

Urdu Migrant Literati and Lahore's Culture

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After 1857, Punjab assumed extraordinary significance not only in a strategic sense but culturally too. Urdu was introduced as a vernacular primarily for administrative reasons but later on Lahore was the locus of literary activities which had lasting impact on the future course of Urdu literature. This study focuses on three migrant laureates G.W. Leitner, Muhammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali, underscoring their contribution for ushering in Oriental learning and particularly Urdu literature into an era of modernity. They not only introduced fresh themes of poetry but also new forms of poetic expression. Similarly the institution of Anjuman-i-Punjab and its role in the cultural development of the city is yet another subject that this study brings out. Establishment of such institutions like Oriental College and the University of Punjab became possible only because of Anjuman-i-Punjab's endeavours. A series of *Mushairas*, held under the auspices of Anjuman and the impact these *Mushairas* had, on the literary trends, has also been teased out.

Introduction

Etymological reference of the word 'Lahore' gives us a compelling nudge into the world of mythology. Popular adage about its existence links Lahore with 'Loh' or 'Lava', the son of the epic hero Rama Chandra, from whom it derived its name.¹ Thus Lahore's early history is shrouded in the pre-historic, mythical realm. Historically speaking Lahore was mentioned *abintio* in the journals of Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang in 630 A.D. Then Ahmad bin Yahya al Baladhuri (died in 892 A.D.), an Arab chronicler, also mentions Lahore by the name of *al-Ahver*. From Abu Rehan al-Biruni's allusion to Lahore in his celebrated account *Tarikhul Hind (kitabul Hind)* its reference became an abiding feature of all the major works of Indian history.² Therefore Lahore's pre-eminence rested firmly upon the centuries old historical traditions and a geographical centrality in the plains of central Punjab, on the banks of the river Ravi. The dominating position that Lahore held in the entire Northern India dates back to the eleventh century with the Muslim conquest and city's elevation to a provincial capital. Thereafter, Delhi Sultans and Mughals both deemed the control over Lahore extremely vital for the sustenance of their control over the territories between the Indus and Yumana. That is particularly true of the Mughals and during the reign of Jahangir Lahore reached its acme as the centre of Northern India. The decline of the Mughals in the 18th century, the ascendancy of Sikh chiefs and Afghan marauders frequenting Punjab, cast a shadow of gloom over Lahore. Forty years of Ranjit Singh's rule (1799-1839), however, provided Lahore some respite from the vicissitudes of the eighteenth century, principally because he made Lahore as the capital of his

empire. Not only did Punjab witness political stability but mercifully, Afghan invasions from the north also came to a halt.

It was only after annexation of the Punjab by the British in 1849 that Lahore regained its position of pre-eminence. Lahore was not only the centre of a modern system of administration³ it also came to reflect modernity articulated through Urdu literary genres in the late 19th and early 20th century. Particularly, as Intizar Hussain contends, 'soon after the fall of Delhi and Lucknow in 1857, Lahore emerged as a centre of literary activities, encouraging new trends, whose chief advocates were Hali and Azad.'⁴ This telling contention of Intizar Hussain constitutes the principal theme of this paper. In this study three migrant laureates, Dr. Leitner, Muhammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali and their specific role in fomenting new literary trend in Urdu literature, will form the primary focus of our analysis. However the introduction of Urdu as a vernacular in Punjab immediately after its annexation, which to many was extremely unilateral and arbitrary initiative by the British Officers of the Punjab Commission, seems an appropriate point to contextualise the contribution the three migratory laureates made in the cultural advancement of Colonial Lahore.

Promulgation of Urdu as Vernacular

What is important here is to note is that prior to British rule, Persian was the official language in the Punjab, though religious schools did teach Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script. After annexation in 1849, the question of language became vexed because the vernacular terms deployed by the officials were often unintelligible to their superior officers. The 'local language' and 'the system of deciphering and translation' were at times found to be elusive because *Ahlmad* could not be trusted fully whilst translating 'the deponents'.⁵ Hence, on Board of Administration's proposal, Urdu was adopted as the official language of the province. Since Urdu was already functional in Northern India and most of the officer corps brought over to the Punjab had served in North Western Provinces, it therefore could be of administrative convenience to them if Urdu were to be introduced as a vernacular in the Punjab. One must not lose sight of the difference of opinion among the officers on the language issue. A handful of officers such as Dr. Leitner and Robert Cust, lent support to Punjabi because it was the vernacular language and the British, it was argued, must not sacrifice it on the altar of administrative expediency. Their colleagues, scuttling it down merely as Urdu's dialect, swiftly shot down this proposal. Rehman, while drawing on the number of letters cited in Nazir Chaudhary's book *Development of Urdu as Official Language in the Punjab (1849-1947)* reveals that 'most British officers assumed that Punjabi was a rural patois of Urdu was the refined form.'⁶

Leitner was also of the view that both Englishmen and Indians 'connected with Delhi' were prejudiced against the Punjabi Language. Shafqat Tanveer Mirza particularly asserts that foisting of Urdu in the Punjab took effect primarily because of the influence of the lower staff (*amlah*) who mostly

hailed from Northern India.⁷ Mirza's assertion though does not hold credence in its entirety as the British officers themselves were favourably disposed towards according Urdu the status of vernacular in the province. However, the significance of the role of the *amlah* (staff) in this regard cannot be dismissed altogether as many Hindustanis (people from Northern India, with Urdu as their native tongue) served at subordinate positions until the Mutiny in 1857 (obviously after the 1857 event they were dismissed because of their alleged sympathy for the mutineers). It seems appropriate here to state that the final decision on that crucial issue was left to the Governor-General who eventually gave a nod of approval to the recommendation of the Punjab Board of Administration. Consequently Urdu's introduction as the official language took effect in 1851, initially in the district of Lahore, along with Jhelum, Jhang and Pak Patten. By 1854, Urdu was made the official language in the entire Punjab in which the lower level of administration, judiciary and education was to be conducted. To give a wider appeal to Urdu the Government of Punjab brought out *Sarkari Akhbar*, a newspaper which contained 'a brief summary of the news of the month, abstracts of important trials and orders, changes, appointments and dismissals.'⁸ Urdu, in fact, owed its widening popular appeal to journalism during the last quarter of the 19th century, especially through newspapers such as *Chaudvin Sadi*, *Rafique-i-Hind*, *Paisa Akhbar* and *Zamindar* to name a few.⁹ Here it will be pertinent to explore the role of education in promoting the vernacular. For that purpose it will be imperative to highlight Wood's Despatch and the establishment of an Education Department in the Punjab. It will indeed be helpful is contextualizing the respective roles of Leitner and Col. Holroyd as both of them were associated with education.

