6)

As a result we observe Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur had to establish the office of News writer in the province of Poona to know day to day happeings of the Marathas. According to R.M. Joshi, "The reign of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur, passed through quiter times as compared to kingdom which had now definitely come to stay. No retribute action was to be dreaded from the Mughal emperor which had become effect on account of overliened succession of a series of feeble minded "Rois, fineats, the English and the French were but playing their interest and trying to consolidate their political gains. Their plans and policies, however did not come into direct conflict with the interest of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan. The only forbiddible apponents who remained to be reckoned with were the Marathas. Their capital Poona was the scence of intense political activity. Nawab Nizam Ali Khan had to keep himself in touch with the day to day happenings there. He, therefore, constituted at Poona a regular establishment of News writers". (7)

Meanwhile, both the Marathas and the Muslims failed to realise the danger from the Britishers and kept themselves busy in claiming chouth and sardeshmukhi. As Dr. Yousuf Hussain finds, "Not that Indian rulers did not realise the danger to their exisstance from the
English. Some of the Maratha rulers, Haider Ali and later on Tipu Sultan had sensed it and were keen in ousting in English from India. They had planned a great confederacy against the English and invited other Indian rulers to join it. The Marathas urged Haider Ali Khan to invade Adoni and Raichur in order to wear the Nizam away from the English. A series of concentration and conferences followed in which the agents of the Nizam put up claims of Peshkash against the Marathas and the later made counter claims of chouth and sardeshmukhi against the Nizam, protracted discussion insured owing the adamant attitude of both the parties, no argument could arrive at and the greatship of confederacy founded on the rock of petty squabbles”. (8)

Bilgirami was the eye witness to all these events, and with his open eyes, he observed all these happenings. He also witnessed the successful guerrilla tactics of the Marathas. Similarly, he was also observing the life style of the Indian Muslims which made them passive. They were not able to discharge their duties as per the requirement of the time. They even could not fight the enemies successfully in the battlefields, they used to utilise the artillery force. They forgot, while leading a luxurious life in India, neck to neck fighting in battlefield. Bilgirami, as an intellectual, was observing all these happenings with his inner eyes. At the same time, being the companion of the Nawabs and Mansabdars, he was observing the internal conflicts and inner groupism, around local feudal lords to break down their supremacy, on the other hand he was also observing the attitude of the Britishers who invaded India as the traders but in later years they established themselves as political sovereign. In the words of Nehru, “The East India company had originally established itself for the trading purposes, and its military establishment was meant to protect this trade. Gradually and almost unnoticed by others, it had extended the territory under its control, chiefly by taking sides in local disputes, helping one rival against another. The company’s troops were better trained and were and asset to any side and the company’s power grew and its military establishment increased. People looked upon these troops and mercenaries to be hired, when it was realised that the British were playing nobodies games but their own and, were out for political domination of India, they had already establish themselves firmly in the country”. (9)
Nehru opines “Almost unnoticed activity by others”, for the activities of East India Company but it is not at all true, atleast in case of our author Bilgirami. He was deeply sensing and forsighting the alarming situation which was emerging in India. Perhaps, constantly he kept himself busy for the solution which would be acceptable to all. Further Nehru also states, “Only the Marathas had some national sentiments. Some thing much more than loyalty to the leader behind them. But even this was narrow and limited”. (10)

Here we argue the case of Tiup Sultan, that it was not “Only the Marathas” who had antiforeign sentiments, but Tipu Sultan was also on the same track as Nehru himself confessed, “Haider Ali was a remarkable man and one of the notable figures in Indian history. He had some kind of national ideal and possessed the qualities of the leaders with wisdom”. (11)

Nehru further admits, “He realised long before others did so, the importance of the sea powers and the growing menace of the British based on naval strength. He tried to organize a joint effort to drive them out and for this purpose sent envoys to the Marathas, the Nizam and Siraj-ud-Daulah of Oudh. But nothing came of this. He started building his own navy and capturing the Maldives and made them his headquarters for ship building and naval activities. He died by the way side as he was marching with his army. His son Tipu continued to strengthen his navy. Tipu also sent messages to Nepolian and to the Sultan of Constantinople”. (12)

On the other hand the French were busy to create confusion and anxiety among the court members of Nawabs and also to create disputes in the royal families. The best example of this is they managed Muzaffar Jung against Nasir Jung and as a result Nasir Jung was assissinated in the year 1750. After the death of Nasir Jung how the french showed their hapiness and managed to obtain their share from the treasury of martyr Nasir Jung. In this respect Sarojini Regani may be quoted, “At Pandechery as soon as the news of Nasir Jung’s death was received, Chanda sahab was so overwhelmed with joy that he ran through the streets of Pandechery to Dupleix, and almost stifled him in his embrace Dupleix, to celebrate the event held a grant court at Pandechery, and
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received the compliments of the people; he instructed that special ballads should be composed and sung to commoromorate the French victory. He also sent six deputies to compliment Mzaffar Jung on his success.