The Despatch of 1854 and Vernacular as a means of Instruction

In Punjab, after annexation, education drew Government's immediate attention and the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Robert Montgomery, assumed the responsibility of managing education in the Province. Thus, all communications on the subject from various districts routed through him.¹⁰ In September 1854, however, the judicial commissioner himself asked to be relieved of that charge. Therefore, the Financial Commissioner, Mr. D. F. Macleod took over the charge of Education.¹¹ In same year, the Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, No.49, of the 19th July 1854, was instituted, which set forth 'a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Supreme, or any Local Government, could ever have ventured to suggest.'¹² The Despatch of 1854 prescribed seven main objects to achieve.¹³ However, the objects that concern us here are only two, which are the establishment of separate education departments for the provinces and the emphasis on disseminating education in vernaculars and promotion of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.¹⁴ Thus a separate department of education was established on January 1856 in accordance with the recommendation of Wood's Despatch. Hence the governance of Punjab

education emanated from the Director Public Instruction and three European inspectors.¹⁵ It seems necessary to mention here that in the wake of the Mutiny of 1857, East India Company's rule ended and the British Crown took over the reins of power. Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, re-affirmed the policy drawn out of Wood's Despatch in 1859.¹⁶ The continuity was thus ensured.

A newly created position of Director Public Instruction was filled when William Delafield Arnold (1828-1859), took over the charge.¹⁷ On his sudden death in Gibraltar on 9th April 1859, Abraham Richard Fuller (1828-1867) an officer seconded from the army into the education service, assumed the charge of that post in January 1860.¹⁸ Tragically, Fuller drowned to death while crossing the river Bungeel near Rawalpindi in 1867 and Colonel William Rice Moreland Holroyd (1835-1913) succeeded him, taking over the charge in February, 1868.¹⁹ He was at the centre stage of the developments brought about in Urdu literature through Lahore *Mushairas*. These Mushairas conducted under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Punjab, played a seminal role in transforming Urdu language and literature.

Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner and Anjuman-i-Punjab

As already stated Urdu was re-enforced as vernacular in the Punjab. That initiative wrought many influences on Punjab's culture particularly in the urban areas. The immediate fall out was that it made Punjab amenable to the literary influences from Delhi and North Western Provinces. However, before scrutinizing these influences, it is important to underline the role of the two officers in fomenting the cause of Urdu in Punjab. Besides C.M. Mcleod, Lieutenant Governor of the province, Colonel Holroyd and Dr. Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner, first Principal of Government College, Lahore (established in 1864) exhibited special interest in the promotion of Urdu language and literature.²⁰ Last two persons though remained at cross-purposes regarding their respective visions for the education in the Punjab; nevertheless, they were in complete accord regarding promotion of Urdu. However, the scale and intensity of Holroyd's zeal for vernacular education did not match Leitner's passion for the same. Importantly enough his vision, as we shall outline below markedly digressed from the education policy envisaged by Lord Macaulay in his famous minutes (presented in 1835).²¹ In the following section, Leitner forms the central focus and particularly his endeavours for the establishment of Anjuman-i-Punjab, which according to Tariq Rahman was 'a zealous advocate of oriental studies' and became a platform of a new experiment of bringing in the modernist sensibilities in Urdu literature.²² But before foregrounding Leitner's role in ushering Urdu literature into a new era, it will be pertinent here to provide a brief introduction to his life and career.

Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1840-1899), 'an enlightened Hungarian and a naturalized Britisher',²³ was born to a Jewish family in Pest. He was still a toddler when his father Leopold Saphir died and 'possibly for reasons connected with the failure of the 1848 revolution in Hungary, his widow

moved with her two children to Constantinople.' There she married a medical missionary Dr. Johann Moritz Leitner (1800-1861). He had converted from Judaism to Protestantism and was attending to the Jews of the Ottoman Empire under the auspices of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. He adopted his wife's children and Gottlieb and his sister Elisabeth always referred to him as their real father. Leitner was naturally endowed with the uncanny ability to learn and master different languages. At a very young age he undertook a sojourn to Constantinople (currently Istanbul) to learn Turkish and Arabic and within two years time he had mastered both of these languages. His abilities were so remarkable that *The Times* in its obituary (25 March 1899) stated that 'as a linguist he probably had no living rival in the area of his knowledge.' Leitner subsequently worked as an interpreter in the Crimea during war. After the war ended he came to Kings College London with the intent of receiving a certificate in divinity in April 1859. In the same year, he secured a position of a lecturer at the very tender age of 19 and though still only twenty-three, he found himself situated on a coveted post of a professor in Arabic and Muslim Law. Soon afterwards, he got degrees of M.A. and a PhD from Freiburg (Germany). He also gained admission at the Middle Temple in November 1869 and was called to the Bar in November 1875, but never contemplated practicing Law.

In 1864, when Government College Lahore was founded, Leitner was appointed its first Principal, a position that he retained till his retirement from Indian service in 1886. During his stay at Lahore, Leitner, along with his contribution in various realms, started various journals in different languages like English, Urdu and Arabic. The best known among these, founded in Lahore as *Indian Public Opinion*, changed its name to the *Civil and Military Gazette*. The distinctive feature of CMG was that none other than Rudyard Kipling was once its assistant editor and it carried many of his earlier verses and stories. Leitner authored many books and reports. His *History of Indigenous Education in Punjab* came out in 1882 and is still considered as the primary source on the state of education in the 19th century Punjab. Besides this he published several other treatises and books including *The Languages and Races of Dardistan* in 1889. Pritchett maintains, while drawing on Sadiq's biography on Muhammad Hussain Azad, that Leitner was 'somewhat autocratic by temperament, but a most effective popularizer and shaper of opinion.'²⁴

Leitner breathed his last on 22 March 1899 in Bonn where he had gone to take the waters at the Godesburg spa. While there he contracted pneumonia which proved fatal. Leitner left behind several lasting legacies besides his scholarly works. Here we are concerned with the associations that he conjured up. As Emmett Davis reveals in her *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab: 1836-1947*, 'just within a year he had established three associations for the advancement of learning, two within and one outside the college'.²⁵ Those were the Societies for Debating and Essay writing, which were necessary for the students to improve their English composition and conversation, a skill much desired in Government educational institutions.²⁶ The society that he

established outside Government College was Anjuman-i-Punjab, which soon became very influential.

Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Mutalib-i-Mufida-i-Punjab, 'Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge', was the full name of Anjuman-i-Punjab and it came into existence on 21 January 1865 at Shiksha Sabha Hall, Lahore.²⁷ Anjuman set up a *Madrisa* in a building of a *path shalla*, established by Lahore Shiksha Sabha to teach Hindi and Sanskrit. The Anjuman took possession of that building and added Arabic and Persian to the curriculum.²⁸ Thus a school was set up which later on became Oriental College. The Anjuman was formed with the two-fold object of reviving the study of ancient Oriental learning and as its name succinctly suggests, of diffusing useful knowledge through the medium of the Vernacular.²⁹ Leitner was its 'dictator' and Lepel Griffin its secretary.³⁰ It had 35 original members and all of them were in government employment. Aslam Furrukhi is even more succinct when he states, 'the whole Anjuman was called into being by Government fiat.'³¹ Muhammad Sadiq in his *magnum opus*, *A History of Urdu Literature*, circumscribes two institutions in adulatory terms, 'which hastened the Western penetration of India, the foremost in Northern India were the *Delhi College* and the *Anjuman-i-Punjab*, Lahore.'³² As is alluded later in this narrative, the modernist/western trend that had a transforming impact on Lahore in fact emanated at Delhi College. It therefore becomes imperative to give a brief reference of that institution to put the establishment of the Anjuman-i-Punjab and the role of Azad and Hali in it, in a proper perspective.

The Delhi College (originally established in 1702³³ but revived in 1825) in 1828, at the behest of Sir Charles Metcalf, 'had an English class attached to it.'³⁴ The principal object of that 'Anglo-Indian' institution was to impart Western science and philosophy through the medium of the vernacular. The Society for the Promotion of Knowledge in India, generally known as Delhi Vernacular Translation Society was the most salient of all the features of Delhi College. The Delhi Vernacular Translation Society aimed at publishing Urdu translations of a huge number of English books of various disciplines such as philosophy, economics, history, constitutional law, mathematics, astronomy and physical sciences. Scholars and laureates of immense calibre like V. Felix Boutras, Dr Sprenger, and Francis Taylor contributed significantly in effecting 'Delhi Renaissance'. Similarly, Master Ram Chandra (1821-1880) was a very prominent Indian scholar, the avant-garde of all literary and social reforms in Northern India. He worked zealously to impart Western knowledge to the people of Delhi. But more important was Master Piyare Lal Ashoob's contribution, not only in bringing about Delhi Renaissance but also having its rub off on the Punjab too.

Piyare Lal Ashoob (1834-1914) was born, bred and educated in Delhi. Having received his education from Delhi College, he took up a position as a secretary of Delhi Society and worked quite effectively in diffusing Western knowledge (literature) among the people of his city. However, after he was transferred to the department of Education, Lahore also benefited from his talent as a laureate *par excellence*. In that department, his job was to translate

English works into Urdu. While in Lahore, he found the environment conducive for the enhancement of his literary prowess. Therefore he produced literary works of great merit like *Qisas-e-Hind*, part 1 and 3 and *Rusum-e-Hind* and also *Tarikh-i-Inglistan*. *Qisas-i-Hind* was written for a prize competition, which was Col. Holroyd's initiative; a collection of stories about India was undoubtedly Ashoob's masterpiece.³⁵ Ashoob, like Muhammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali was an extraordinary source for transferring the influences of Delhi Renaissance over to Lahore. The transfusion of these influences to the culture of Lahore though could only come about through the agency of Anjuman-i-Punjab, which shared its orientation and principal objective with Delhi College, although former was not a teaching institution. The revival of ancient oriental learning, the advancement of popular knowledge through vernaculars, the discussion of social, literary, scientific, and political questions of interest, and the association of the learned and influential classes with the officers of the government, were the objectives of Anjuman, which were almost in complete accord with what the Delhi College professed and disseminated.³⁶

The Anjuman set a task for itself to bring about ameliorative change among the people of the Punjab. Hence, it diversified its sphere of activities. The multiple nature of Anjuman's activities necessitated setting up of different committees with clearly defined aims. Of these, the Library Committee, the Educational Committee and the Medical Committee were noteworthy.³⁷ The Anjuman also had its own journal, the *Journal of the Anjuman-e-Punjab*. This journal had a specific aim of acquainting the local populace with English thought, the expectations of Government and current affairs, and to familiarize the Government with the needs and requirements of the people.³⁸ The Anjuman was instrumental in establishing a free library and reading room, holding public lectures and compiling educational texts and rendering them into Indian languages. On top of it all, the Anjuman saw to it that the Oriental College was established as stated earlier. That institution was founded in 1870 as an Oriental School and in 1872 it was elevated to a College and Leitner was its first Principal.³⁹ Scholar of extraordinary merit like Faiz ul Hassan Saharanpuri and Maulvi Abdul Hakim Kalanauri came to teach Arabic and Persian respectively. Both of them came to join Oriental College on the persuasion of Leitner. Saharanpuri imparted instruction in Arabic at oriental College for seventeen years and died in 1887. Kalanauri's association with Oriental College was forty four years long, from 1872 to 1916. Abdullah Tonkvi was another scholar of Arabic who served Oriental College for 34 years in various capacities.⁴⁰ Iqbal too worked at Oriental College after his appointment on 13th May 1899 as Mcleod Reader in Arabic. He worked there for almost four years.⁴¹ Oriental College was undoubtedly a luminous feather in Anjuman's cap.

However, it is important to underscore that the Anjuman, despite its meritorious services for the people of Punjab, had an elitist character which was reflected in the fact that soon after its existence, it drew 300 members in its ranks.⁴² All of them represented the top echelon of Punjabi populace. In

1870, Anjuman's sub-group numbered 37, and 'seventeen of them were listed in Griffen's *The Punjab Chiefs*.'⁴³ It also had resources to publish three newspapers and four journals.⁴⁴ Anjuman's popularity reached everywhere in the entire province. Soon it established its branches in Kasur, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Amritsar. The efforts of Anjuman bore numerous fruits and its significant ones are as follows:

- a) The University College, Lahore was established in 1869 which was elevated to a fully fledged University in 1882.
- b) The Board of Vernacular Instruction was set up.
- c) The Punjab Book Depot was also set up with the object of translating books from English and supervising their publication.⁴⁵