Muzaffar Jung amidst a great pomp arrived in Pandechery on the 26th December, 1750, out of gratitude to the French he got the French flag also displayed among the emblems of his sovereignty. He was received at the gates of Pandechery, by Dupleix and Chanda sahab. Dupleix triumphantly entered Pandechery seated in the same palanquin as Muzaffar Jung”. (13)

The celebration took place, as stated by Moinuddin Rahbar Farooqui;

"منظور جنگل پانذیرچی ری میں مہینہ بہر یا اس سے کچھ کم یا زیادہ قیام پذیر رہے - یون تو بر روز کسی نہ کسی عنوان سے تقاریب کا سسلہ جاری رہا لیکن سب سے بڑا جو جشن منایا گیا اس کی آتشیزی کی تفصیل سے دیگر لوافم کا آنادا لگائی - کہتے بہت اس آن وال دن کی مسرت کا مہینوں پہلے سے تعین کرلیا گیا تھا - اسی بنا پر وضاحت کی ساتھ مورخین لکھتے بہت کہ تین ماه سے اس تقریب کی لئی آتشیزی کی تبادلہ جاری تھی - اس موقع پر دورہ دنگا دانابیزی پریزی پر اسی اندوزہ بوتا بہ کہ دشمنوں سے کسی نہ کسی حیال سے ناصر جنگ کو قتل کردن کا بیجہ انتها تھا - اور ان کو ناصر جنگ کے ساتھ گلurvey کرکے اپنا آہ کر بینن والے آصف سرداروں کی نسبت اس معاملہ دغا میں وفاداری پر کس قدر بہروسہ تھا - دوپیل کی شہری آفاق طریقے کار بهی کی واقعہ ایک مثال سمجھ جاگ گا - جس کی متعلقہ ہی ہی جمہوری کیتی جاتی ہے وہ جس کام ہا آگز کرتا تو دس سال پہلے سے اس کے منصوبے تبادلہ - اور انہوں پختہ کرتا شروع کرتا تھا - الغرض اس قدر آشک بازی تبادلہ کی گئی تھی کہ شاہد بہ ہلا کی کوئی نوع باقی رہ گئی بہ - ہم جزیات کا ناک نہیں کریں گئی گورنری ایوان کی آرائش و زیباش کے لئے ہے پانذیرچی کی تزیین.

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami’s Works [ 421 ]
(Muzaffar Jung stayed here more or less one month and everyday by one way or the other functions to celebrate (victory) carried out. However the biggest of the functions and its fire works and in detail are given below. It is said that the day which is yet to come was fixed months before and therefore on this basis some of the historian state that the preparation of fireworks for this function were going on for last three months. When we observe this incident with long sighted eyes, it is understood that the enemies had decided by one way or the other to assassinate Nasir Jung and how they (French) were confident of Chiefs of Asif Jah. In respect of this betrayed and retreatment with their Nawab and how they were confident and (retrachrous) about their faithfulness in respect of themselves (French). It shall be an example of the landmark events of Dupleix, regarding whom it is popularly known what he plans to do, he prepares his strategy ten years before and shapes to finalise it. In short the fireworks prepared
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in such a way that no kind of it remained unused. We don’t describe its sub elements and shift one sight from the beautification of Governor’s palace, the charm and delight of the city and the fort of Pondicherry, the colourful lights of buildings and bungalows, which can be found on the diaries of secret and daily diary writers. We present the description of world wonder and unique firework, in which respect it is understood that it was unique and unmatched in the whole history of India. The tongue of our ‘Taarik-e-Rahat Afza’ is red in its praising. It writes that the ‘Rawan’, who attacked on Lanka was kept hidden by artisans. When Nawab Muzaffar Jung reached the kothi of Dupleix, he was asked to light an “Explosive monkey”. As soon as it was lightened he jumped here and there around him and reached in the campus which was attributed in the name of Lanka. In which perhaps ‘explosive bungalows’ and houses were built. It started to light them one by one to extent that the whole island brightened with colourful delighted lights, which Rawan with his military done on Lanka and the whole island became explosive. All the expectators were astonished and remained silent in state of surprise.)

From this, it is obvious how French were eager to occupy the seats of sovereignty in India. The French were equally interested in plundering the wealth in the shortest possible time as they could. In this respect, the same writer states, “The treasury of Nasir Jung was supposed to contain two million dollars while his jewellery was estimated at five lakhs. Out this Muzaffar Jung gave fifty thousand to the French and divided among their officers and troops who had fought at Jinji, while another fifty thousand were given to meet the expenses incurred by the French during the course of the war”. (15)

Bilgirami was observing all these with his scholarly eyes. As a historian, he could imagine and guess the deriorating political scence of India and it seems that he was deeply affected and kept himself busy constant, in the persuit to resolve this ambiguity, and therefore he put forth the theoy of unity and harmony between the Marathas and the Muslims. The Marathas and the Muslims were only the indigenous power, who could unitedly safeguard their motherland from foreign aggressions. For this reason only it seems Bilgirami turned the pages of history and went back to the days of Adam and Eve.
Bilgirami while arguing the case of arrival of Adam in India used the strong basis of Quranic verses and prophetic sayings uttered by the prophet. In this respect, we find it was not only Bilgirami who proved the arrival of Adam in India from paradise, but one more writer Isami, may be presented in this regard. Isami also opines same as Bilgirami, “The gist of these narrations is that Adam, driven from paradise, dropped on the soil of Hindustan and it was in Hindustan that “Wahy” (the divine revelation) came to him. Such being the earliest connection of India with Islam it would be by no means is correct to say that Islam came to India in a peaceful manner through the Arabs, and not through warrior Turk”. (16)

Bilgirami argued this theory so successfully that after him who so ever agreed it, he quoted Bilgirami as an authority and therefore we find oftenly and frequently, Bilgirami was quoted by the scholars of the caliber like Shiblee, Suleman Nadvi, Maulana Abdul Hai, Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi and several others.