The establishment of University College which later on evolved into a fully fledged University was the most conspicuous feat of Anjuman-i-Punjab. The demand for a University in the province had its genesis in a letter dated 10, June 1865, from Mcleod in which suggestions were invited for 'the improvement of Oriental learning and the development of a sound vernacular literature'.⁴⁶ Anjuman-i-Punjab enthusiastically responded to that call and proposed that an 'Oriental University' be set up at Lahore to notch up that goal. A number of Englishmen, organized through the 'European Committee of Support' also threw their lot behind Anjuman on the condition that it would adopt a more practical and useful proposal for establishment of 'an Anglo-Oriental institution' meant to impart European knowledge through the language of the people instead of the original plan of an Oriental University.⁴⁷ The Government of India too was not keen at setting up a University but acceded instead 'to the development of higher teaching in the Panjab by extending and improving the existing Government College, Lahore, with a grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,000.'⁴⁸ That move did not placate the Punjab Government and the Anjuman, the sponsors of the scheme. Long deliberations and bulky correspondence ensued till the Government of India eventually enunciated 'that institution be provided at Lahore, under some title as the "University College"'.⁴⁹ Thus the Punjab University College came into existence by Notification No.472 on 8th December, 1869 with Leitner as its first principal.⁵⁰ It was however only a stepping stone for those in the vanguard of the movement and particularly Leitner, for a full fledged University. These endeavours seemed to have borne fruit when in 1877 Lord Lytton, on the occasion of the Imperial Darbar in Delhi, promised to introduce a Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council for endowing the Panjab University College with the status of a University, competent to confer degrees.⁵¹ Nevertheless it took at least another five years when Lord Ripon finally fulfilled the promise and on 14th October 1882 the University of the Punjab came into existence.⁵² Mr. Baden Powell was appointed the first Honorary Vice-Chancellor and Leitner, the Registrar of the new University. Leitner retained that position till 1885.

The Punjab Book Depot became extremely important because it threw up a source of livelihood for some laureates of exceptional talent like Muhammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali. Consequently, both of them came to

Lahore. The journeys of these two to Lahore turned out to be watershed in the modern history of Urdu literature. Under the watchful eye of Colonel Holroyd, Urdu poetry was made to embrace new forms and themes, which were consistent with modernity. To carry out this transformation, a series of *Mushairas* were convened in 1874 under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Punjab.

Migrant Literati: Azad, Hali and *Mushairas*

Pritchett sees Anjuman's making an overriding contribution in enhancing Muhammad Hussain Azad's career. Azad with his chequered past and uncertain present and having wandered around for several years finally ended up in Lahore in 1864 at the age of thirty-four.⁵³ He was born in Delhi on 10th June 1830, to an enterprising father Maulvi Baqir Ali who pioneered Urdu journalism by bringing out the 'Delhi Urdu Akhbar' in 1836.⁵⁴ After early education, Azad went to Delhi College in 1846 and enrolled in the Urdu-medium 'Oriental' section, which offered Arabic and Persian rather than English. After completing Delhi College's eight year curriculum, Azad graduated, probably in 1854. Then he went on to join his father's paper and in the 1850s his name appeared as 'printer and publisher' of books produced by the Delhi Urdu Akhbar Press. He continued to work for his father's paper till 1857. Simultaneously he developed a taste for poetry and took Zauq, royal ustad who was a close friend of his father's as his *Ustad* (teacher) whom he greatly revered throughout his life. Aslam Furukhi, the acclaimed biographer of Azad, also speaks of his 'Zauq worship'.⁵⁵ That probably was also the reason why after Zauq's death he undertook a project of editing his *ghazals* for publication.

Life continued at a monotonous pace until the cataclysm of 1857 rocked Azad's life completely. His father was executed on the charge of treason, and his house and property confiscated.⁵⁶ During the next six or seven years he was on the run until he came to Lahore and managed to secure a temporary job at the Post Office. Later on, he got a petty job in the Education Department at the recommendation of Pandit Man Phul.⁵⁷ Pritchett reveals that Azad had been tutoring some Englishmen in Urdu to supplement his office salary, which must have been quite meagre. Fortuitously he had an opportunity of tutoring Leitner in 1864-65, who formed an excellent opinion about him.⁵⁸ Acquaintance with Leitner rewarded Azad in more than one way. He became a regularly paid lecturer on behalf of the Anjuman in 1866. During the next year (1867) Leitner made him secretary of the Anjuman.⁵⁹

Azad worked assiduously hard for the promotion of Anjuman and the objectives it stood for. He read numerous papers at its meeting, which were generally speaking, well received. Anjuman published 142 papers out of which twenty-two were of Azad's. From March to December 1867, he produced 36 lectures and essays which encompassed all cultural and social issues that Indian society had to contend with. Besides, he also edited the Anjuman's journal. Those were the days when he wrote *Qisas-i-Hind*, a school textbook comprising stories from the Indian past.⁶⁰

All his labour and loyalty eventually opened an avenue for further progress when, on the recommendation of Leitner, he was appointed as assistant professor of Arabic at Government College Lahore. From here on, according to Pritchett, the best period of Azad's life began. In 1870 he started editing Anjuman's newspaper 'Huma-i-Punjab'⁶¹ which incurred the wrath of many, as they perceived it as 'being English-influenced to an unacceptable degree.'⁶² However, the event that caused a lot of stir, took place on 9th May 1874 when according to Sadiq 'the Punjab Government made an abortive attempt to renovate poetry'.⁶³ The same year Sir Donald Mcleod, addressed a letter to Holroyd emphasising that the Text Book Committee of the Education Department, authorized to prescribe syllabi for higher and secondary schools, should include in its recommendations selection from Urdu poetry.⁶⁴ Thus, the stage for that event, which Pritchett called 'most memorable and controversial' was set with classy audience comprising mostly of Englishmen of high official rank.⁶⁵ On that occasion, Azad read his well-known manifesto in which he critically evaluated Urdu poetry in the light of the principles of English poetry that, according to Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, though lacked profundity it nevertheless served as the foundation stone for the Movement of Modern Urdu Poetry.⁶⁶ Shams ud Din Siddique describes that manifesto as the starting point of modern literary criticism.⁶⁷ While the 'traditional adornments of poetry' have fallen into 'desuetude', maintained Pritchett, he then goes on to quote by translating from Azad's own book 'Nazm-e Azad', 'New kinds of jewellery and robes of honour, suited to the conditions of the present day, are shut up in the storage-trunks of English-which are lying right here beside us.'⁶⁸ However, equally important but more widely quoted is the speech of Col. Holroyd in which he spoke at length about the decadent state of Urdu poetry and invited the attention of those present at the meeting 'to find ways and means for the development of Urdu poetry'.⁶⁹ He also read a letter from the Secretary, Punjab Government:

I have been directed to ask you if it is not possible to include in the curriculum of our secondary and high schools as a selection of Urdu poetry, aiming at moral instruction, and presenting a natural picture of feelings and thoughts. And, further, if a selection of this nature could be compiled from the works of Mir Taqi, Miskin, Zauq, Ghalib and others...If in this manner, with the help of schools, an indigenous poetry of a non-sectarian character were written and were gradually to replace the poetry now in vogue, it would really be an important step forward.⁷⁰

In the same speech, he made an announcement of holding *mushairahs*, which would have a distinctive feature of assigning certain subject to the poet who was supposed to compose the poem. He also emphasized to the poets to write poems instead of ghazals in the rhyme of a given hemistich.⁷¹ Col. Holroyd unfolded a plan of convening monthly meetings and then he announced a topic 'Bargha Rut'⁷² (rainy season) for the poets to write on for the next meeting.

The poet, however, was at complete liberty to adopt any form whether *mathnavi* or *musaddas*. Before proceeding any further, it seems quite pertinent to throw some light on the origin of *Mushaira*.

Mushaira is a poetic symposium or a term used to describe an event where poets gather to recite their poetry. Mushaira is a modified form of the Arabic *musa'ara*, a verbal noun, which is reciprocal in reference⁷³ and according to Steingass its primary meaning is 'contending with, or excelling in poetry.'⁷⁴ In Persian *mushaira* denotes a poetic contest in which two persons or groups exchange couplets back and forth, each one is required to respond with a couplet beginning with the letter with which the opponent's couplet ends, usually known in South Asia as *bait bazi*. Mushaira refers exclusively to a gathering of poets for the purpose of poetry-recitation before the audience.⁷⁵ Shibli Numani in his monumental work *Si 'rul'ajam*, maintains that the Mushairas began in the Persian milieu by the end of fifteenth century.⁷⁶ Although information about the commencement of Urdu Mushairas is fragmentary it can be ascertained with some measure of certainty that these mushairas began in the second half of nineteenth century. Usually the homes of the individuals or *dargah* and *takiya* associated with *sufis* were the loci of such gatherings. Steadily but surely Mushairas gained popular currency in Delhi and Lucknow. Subsequently Mushaira tradition crept into Lahore's culture. But here we are primarily concerned about the Mushairas held under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Punjab and Muhammad Hussain Azad was the seminal figure and the guiding spirit behind that initiative.

Azad was quite prolific at Lahore. Although poetry prose was his *forte*, it was his ingenuity and finesse in the art of writing in which he excelled, as exhibited very succinctly in his works like *Sukhandan-e-Fars*, *Qisas-e-Hind* and *Ab-e-Hayat*. *Sukhandan-e-Fars*, which deals with Persian language and literature runs into two volumes, the first published in 1860s as a booklet and the second remained in manuscript form till 1907. After this both volumes were published together. The first volume consists of two lectures on the principles of philology with respect to Persian and Sanskrit and the second volume comprises eleven lectures, delivered in 1873. The latter is a mine of information on linguistics and although based mostly on Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia* (published in 1800) the whole account is embellished with beautiful prose which was Azad's peculiarity.⁷⁷ *Qisas-e-Hind* is a collection of stories from medieval Indian history, meant for children. The factual accuracy of these stories can be questioned but one tends to concur with Sadiq's view who terms it 'pseudo-historical' but great in terms of their 'vivid re-creation of the past' *Qisas-e-Hind* is undoubtedly 'a master-piece.'⁷⁸ *Ab-e-Hayat* (The Water of Life) is Azad's *magnum opus*.⁷⁹ He started writing *Ab-e-Hayat* in 1876 and it was finally published in 1880. Like *Sukhandan-e-Fars* it also runs into two volumes. The first volume focuses on the evolution and growth of Urdu language and the second one specifically deals with Urdu poetry.⁸⁰ In the particular field of Urdu Language and its development, Azad was the pioneer without any trace of doubt. Regarding his Urdu poetry in the second volume, he underscored the Persian influence on the development of Urdu language

and literature. The old *Tazkiras*, oral information obtained from friends and relatives and material secured through correspondence, are the sources on which Azad has based his narrative.⁸¹ Besides these books Azad also wrote *Nairang-i-Khayal* and *Darbar-i-Akbari* which failed to make any impression. Generally Azad's prose is looked at suspiciously because the imagery, metaphor and simile have been used with some abundance. However, Sadiq commends Azad for adorning Urdu prose with the common/colloquial idiom of Delhi's *Shurafa* (genteel class).⁸² Hence after Ghalib and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Azad contributed quite significantly in reorganizing Urdu prose towards modern lines. The locus of this unique development in Urdu prose was Lahore. He was conferred the title of *Shams ul Ulema* for his services in education and literature in 1887.⁸³

Besides Azad, another poet laureate who, according to Sadiq, was 'temperamentally and intellectually the fittest person to herald the new movement'⁸⁴ was Altaf Hussain who composed poetry under the *nom de plume* of Hali (1837-1914).⁸⁵ Born to Khawja Izad Bakhsh in a middle-class Muslim family of Panipat,⁸⁶ he received early instruction at home, learnt Persian and Arabic besides learning Quran by heart at a very early age. His early education, as he described later, consisted of 'nothing more than a haphazard study of the most elementary Arabic and Persian texts which any Muslim child of the time was expected to read.'⁸⁷ The premature demise of his father in 1845 deprived him of paternal love and care.

As already noted, Hali had orthodox upbringing which naturally made him suspicious if not totally averse to 'anything western.' Therefore, when he came to Delhi in 1854 to pursue his studies, he preferred a traditional seminary Madrisa-i-Hussain Bakhsh in the vicinity of Jamia Masjid, over institution like the Delhi College.⁸⁸ It was in Delhi that Hali, primarily on the advice of Mirza Ghalib, turned to poetry. His stay at Delhi proved to be a temporary affair because he had to return to Panipat on the insistence of his family. However, he came to Delhi again in 1862 with the approval of his family. Shortly afterwards he became acquainted with Mustafa Khan Shaifta, Nawab of Jahangirabad in Bulandshahr district who wanted a tutor for his son. Hali went to Jahangirabad and worked as a tutor for Shaifta's son Naqshband Khan, for 7 years. Besides, he imbibed his patron's poetic vision and style. He attributed his success as a poet to Shaifta. In 1869, Shaifta passed away and Hali not only lost his benefactor but also his means of subsistence yet again. Hence, it was his quest for employment which led Hali to Lahore and he took up a job with Punjab Government Book Depot as Assistant Translator. His assignment was to go over the translated works from English and to edit them and check them for mistakes.⁸⁹ That was where Hali acquired 'a general feeling for English literature, and somehow or other my admiration for Eastern - and above all Persian literature - began gradually to diminish.'⁹⁰ In Lahore Hali met Azad for the first time. cursory acquaintance later on turned into closer intimacy. Eventually at the behest of Leitner and Azad, Hali also took part in *Mushairas*. During four years of his stay at Lahore, Hali participated in four *Mushairas* and recited his poems, which were in *masnavi* form. The themes of his poems

were *Barkha Rut* (The Rainy Season), *Nashat-i Ummid* (Pleasures of Hope), *Hubb-i Watan* (Patriotism) and *Munazara-i Rahm-o-Insaf* (Dialogue between Clemency and Justice).⁹¹ Hali's poems were extolled and he was eulogized as 'the only glory of these gatherings.'⁹² In one of the Mushairas, when he presented his poem on *hub-i watan* (patriotism), people in attendance listened to Hali 'all ears'. In these Mushairas, Hali seemed to have eclipsed Azad. The latter's poetry was found wanting and in need of *islah* or 'correction'.⁹³ Hali's stealing the limelight did not sit well with Azad, which resulted in some misgivings between the two. Mercifully, the relationship did not deteriorate to an extent of a complete alienation.