In this way Bilgirami proved that Muslims in India were not invaders but India occupies the status of their motherland.

The next what Bilgirami intended to prove the relations of the Marathas with the Muslims, so he attempted to dig out the deep roots of the relations of the Marathas and the Muslims and proved that both of them are related with each other on the basis of kinship.

The theory argued by Bilgirami was the cry of the time. The mutual understanding, the spirit of co-operation and unity and integrity were the elements which were badly needed at that time. When we go through the Poona Akhbars and study the correspondence made between the various Nawabs and the Peshwas, we clearly observe that every local Nawab, the Peshwas, the Nizam, Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan all were eager of ousting the foreigners, but due to one reason or the other they were not in such position to effort collectively. In other words perhaps the destiny or someunknown factors could not keep them united, for example we quote the letter of Haibatrao Gopal dated 8th Rajjab 1195 A.H. (30th June, 1751) from Poona. The letter was addressed to Nizam-ul-Mulk. The contents of the letter are as under,
“Haider Ali Khan is being frequently consulted for determining a
definite policy towards the English. The general trend of affairs is
moving towards hostilities rather than reconciliation with the English.
vigorous preparations are a foot. Haider Ali Khan is also of the same
mind. Mahadj Shinde is grappling with the English led by popplan near
Siperikolars. The Karbharies are eager to consult the Huzur regarding
the policies towards the English. They are earnestly desire the Huzur’s
support in ousting the enemy”. (17) In this regard we present Sethu
Madhavrao’s statement. He writes, “The policy of Shah Nawaz Khan
seems to have been on the whole friendly to the Peshwa. Soon after
he assumed the charge of his office, he entered into friendly negotia-
cion with Nanasahab Peshwa”. (18)

The same author states, “The fact is that the Marathas were
militarily, strong and growing power. They were not depend on any
other power. This was not the case with Hyderabad. The military power
of Hyderabad was extremely weak. It had not the strength to resist
Maratha encroachment on the one hand and the growing French
influence on the other. It had no strength of its own. The only diplom-
cy which the statesmen of Hyderabad could persue was one of
opportunism, with the realisation that there was no way which could
make Hyderabad strong. Rajaramdas brought in the French to attack
the Marathas. After the campaign ended in a stalemate, the French
began to realise in the affairs of the Deccan the Marathas were strogner
and most stabled element than the Nizam, and that cultivation of good
relations with them would be profitable”. (19)

Likewise the unity, as stated earlier, among the Marathas and
the Nizam or the Muslims as the whole, was felt by Shah Nawaz Khan
and others on one hand, and the Peshwas on the other, but Bilgirami
beyond the countemporary happenings foresighted the political
situation in India and put forth his theory as the permanent solution to
the problem.

At this juncture, it may not be mistaken, that as the Marathas
were, to an extent, emerging as powerful on the political horizen of
India and to, at any cost, to remain close with them, Bilgirami put his
theory. Such is not the case because the theory had some what
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reasonability in it and it has been accepted by others at large.

On the contrary, the others, like Shiblee and his associates, totally denied and disagreed with Bilgirami. But the importance of the theory presented by Bilgirami cannot be ignored.

Bilgirami, thus, is rightly be considered as champion in this regard. After presenting the theory of kinship as the basis of permanent tie, Azad Bilgirami, like a father of the quarreling sons, advises both the Marathas and the Muslims;

"غنيم مربوطه را لازم ارسی که پسندات بهرام و مساله پیش آنند و حق صلته رحم بجا آردن " (20)

(It is necessary for the Marathas to give the facilities to Sayyeds and provide them the necessities and pay for their rights.)

It seems that Bilgirami had spent all his capacities for the creation of complete harmony in between the Marathas and the Muslims, and therefore he was very much interested in transformation of knowledge from India to Arab world and vice versa. Our author has expressly made it open in at least Subhat-ul-Marjaan Fi Asar-e-Hindustan. He beautyfully describes;

و اضاف صوت الكوكلا الى سجع الورق او " (21)

(To assimilate the (melodious) sound of Indian cuckoo with the sound (drumbeat) of pigeon of Arab world.)