In 1875, Hali went back to Delhi partly because of his nostalgia for the city and partly because Lahore's climate did not suit his frail health. More importantly, however Anglo Arabic College's offer was the most effective persuasion for Hali to move to Delhi and he taught there for twelve years.⁹⁴ During that time he came into contact with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Coupled with the influence that he imbibed from Lahore, Sir Syed's galvanizing effect brought the very best out of Hali in the form of *Musaddas-e Hali* in 1879. The poem called *Madd o jazr-e Islam* (The high tide and low tide of Islam) consists of 456 six line stanzas which were published first in *Tahzib ul-Akhlaq*, a journal that Sir Syed had instituted. In that poem Hali deplored the attenuating state of Indian Muslims in general.⁹⁵ Simplicity of style and refrain from excessive verbosity was also evident in the biographies, a genre that Hali pioneered. He started with *Hayat-i-Saadi*, (The Life of Saadi), a biographical account of the thirteenth century Persian poet published in 1886. Subsequently he wrote biographies of Ghalib (Yadgar-i-Ghalib, which Ralph Russell considers 'his best prose work')⁹⁶ in 1897 and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (Hayat-i-Javed) in 1901. However, Hali broke new ground in Urdu literature by adding into its repertoire literary criticism by writing *Muqadma-i-Sher o Shairi* in 1893. That in fact was a long essay that he wrote as an introduction to his collection of poetry but subsequently it became a small book in its own right. It was not only the first attempt at literary criticism but according to Pritchett, 'by far the most influential work of Urdu literary criticism ever written'.⁹⁷ All said and done, the influence that Lahore cast on Hali played a decisive role in the way his poetry and prose subsequently shaped up.

He moved to Lahore once again in January 1887 as superintendent of the College Hostel. The people from College administration, as Malik Ram surmises, probably knew him from his previous stay in Lahore, therefore they extended him an offer, which 'bespeaks very highly of his character and integrity.'⁹⁸ Hali, unlike Azad did not find Lahore a convenient place to live indefinitely and resigned within six months in June 1887. The services that he rendered for education and literature were acknowledged when the title of *Shams ul Ulema* was conferred on him in 1904.⁹⁹ It may be appropriate to draw this section to a close by quoting the *Times of India* which noted in paying tribute to Holroyd, 'There is a pleasant flutter among the Urdu poets at Lahore, in consequence of the return of Major Holroyd, whose well-known Urdu scholarship and patronage of a pure Urdu poetry, induced him to revive,

if not to create, the “Mushairas” or gathering of poets which attracted considerable attention some time ago, and which we had much pleasure in chronicling.’¹⁰⁰

Dawn of New Literary Era

Despite the pecuniary incentive attached for the poets who distinguished themselves, the Mushairas could not go beyond March 1875. The nine Mushairas held in an ambiance reeking with acrimony, personal conflicts, rivalries and trenchant criticism of Azad’s role as the organiser as well as on the merit of his poetry. Thus the Mushairas evoked mixed responses. Sadiq pronounces the whole exercise of holding the Mushaira series an abject failure because ‘the academic verse it produced failed to touch the heart of the generation to which it was addressed.’¹⁰¹ Leitner’s prognosis was slightly different, as poets had no choice but to accept ‘dictation in poetic inspiration’ which they refused to acquiesce in. Besides, poets also found it utterly disparaging when told that they had hitherto debased their genius by celebrating love. Therefore, Mushairas failed to produce the intended result. However, Furrukhi contests both of these assertions. He propounds that the ‘mushairah series ended not because it failed, but because it succeeded’ as the Department of Public Instruction thought the purpose of holding Mushaira was served and were optimistic of its lasting impact.¹⁰²

Mushairas undoubtedly had a constant rub on the succeeding generations of poets. Therefore, Sadiq and Leitner’s respective pronouncements on Mushairas as failure, stand substantially invalidated as subsequent pattern of Urdu poetry betrays very strong influence regarding both its contents and forms. Generally the Persian sway on Urdu poetry waned quite considerably, giving way to the influence from the English literary tradition regarding its genre and poetic style.¹⁰³ The poem as a genre established its niche as a medium of poetic expression and particularly with Iqbal’s emergence; it ascended to come at par with the ghazal. Similarly, the Mushairas held at Lahore had a significant contribution in widening the scope of Urdu poetry, by introducing new themes, with Hali’s poem *Hubb-i Watan* as a case in point and which can be termed as the precursor of Iqbal’s *Tarana-i-Hindi*. Now, natural objects became the themes, which were broached very often by the poets, Iqbal’s *Himala*, *Pahar aur Gulehri* and *Aik Perinda aur Jugnu* etc can be put forward as illustrations. Literary journals like *Nairang-i-Khayal*, *Dilgudaz*, *Shor-i-Mehshar*, *Shabab-i-Urdu* and *Maghzan* had a profound resonance with the modern literary movement started at Lahore. Many poets namely Ismael, Benazir Shah, Na’azir, Sarwar, Mohsin, Mehroom, Chakabast, Auj, Shauq and Hadi came forward as the representatives of new poetry and published in newly established Urdu Journals.

Conclusion

Soon after the 1857 Mutiny, when Delhi and Lucknow were subjected to British retribution, the cultural ethos that both cities once epitomized relocated itself to Lahore. Many officers of the Punjab Commission, justifiably the architects of the Province's administrative structure, had served for number of years in NWP. Most of them had some smattering of Urdu too. After coming over to Punjab, they replicated their experiences there. Not only in terms of the rules and regulations but also in language and culture, Punjab was thoroughly overhauled. The introduction of Urdu as a vernacular was one but a huge step in that particular direction. Donald Mcleod, Fuller and Holroyd zestfully worked towards re-inventing the literary character of Urdu in Lahore. Therefore Lahore was the locus of the inauguration of modern literary trend in Urdu from the 1870s onwards. The *Mushairas* held under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Punjab left an indelible mark on the future course that Urdu poetry and prose had taken. Hakim Ahmad Shuja mentions such informal institution like Hakim Shahbaz Din's *Baithak* where that tradition continued, started earlier by Azad and Hali. Government College and Oriental College are the most valued legacies of those days.