In other words it seems that Bilgirami, presented himself like a bunker who is weaving a cloth of common culture with the cross threads of Indo-Arab world. In other words, Bilgirami, seems to have visualized the scene which is yet to come on the stage of the world and making necessary arrangements for the same. He is, far away, from all the disturbances and annoyance of the age, singing a song of patriotism, humanity and selfrespect. Moreover, Bilgirami, seems to have realised and had a logic in his mind that Adam was dropped in Hinduatan and Eve in Jeddah, both met in the planes of 'Arafat' or 'Jabl-e-Rahmat'. (22), and unless both, Adam and Eve could meet
humanity could not take its birth. Hence it is necessary for the Arabs (Muslims) and the Indians (Marathas) to remain close to each other with mutual spirit of understanding and respect. The work of Azad Bilgirami, if studied, from this point of view, one easily sense what Bilgirami intended to spread among the readers or the whole efforts of our author seems to be revolved around this theory.

In Khazana-e-Aamera, thus we observe, he categorically put forth this theory of mutual respect. Apart from this the book is testimony of historical records. The episode of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah is an important record from historical point of view, which firstly provides the knowledge about Asif Jah-I. It also throws light on the life style, courtly manners, the common habits of the masses on one hand and the genealogy of the Marathas on the other. Besides the same episode contains the important description of Brahmins of the Deccan. Bilgirami praises the bravery and tactics of the Marathas at the same time he was much annoyed about the nature and habits of the Brahmins. Bilgirami seems to be very abusely so far the Brahmins of the Deccan of that time are concerned. Khazana-e-Aamera in its other contents is an important treatise of various Ulemas and scholars who have contributed and enriched multifaced heritage of India. It is also an advance stage of knowledge and appears to be a corrective step towards the mistake of the scholars, before the completion of the book. Bilgirami pointed out several couplets which was were originally composed by the others, but by the passage of time attributed by those who have not composed them. In this way the book Khazana-e-Aamera is a unique among all the books produced in seventeenth and eighteenth century. Besides, the book is the evident of the spirit of patriotism which our author has in his mind. In regard to Haideri, he broke down heavily and abused him on his criticism on India. (23)

Further, our author, very logically proved that those who are criticising India and proving themselves as non Indians, they, themselves, basically are the Indians, as he stated;

طفره اینکه ولاتیان بِم خود بندی الصل اند " (24)

(It is ironical that those who call themselves as foreigner, they themselves are Indians.)
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In the case of Ma’asir-ul-Kiram, Bilgirami, very specifically, discussed the aesthetic concept in Arabic language, based on the principles of ‘Shariya’. The author also elaborated the ideas in accordance with the sayings of the prophet. The prophet of Islam in accordance with the Divine message had a specific concept of poetics in his mind. He very expressly made commentary on the poets and their poet. Not only this much but occasionally he corrected the couplets by Arab poets. Bilgirami has quoted in this respect and example of Hazrat Ka’ab Bin Zuher, who is the writer of ‘Qasida Banat Sa’a’d’ and who has been corrected one of his couplets by the prophet himself. The couplet earlier composed by Hazrat Ka’ab was as under;

"ان الرسول النور يستضاءء به مهند من سيوف الهند مسلول"

(25)

(The prophet is the splendour of Allah and the splendour is received from him amongst the swords, the best is the sword of India.)

The prophet corrected him and made as under;

"ان الرسول النور يستضاءء به مهند من سيوف الله مسلول"

(26)

(The prophet is the splendour of Allah, and the splendour is received from him, amongst the sword of Allah the best is of the sword of India.)

This incident at one hand shows the popularity of Indian swords and on the other the corrections of the couplet made by the prophet himself. It is equally an important incident that the prophet not only encouraged the poetry but also made necessary corrections in it. After presenting the incident Bilgirami subsequently clear that it is not true to say that the prophet himself was the poet and quoted the Quranic verse which is enough to prove that the prophet was not at all a poet.

While narrating the biographies of the poets of Bilgirami and their contribution to Persian language, Bilgirami could not forget the contribution of the scholars of Hindi poetry. He, once again, discussed in detail the ‘Ras theory’ in Indian poetics.
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In Subhat-ul-Marjaan, the spirit of patriotism and national feelings of our author is at its peak. In the first part of the book we observed that, the author proved the eminence and excellence of India. While discussing it Bilgirami very successfully elaborated several points of merit enjoyed by India. India is basically the land of Divine blessings. It enjoyed its first previlege by arrival of Adam from paradise. According to Bilgirami Adam brought several things alongwith him from paradise. The scents and fragrances several leaves and the plants, animals and cattle and so on. Regading Indian fragrances Bilgirami states the fragrance of Ambergris, camphor, dry ginger, sandal wood, allus wood all are perfumes of paradise and all the indians may rightly proud of them. It was perhaps, since the begining privilege of India and they were concious about it. It is perhaps the Indian king while writing a letter to caliph Umer Bin Abdul Aziz mention the merits of India as under;

"من ملك المانلاك الذي هو ابن ألف ملك و تحته بنت الف ملك و في مريحة ألف دي (والذي له نحران) ينبتان العود والالك و الجو وز الكافور الذي يوجد ريحه على اثنى عشر ميلا الي ملك العرب الذي لا يشرفه بالله شيطان أما بعد فأنت بعنك (اليك) بيدية وما هي بيدية ولكنها تعبة و قد أحبنت ان تبعث الى رجلي علمتني ويفديمني الإسلام والسلام" - (27)

(From the king of the kings who is generated from one thousand kings and whose wife is the daughter, who is also generated from one thousand kings, who posses one thousand elephants in his stable, who is (the owner) of two rivers, in the skirts of (them) the coconut trees are found, and whose allus wood and campher are such, whose fragrance goes upto twelve miles, to Sultan of Arab, who does not believe in polytheism, be it clear that I am sending a gift to you, what gift, salutation and greetings, I desire, you send a scholar who will teach me the lesson of Islam.)

In second part of the book Bilgirami, provided us the events of the lives of several Ulema who were in observation and brought them in the light. This part is basically, on the biographical note of several Ulema, who have contributed to various branches of Islamic knowledge, rhetoric eloquence and poetics. But here, too, our author
could not ignore his spirit of patriotism and also to expose the links between India with the Arab. Thus, while giving the description of Konkan Bilgirami attempts to share his knowledge about the origin of Konkan, he thus writes;

"من طائفة النوايت كثوابت قوم في بلاد الدكن رايت في كتاب فارسی ما ترجمة قال الطریب فی تاریختة النائیطة طائفة من قربی خروج أمن المدنیة المنورة خو قابن الحجار بن يوسف الثقفی الذي قتلت خمسین الفا من العلماء والواصلیا وغيرهم" - (28)

(The clan of ‘Nawa’ayat’ is rehabilitated in the province of Deccan. I have read a book in Persian and also privileged to translate the same. The author of the book confessed about the presence of this clan. And Imam Tabri, in his history wrote that, the clan ‘Na’aïta’ is a group of ‘Qurash’ (of Arabs), who due to the terror of Hajjaj Bin Yousuf Al Saqafi, ran away from Madina and reached the coastal areas of India. This (Hajjaj) is the same person who had killed fifty thousand Ulema’s and the sainsts unauthorisedly.)

This is perhaps enough, to prove that how Bilgirami was eager to bridge the gap between the Indians and the Arabs. Likewise, the third part of the book is basically concerned with the rhetorics and poetics. Bilgirami, in this part of the book have dealt various linguistic arguments at length, but here, too, it seems he has not forgotten the excellence and eminence of Indians. After arguing in detail, the concept of poetics in Islam, and after presenting several quotes from Hadiths Bilgirami once again turned towards Indology. Bilgirami, thus, states;

"قال البوالفتح محمد الشهر ستاث صاحب كتاب الملک و النحل في ذكر حكماء الهند من ذلك صاحب الفكره وهم أفضل العلم من هم بالفلك والنجوم واحكامها ولهند طريقة منجمى الروم و العجم" - (29)

(Abul Fatah, Muhammed Al-Shaharastani, author of ‘Kitab-ul-Malal-wal-Nahal’, said, while describing the scholars of India, that they are the personalities of high knowledge and they are intellectuals in the fields of astrology, astronomy and their approach is different (in these branches of knowledge) from the scholars of ‘Rome’ and ‘Ajam’ (Persia).
He further writes;

"و قال أفلاتون الإله في رسالة إلى حزيقة في حقيقة النفس الرياضي فينا و في الهند و في زماننا هذا ترجم الأهرامين شرح الجيغيمي وغيره من كتب الهيتيه والهندسته والعدة الهندسية والدائم الهندسية التي وضعت المعرفة اظل الأصل للمنهش وجعلها الفقه، مدارا عليها لعرفت وقت النظر و العصر من معرفات بعض قدماء الأهرام وقد تقرر من اليونانيين ومن تقلل عليهم فاقوا من هو غيرهم من علماء الوليات قاطبه في الرياضيات والحساب والموسيقى فإن الهيتيه فاقوا فيها من هو غيرهم من مرة الأقليم وهواتأول مايروكان صبيانهم علم الحساب و جعل الموسيقى جزء من اجزاء عبادتهم و اصولو الفتين إلى حد حارفيه العقل، و تعبا منه الأذكار، أما الحساب فأخذ أكثر قواعده عظم غير هم منها الرقم النعتة قائل بعضهم من فضائل الهند كليلة دمه و الشطرنج والاحرف النسق التي بجمع انواع الحساب ".

(‘Aflatun Ilahi’, in his resala wrote about Indian and their arithmetic as under. In our age the Indians wrote a comenetry on the book of ‘Chaghmini’ and also wrote and commented on various book written in the fields of arithmetic, numerology, geometry written in other Indian languages. These books were originally written to know the shadow of the son because the scholars of Islamic Jurisprudence made it the standard to know the time of ‘Zohar’ (the noon prayer) and ‘Asr’ (afternoon prayer). It is authentically known that the Greeks and the desciples are superior in this fief. However in Mathematics and Music India got previleage on others. Therefore they taught Mathematics to their children. They consider music as a part of worship. And they are so interested in these fields that the intellectuals and genius kind of people surprise to see them. They have (besides their own) adopted several principles of Mathematics from others like the numbers from one to nine. Some people say that it is enough to prove their suprimacy that they have written the books like ‘Kalila’ and ‘Damna’ and ‘Onchess’ and also on the numbers one to nine.)