Notes

¹Bapsi Sidhwa, 'Introduction: City Beloved' in ed. Bapsi Sidhwa, *City of Sin and Splendour: Writings on Lahore* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2005), p. xi.

²Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present* (Lahore: Punjab University Press, 1952), pp. 1-2.

³See for this William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 4-5.

⁴Intizar Hussain, 'Ravians Recall the Good Old Days', May, 2002, www.wokingmuslim.org/dr.leitner/link.htm. Accessed on 8th April, 2012.

⁵Tahir Kamran, 'Punjab, Punjabi and Urdu: A Question of Displaced Identity, A Historical Appraisal' in *International Journal of Punjab Studies* 14:1

⁶Chaudhary Nazir Ahmed, *Development of Urdu as Official Language in the Punjab (1849-1947)*, (Lahore: Government of the Punjab, 1977), p. iv.

⁷Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.193.

⁸Chaudhary Nazir Ahmed, *Development of Urdu as Official Language in the Punjab*, p. iv.

⁹The first weekly newspaper appeared just after a few months of Punjab's annexation (January 14, 1850) by the name of *Koh-i-Noor*. Munshi Harsukh Rai was its founder. That newspaper was established under the patronage of the Punjab Board of Administration. Other newspapers were Punjab Journal, *Punjabee Akhbar* established in March 1856 by Syed Muhammad Azim, *Chashma-i-Khurshid*, a fortnightly paper founded by Munshi Diwan Chand

and *Mufad-i-Hind*. Muhammad Ismail Panipatti, 'Urdu ka Pehla Akhbar', *Imroze*, August 14, 1955, p.15. Also see Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Journalism in Pakistan, First Phase: 1845 to 1857* (Lahore: Publishers United Ltd, 1964), pp. 55-68.

¹⁰Y.B.Mathur, *British Administration of Punjab: 1849-1875* (Delhi: Surjeet Book Depot, n.d), p. 78.

¹¹Ibid, pp. 78-79.

¹²'Resolution of the Government of India, appointing the Indian Education Commission, No.1/60, dated 3rd February,1882, printed as Appendix A to the Commission's Report, p. 623', cited in Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India:1781-1893* (Delhi: Idara-i-Adbiyat-i-Delli,1981), p. 85.

¹³To see all the seven objects, *ibid*.

¹⁴Ibid, p. 89.

¹⁵Tim Allender, *Ruling through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (New Delhi: New Dawn Press Group, 2006), pp. 7-8.

¹⁶R.R. Sethi & J.L. Mehta, *A History of the Panjab University Chandigarh: 1947-1967* (Chandigarh: Panjab University Publication Bureau, 1968), p. 2.

¹⁷Irving, M. and Rhe-Philippe, G.W., *A list of inscriptions on Christian tombs and monuments in the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan*, 2p.t. 190-12. The Indian Biographical Archive, microfiche, p. 26, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge.

¹⁸Irving, M. and Rhe-Philippe, G.W., *A list of inscriptions on Christian tombs and monuments in the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan*, 2p.t. 1910-12. The Indian Biographical Archives, microfiche, p.141, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge.

¹⁹*The India list and India office list for 1900*. The Indian Biographical Archive, microfiche, p. 187, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge.

²⁰Holroyd initially wanted, like his predecessor A.R. Fuller that English ought to be made popular and made it medium of instruction. However during 1870s English was deployed as a medium of instruction for mathematics and general knowledge in government district-level schools. Holroyd. 1871. Letter from Captain W.R.M. Holroyd, DPI, to the Officiating Secretary, Punjab No. 85, Lahore, 13 May 1871. In *Extracts from Punjab Records (Education): Home Department June 1871*. ACC No.799 (NDC).

²¹Intizar Hussain, 'Ravians Recall the Good Old Days', May, 2002, www.wokingmuslim.org/dr.leitner/link.htm. Accessed on 8th April, 2012.

²²Tariq Rahman, *Language, Ideology and Power: Language-Learning among the Muslims of Pakistan and North India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 217.

²³Leitner's description in Punjab University Lahore's website. His biographical details can also be seen in Allender, *Ruling through Education*, pp. 126-127.

²⁴Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 32.

²⁵Emmett Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab: 1836-1947* (Delhi: Academic Publications, 1983), p. 52.

²⁶H.L.C.Garrett and Abdul Hamid, *A History of Government College Lahore, 1864-1964* (Lahore: Government College Lahore, 1964), p. 3.

²⁷Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920s: A Case study of Muslims* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997), pp.11-12. Also see Hakim Ahmad Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea* (Lahore: Atishfishan, 2006), pp. 37-38.

²⁸Ibid, p. 22.

²⁹In Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India: 1781-1893*, p. 90.

³⁰Tim Allender, *Ruling through Education*:p.137.

³¹Aslam Furrukhi, "Muhammad Hussain Azad" (Karachi: Anjuman-i-Taraqi-e Urdu, 1965), pp.164-190, cited in Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 32.

³²Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature* (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 315.

³³It was established as an Oriental College, supported by voluntary contributions from Muslim gentlemen for the study of Persian and Arabic. But attenuating circumstances of its patrons, the College was closed down and reopened in 1825 under the Committee of Public Instruction and in 1829 it was endowed by a munificent bequest of Rs.1, 70,000 from Nawab I'tmad-ud-Daula, Prime Minister of the King of Oudh. *ibid*.

³⁴*Ibid*.

³⁵Qasis-i-Hind's second part was written by Muhammad Hussain Azad. See Muhammad Sadiq, 'Muhammad Hussain Azad' in *Tarikh-i-Adabiyat Musalmanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind*, Volume 4, 1857-1914 (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010), p. 122.

³⁶Frances W. Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness: Urdu Poetry and its Critics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 32-33.

³⁷Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 319.

³⁸*Ibid*.

³⁹Shuja, *Lahore Ka Chelsea*, p. 23.

⁴⁰*Ibid*, pp. 36-37.

⁴¹Iqbal used to teach History and Economics to Intermediate students. It was here that he authored *Ilm ul Iqtisad*. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rood: Allama Iqbal Ki Mukamal Swahneh Hayat* (Lahore: Sang e Meel Publications, 2004), p.112

⁴²For the perspective on Anjuman-i-Punjab, see Tim Allender, *Ruling through Education*, pp. 123-157.

⁴³Tim Allender, *Ruling through Education*, p. 161.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁴⁵Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 319.