In this way Bilgirami elaborates all the aspects of the excellence of India. This argument of Bilgirami is unchallengable. In this respect Nehru speaks, “Highly intellectuals gives to abstract thinking as they
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were, one would expect the ancient Indians to excel in Mathematics. Europe got its early arithmetic and Algebra from the Arabs. Hence the ‘Arabic Numerals’, but the Arabs themselves has previously taken them from India”. (31) Regarding astronomy Nehru writes, “Astronomy, oldest of sciences was regular subject of University curriculum and written it was mixed up astrology. A very accurate calender was worked out and this calender is still in popular gives it is a solar calender having lunar months, which leads to periodical adjustments, as elsewhere, the priests or Brahmins were specially concerned with this calender they fixed the seasonal festivals as well as indicated exact time of the eclipses of the sun and the moon, which were also in the nature of festivals. They took advantage of this knowledge to encourage among the masses, beliefs and observences, which they must have known to be superstitious, and thus added to their own prestige. A knowledge of astronomy in its practical aspects, was of great help to the people who went on the seas. The ancient Indian were rather proud of the advances they had made in astronomical knowledge”.(32)

Maulana Suleman Nadvi gave a detailed account in this respect that how India excelled in various branches of knowledge like astrology, astronomy, music and sports etc. Maulana at first argued the origin of the word ‘Hind;

"مسلمانون کی آمد سے پہلے اس پورے ملک کا کوئی ایک نام نہ تھا جب صوبہ کا نام ایک تھا- پر ریاست کا نام اس کی راجذہندی کا نام سے مشہور تھا- اب فارس نے جب اس ملک کے ایک صوبہ پر قبضہ کیا تو اس دریا کا نام جس کو اپ دریائے سنده کیتے بین اور جس کا نام عربوں کی زبان میں میران بہرندو ' رکھا - پر ایرانی زبان اور سنسرکت میں 'س' اور 'اپس میں بدلا کریں بین - اس کی متعدد مثالیں بین اس لئے فارس والون نی اس کو بندھو کیہ کر پکارا اور اس سے اس ملک کا نام بندڑ گیا ہے جبپہتار انجیز بات کہ بند کا لفظ عربوں کو اتنا پیمانہ معلوم پہا کہ انہوں نے ملک کے نام پر اپنی اورت کا نام رکھا چنانچہ عربی شاعری میں بند وہ وہ جو فارسی میں لیبلہ و شیرین کی پہ ""(33)
Conclusions

(Before invasion of Muslims, the whole country does not have a common name of it. Every province had its own different name. Every state was known by the name of its capital. When the people of Persia, one of the provinces of this country, (they found) the river which is presently known as ‘Sindh’ and to whom Arabs call ‘Mehran’, they gave the name (to it) ‘Hindu’. In old Sanskrit and Persian the alphabet ‘s’ and ‘h’ are always replaced by each other. There are various such examples, and hence the people of Persia called it as ‘Hindu’ and from where the country was also called after the name of river as ‘Hind’. It is astonishing that in the Arabs, the word ‘Hind’ became so lovely that they kept the names of their women on the names of this country. Therefore, (this name) occupies the same status of ‘Laila and Shirin’ in Persian.)

He further writes;

حساب نجوم طب پیت اخلاقی افسانه اور کیبانیان سیاست اور راج نیت کچیل اور تماشے - (34)

(The books copied from Sanskrit into Arabic are, of arithmetics, astronomy, medicine, fiction and stories and political science and politics, sports and entertainment.”)

Regarding various branches of knowledge, which originated from India Suleman Nadvi writes;

"نجوم جوتش جافر اور رمل سب کو معلوم بہ کھ چھیز بنئوستن سی کس قد قد تعلق رکھتی بین " - (35)

(Astrology forecasting, numerology, geomancy, all (of us) know how(deeply) these things are related with India)

In respect of the ‘Chess” Mr. Nadvi states;

"دنیا ک دو کچیل مشہور بین یغنى شطرنج اور چوسر (نرد) دونوں بہ بنئوستن ک دماغ کی ایجاد بین " - (36)

(two (in-door) games are popular in the world, one is Chess and second is Dice, both the games are the creation of Indian mind)

In this manner, we observe that every modern scholar whether
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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or Maulana Suleman Nadvi are of the same opinion, what our author wrote in the fourth and the last part of the book. Bilgirami discussed the narrations of the lovers and the beloveds. Thus Bilgirami expressly declares;

"انى رآيت الهاندلهم فن عجيب الأسلاوب اخذ يجاجع القلوب سوءه باسم معتنا اسرار النسوان وهو روض اريض ترتع فيه اوانس العزوان فودت ان اخليع عليه خلعته التعريب اهدي الى ادباء العرب نوعا جديدا من النسيب" - (37)

(I saw strange art in the people of India which touches the heart and to which they call ‘Asrar-ul-niswan’ (secrets of women) so I desired to dress (that art) and make it to wear Arabic dress and to expand the knowledge of Arabs, in the field of woman with this knowledge)

Likewise Bilgirami seems to have achieved his goal by presenting ‘Subhat-ul-Marjan from his end. Bilgirami was not the man who could write down the book and kept quite, but he stepped further more practically. He sent a copy of the book to the king of Masqat through his representatives at Gujrat with a covering letter signed by himself.

In reply to his letter, the Sultan of Musqat, Imamah Ahmed Bin Sayed wrote him. The contents of the letter as under;

"من عبد الله المتوكل عليه المعتصم بأماما المسلمين أحمد بن سعيد بن أحمد بن محمد البو سعيدى الى حضرة افصع الامت لسنانى و ابعروم بيانا واحد اسمه عضلا اوستهم نقل الشيخ الاستاذ علاء الدين والده فريدة الصر الحسينى الواسطى "البلجرامي سلمه تعالى اخى رسول الفصاحات بعدن عفت واطلع شموسه بعد ان نكفت و أجرى " مياثلها بعد ان عاصبت و شيد از كنها بعدن الفصاحات "- (38)

(From the obedient (man) of Allah and who trust only upon him and who strongly obeys the Imam of Muslims, Ahmed Bin Sayyed Bin Ahmed Bin Muhammed Bin Sayeedi to most eloquent person in respect of language and most expert in expression, the man of awakened intellect and reliable. Gulam Ali Azad Bilgirami is unique in the whole

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Hence from all these above contents one can easily conclude that how Bilgirami occupies a high status among the scholars of his time and have left everlasting impression on the future generations. In support to our argument we reproduce the extract from Malkapuri as he states;

(He was at the height of humanity and was the exponent of divine radiant splendour. He was decisive in argument of intellect and was balanced in traditions and was well planned beaurocrat of ‘Sulah-e-Kul’ and the splendour of spring. He was also the champion of rhetoric and model of eloquence, was the key of divine treasure. The candle of unendable secrets, his knowledge and eminance was decisive among his contemporors.)

And

(He beautified the Arabic couplets by using similies in such a way that Arabs started to emitted him. In India since the advent of Islam, no man was born of such caliber.)

We present one more extract which is, in our opinion, shall be enough to prove scholastic superiority of our author. Pandit Laxminarayan Shafique Aurangabadi, who was the desciple of Azad Bilgirami writes in ‘Gul-e-Rana’ while quoting Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Ali Bahrini as he told regarding Bilgirami after going through his
Diwan.

The compiler of Gul-e-Rana (Pandit Laxminarayan Shafique Aurangabadi) wrote that Sayyed Hussain Baghdadhi was a great scholar and a poet, arrived in India from Baghdad and reached Aurangabad. He visited Azad, and remained in his company for few days. He listened the Arabic encomium from Azad and used to play mystic dance on him, and used to praise his rhetorics and eloquence. When Sayyed of Arab resolved to go to Baghdad to Aurangabad, he took two copies of the Diwans along with him. After reaching Bunder Musqat wrote a letter in Arabic on 29th Rajab 1180 A.H. and sent it (to Aurangabad) the said letter reached Aurangabad on 10th Ramzan in the same year. He wrote, fortunately, the Ulema and celebrated poets gathered here (Musqat) I presented the Diwans before the gathering. All of them

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saw, read and admired the same. Everyone welcomed and praised very much, and surprised that a man originated from India how tells the Arabic like an Arabian, produce the subjects of rhetorics and eloquence in his couplets. The chief of the Ulema Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Ali Bahraini, who is one of the greatest Ulema said, “By God, anybody could claim the prophethood in India, the writer of these Diwans was the most appropriate for it.)

While going through all the books written by Bilgirami the sketch of the writer which is developed in our mind through his works in some what, as stated below.

1. One of the significant character of Bilgirami as a narrative writer is that he very precisely narrates any episode. His writings are very comprehensive and the writer does not interested in going details of the events. Therefore we see that in Khazana-e-Aameria as well as Ma’asir-ul-Kiram, Bilgirami does not provide us the details of the difference emerged between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Nasir Jung which ultimately resulted in the war. Bilgirami was so closely related with both the Nawabs and he could be the best commentator on this issue but we observe that he preferred to write few lines on this specific event. Likewise these are ample examples can be quoted in this regard in all the books written by Bilgirami. In this respect shiblee has rightly stated;

2. Another important feature of the personality of Bilgirami is that he always preferred to maintain a safe distance from the Nawabs that is why we observe that inspite of the fact he was close associate of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Nasir Jung, he preferred to stay at the Mouseleum of Baba Shah Musafir at Panchakkhi in Aurangabad and never intended to stay in the rayal campus ofNavkhandla or elsewhere in the company of Nawabs and he oftenly used to tell;

الحمدلله على احسانه كاين دزيوزه رفعی ضربت امر خود لب
بمح آمیر یکشود و نانه خود بشایش درالتمین سیاه نموده ودرین باب
پوی میکشم” (43)

(Praise be to Allah that this begger by the blessings of God never

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opened his tongue in praise of any ‘Amir’ or Nawab or never blackened any piece of paper in praising the rich.)

3. Yet another prominent feature of the personality of Bilgirami is that he was expert in composing the chronogrammes. Bilgirami has composed hundreds of chronogrammes of important events of his time. If the task of compilation of chronogrammes composed by Bilgirami is undertaken it will require a separate book.