⁴⁶Letter No. 296, dated June 10, 1865, from the Secretary, Panjab Government, to the Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, quoted in J.F. Bruce, *A History of the University of the Panjab* (Lahore: Government of the Panjab Press, 1933), p. 11.

⁴⁷Sethi & Mehta, *A History of the Panjab University Chandigarh: 1947-1967*, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Panjab Government Proceedings, November 1868 (Education), p. 9, quoted in Bruce, *A History of the University of the Panjab, Lahore*, p. 20.

⁴⁹ Report of Anjuman-i-Panjab, Part IV, p.8, quoted in Sethi & Mehta, *A History of the Panjab University Chandigarh: 1947-1967*, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Bruce, *A History of the University of the Panjab, Lahore*, p. 26.

⁵¹ Sethi & Mehta, *A History of the Panjab University Chandigarh: 1947-1967*, p. 8.

⁵² The Panjab University Act No. XIX of 1882 was published in the Gazette of India, dated December 7, 1882. Ibid, p. 9.

⁵³ Frances W. Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Muhammad Sadiq, 'Muhammad Hussain Azad' in *Tarikh-i-Adabiyat-i-Musalmanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind*, p. 117.

⁵⁵ Aslam Farukhi, *Muhammad Hussain Azad, vol.1* (Karachi: Anjuman-i-Taraqi-i-Urdu, 1965) p. 93.

⁵⁶ Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 376.

⁵⁷ Muhammad Sadiq, Muhammad Hussain Azad in *Tarikh-i-Adabiyat-i-Musalmanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind*, pp. 118-119.

⁵⁸ Frances W. Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*: p. 32.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ For Azad's life in Lahore see Hakim Ahmad Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 38.

⁶¹ Azad remained editor of that weekly publication till February 1871, when under the instructions from Leitner he handed over the charge to M. Muhammad Latif. See Malik Ram, *Hali: Makers of Indian Literature* (Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1982), p. 20.

⁶² Frances W. Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 33.

⁶³ Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 377.

⁶⁴ Malik Ram, *Hali: Makers of Indian Literature*, p. 20.

⁶⁵ Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 34.

⁶⁶ Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Urdu Shairi Ka Siyasi aur Samaji Pas-i-Manzar* (Lahore: Sang e Meel Publications, 1998), p. 334.

⁶⁷ Shams ud Din Siddique, 'Adabi Manzar' in *Tareekh-i-Adbiyat-i-Muslamanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind: 1857-1914*, Volume IV, edited by Khawja Zakariya (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010), pp. 43.

⁶⁸ Muhammad Hussain Azad, *Nazm-e Azad*, edited by Tabassum Kashmiri (Lahore: Maktabah 'Aliyah', 1978 [1899]), p. 46, cited by Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 34.

⁶⁹ Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 377.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Malik Ram, *Hali*, p. 21.

⁷² Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 377.

⁷³ C. M. Naim, *Urdu Texts and Contexts: The Selected Essays of C.M. Naim* (Delhi: Permanent Black), p. 108.

⁷⁴ F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London, 1892).

⁷⁵ C. M. Naim, 'Poet-audience interaction at Urdu musha'iras' in *Urdu and Muslim South Asia: Studies in honour of Ralph Russell*, edited by Christopher Shackel (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989), p. 167.

⁷⁶ Shibli Numani, *Si'rul'ajam*, vo. 111 (Azamgarh, 1945 reprint), p. 17, cited *ibid.*

⁷⁷ Muhammad Sadiq, 'Muhammad Hussain Azad' in *Tarikh-i-Adabiyat-i-Musalmanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind*, p. 123.

⁷⁸ Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 379.

⁷⁹ Ralph Russell also considers Ab-e-Hayat as 'his best prose', see Ralph Russell, 'Changing Attitudes to Poetry: Azad and Hali' in *The Pursuit of Urdu Literature: A Select History*, edited by Ralph Russell (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1992), p. 122.

⁸⁰ Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 382.

⁸¹ Muhammad Sadiq, 'Muhammad Hussain Azad' in *Tarikh-i-Adabiyat-i-Musalmanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind*, p. 129.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

⁸³ Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 37.

⁸⁴ Muhammad Sadiq, 'Muhammad Hussain Azad' in *Tarikh-i-Adabiyat-i-Musalmanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind*, p. 348.

⁸⁵ Also see Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Maulana Hali' in *Naqoosh: Lahore*, edited by Muhammad Tufail, Lahore, no. 90 (October, 1961), pp. 1091-1092.

⁸⁶ Khawja Izad Baksh lived a modest life, 'earning a pittance hardly sufficient for himself and his family'. He was working on a minor job in the Permit Department of Provincial Government. See Malik Ram, *Hali*, p. 9.

⁸⁷ Altaf Hussain Hali, *Hayat-i-Javed*, translated by K.H. Qadiri & David J. Matthews (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1979), p. xi.

⁸⁸ Abdul Qayum, 'Altaf Hussain Hali', in *Tareekh-i-Adbiyat-i-Muslamanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind: 1857-1914*, Volume IV, edited by Khawja Zakariya, (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010), p. 75.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76. After retiring from Anglo-Arabic College Delhi, Hali was granted a pension for life by Sir Asman Jah, Chief Minister of Hyderabad state.

⁹⁰ Altaf Hussain Hali, *Kulliyat-e Nasr-e Hali*, Vol.1 (The complete prose writings of Hali). Edited by Shaikh Muhammad Ismail Panipati (Lahore, Majlis-i-Taraqi-i-Adab, 1968), p. 339, cited in Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 33.

⁹¹ Abdul Qayum, 'Altaf Hussain Hali', in *Tareekh-i-Adbiyat-i-Muslamanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind: 1857-1914*, Volume IV, edited by Khawja Zakariya (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010), p. 76. Also see Qulfiqar, *Urdu Shairi Ka Siyasi was Samaji Pass-i-Manzar*, pp. 344-345.

⁹² Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 37.

⁹³ *Ibid.* also see Siddique, 'Adabi Manzar', pp. 42-43.

⁹⁴ Qayum, 'Altaf Hussain Hali', p. 76.

⁹⁵ Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 42.

⁹⁶ Ralph Russell, *The Pursuit of Urdu Literature: A Select History* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1992), p. 126.

⁹⁷ Pritchetts, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 43.

⁹⁸ Malik Ram, *Hali*, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁹ Qayum, 'Altaf Hussain Hali', p. 76.

¹⁰⁰ The Times of India, November, 23, 1876.

¹⁰¹ Muhammad Sadiq, *Muhammad Hussain Azad, His Life and Works* (Lahore: West-Pak Publishing Co., 1974), p. 39.

¹⁰² Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 38.

¹⁰³ Siddique, 'Adabi Manzar', p. 37.