4. One of the salient features of the writings of Bilgirami is that the language and the diction used by the writer so novel and attractive that it touches the hearts of the readers. The lucid language and appropriate use of the words for expression of the ideas, is unique in the works of Bilgirami.

5. The striking feature of Bilgirami is that he is in habit to use Quranic verses frequently in his writings. It does not merely beautify his writings but also creates depth in his works.

6. Bilgirami unlike the other writers is the critic of his own. He seems to be in habit of his own corrections. In this respect several examples from Khazana-e-Aamera and from the episode Mujaddid Alfsani in ‘Subhat - ul - Marjan’ may be given. He used to study his own works and writings from critical point of view and was in constant habit to analyse them.

7. Bilgirami was a great patriot from the core of his heart. Whenever any attempt to abuse or to criticise his motherland is made, he showed his deep sense of anger and sorrow. It is not spirit of love for his motherland only but everything which associated with India became lovely for our writer.

8. Bilgirami loved deeply the inhabitants of Indian. He praised their contributions to the various branches of knowledge, as discussed in detail in other pages of this thesis.

9. Bilgirami admired the beautiful colours and fragrances and the flowers of India.

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10. Bilgirami like Khusrau also loved and admired the different tastes of the fruits of India.

11. Bilgirami not only loved and admired India, its soil, its flowers and their fragrances but also loved animals and cattles.

While going through the pages of the book written by him one can easily and very safely conclude that Bilgirami was incomparable scholar and unmatched personality whose name and fame not only crossed the geographical boundaries of India, but also enjoy a high status in the present days also. It was one of the reasons for what this topic for the research is undertaken.

The second reason for which this project of the research was undertaken, was to test the historical sensitivity and sensibility of our author.

When we see Bilgirami, from this point of view, we obviously find that he was highly sensitive and sensible of the histereography and was much aware of all its requisites, and he, at the best, did justice with it.

Each and every line of all the books, undertaken for this doctoral thesis, is evident on the fact that they have got the importance of their own.

The contents of Khazana-e-Aamera are much relevant in present days also. The bridge in between the inhabitants of India is yet to be built, and therefore the book occupies an important place in scholastic world.

The contents of other books like Rauzat-ul-Auliya, Ma’asir-ul-Kiram and Subhat-ul-Marjaan are the part and parcel of the cultural history of our country.

Mysticism or Sufism is an unique character of Indian heritage, without which no history of India shall be considered as complete. The concept of ‘Sulah-e-Kul’ sufism is still the best solution to this
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crying materialistic world. The role played by the sufis of Khuldabad for the all round development and upliftment of humanity in the past age can not be ignored by any cultural historian. Rauzat-ul-Auliya, thus, an important treatise on the cultural history of the Deccan.

Ma’asir-ul-Kiram and Subhat-ul-Marjaan are, too, an important book, from several point of views. These books provide us the names of several Ulemas who had gone in oblivion. The long passage of time have put dust on them and if Bilgirami would have not written their biographies in the books, the future generations could not be able even to remember their names and contributions. The books are also beautiful catalogues of the classic books, several of them are not available in present days. It was great contribution of Bilgirami that he, at least provided the names of original books.

Besides, the books gives us the knowledge of aesthetics, poetics, literature, rhetoric and eloquence. There are scholars like Shiblee, who totally, in some of the matters, disagrees with Bilgirami and broke down heavily on Bilgirami regarding some of his theories. But the difference of opinion in history, are the foundations of knowledge. One is always at his liberty to differ with the others, but it never means the others are totally wrong. The attitude and the manner to see the events may differ and therefore if Shiblee disagrees with Bilgirami it never be taken as a substantive element for Bilgirami.

Further Shiblee with all the differences of opinion can not ignore Bilgirami for his contributions as he states;

"ان کی تصنیفات بندوستان میں اپنی قسم کی پہلی تصنیف بیس - فن رجال اور تاریخ اگرچہ مسلمان گا گویا خاص فن پہ لیکن بندوستان کی علماء حالت پر کچھ اپنے افتاد پڑتی تھی کہ ابتدا سے اس زمانہ سے زمانہ تک کسی نے ابک کتاب خیال اس فن میں نہ لکھی - بندوستان کی عوامی چنگویں علماء و فضلا کی حالات پر آج تک گننیا کا پرده پڑا پہا بی - آزاد سب سے پہلے شخص بیی جس نے بندوستان کی علماء اور ارباب عقائد کی حالات قلمبند کئی آزاد نے اس اولیت پر خود کا جواب جا فخر کا ظہار کیا پہ اور بجا کیا پہ "

(44)

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(His works, in India, was foremost in its style. Although the Muslims occupy special privilege in history and biographical literature. But in India, Muslims neglected the same, that since beginning to this period no book was brought (in these branches of knowledge) in India. The events of hundreds of Indian Ulema are still in oblivion. Azad is the first and the foremost who wrote on the events of Indian Ulema and intellectuals for the first time. He oftenly expressed his pride and he is right in doing the same).

It is the greatness of Bilgirami that he was respected even by his opponents. Thus, the name of Bilgirami shall always be respected in the scholastic world and he shall always be given a noble treatment for his valuable contribution.
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